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of

Religion and Ethics

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

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Charms and Amulets (Slavic), **Chastity** (Teutonic and Balto-Slavic).

SCOTT (CHARLES ANDERSON), M.A. (Camb.).
Professor of New Testament in Westminster College, Cambridge.
Camisards.

SCOTT (DAVID RUSSELL), M.A. (Edin.), B.A (Oxon.).
Congregational Minister at Montrose; late Pusey and Ellerton Scholar in the University of Oxford, and Assistant Lecturer in New Testament Greek at Mansfield College.
Complacence (Biblical).

SCOTT (Sir JAMES GEORGE), K.C.I.E., M.R.G.S., F.R.G.S., F.S.A., F.Col.Inst.
Hon. Member of the Council of the Buddhist Societies of Bangkok, Siam, and of Rangoon, Burma; Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States, Burma.
Burma and Assam (Buddhism in).

SELER (EDUARD), Dr.phil.
Professor für Amerikanische Sprachen, Völker- und Altertumskunde an der Universität zu Berlin; Mitglied der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Abt. Direktor des Königl. Museums für Völkerkunde; Professor onor. Mus.-Nac., Mexico.
Central America.

SIMPSON (ANDREW FINDLATER), M.A.
Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Criticism in the Congregational Theological Hall, Edinburgh.
Candle.

SIMPSON (DAVID CAPELL), M.A. (Oxon.).
Lecturer in Hebrew and Theology in St. Edmund Hall, Oxford; Reader in Hebrew and Old Testament in Manchester College, Oxford.
Communion with Deity (Christian).

SMITH (VINCENT ARTHUR), M.A.
Of the Indian Civil Service (retired); author of *Asoka* in 'Rulers of India,' *Early History of India.*
Celibacy (Indian), **Chandragupta.**

SÖDERBLOM (NATHAN), D.D. (Paris), Hon. D.D. (Geneva).
Élève diplômé de l'École des Hautes Études; Professor in the University of Upsala; Member of the Chapter of Upsala; Prebendary of Holy Trinity in Upsala.
Communion with Deity (Introductory, Parsi)

SPAETH (ADOLPH), D.D., LL.D.
Formerly Professor in the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia.
Catechisms (Lutheran).

SPENCE (LEWIS).
Edinburgh; author of *Mythologies of Ancient Mexico and Peru, The Popol Vuh, A Dictionary of Mythology.*
Calendar (American), Celibacy (American), Charms and Amulets (Mexican and Mayan), Cherokees, Cheyenne, Chilan Balam, Chile, Chinooks, Choctaws, Circumcision (American).

SPOONER (WILLIAM ARCHIBALD), D.D.
Warden of New College, and Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Peterborough.
Charity (Biblical).

SRAWLEY (JAMES HERBERT), D.D.
Tutor and Theological Lecturer in Selwyn College, Cambridge; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lichfield.
Cappadocian Theology.

STARBUCK (EDWIN DILLER), Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology in the State University of Iowa; author of *The Psychology of Religion.*
Climate.

STEWART (JOHN ALEXANDER), M.A., Hon. LL.D. (Edin. and Aber.).
White's Professor of Moral Philosophy; Fellow of Corpus Christi College, and Hon. Student of Christ Church, Oxford.
Cambridge Platonists.

STOKES (GEORGE J.), M.A. (Trinity College, Dublin).
Of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law; Professor of Philosophy in the National University of Ireland, University College, Cork.
Concursus.

STONE (DARWELL), M.A., D.D.
Principal Pusey Librarian, Oxford; author of *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.*
Church, Doctrine of the (Anglican), Communion with Deity (Christian).

SUFFRIN (A. E.), M.A. (Oxon.).
Vicar of Waterlooville, Hants.
Confession (Hebrew).

TASKER (JOHN G.), D.D.
Principal and Professor of Church History and Apologetics in the Wesleyan College, Handsworth, Birmingham.
Caprice, Certainty (Religious).

TAYLOR (ROBERT BRUCE), M.A.
Examiner in Economics in the University of Aberdeen.
Communism, Communistic Societies of America.

TEMPLE (Lt.-Col. Sir RICHARD C., Bart.), C.I.E.
Hon. Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge; late of the Indian Army; Deputy Commissioner, Burma, 1888–94; Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 1894–1903; Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* since 1884.
Burma.

TEMPLETON (THOMAS), M.A. (Edin.).
Minister of Panmure Street Congregational Church, Dundee.
Censorship.

TENNANT (FREDERICK ROBERT), D.D., B.Sc.
Rector of Hockwold; University Lecturer in Philosophy of Religion in the University of Cambridge.
Cause, Causality.

THOMPSON (R. CAMPBELL), M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.
Formerly Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum (1899–1905); formerly Assistant Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Chicago (1907–1909).
Charms and Amulets (Assyro-Babylonian).

THOMSON (BASIL HOME).
Barrister-at-Law; formerly Acting Native Commissioner in Fiji.
Communion with Deity (Fijian).

THURSTON (HERBERT), B.A., S.J.
Joint-Editor of the Westminster Library for Priests and Students; author of the *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln, The Holy Year of Jubilee, The Stations of the Cross.*
Church, Doctrine of the (Roman Catholic).

TRACY (FREDERICK), B.A., Ph.D.
Associate-Professor of Philosophy in the University of Toronto.
Conceptualism.

TURMEL (JOSEPH).
Prêtre; ancien Professeur de Théologie au Séminaire de Rennes; auteur de *Histoire de la théologie positive, Histoire du dogme de la Papauté des origines à la fin du quatrième siècle.*
Concordat.

VOLLERS (KARL), Dr. phil.
Ehemals Professor der Semitischen Sprachen an der Universität, und Direktor des Grossherzogl. Munzkabinets zu Jena.
Calendar (Muslim).

WADDELL (L. AUSTINE), C.B., C.I.E., LL.D., F.L.S., F.R.A.I., Lt.-Colonel, I.M.S.
Late Professor of Tibetan in University College, London; author of *The Buddhism of Tibet, Lhasa and its Mysteries.*
Celibacy (Tibetan), Charms and Amulets (Tibetan), Chorten.

WALSHE (W. GILBERT), M.A.
London Secretary of Christian Literature Society for China; late 'James Long' Lecturer; author of *Confucius and Confucianism.*
Chastity (Chinese), China, Communion with the Dead (Chinese), Communion with Deity (Chinese).

WENLEY (ROBERT MARK), D.Phil., Hon. LL.D. (Glasgow), D.Sc. (Edinburgh), Hon. Litt.D. (Hobart).
Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan; author of *Modern Thought and the Crisis in Belief*, *Kant and His Philosophical Revolution*.
Casuistry.

WHITTUCK (CHARLES AUGUSTUS), M.A. (Oxon.).
Vicar of St. Mary-the-Virgin, Oxford; late Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford; author of *The Church of England and Recent Religious Thought*.
Clericalism and Anti-Clericalism.

WILLIAMS (HUGH), M.A., D.D. (Glasgow).
Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Theological College, Bala; editor of Gildas, *De Excidio*; author of *Christianity in Early Britain*.
Church (British).

WOODHOUSE (WILLIAM J.), M.A.
Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, New South Wales.
Charity (Greek), **Cimmerians.**

WOODS (FRANCIS HENRY), M.A., B.D.
Rector of Bainton, Yorkshire; late Fellow and Theological Lecturer of St. John's College, Oxford.
Calendar (Hebrew).

WORRELL (WILLIAM HOYT), A.B., B.D., Ph.D.
Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary.
Charms and Amulets (Abyssinian).

WÜNSCH (RICHARD), Dr.phil.
Ordentlicher Professor der Klassischen Philologie an der Universität zu Königsberg.
Charms and Amulets (Roman).

YOUNGSON (JOHN W.).
Of the Church of Scotland Mission, Poona.
Chuhras.

CROSS-REFERENCES

In addition to the cross-references throughout the volume, the following list of minor references may be useful:

Topic.	Probable Title of Article.
Butterfly	Animals.
Byss, Bythus	Abyss, Gnosticism.
Cæsarians	Sects (Chr.).
Cairn	Stones.
Caliph	Khalīf.
Callistians	Sects (Chr.).
Calumny	Slander.
Calvinistic Methodists	Presbyterianism.
Cameronians	Covenanters, Presbyterianism.
Cameronites	Sects (Chr.).
Canistæ	Sects (Chr.).
Canonical Hours	Prayer.
Canticle	Hymns.
Capuchins	Religious Orders (Chr.).
Capuciati, Caputiati	Sects (Chr.).
Cardinal points	Air, Orientation, Vedic Religion.
Caribs	Brazil.
Carpocratians	Sects (Chr.).
Cat	Animals.
Cataphrygians	Montanism.
Cathartic	Purification.
Catholic Church	Western Church.
Catholic Emancipation	Toleration.
Cattle	Animals.
Cave Temples	Temples.
Celebes	Indonesia.
Cemeteries	Tombs.
Cenobitism	Asceticism.
Cerdonians	Sects (Chr.).
Chakra	Vedic Religion, Wheel.
Chandals	Doms.
Chilcotins	Carrier Indians.
Chinvat	Bridge.
Chippewas	Mexico.
Chirns	Lushais.
Chitral Tribes	Dards.
Christian Brothers	Sects (Chr.).
Christology	Person of Christ.
Christolytes	Sects (Chr.).
Church and State	State.
Church Discipline	Discipline (ecclesiastical).
Church Government	Church, Ministry.
Church of America	Episcopacy.
Church of God	Sects (Amer.).
Church of Jesus Christ	Mormonism.
Circle (stone)	Stones.
City of Refuge	Asylum.
Clairaudience	Spiritualism, Theosophy.
Clairvoyance	Spiritualism, Theosophy.
Clapham Sect	Sects (Chr.).
Class Meeting	Methodism.
Claudianists	Donatism.
Cleanliness	Purification.
Cleptomania	Stealing.
Clouds	Rain.
Colarbasians	Valentinianism.
Collegiants	Sects (Chr.).
Collyridians	Sects (Chr.).
Commensality	Sacrifice (Sem.).
Commination	Discipline (Chr.).
Communion of Saints	Saints.
Compassion	Sympathy.
Conation	Act, Action.
Concentration (Bud.)	Samadhi.
Concomitance	Eucharist.
Concupiscence	Desire.

LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. General

A.H. = Anno Hijrae (A.D. 622).
Ak. = Akkadian.
Alex. = Alexandrian.
Amer. = American.
Apoc. = Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.
Apocr. = Apocrypha.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Arm. = Armenian.
Ary. = Aryan.
As. = Asiatic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
AT = Altes Testament.
AV = Authorized Version.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
A.Y. = Anno Yazdigird (A.D. 639).
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = *circa*, about.
Can. = Canaanite.
cf. = compare.
ct. = contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = editions or editors.
Egyp. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
EV = English Version.
f. = and following verse or page: as Ac $10^{34f.}$
ff. = and following verses or pages: as Mt $11^{28ff.}$
Fr. = French.
Germ. = German.
Gr. = Greek.
H = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Himy. = Himyaritic.
Ir. = Irish.
Iran. = Iranian.
Isr. = Israelite.
J = Jahwist.
J″ = Jehovah.
Jerus. = Jerusalem.
Jos. = Josephus.
LXX = Septuagint.
Min. = Minæan.
MSS = Manuscripts.
MT = Massoretic Text.
n. = note.
NT = New Testament.
Onk. = Onkelos.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Phœn. = Phœnician.
Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
R = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
RV = Revised Version.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
Sab. = Sabæan.
Sam. = Samaritan.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Sin. = Sinaitic.
Skr. = Sanskrit.
Symm. = Symmachus.
Syr. = Syriac.
t. (following a number) = times.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus.
tr. = translated or translation.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. Books of the Bible

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. For the Literature

1. The following authors' names, when unaccompanied by the title of a book, stand for the works in the list below.

Baethgen = *Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch.*, 1888.
Baldwin = *Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols. 1901–1905.
Barth = *Nominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen*, 2 vols. 1889, 1891 ([2]1894).
Benzinger = *Heb. Archäologie*, 1894.
Brockelmann = *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, 2 vols. 1897–1902.
Bruns-Sachau = *Syr.-Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, 1880.
Budge = *Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 vols. 1903.
Daremberg-Saglio = *Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.*, 1886–90.
De la Saussaye = *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*[3], 1905.
Deussen = *Die Philos. d. Upanishads*, 1899 [Eng. tr., 1906].
Doughty = *Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. 1888.
Grimm = *Deutsche Mythologie*[4], 3 vols. 1875–1878, Eng. tr. *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols. 1882–1888.
Hamburger = *Realencyclopädie fur Bibel u. Talmud*, i. 1870 ([2]1892), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
Holder = *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, 1891 ff.
Holtzmann-Zöpffel = *Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirchenwesen*[2], 1895.
Howitt = *Native Tribes of S. E. Australia*, 1904.
Jastrow = *Die Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, 2 vols. 1902–1905.
Jubainville = *Cours de Litt. celtique*, i.–xii., 1883 ff.
Lagrange = *Études sur les religions sémitiques*[2], 1904.
Lane = *An Arabic-English Dictionary*, 1863 ff.
Lang = *Myth, Ritual and Religion*[2], 2 vols. 1899.
Lepsius = *Denkmäler aus Ægypten u. Æthiopien*, 1849–1860.
Lichtenberger = *Encyc. des sciences religieuses*, 1876.
Lidzbarski = *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898.
McCurdy = *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 2 vols. 1894–1896.
Muir = *Sanskrit Texts*, 1858–1872.
Muss-Arnolt = *A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language*, 1894 ff.
Nowack = *Lehrbuch d. heb. Archäologie*, 2 vols. 1894.
Pauly-Wissowa = *Realencyc. der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1893–1895.
Perrot-Chipiez = *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 1881 ff.
Preller = *Römische Mythologie*, 1858.
Réville = *Religion des peuples non-civilisés*, 1883.
Riehm = *Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums*[2], 1893–1894.
Robinson = *Biblical Researches in Palestine*[2], 1856.
Roscher = *Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, 1884.
Schaff-Herzog = *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Relig. Knowledge*, 1908 ff.
Schenkel = *Bibel-Lexicon*, 5 vols. 1869–1875.
Schürer = *GJV*[3], 3 vols. 1898–1901 [*HJP*, 5 vols. 1890 ff.].
Schwally = *Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892.
Siegfried-Stade = *Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT*, 1893.
Smend = *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgesch.*[2], 1899.
Smith (G. A.) = *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*[4], 1896.
Smith (W. R.) = *Religion of the Semites*[2], 1894.
Spencer (H.) = *Principles of Sociology*[3], 1885–1896.
Spencer-Gillen[a] = *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899.
Spencer-Gillen[b] = *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.
Swete = *The OT in Greek*, 3 vols. 1893 ff.
Tylor (E. B.) = *Primitive Culture*[3], 1891 [[4]1903].
Ueberweg = *Hist. of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., 2 vols. 1872–1874.
Weber = *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften*[2], 1897.
Wiedemann = *Die Religion der alten Ægypter*, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, *Religion of the anc. Egyptians*, 1897].
Wilkinson = *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 vols. 1878.
Zunz = *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*[2], 1892.

2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopædias, and other standard works frequently cited.

AA = Archiv für Anthropologie.
AAOJ = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
ABAW = Abhandlungen d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
AE = Archiv für Ethnographie.
AEG = Assyr. and Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).
AGG = Abhandlungen d. Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
AGPh = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
AHR = American Historical Review.
AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
AJPh = American Journal of Philosophy.
AJPs = American Journal of Psychology.
AJRPE = American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.
AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
AMG = Annales du Musée Guimet.
APES = American Palestine Exploration Society.
APF = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
AR = Anthropological Review.
ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
ASG = Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
ASoc = L'Année Sociologique.
ASWI = Archæological Survey of W. India.
AZ = Allgemeine Zeitung.
BAG = Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
BASS = Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (edd. Delitzsch and Haupt).
BCH = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
BE = Bureau of Ethnology.
BG = Bombay Gazetteer.
BJ = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).
BL = Bampton Lectures.
BLE = Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
BOR = Bab. and Oriental Record.
BS = Bibliotheca Sacra.
BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens.
BSAA = Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandrie.
BSAL = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Lyon.
BSAP = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie, etc., Paris.
BSG = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
BTS = Buddhist Text Society.
BW = Biblical World.
BZ = Biblische Zeitschrift.

CAIBL=Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CBTS=Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.
CF=Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).
CGS=Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).
CI=Census of India.
CIA=Corpus Inscrip. Atticarum.
CIG=Corpus Inscrip. Græcarum.
CIL=Corpus Inscrip. Latinarum.
CIS=Corpus Inscrip. Semiticarum.
COT=Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of *KAT*^{2}; see below].
CR=Contemporary Review.
CeR=Celtic Review.
ClR=Classical Review.
CQR=Church Quarterly Review.
CSEL=Corpus Script. Eccles. Latinorum.
DACL=Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cabrol).
DB=Dict. of the Bible.
DCA=Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith–Cheetham).
DCB=Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith–Wace).
DCG=Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.
DI=Dict. of Islam (Hughes).
DNB=Dict. of National Biography.
DPhP=Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.
DWAW=Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.
EBi=Encyclopædia Biblica.
EBr=Encyclopædia Britannica.
EEFM=Egyp. Explor. Fund Memoirs.
ERE=The present work.
Exp=Expositor.
ExpT=Expository Times.
FHG=Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1885).
FL=Folklore.
FLJ=Folklore Journal.
FLR=Folklore Record.
GA=Gazette Archéologique.
GB^2=Golden Bough^2 (Frazer).
GGA=Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN=Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten (Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen).
GIAP=Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Philologie.
GIrP=Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie.
GJV=Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes.
GVI=Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HDB=Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.
HE=Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL=Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).
HI=History of Israel.
HJ=Hibbert Journal.
HJP=History of the Jewish People.
HN=Historia Naturalis (Pliny).
HWB=Handwörterbuch.
IA=Indian Antiquary.
ICC=International Critical Commentary.
ICO=International Congress of Orientalists.
ICR=Indian Census Report (1901).
IGA=Inscrip. Græcæ Antiquissimæ.
IGI=Imperial Gazetteer of India^2 (1885); new edition (1908–1909).
IJE=International Journal of Ethics.
ITL=International Theological Library.
JA=Journal Asiatique.
JAFL=Journal of American Folklore.
JAI=Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB=Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
JBL=Journal of Biblical Literature.
JBTS=Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JD=Journal des Débats.
JDTh=Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie.
JE=Jewish Encyclopedia.
JGOS=Journal of the German Oriental Society.
JHC=Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
JHS=Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JLZ=Jenäer Litteraturzeitung.
JPh=Journal of Philology.
JPTh=Jahrbücher f. protest. Theologie.
JPTS=Journal of the Pāli Text Society.
JQR=Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASBe=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal branch.
JRASBo=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.
JRASJ=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc., Japan.
JRGS=Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
JThSt=Journal of Theological Studies.
KAT^2=Die Keilinschriften und das AT (Schrader), 1883.
KAT^3=Zimmern-Winckler's ed. of the preceding [really a totally distinct work], 1903.
KB or *KIB*=Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Schrader), 1889 ff.
KGF=Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung, 1878.
LCBl=Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOPh=Literaturblatt für Oriental. Philologie.
LOT=Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).
LP=Legend of Perseus (Hartland).
LSSt=Leipziger sem. Studien.
M=Mélusine.
MAIBL=Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
MBAW=Monatsbericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
MGH=Monumenta Germaniæ Historica (Pertz).
MGJV=Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.
MGWJ=Monatsbericht f. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judentums.
MI=Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).
MNDPV=Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
MR=Methodist Review.
MVG=Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
MWJ=Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.
NBAC=Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana.
NC=Nineteenth Century.
NHWB=Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NINQ=North Indian Notes and Queries.
NKZ=Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NQ=Notes and Queries.
NR=Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).
NTZG=Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
OED=Oxford English Dictionary (Murray).
OLZ=Orientalische Litteraturzeitung.
OS=Onomastica Sacra.
OTJC=Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).
OTP=Oriental Translation Fund Publications.
PAOS=Proceedings of American Oriental Society.
PASB=Proceedings of the Anthropological Soc. of Bombay.
PB=Polychrome Bible (English).
PBE=Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.
PEFM=Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs.
PEFSt=Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
PG=Patrologia Græca (Migne).
PJB=Preussische Jahrbücher.
PL=Patrologia Latina (Migne).
PNQ=Punjab Notes and Queries.
PR=Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).
PRE^3=Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog-Hauck).

PRR = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.
PRS = Proceedings of the Royal Society.
PRSE = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
PSBA = Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archæology.
PTS = Pāli Text Society.
RA = Revue Archéologique.
RAnth = Revue d'Anthropologie.
RAS = Royal Asiatic Society.
RAssyr = Revue d'Assyriologie.
RB = Revue Biblique.
RBEW = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).
RC = Revue Critique.
RCel = Revue Celtique.
RCh = Revue Chrétienne.
RDM = Revue des Deux Mondes.
RE = Realencyclopädie
REG = Revue des Études Grecques.
REg = Revue Égyptologique.
REJ = Revue des Études Juives.
REth = Revue d'Ethnographie.
RHLR = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses.
RHR = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
RN = Revue Numismatique.
RP = Records of the Past.
RPh = Revue Philosophique.
RQ = Römische Quartalschrift.
RS = Revue sémitique d'Epigraphie et d'Hist. ancienne.
RSA = Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.
RSI = Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.
RTAP = Recueil de Travaux rélatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.
RTP = Revue des traditions populaires.
RThPh = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.
RTr = Recueil de Travaux.
RWB = Realwörterbuch.
SBAW = Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
SBOT = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
SDB = Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
SK = Studien u. Kritiken.
SMA = Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie.
SSGW = Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften.
SWAW = Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
TAPA = Transactions of American Philological Association.
TASJ = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
TC = Tribes and Castes.
TES = Transactions of Ethnological Society.
ThLZ = Theologische Litteraturzeitung.
ThT = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TRHS = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
TRSE = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
TS = Texts and Studies.
TSBA = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archæology.
TU = Texte u. Untersuchungen.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZÄ = Zeitschrift für ägyp. Sprache u. Altertumswissenschaft.
ZATW = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZCK = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
ZCP = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
ZDA = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZE = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZKF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
ZKT = Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
ZKWL = Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.
ZM = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
ZNTW = Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft.
ZPhP = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
ZTK = Zeitschrift für Theologie u. Kirche.
ZVK = Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.
ZVRW = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
ZWT = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as KAT^2, LOT^6, etc.]

ENCYCLOPÆDIA
OF
RELIGION AND ETHICS

B

BURIAL.—See DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

BURIATS.—**1. Language and population.**—The Buriats form a branch of the Eastern Mongols, and speak a dialect of the Mongolian language which differs both from the spoken tongue of the true Mongols of Khalkas and from the language of Mongolian literature. The Buriat language is distinct also from the Kalmuk. The degree of relationship between these four groups of the Mongol language has not yet been clearly defined, and, indeed, no thorough study of all the Mongol dialects has yet been made.

Speaking generally, the Buriats are found within the following territorial limits, viz. the Baikal Basin and the upper course of the river Angara from Irkutsk to the point where the river Ilim flows into the Angara; but a number of them—the Aga Buriats—live about the tributaries of the rivers of the Amur Basin—the Onon, Ingoda, and Argun—while in Mongolia itself, along the Russian frontier, a small tribe—the Bargu Buriats—is found. Further, Buriats are met with in other places within the limits of the Russian Empire, viz. on the upper tributaries of the Vitim, which is a right tributary of the Lena, and also on the upper left tributaries of the Lena itself. All the above-mentioned homes of the Buriats are within the boundaries of the two administrative territorial divisions of Eastern Siberia, viz. the Irkutsk Province and the Trans-Baikal Region. According to data obtained in 1831, the Buriats were estimated in all at 152,000 souls. Castrén reckons them as being about 190,000, but at the present time their number may be fixed at 250,000.

2. Lamaism and Shamanism.—According to their religious beliefs, the Buriats may be divided into two groups—the Southern and the Northern. The Southern Buriats, who dwell on the confines of Mongolia, are zealous Buddhists, and belong to the Yellow-hat men, or Lamaists, followers of Tson-ka-pa, the well-known Tibetan reformer of Northern Buddhism, and founder of the above-mentioned sect. This sect has a predominating influence in Tibet, and prevails, without any division, over Mongolia. Its doctrines, which have so large a following, are contained in a voluminous literature and require no special examination, seeing that Buriat Lamaism does not differ in any way from the Mongolo-Tibetan Lamaism. The Buriat Lamaist studies under the Mongolian and Tibetan Lamas, and he finds his religious literature in the sacred Tibetan language. Lamaism did not reach the Buriats earlier than the end of the 17th cent., viz. at the time of and after the Djungar wars, when, as is known, a multitude of peaceful people (amongst whom, of course, were Buddhist teachers) sought a quiet refuge amongst the Buriats. Buddhism, therefore, is a comparatively new factor in the religious life of the Buriats. Animated, as it has been, by a very tolerant spirit, this religious teaching, in crossing over from India into Tibet, not only brought with it a host of non-Buddhist beliefs, but also incorporated a whole body of local ones in Tibet, and a great many still more extraneous ones in Mongolia. And it was in this condition that it finally reached the Buriat plains. Now Lamaism is the predominating belief among the Buriats dwelling to the south of Lake Baikal. An exception is furnished only by the Buriats living at the mouth of the river Selenga; but these do not belong to the original inhabitants of Trans-Baikalia, being colonists from the northern shores of Lake Baikal, who migrated southwards in the first half of the 18th century. Further, we must note that about the north-eastern extremity of Baikal, among the Bargudji Buriats, who are kinsmen of the Bargu Buriats living in Mongolia, there is, along with Buddhism, an extensive cult of Shamanism. Until recently, our investigators, among whom was the author of this article, thought that there could not be any room for the adherents of the old religion in the southern part of Trans-Baikalia among the zealous Lamaists, who were under the influence of their teachers, and many of whom had received their religious education in Urga—the residence of the first enlightener of Mongolia, Djebtsun-damba-kutukta (see LAMAISM)—and some in Lhasa. But this opinion was due only to our insufficient acquaintance with the religious life of the Buriats. A young investigator, Djamtsaranoff, himself a native Buriat, in the year 1903 discovered in his native district, viz. in the valley of the river Aga, worshippers of the

old faith along with their priests, the so-called Shamans. And he asserts that the Buddhist Buriats of the Alar district are semi-Shamanists, and that their Lamas perform many Shaman rites. (For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that the Russian Mongolian scholar Professor Pozdneyeff discovered genuine Buriat Shamanists among the Chakars, living to the north of Kalgan on the southern frontier of Gobi.) To the west and north of Lake Baikal, Lamaism is by no means wide-spread. It is met with to the south-west of the Baikal, in the valley of the river Tunka, along the Irkut, the Oka, and the White River, and on the small rivers Alar and Golumet. According to the traditions of the inhabitants, both the Tunka and the Alar Buriats are settlers from Mongolia. The rest of the Buriats of the Irkutsk Province profess the religion common to the whole north of Asia and to the non-Aryan north-east of Europe—a religion which is well known in scientific literature under the name of Shamanism (*q.v.*).

This term, originally employed only for the beliefs of the north-east of Europe and of Asia, has in comparatively recent times received an extended signification, which has been adhered to in the work of the Moscow scholar Mikhailovski on this subject—a work which, unfortunately, has not been completed. Taking a general, ethnological point of view, he includes as Shamanism the beliefs of the American Indians and the aborigines of Africa, Polynesia, etc. Without here entering into an unsuitable polemic, we shall merely remark that, for convenience' sake and to be strictly methodical, we shall speak of Shamanism only in the restricted sense of the word. We do not dispute that in the New World and in southern countries we meet with forms of belief at the same stage of development as contemporary Shamanism; but, indeed, we also know that there exists a whole series of monotheistic religions, whose monotheism does not prevent their differing from one another in their conceptions about the Deity and His relations to men and to the world, in ritual, forms of worship, and ideas about the destiny of mankind, etc. One must not lose sight of the fact that in the various beliefs of the Siberian tribes a very close connexion is noticeable, and, likewise, there can be observed an uninterrupted identity in the foundations of their mythology and in their rites, even extending as far as the nomenclature—all of which gives one the right to suppose that these beliefs are the result of the joint work of the intellectual activity of the whole north of Asia. The Buriat Shamanism is one of the most highly developed forms, but, in order to elucidate certain rites and beliefs, we must draw parallels from other Shaman beliefs.

3. Religious development.—In determining the degree of development of the religious belief of the Buriat Shamanists, we must assert that, like some other Shamanist modes of worship among the more enlightened Siberian tribes, such as the Yakuts and the South Siberian Turks, it has reached a degree of somewhat advanced polytheism, reminding one of the Homeric polytheism. The Shamanists have their own Olympus, while among the Yakuts and Turks, who come more into contact with Christianity, there is noticeable a tendency to hierarchical monotheism. The supreme deity of the Altaians—Ulghen, or, as he is called in some places, Khormusta-Tengri (the Uyun-artoyen of the Yakuts)—stands far higher and farther removed from mortals than the thunder-bearing Zeus. These deities are freer from human weaknesses and stand on a more unattainable height, in comparison with the minor gods and genii, than Olympic Zeus. Buriat Shamanism has not evolved from itself such a Supreme Deity; it has, however, a whole assembly of heaven-dwellers (Tengris), some of whom are well-disposed to mankind, and some hostile. To some of them sacrifices are offered regularly, to others only on rare occasions. The Buriats have a whole series of thunder-gods. The influence of Buddhism in its later form, with its numerous Buddhas—Buddhas of non-earthly origin, Dhyāni-Buddhas, and deities—has obscured the monotheistic tendency. Amongst almost all Shamanists we see a cosmogony pervaded with dualism, a complex doctrine of the soul, and a conception about a future life and about requital. The priestly hierarchy remains in a primitive form, out of which caste has not yet been evolved; one must take into consideration that such evolution can be effected only in a more advanced and developed social state, to which the Buriats have never attained, although the hierarchy of the Shaman, as we shall see, has already been elaborated somewhat distinctly. In Homer we often see Agamemnon, Ulysses, and Achilles offering sacrifices to the gods. Here leaders and chiefs of clans enter into direct relations with the gods, but in Shamanism this has now almost disappeared. On important occasions they always resort to the Shaman.

One constantly hears it stated that, in Shamanism, there are to be found, together with polytheistic beliefs, examples of animism, fetishism, the worshipping of animals, of trees, and of hills, and other lower forms of religious belief. We can answer to this, that, owing to the conservatism of mankind and to their lack of initiative, primitive habits of life and old-fashioned beliefs very seldom disappear altogether. Many Christian sects, even among highly-civilized peoples, maintain, alongside of the Gospel teachings, a whole series of heathen survivals in the shape of prejudices, superstitious rites, and so on. The folk-tales and traditions collected by the brothers Grimm still live among the people. The German folk-lorists still continue to collect a rich harvest of living antiquity in Bavaria and the Tirol. Slavonic countries are full of dual beliefs in which paganism survives in Christian form. In Russia, especially amongst the common people but also in the higher classes of society, rationalism often flourishes along with the belief in fortune-tellers and sorcerers, and belief in the production of miracles. What are the spiritualism and occultism, by which Europe is periodically carried away, but survivals of barbarous times? The determining of the average level of the religious horizon of some civilized people would present a far more difficult task than, for example, that with which we are now occupied; for a semi-civilized people, like the Buriats, does not present such a variety in the character of its development as a more highly civilized people. We may take it then for granted that the majority of the Buriats profess a polytheistic religion in the shape of Shamanism. It is at least the predominating feature of their present-day belief.

In comparison with the more studied and more highly elaborated polytheism of the classical peoples, the Buriat polytheism must be characterized as immature, and, in a sense, chaotic. The anthropomorphization of even the highest divinities of the Buriat pantheon has been by no means completed; throughout it there is apparent a simple worshipping of the phenomena of Nature. Individualization into separate personages has only been aimed at. There is no need to look here for such plastic images as we see in Zeus, Phœbus, Pallas Athene, Aphrodite, and so on. The Buriats and Mongols possess neither the poems of Homer, nor odes, nor hymns; they have not the *Rāmāyaṇa* or even the Finnish *Kalevala*. They possess only a series of detached narratives, incantations, and prayers, in which is represented to us, with very indistinct features, the theography of this nomad people, who had only here and there adopted a settled mode of life, being at the same time occupied with hunting and trapping wild animals, not by way of sport, but as an indispensable element of their economic existence.

4. Tengris or heaven-gods.—The higher heaven-dwelling deities among the Buriats are called by the name of 'Tengris.' *Tengri, tegri, tiger, tangara* in all the Turco-Mongolian dialects signifies 'the heavens.' One of the leading experts in Mongol-Buriat mythology, Dordji Banzaroff, in his book, *Black Faith, or Shamanism* (St. Petersburg, 1892), adduces a whole series of proofs of the existence of the worship of the heavens among the Mongol races. Mongolian official documents usually begin with the formulæ, *munku tengriin khutzun dor*, 'by the power of the eternal heavens'; *tengri chi midnya*, 'heaven, know thou'; *tengri chi shitegchuy*, 'heaven, be thou judge'; which are common expressions among the Mongols. They assert also that Jenghiz-Khan appeared by the command of Heaven. The worship of the heavens does not in itself present anything exceptional among pastoral peoples; but among the Buriats a remarkable metamorphosis

took place in this worship. Instead of one single eternal heaven, they acknowledge 99 different Tengris, of which 55 are Western and 44 Eastern. The sharply defined dualism, peculiar to the whole Siberian Shamanism, honours in the Western Tengris the divinities or forces that are well-disposed to mankind, in the Eastern the forces that are destructive and hostile to man. Everywhere else where Shamanism is professed these hostile forces are placed, not in any part of the heavens, but in the lower regions, notwithstanding the fact that the cosmogony, about which we shall speak further on, testifies that once upon a time Father Ena, Erlik-Khan, or Erlen-Khan, lived in the heavens, whence, after a struggle with the spirit of light, he was cast down with his servants into the lower world. His assistants appear upon the earth and work evil there, but in heaven there is no place for them. Agapitoff and Khangaloff (of whom the latter is still actively investigating the Shamanism of his native country), being firm believers in the theory of the atmospheric explanation of myths, in their first work, *Materials for the Study of Shamanism in Siberia* (Irkutsk, 1883), were of the opinion that, in the 99 Tengris, the heavens in their various states are personified : in a quiet, a clear, a dull state, during storms, gales, winter snow-storms, wind, etc. But the Tengris not only control the atmospheric phenomena — they bring about diseases, they bestow happiness upon mankind, protect particular tribes, trades, etc., and perform a number of other acts.

One must not lose sight of the fact that there is, indeed, another name for 'heaven'—*oktorgoi*—viz. the physical heaven (the sky), with its phenomena; and the word *tengri* among the Mongols has a double signification, viz. the heavens, and the particular beings inhabiting the heights beyond the clouds of the worldly mountain Sumeru, with their leader Khormusta-Tengri. The Tengris have their antagonists in the Asseuris—beings living under the mountain Sumeru. The Tengris are holy and benevolent; the Asseuris are spiteful and quarrelsome. Between them a constant war is carried on. It does not seem to us improbable that the division of the Buriat Tengris into two hostile camps is inspired partly by this idea about the Tengris and Asseuris, borrowed from the Buddhist mythology. We shall meet with similar examples more than once in our discussion of the subject. It appears almost superfluous to mention that the Tengris, at any rate those about whom we have fuller information, in their life appear as genuine Buriat nomads. They, just like the Buriats, possess flocks and herds acquired from sacrifices, and betake themselves to the Shamans in circumstances of difficulty. All about whom we possess any information have families, and their children for the most part occupy a position inferior to that of the Tengris in the Buriat mythology, and bear the title of *Khan*.

The Buriats who live along the river Kuda, a tributary of the Angara, regard Zayan-Sagan-Tengri, the white deity of the Tengris, as the eldest among the Tengris. (Among the Balagans, instead of Zayan-Sagan-Tengri, stands Khan Tiurmes-Tengri, who has three sons, Zasa, Isykhur, and Akha.) Merchen-Tomeh, the second one, came down to earth to save people (the Balagan Buriats call him Abay-Ghesser-Bogdo), and the third, Erkhe-Bashatey (the great wise man), wrote laws for the government of nations. Here, under the influence of the written Tibetan narratives, the old local names have partly given way to foreign ones. Khan Tiurmes, as the Russian folk-lorist Potanin has proved by numerous comparisons and parallels, is identical with Khormusta-Tengri. Abay-Ghesser-Khan, in the well-known heroic tale, is the second son of Khormusta, viz. Ulu-Butugekhchi (the accomplisher of works) (see the Mongol text of this tale, published by the Russian Academician Schmidt). He comes down to this world to eradicate the sources of the ten evils.

The most popular among the Western Tengris, who is constantly mentioned in the Shaman incantations and the narratives of the Buriats, is Esseghe-Malan-Tengri. According to some narratives, he is one of the sons of the Monkhon Tengri. This name Agapitoff and Khangaloff translate by the words 'heaven—bottom of the vessel.' We prefer to leave the word *tengri* untranslated, since it has a double signification, meaning at the same time the heavens, as an object of worship, and an anthropomorphized being dwelling in the heavens. Other narratives affirm that Esseghe-Malan was a man, who lived on the earth and promised certain nine deities to build a palace up to the sky, on condition that, in the event of his carrying out the undertaking, the nine gods should come down to earth to mankind and give up to him their place in heaven. Esseghe-Malan carried out the proposed undertaking, the gods took up their abode on earth, and he in heaven. In the Buriat narratives Esseghe-Malan sometimes lives not in heaven, but on earth, somewhere beyond a high mountain. He often appears in these narratives as a simple-minded Buriat; in the story 'Girgulai-Mergen,'[1] the sister of the hero Agu-Nogon-Abakhai, the maiden Yatiaz, in order to resuscitate a brother who had been killed, and to obtain a bride for him, goes as a suitor to seek the hand of the three daughters of Esseghe-Malan-Tengri; she vanquishes the other claimants for marriage with the daughters of Esseghe, in all warlike sports and exercises. Esseghe-Malan is prepared to give his daughters to the victor, but the Shamans warn the god that he is giving them in marriage to a woman; yet the god, notwithstanding this, gives his daughters. The clever girl-heroine makes the daughters of Esseghe-Malan bring her dead brother to life, and afterwards gives them in marriage to him. In the tale about the old man Khoridai, the hero does not fulfil the orders of Esseghe-Malan, and the enraged Buriat thunder-bearer prepares to strike him with lightning. The old man Khoridai appeases the wrath of the god by a sacrifice, and excuses himself for his transgressions with somewhat flat excuses and sophisms. In heaven Esseghe-Malan has a box with round stones; by throwing them on the earth he produces thunder and lightning. One clever Buriat, during a period of drought on earth, made his way to heaven, and, taking advantage of the absence of the person who was entrusted with the box containing the stones, began to throw them down of his own accord, and produced a storm and rain-shower on earth. Esseghe-Malan has a somewhat large family and an extensive household. His wife, Ekhe-Urani, is mentioned in all ritual offerings to the Tengri, although she herself appears as rather a colourless person. This couple have nine daughters, according to the incantations of the Shamans, but only three according to the narratives of the Buriats. These have the power of making the poor rich and bringing the dead to life. The eldest of them (according to the Buriat accounts) steps over the bones of the deceased person, spits on them, waves a black handkerchief, and the skeleton is put together; the second one, having executed the same manipulations, completely restores the phy-

[1] *Records of the East-Siberian Section of the Imp. Russ. Geog. Soc.*, Section of Ethnography, vol. i. pt. i., 'Buriat Tales and Superstitions,' Irkutsk, 1889, pp. 33–43.

sical outline of the deceased; the third one gives life. In addition to his daughters, Esseghe-Malan has three sons. The eldest of these is regarded as ruler of the large island of Olkhon on Lake Baikal; but, by other accounts, the lord of Olkhon is Oren, who will be referred to more fully in describing animal-worship; the second son appears before the Tengris as the principal representative of the elder earthly gods (children and kinsfolk of the Tengris); the youngest son is the patron of Kiakhta (a trading station on the frontier of China), and lord of the red goat. Besides children, Esseghe-Malan possesses also three shepherds, the first of whom, Makita-Mangi, acts as intermediary between the Tengris and mankind, and is the patron of the Shamans, whom he protects from the evil Tengris, hostile gods, and genii. The second, Badshindai, having been present at the creation of man, protects people from diseases sent upon them by the hostile Eastern Tengris. Debetsoi, the third, is the patron-shepherd of flocks and herds; he rides on horseback with a quiver, a bow, and lasso in his hands.

Besides the thunder-bearer, Esseghe-Malan, there are others, both Eastern and Western, who control atmospheric phenomena, such as, for example, Mundur-Tengri (*mundur*=hail), the god of hail, loud thunder, and lightning; Galta-Ulan-Tengri (the fire-red Tengri), the god of heat and drought and storm-lightning causing conflagrations. In some places the Buriats assert that from this Tengri people received fire; but, generally, the principal lord of storms and lightning is considered to be Zayan-Sagan-Tengri. He sends forth storms against unclean and evil spirits, and he hurls upon earth *sakhilgata budav*—stones from heaven causing lightning. Such a stone was found by the white Shaman of Unga, Barnak-Khognuyev, and is preserved as a relic by his descendants.

There are, further, a whole body of Tengris who throw stones upon the earth. Some of these cast down special red stones, the *zada*, by means of which storms can be caused at will. There are three Tengris of the Northern, and three of the Southern winds, Tengris of gentle, warm rain, and of cold rain. As to the family position and actions of these Tengris we have no information; it is evident that here anthropomorphization has scarcely yet commenced. Of the remaining Tengris we shall mention only those whom it is necessary to notice in giving an account of other beliefs of the Buriats; for example, Seghen-Tengri, who, it is said, was the cause of the dissensions between the Western and Eastern Tengris. He had a beautiful daughter, for the possession of whom rivalry sprang up among the heaven-dwellers, Dolon-Khukhu-Tengri (the seven blue Tengris). They are the bestowers of rain; but when rain is required, one does not apply directly to them, but offers sacrifices to the Ukhan Khans, the water divinities, and asks for their mediation with the seven blue Tengris. Shara-Khasar-Tengri (the yellow-cheeked one) has been indirectly connected with the legends about the origin of the Buriats. His three daughters, dressed in swans' skins, came down to earth to bathe in a lake, and there they took off the swan's dress; the Buriat Khoridai was watching them, and he hid the dress of one of them, Khoboshi-Khatun. The heavenly maiden could not fly up to heaven without the wings of the swan's dress. Khoridai, having seized her, married her, and had children by her, from whom sprang the Buriat tribes Khanghin and Sharat. Subsequently the wife of Khoridai discovered her swan's dress and flew off to heaven in it, leaving her husband and children behind. Budurga-Sagan-Tengri deserves mention, as being the progenitor of many persons who play a foremost part in the Buriat mythology—his eldest son, Ukha-Solbon, being the patron of horses. This Ukha-Solbon had two wives of heavenly origin, but his third was snatched by him from earth. Whilst she, as a Buriat bride, was being conducted to her bridegroom, Ukha-Solbon sent down a storm, during which he seized the maiden. The second son of Budurga-Sagan-Tengri is Bukha-Noin-Baobai (father-master-ox), the hero of a whole series of narratives. No less significance have the third son of the above-mentioned Tengri, Sakhidai-Noin, and his wife, Sakhala-Khatun, the rulers of fire.

5. **Folklore of the smith.**—In many primitive religions, a divine origin is ascribed not only to fire and domestic animals, but to various handicrafts. The lame god Vulcan, the wise cripple, son of Juppiter and Hera, is not the sole instance of a blacksmith god, a god-artisan. But the blacksmith is regarded in two ways: the Hellene, with his bright intellect and his artistic creativeness, saw in him a divinity favourable to mankind, the teacher of the artist; among many other peoples the blacksmith is a magician, living and working amid fire and smoke and covered with soot. He, in an incomprehensible manner, works iron out of stone. He is acquainted with the dark forces of Nature. He is wise and yet terrible. Such a view might easily establish itself where the blacksmith's handicraft was borrowed from some immigrant foreign people; and this view prevails also among the Siberian natives. There traditions have been preserved about one-legged men, dwarfs dressed in skins, living in caves, and possessors of various mineral treasures and precious metals. In the Buriat mythology both views about blacksmiths have been maintained at one and the same time. They have both white and black smiths, just as there are white and black Shamans; the former are favourable and well-disposed to men, the latter are malicious and hostile towards them. The patron of the white smiths is considered to be the Western Tengri, Daiban-Khukhu-Tengri, who, by command of all the Western Tengris, sent on earth his smith Bojintoi. The latter descended on the Tunka mountains, to the south-west of Lake Baikal, and began to teach people his trade. The patron and progenitor of the black smiths is an Eastern Tengri.

6. In concluding our discussion of the Western Tengris it is necessary to refer to a special act of benevolence which several of them perform. During rain and storms they send down from heaven to the houses of their favourites, in the shape of a small cloud, *urak*, thick cow's milk. This is collected and preserved when it comes down in visible manner; when unseen, the gift is made known by the results. The possessor of the *urak* becomes successful in everything—he grows rich, his children thrive well, his cattle multiply. This *urak* appears in the shape of a scum which forms on the puddles during heavy showers.

7. **Hostile Tengris.**—The Eastern Tengris inhabit the eastern half of the heavens. They are hostile to man, or, speaking more accurately, they are in general wicked, irascible, exacting. They afflict people with infectious diseases, storms, and misfortunes. They are the patrons of the black Shamans, who often punish people and steal their souls, and of the black smiths, who, at one and the same time, are master-artisans and magicians who ruin people. In the Eastern Tengris is personified, as it were, the negative principle of evil, which carries on an irreconcilable struggle with good and light; but in the Buriat Shamanism this struggle has become obscured, and it has not such a definite,

permanent character as among the other followers of Shamanism.

According to the cosmogony of the Shamanists, the enmity between good and evil begins with the Creation. Here this antagonism is preached with the same consistency and inexorability as in the ancient teachings of Iran and in the dualistic Christian sects. Erlik-Khan carries on an implacable struggle with the spirit of light, Ulgheo, or the Khan Tiurmes of the Altaians, the Kudai of the South Yenisei Turks. Erlik once lived in heaven, but for his impiety and struggle against good was thrown into the nethermost parts. At one time the Eastern and the Western Tengris lived at peace with one another, but they quarrelled after a while; then they became reconciled and even entered into relationship with one another. Thus a daughter of a Western Tengri was given in marriage to an Eastern, and her father endowed her with a chestnut steed and a red cow. In honour of this occasion the Kuda Buriats consecrate to the Eastern Gujir-Bogdo-Tengri a chestnut steed and a red cow. Afterwards, however, the feud was again renewed. As eldest among the Eastern Tengris we find not Erlik-Khan, as one would have expected, but only some little-known personages; among the Balagan Buriats inhabiting the district round the town Balagansk, Ata-Ulan-Tengri, and, among the Kuda, Khimkhir-Bogdo-Tengri. Erlik-Khan is not even to be found among the Tengris; this Satan and Ahriman of Shamanism is here degraded from his high position to that of a Khan; he appears as judge of the dead, as a Buriat Minos. We shall speak more in detail about him when we reach the subject of the Khans. The Eastern Tengris, like the Western, are divided into groups. Among these a prominent place is occupied by the Yukhun-Shukhan-Tengris, nine bloodthirsty Tengris—the cause of destructive hailstorms and of bloody rain; they are also the patrons of the Eastern Khans. In the exorcism consecrated to them it is said:

'Red blood is (our) beverage
Food consists of human flesh
Black wine is our knowledge (wisdom, inspiration)
Black is (our) kettle
Food is black as tar. . . .'

After these bloodthirsty heaven-dwellers come 13 Assaranghi Tengris, the mighty patrons of the blacksmiths, of the black Shamans. Among these Assaranghis, Khara-Dargakhi-Tengri (= the blacksmiths' Tengri), or Boron-Khara-Tengri (= the Tengri of black rain), by order of the others taught a man named Khojir the blacksmith's handicraft, and the seven sons of Khojir became blacksmiths. The exorcism says: 'Wisdom was taught us by Boron-Khara-Tengri, one of the 44 Eastern Tengris; he it was who placed in our hands the magic art.' Some Shamans consider certain Tengris of darkness and Tengris of multi-coloured mists as teachers of the blacksmiths. The invocation addressed to them says: 'From the dark Tengris, Tengris of the mists, Tengris of the multi-coloured mists, take their origin the seven blacksmiths, sons of Khojir.' Among the Eastern Tengris we find a whole series of such as inflict various grave maladies, as frenzy or insanity, on people, and epidemics on cattle. Cattle being the chief source of livelihood, some of the incantations against epizootics are especially touching; thus, in the exorcism of the Trans-Baikal Buriats, taken down by the writer upon the occasion of an epizootic, it is not the originator of the misfortune, Ukhin-Booum-Tengri, but his father Gujir-Tengri, who is thus addressed: 'Thou, owner of 400 milk-cows and 40 bulls, thou, bellowing Tengri, who possessest 99 cattle-yards, 13 fences, and 13 lassos, deliver us from troubles and maladies, and do thou restrain Ukhin-Booum-Tengri! And do thou help also, father Aikushi (another Tengri), and thou, too, mistress Almoshi (his wife). . . .' Such is the approximate characteristic of the higher aristocracy of the Buriat Olympus; and this aristocracy is quite recent in the Shamanist pantheon, which has been largely renovated by borrowing from Buddhism. In Trans-Baikalia, among the Shamanists of the mouth of the river Selenga, there appears, as the progenitor of some Tengris, a purely Buddhist personage, not Khan Tiurmes, whose identity with Khormusta-Tengri has been established by approximation, but the chief Tengri of Mount Sumeru himself, under his own name of Khormusta-Tengri. The Dalai-Lama of Tibet and Bogdo-Gegen of Urga appear as gods of the dawn. The next rank in the descending order of the deities is occupied by the Khans living on earth, but related, for the most part, to the Tengris, although here also the same relations to man are maintained as among the Tengris: the Eastern are hostile, the Western favourable to man. But even among the Tengris one and the same person is looked upon by different Buriat tribes now as an Eastern, now as a Western Tengri; among the Khans such intermixture occurs oftener. The most popular among the Western Khans is Bukha-Noin-Baobai, a mythical bull and progenitor of one of the Buriat tribes. He appears, according to some narratives, as the son of Budurga-Sagan-Tengri; according to others, of Zayan-Sagan-Tengri; while again other narratives give him the name Ellat Khara-Noin, an official attached to the person of Erlik Khan, the judge of the dead, the guardian of the infernal dungeons, the most terrible of the Eastern Khans.

8. Origin of strife among the Tengris.—Once upon a time men led a peaceful, happy life on earth, lived to an advanced age, and died, after having enjoyed life to the full, peacefully and without regret, like the patriarchs of the Bible. Such a life, free from cares, was led by the Western Tengris; but the Eastern Tengris did not slumber, and propagated diseases among mankind. (Here also one cannot help noticing an echo of Buddhist traditions.) The Western Tengris once happened to open the window through which they probably not very frequently cast glances down upon earth, and noticed the frightful devastation which was being caused by their rivals. They decided to send down the Tengri Shargai-Noin, distinguished for his intellectual and physical powers, who used to beat the Eastern Tengris at all warlike sports, and who successfully brought about the marriage of a maiden of the Western Tengris with an Eastern Tengri. Shargai-Noin, however, could not alone overcome the malicious Tengris and their representatives on earth, so he was reinforced by Bukha-Noin, and finally a third associate was sent, and then only were they able to subdue the fury of the enemies of mankind. According to some accounts, Bukha-Noin, the son of one of the Western Tengris [another tradition reckons them as Eastern Tengris], is transformed into a young bull, having been born of one of the cows belonging to Esseghe-Malan's son (see above), and descends to earth. He is followed thither by Esseghe-Malan's son; his father calls him back, since he has no one to talk to during the son's absence. 'You can talk to the son of the Tengri Jenghiz-Khan,' rejoined the son of Esseghe-Malan, and he remained on earth. The chief episode in the history of Bukha-Noin is his struggle with another beast of divine origin. The Eastern Tengri Gujir transforms himself into a speckled bull in the herd of Taidji-Khan on the southern shore of Lake Baikal, and challenges other bulls to fight him. Bukha-Noin from the northern shore hears the bellowing, swims across the lake, and accepts the challenge; the combat lasts several days. Bukha-Noin fights with his adversary, and, from time to time transforming himself into a handsome young man, makes love to Taidji-Khan's daughter, who, as the result of this liaison, gives birth to a son. The father is indignant with his daughter. Bukha-Noin places his son in an iron cradle and throws him over the Baikal; then he himself swims across the waters and nurses his son. Two childless Shaman women, wishing to have children, sacrifice to Bukha-Noin. He gives his son to the Shaman woman Assukhan as her child. The infant is named Bulagat. He grows up and runs about playing on the shore of Lake Baikal. From the water a boy emerges, and plays with him. The Shaman women, hearing of this, give their boy some well-cooked food (*ben*), with the intention that his playmate may partake of it also. The children, having played, partake of the nice dish and fall asleep. The Shaman women come to the shore and carry the sleeping boys away with them; thus the second Shaman woman also came into possession of a son, who was named Ikhirat. From these boys originated the two Buriat tribes Bulagat and Ikhirat. Tradition also asserts that Bukha-Noin, during the time of his struggle with the bull, Bukha-Mul, journeyed along the mountains Khukhu-Mundurgu (the Tunka Alps to the south-west of Lake Baikal); at the places through which Bukha-Noin passed, there grew up juniper bushes (*Juniperus communis*) and pitch pines (*Abies sibirica*). These plants are considered sacred, and are used for incense at the sacrificial rites.

9. The Khans.—Among the Western Khans, according to the tradition of the Kuda Buriats, are reckoned the nine sons of Bukha Noin. These persons are accounted lords of different localities in the Province of Irkutsk, as, for instance, the mouth of the Angara, the source of the river Irkut, Kiakhta in Trans-Baikalia, etc. Among the Balagan Buriats, whose traditions and beliefs have,

in general, borrowed largely from the Buddhist mythology, we again find Khan Shargai-Tengri as founder on earth of the Western Khanate; but the tradition concerning him is a repetition of the tale about Bogdo-Ghesser-Khan descending upon earth, with the sole difference that he appears here not as a son, but as a grandson of Khormusta-Tengri, the chief of the 33 Tengris inhabiting Mount Sumeru. Among the Balagan Buriats also we find the same Khans—lords of various localities, as among the Kuda Buriats, but under different names. New personages are also to be found here, as, for instance, the Khans—protectors of wedlock, and of young children, of both the male and the female sex. Among the Trans-Baikalian Shamanists, the Eastern Khans are specially respected. This, we think, is due, not to any special strongly developed worship of the terrible gods, but to the fact that local gods, lords of various regions lying to the East, far away from the dwelling-places of the Idgins on the northern side of Lake Baikal, were turned into Khans. Of these Idgins there is an infinite number, and, as far as their rôle is concerned, they are often completely identical with the Khans. The difference is often a purely external one. The majority of the Idgins are deified human beings,—the Khans are the children of celestials. Similar in character to the cult of these Idgins is the worship of the Water Khans. These latter, Ukhan-Khat (*khat*=plural of *khan*), like the various terrestrial Khans, came down from heaven, having made for themselves bridges out of rays of light—some of red, others of yellow, and others, again, of blue rays. By means of these bridges they first descended upon Mount Sumeru, and afterwards into the water. A fourth party, however, came down from the heavens on the wings of a blue eagle. In the invocation to the Water Khans, 12 Western Tengris, or heavens, are mentioned, whence the Water Khans descended. Here the Tengris have positively a dual character; they may be regarded both as personalities and as divers divisions of the heavens. In the Shamanist cosmography, *e.g.* among the Altaians, there are 13 heavens covering each other like concentric envelopes, and over each heaven presides its own peculiar deity. There the anthropomorphization is more sharply pronounced than in the Buriat Shamanism. Agapitoff states positively that in the different personages of the Ukhan Khans the various properties of water are personified: its glitter, its mobility, its faculty of being agitated, and so on. Being in possession of but scanty materials—only a single prayer addressed to the Ukhan Khans—we cannot undertake to say how far the personality of the deity is here separated from the element itself which he controls.

The subsequent stages of the settlement of the Water Khans in their new surroundings are as follows. In the sea they became kings of the fishes; after that they travelled along the bottom of the sea, where among their attendants was the Uriankhai Shaman, Unukhuieff; then they visited the *yurta* of Ukha-Lobsan-Khan, the eldest of the Water Khans, whence they flew away by the smoke-outlet, transforming themselves into a whole series of new beings, which we do not enumerate. Here we shall make one remark: the designation 'the eldest among the Water Khans—Ukha-Lobsan,' as Agapitoff and Khangaloff give it, seems to us incorrect. This passage probably should read 'Ukha Lusan,' or 'Lusat.' In that case, the name would be explicable—Lu, Lus meaning a water-dragon, the lord of the seas among the Chinese and Mongol Buddhists, whereas Lobsan is simply a proper name borrowed from the Tibetan, and has no relation whatever to the element of water. In a prayer to the Ukhan Khans, mention is made of their possessing a meadow, full of snakes and buzzing bees, and also a lake swarming with frogs. Side by side with this, just as the blacksmiths have patrons of their handicraft, so among the Ukhan Khans there are patrons of fishing and navigation. We find there the lord of the boat, of the oar, of the pole, etc. The Water Khans, descended as they are from the Western Tengris, are generally well-disposed towards mankind.

In describing the water kings, one is involuntarily confronted by the question: What about the Khan-king of the great Baikal? Does he exist? If there are lords of the river-sources and of insignificant tracts of land, can it be then that the Baikal has no king of its own? Agapitoff in 1883 expressed himself as certain of the existence of one, and probably, wherever the Buriat Shamans in their prayers mention the sea, Lake Baikal is really meant. The writer in 1883 succeeded in recording among the Buriats living on the shores of Lake Baikal, at the mouth of the river Selenga, invocations to several deities connected with the lake. The shortest of them is uttered by people starting on a voyage or fishing expedition in the sea, and is in the form of a prayer or petition: 'Chief of the eighty black water-dragons (Lu—see above) and of the eight black Belkites (the Shaman could not explain of what kind these water beings were), we pray to thee.' . . . Then follows the exposition of the request, according to the needs of the supplicant—for mild, quiet weather in the case of coasting, for a fair wind in the case of distant voyages, for success in fishing, and so on. In an invocation addressed to Khagat-Noin, one of the Eastern Khans, the following is sung: 'Thou, O son of Khormusta-Tengri, Khagat-Noin, art our father; thy wife, the hairy mistress, is our mother! The lowland of Olkhon (the island) and the small stormy black sea are thy dwelling-place; the mountainous Olkhon, the wide stormy sea, is thy dwelling-place.' . . . This is followed by the supplication. The name, *small sea*, small Baikal, is given to the straits between the island of Olkhon and the northern shore of Lake Baikal, that of *great sea* to the remaining part of the lake.

Exactly in the same manner to another Khan, Kharhariai-Noin, is sung as follows: 'High is thy dwelling-place, O Idjibey, upon the dark, wind-swept, wide black sea. On the one side, thou art descended from a bird, the swan, and the warlike Mongols, from father Khaga-Tai-Noin, from the sacred bird and a hairy mother, and from the thirteen Khalkhases. Thy distant relatives are the seven Dokshids (terrible Buddhist deities) and lords of the Dalai-Lama and the Bogdo-Gegen.' The name of Bogdo-Gegen is usually given to the regenerator of the famous Buddhist teacher in Tibet, the historian of Buddhism, Tāranātha. He became incarnate in the person of a saint of Urga, in Mongolia. There is another prayer (to the lord of the black ram) in which there is also a reference to domination over the Baikal and its transference from the Baikal to the river Lena.

Here we discern an indication of the Mongolian and non-Buriat origin of one of the gods; but there are several of them. With regard to the water kings, it has already been noticed that their cult was established by Unukhui's son from Uriankhai. The connexion between the Buriat Shamanism and the Shamanism of the neighbouring peoples is, however, not limited to this. Among the gods and the spirits of the dead, the Buriat Shaman in his prayers often mentions the Shamans of the Karagases (a small tribe inhabiting the Eastern Sayan mountains), and especially those of the Tunguses. In the prayer to the lord of the black ram, mention is made of his pulling up a larch tree and making a scourge of it; also of his subsequently entering into relationship with the 99 and the 77 Orotchons—Eastern Trans-Baikal Tunguses.

10. Tea-gods.—Side by side with the Khans, descendants of the Western Tengris, a peculiar, as yet little known, worship of 'tea-gods,' who are also well-disposed to mankind, like the Western Khans, is gradually being elucidated; but nothing beyond a few names is known concerning it. In this cult the name of Bejin-Khatun, 'self-created mistress Bejin,' demands particular attention. From the fragments of exorcisms which have been written down, one observes only indications concerning palaces of the watery sea; these are described as having drawn up before them 90 black steeds, and 90 grey ones, their saddles covered with costly fur cloaks. Together with the sea-palaces, a palace of the Dalai-Lama is mentioned; it has been introduced into the exorcism probably for no other reason than the temptation presented by the word *dalai*, 'sea.'

Mention is made in this prayer of 50 burning candles (a novelty borrowed from Christians or Buddhists), and of 99 mallets for the Shamans' tambourines. The deities dealt with here are called *tea-gods* because no bloody sacrifices are offered to them, and libations are made not in wine, but in tea. This cult is developed among the Buriats living along the river Kuda, a tributary of the Angara. They have also a certain other cult—that of the Western, white gods, favourable to men. These are not descended from the Tengris, but have them as protectors. Side by side with the tea-*burkhans* (-gods) there is to be found among the Kuda and Balagan Buriats a cult of similar beings, favourable to men—*khorduts*. The only thing that is known concerning them is that they are under the protection of Oer-Sagan-Tengri, and

that their daughters and sons have at various times been great Shamanesses and Shamans.

11. Erlik-Khan.—The Eastern Khans, children and relatives of the 44 terrible Tengris, are as ferocious as their celestial progenitors. The first place among them is occupied by Erlen-Khan or Erlik-Khan, the judge and overseer of the subterranean dungeons. He has children, sons-in-law, and other relatives. It is remarkable that the court and numerous retinue of Erlik present, in regard to their organization, an exact copy of Russian judicial and administrative institutions. Erlik-Khan has his own chancelleries, his own functionaries for special missions, couriers, etc. One of these, Som-Sagan-Noin, in executing the Khan's instructions, is in the habit of riding in a cart, which flies through the air without wheels or horses. The functionaries of the Siberian viceroys and governors boasted of the speed with which they moved from one place to another. Besides that, Som-Sagan-Noin tries law-suits. The Buriats who have litigation or suits pending in the Russian courts offer sacrifice to Som-Sagan-Noin. As most of the Siberian functionaries have subordinates, assistants, factotums, so Som-Sagan-Noin has two such assistants: Ukha-Tolegor-Khovduieff of the black Shamans, and Khan-Khormo-Noin, whose origin is not clear. They are commissioned by Erlik-Khan to preside at various tribunals. Besides these, Erlik-Khan has yet another important official, Khurmen-Edjin, overseer of 88 prisons, to which again hundreds of clerks and other functionaries are attached. They are all engaged in examining the affairs of men, whilst evil spirits are busy catching the souls of the guilty; men do not, however, die on that account, but only sicken. The souls remain in these prisons until their earthly possessors die. Powerful Shamans are able to deliver a soul from its prison, but with great difficulty. There are also other prisons whence a Shaman can deliver a soul only with the help of the ancestors of the Shamans. There are some from which souls cannot be freed. The world is full of evil—hence, besides Erlik-Khan, there are others who, in the opinion of some Buriats, are even more terrible than Erlik himself; such are Albin-Khan and Kharlak-Khan, who also have their tribunals. Albin-Khan is remarkable for the extraordinary swiftness of his movements and actions. The Buriats have a saying, 'to drive like Albin,' *i.e.* very fast.

If in other Buriat deities we see true Buriat nomads and hunters possessing supernatural powers, as far as Erlik is concerned, we have before us a real 'culte moderne.' In the transformation of Erlik from the spirit of darkness, Ahriman, to the judge of the dead, Minos, a Lamaist influence may be discerned, but his attributes are certainly modern. The Erlik-Khan of the Shamans does not even make use of a mirror to see the deeds of a deceased person. Erlik-Khan has become a judge, an official, a governor-general sent by the celestial gods. Wishing to depict the sufferings of the sinful soul, the Buriat could think of nothing more terrible and unrelenting than Russian red-tapeism and the Russian prison system. The image of Erlik obscured the more ancient idea of retribution in another world for the deeds committed in this one. We shall enlarge on these things in examining the question of Animism and its part in the beliefs of the Buriats. Other Eastern Khans harm man in various ways, by destroying his cattle (see above), or by inflicting maladies, especially infectious ones. Smallpox, typhoid fever, syphilis, measles, cancer, and other malignant diseases have their own lords.

12. Deified human beings.—The Buriat pantheon, as we have described it, presents a sufficiently familiar picture of a dualistic religion at its polytheistic stage; but it is not yet complete. Deified human beings, Shamans, and, in general, prominent persons who have attained to the rank of *zayans* (deities) and protectors of various localities, must be included in it. According to some narratives, Esseghe-Malan himself was a man who had migrated to heaven, and there became a Tengri; Jenghiz-Khan also is looked upon as a Tengri. The process of canonization has not been completed up to the present time, and we have contemporary examples of it.

A retired major in the Russian army, Yefim Pavlovich Sedykh, a poor solitary wretch, settled on the river Selenga in the village of Fofanova; he was in the habit of taking a walk every Sunday up a hill situated near the village. For his amusement on these occasions he drank vodka, and under its influence he sang and danced till sleep overpowered him, when a Buriat servant brought him home without waking him. And so it happened that Yefim Pavlovich Sedykh died and was nearly forgotten. His memory, however, was resuscitated during a severe epizootic of horned cattle, a calamity that came from Mongolia and made its way down the river Selenga. The Shamans exhausted all their arts in adjurations and sacrifices, but the epizootic rapidly advanced to the mouth of the Selenga, and ruin threatened the Kudara Buriats. Now, one of the Buriats, having remembered Major Sedykh, proposed to offer sacrifices to him, as the lord of the Fofanov hill. Shamans were found who were able to compose an invocation to him, and a hymn in his praise; sacrifices were offered, and the epizootic, so it is affirmed, ceased. Now Major Sedykh is considered as the lord of the Fofanov hill, and colleague of the lord of the river Selenga. The second instance of contemporary canonization took place almost under the eyes of the writer. Two girls were terribly persecuted by their step-mother. Being unable to endure their sufferings or to obtain protection from their father, they complained to the local authorities; but the latter did not take any steps in the matter, since it is the duty of children to obey their parents, and not to make complaints against them. The girls, showing extraordinary pluck and energy, applied to all the numerous tribunals of the Russian judicial and administrative system; they got as far as the Governor-General of Irkutsk, but here also they failed to obtain redress. They returned to Trans-Baikalia, and probably died forgotten by everybody. Traditions concerning a wicked step-mother persecuting her step-daughters may be found among many Buriats. In 1889 a destructive epidemic of influenza broke out among the Buriats at the mouth of the river Selenga. Again the local Shamans were at their wits' end, and, notwithstanding all their efforts and their prayers, could not succeed in warding it off. They decided to send some Shamans to the isle of Olkhon to ask the old and experienced Shamans of that place for counsel and help. The wise men of Olkhon found that the malady, being a new one, required prayers to new *zayans*. The two sisters above mentioned were remembered; information was collected to the effect that, after their return from Irkutsk, they began to practise Shamanism. Girls and, to a certain extent, women, according to the Buriat tales, often possess a magic power, foretell the future, perform heroic deeds, and the like. Thus a cult of the two sisters was formed, and ceremonies, almost mysteries, were arranged, in which not only the Shamans, but also the youth of both sexes, depicted the adventures and trials of the two sisters. In these invocations it is asserted that the unhappy sisters went in search of protection, not only to the Governor-General of Irkutsk, but even to the Chinese Emperor, the Bogdo-Gegen of Urga, and the Dalai-Lama. The last, indeed, prophesied that their misery would end on their return to their native place.

13. Idgins.—Idgins, *i.e.* lords, protectors of localities and of the phenomena of nature, originating from posthumously deified human beings, are very numerous. The famous Shamans of old are mostly looked upon as protectors of their own tribesmen, of certain localities, and even of particular animals. Every *taiga* (a primeval forest thicket) has its lord. Often, when hunting has been unsuccessful in a certain place, one hears that the lord of the *taiga* has lost his squirrels, sables, etc., to the master of a neighbouring *taiga* at cards. The multitude of these lords will become quite comprehensible when we leave the regions of polytheism and come down to the more ancient strata of Buriat beliefs.

14. Animism.—Here, above all, we encounter a widely developed Animism. In stories, a hero, when encountering his adversary, especially if the latter is a monster, a multi-headed semi-snake, or semi-man (*mangus*), often hears the following question: 'What is that standing behind thee?—thy soul or the soul of thy steed?'

Not men only, but also certain objects and animals, have souls—not such, however, as men have, but of a lower sort. In answer to the question whether all objects possess a *sunessun*, a soul of inferior quality, a Kudara Shaman said 'No!' It appeared from questioning that only self-moving objects possess a *sunessun*, or such as, although incapable of moving themselves, appear to have the power of manifesting or producing motion, as, for instance, a gun or a bow. An arrow, according to Buriat stories, is certainly endowed not only with a *sunessun*, but even with traces of a rational soul. A discharged arrow gives chase to its fleeing victim; it threatens it. Here we come into contact with the question of the complexity of the soul. This idea, extremely wide-spread as it is among uncivilized nations, is a further step in the development of primeval Animism. Believing that everything in nature has a spirit, man nevertheless observes that the capabilities and sphere of action of different beings are not identical, and that their faculties also are different. Evidently in many of these, besides an 'animus,' and besides a breath, similar to a breeze or atmosphere, there is also a whole series of other capabilities; consequently in them the soul also is different. In man, and in the higher animals also, capabilities are not at once developed; consequently they do not acquire a complete soul immediately.

The doctrine concerning the complexity of the soul, and the existence of several kinds of souls, has long since been noticed by European and American ethnologists among almost all the Indians of North America. Its existence among the Eskimos has been demonstrated by Kranz, among the Polynesians by Ellis, and among the West Africans by M. H. Kingsley, while this belief among the ancient Egyptians is too well known to require more than a mere mention. As far as the Siberian Shamanists, and especially the Buriats, are concerned, this subject was first broached by Podgorbunski, a priest, who based his researches on materials previously collected by Khangaloff, Shashkoff, and Potanin. His article, 'Conceptions about the soul, the next world, and the life hereafter, among the Shamanist Buriats,' was published in the Records of the Eastern Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, 1892. Later, the same thing was brought to light by Trostshansky among the Yakuts, and by Shvetsoff among the Altaians.

Among some Buriats a belief exists that a child acquires a soul only at the age of four years. The Olkhonian Buriats, according to observations of the young Buriat investigator Djamtsaranoff, consider that man has three souls: the least important one rests on the bones, and the intermediate one flies in the air, and after death becomes a 'Dakhul' (see below). We have already mentioned that the souls languish in Erlik-Khan's prisons, but their possessors do not die, they only sicken; and a good Shaman may deliver the soul. Shashkoff ('Shamanism in Siberia,' *Rec. of the Imp. Russ. Geog. Soc.*, 1864, i.) tells us why the Shamans of the present day do not possess the same power as their predecessors. The son of a rich man had fallen ill. A wise Shaman guessed that the invalid's soul had been taken and was in the possession of the highest amongst the gods. The Shaman went to him and saw that the soul in question was kept by the god in an empty bottle, which he had closed with his finger. The Shaman transformed himself into a vicious fly, and bit the god so painfully in the cheek that he pulled his finger out of the bottle and grasped his cheek; the captive soul jumped out of the bottle, and the Shaman took it up and brought it back to the invalid. After this unpleasant incident the god thought fit to limit the power of the Shamans. Sometimes the Tengris take human souls to themselves, and if they are pleased with them they call the souls up a number of times. Such attention on the part of the higher beings is not particularly flattering to the Buriats, the chosen persons having to pay for the favour by sacrificing their longevity. The Buriat scholar Dordji Banzaroff, in his book *The Black Faith* (2nd ed., St. Petersburg, 1893), has already shown that the souls of the wicked remain *zakhura-ben*, or occupy the middle part between heaven and earth. The more circumstantial information of which we are now in possession goes to explain that the soul which neither has been stolen nor has accidentally departed from the body, but has been removed only by way of natural death, cannot at first comprehend the change in its situation, and does not know what to do. It suspects that something unusual has happened, on noticing that its feet leave no traces behind them on the ashes of the hearth, and that walking through woods or over grass does not make the shrubs bend beneath its weight or the grass to appear trampled.

As these wandering souls often injure the living, it happens that among many Shamanist tribes the remaining members of the family in which death has taken place migrate to other localities. The influence of this fear of the defunct is very great. In Mongolia the writer has seen Buddhists, in the case of someone's death in a house late in the autumn, move their winter camp away from places where they had already collected large stores of fuel—a thing by no means easy either to obtain or to keep there—to other places, while their former neighbours were afraid to make use of the neglected fuel and other winter stores collected by the fugitives.

15. **Souls of the dead.**—The Buriats, like many other semi-civilized peoples, believe in the existence of several categories of souls that after death become injurious to the living. The best known of them are the *Dakhuls*, *Mu-Shubu*, *Bokholdoys*, and *Adas*. The 'Dakhuls' mostly spring from the souls of the poor, both men and women. Every Buriat hamlet has its Dakhul; but it is injurious only to little children. Adults treat them with indifference. Children of the gods themselves also suffer from Dakhuls. Ukha-Solbon-Tengri, having married a common Buriat woman, thereby offended the goddess of the sea, and she transformed herself into a Dakhul and attacked Ukha-Solbon's son. The Tengri sought the help of two Shamans, the second of whom managed to save the semi-divine child from his sickness. The Alar Buriats have another enemy of children, a human blood-sucker of the vampire kind; this little creature, called Aniukha, has never been seen by any one. It sucks up the life blood of an infant. In these cases the help of a Shaman is sought.

The souls of deceased young women or girls are transformed into creatures called 'Mu-Shubu'—a bad or injurious bird—if their father puts tinder with them into the grave. A Mu-Shubu has the appearance of a woman, but its lips project like a bird's beak; it can transform itself into various animals, but its beak remains unchanged. It always carries tinder under its right armpit; if the tinder is taken away from it, it cries, 'Look in your hand'; if the person does so, the tinder turns into worms; if he does not, the tinder is preserved, and by means of it one may become rich. Beyond trifling annoyances, the Mu-Shubu cannot do people any harm. Souls of the dead sometimes take the shape of more injurious beings, such as the so-called 'Bokholdoys,' which steal human souls.

In the story *Upitel-Khubun* (= 'Orphan') (*Records of the East-Siberian Section of the Imp. Russ. Geog. Soc.*, Ethnog. Section, vol. i. pt. 2nd, Irkutsk, 1890), the hero, who understands the language of birds, finds the means of curing the king's son. He accordingly presents himself before the Khan, cures the latter's son, and, having been rewarded, departs. On his way he meets a number of Bokholdoys dragging away the stolen soul of the king's son, and enters into conversation with the kidnappers. He asks them what the Bokholdoys are afraid of. It appears that they are most afraid of prickly shrubs. The Bokholdoys, in their turn, ask him why the grass he is walking on gets trampled, and why the shrubs break under his feet. 'Because I died only recently, and have not yet learned to walk as you do,' comes the answer from the living man. Then a second question is put to him: 'What were you most afraid of when

you were alive.' It turns out that he was most afraid of fat meat. He then asks them to teach him how to steal souls. 'Come and just carry this soul,' reply the Bokholdoys, but the cunning Buriat, having got hold of the soul, hides himself with it in a thicket of thorny shrubs. The Bokholdoys, in order to compel the man to give up the soul, throw pieces of fat meat at him. He screams terribly, but does not part with the soul. In the end the Bokholdoys depart without having achieved anything, and the orphan returns the soul to the king's son and thus completes his cure.

The 'Adas' are the souls of dead children. They look like miniature human beings, but their mouth is situated under the lower jaw, and opens not upwards and downwards, but to the right and left. On meeting people they hide the lower part of their face in their sleeves in order to avoid being recognized. People often see the Adas, particularly the Shamans. The Adas greatly fear horned owls, and in houses where there are children the skin of one of these birds is hung up. The Adas are injurious to children, drink up the milk in the *yurtas*, eat up the food, and spoil things. When the Adas become too troublesome to a family, a Shaman is summoned. One Shaman forced thirteen Adas into a cauldron, shut them in with the lid, and burnt them over the fire. The Adas can be killed. When dead they resemble a little animal. Besides evil Adas there are also good ones that keep watch over dwellings and guard them from thieves. If a thief or an unknown person takes anything belonging to the owner of the house, the Adas will not give it up, and shout: '*Manai, manai!*' ('Ours, ours!').

Like most other semi-civilized and primitive tribes, the Buriats have no marked boundary between life and death. The heroes in their stories rise up from their graves, and not only they but the monsters—the Mangkhatais—slain by them do so too. To prevent a slain Mangkhatai from returning to life, it is necessary to scatter its bones and reduce its flesh to ashes. Notwithstanding the wide-spread cult of snakes, we do not consider that of the Mangkhatais to be merely a local Buriat one. Agreeing with Podgorbunski, we consider it to have been brought from the South. The Mangkhatais are absolutely identical with the Mongolian Mangus and the Rākṣasas of India; the same must be said of the winged snakes. But let us now return to the question about life and death. Besides the idea of life after death, retribution also is not unknown to the Buriats. Among the *Records of the East Siberian Section of the Geographical Society*, which have so often been quoted, there are in the section relating to the ethnography of the Buriats characteristic data on the above question.

In the story about Mu-Monto, the hero set out for the other world in order to induce his grandfather to give him a horse and a saddle which the father of Mu-Monto had promised him. He got to the other world by holding on to a fox's tail. There he saw a drove of horses pasturing on bare stones, and yet they were very fat; farther on he saw a herd of lean domestic cattle on a splendid pasture-ground. After that he came across some women sewn together in pairs by their mouths; then he encountered Shamans and officials being boiled in cauldrons, men with hands and feet tied, and naked women embracing knotty stumps of wood. In another place farther on he saw women apparently not possessing anything at all, but living in plenty; and finally, starving ones surrounded by riches. At last he found his grandfather, who gave to the hero the coveted horse and saddle, and explained to him everything he had seen. The fat horses fattening on the stones belonged during their lifetime to a good master, the lean cattle to a bad one. The women sewn together by their mouths were slanderers and gossip-mongers; the women embracing stumps were in the habit of leading an immoral life; the officials and Shamans were being boiled in a cauldron for oppressing the people; the contented-looking women were compassionate to the poor. In another story the hero goes to the Sun's mother, and on his way meets with three women: one hanging on a door, another on a cow's horns, and a third fixed with her back to a boat. The first drove the poor from her door, the second refused milk to them, the third would not give even water.

The souls of the dead have a chief of their own over them who has only one eye. He can be killed by shooting him in the eye. After being killed this chief becomes transformed into a pelvis, which must be burnt.

16. **Worship of ancestors.**—Having to deal with such a widely developed Animism, one is involuntarily confronted by the question of the worship of ancestors. Among the materials hitherto collected there are few data relating to this subject. Only distinguished persons are venerated. Here perhaps the very ancient custom of depriving old people of their lives did not pass away without leaving a certain lasting influence. Aged men and women were dressed in their very best clothes, were seated in the place of honour among the circle of their relatives and friends, and, after conversation and libations of wine, were made to swallow a long strip of fat. This, of course, resulted in their death from suffocation. The custom, according to tradition, was dropped by order of Esseghe-Malan-Tengri himself; but, notwithstanding this, we heard of a Buriat who drove away with his feeble grandfather and left him to die in the forest. Stories full of examples of parents causing the destruction of their children for fear of being maltreated by them are not rare. At the same time, between brothers and sisters we find again and again examples of tender affection and self-denial. Young women are distinguished for their perspicuity, their supernatural knowledge, their bravery, strength, and proficiency in the use of weapons. Such heroines often vanquish the most famous warriors and monsters.

17. **Worship of animals.**—From the example of the above-mentioned horses (§ 15) we have seen that animals also pass over into the world beyond the grave, and live there after death. So it should be, for a horse is the closest friend of its master. The knight and his steed are inseparable. When a hero is born in a family, a rare and heroic horse is born for him too. Each hero speaks of himself as 'I, So-and-so, rider of a chestnut, or a black, or a steed of some other colour.' The horse gives his master advice, extricates him from calamities, and dies defending his rider. In Bukha-Noin-Baobai, the bull that subsequently became one of the Western Khans, a Tengri's son and progenitor of two Buriat tribes, are clearly seen the germs of totemism, the only difference being the fact that Bukha-Noin is not claimed as the protector of any particular clan, but is worshipped by all Buriats. Not less honoured is the eagle. In the Mongolian history of Sanan-Sezen-Khan (of Ordos) it is mentioned that the Buriats presented an eagle to Jenghiz-Khan in token of submission. The eagle is looked upon as the son of Khagat-Noin, Khormusta-Tengri's son. The eagle was born without feathers, and went to the Western Tengris, who stuck feathers over the right half of its body; the other side was covered with feathers by the Eastern Tengris. The eagle was the first Shaman; but, being unable to communicate with men, it requested that its duties should be transferred to a man, and a human son was born to it; this son became the first Shaman in human form. Considerable respect by reason of its wisdom is enjoyed by the hedgehog, concerning which many legends are current.

One of them relates that the lord of the earth, Dib'a Sagan-Noin, whilst visiting Khormusta-Tengri, asked the latter to make him a present of the rays of the sun and moon. Khormusta was puzzled. To refuse his guest's request was impossible, and to gratify it meant to deprive mankind of light. The master of the earth took his departure, threatening to vent his vengeance on mankind for the violation of the rules of hospitality. Khormusta, wishing to save man from such a calamity, tried to catch the rays of the sun and moon, but did not succeed. A council of all the Tengris was convoked, and the hedgehog was invited to it. The hedgehog's appearance among the Tengris caused general laughter, because it rolled like a ball (as the Buriats think) instead of using its limbs. The hedgehog took offence and went home. Khormusta sent spies after it to listen in case the animal on its way might talk to itself. (In all the

legends the hedgehog shows an inclination to express its thoughts aloud.) The hedgehog on its way home was, indeed, talking to itself. 'To catch the rays of the sun and moon is impossible,' it was saying; 'the lord of the earth must be compelled to withdraw his demand. Were Khormusta to visit him, and ask of him as a present a horse out of the sun's reflexion and an arrow made of an echo, the lord of the earth would be unable to procure them.' This speech, overheard by spies, was communicated to Khormusta-Tengri, who acted on the hedgehog's advice, and in this way extricated himself from the difficulty and saved the human race from misfortune.

The wise hedgehog is often subjected to ridicule; but it also takes revenge. Once, while it was passing by a herd of oxen, and, later on, some horses, the animals laughed at it. The hedgehog cursed them, and declared that they should be men's slaves. After that people began to domesticate oxen and horses and to make them work. On another occasion, when a bridegroom, after taking up his abode in his bride's house (this was a Tengri wedding), soon left his wife, the hedgehog said that the bride ought to be sent to the bridegroom, because a bride would not leave her husband's house, whereas a husband is prone to escape at the first favourable opportunity from his father-in-law's house. After this both the Tengris and mankind discarded the old custom and followed the hedgehog's advice. Swans are also highly honoured, since in their form the Tengris' daughters frequently appear. Swans have their lord and protector. Any one killing a swan is doomed to die soon afterwards; the same is affirmed by the Buriats respecting ravens and kites. The fox, too, in Eastern lands, retains the traits of cunning Reynard; but they are not so malicious as those of his Western brother. Neither on the wolf nor on the bear does he play his malicious tricks. The fox more frequently plays the part of protector, of simpleton, and helps them on in the world. In one story two swans get the better of the fox in cunning, and almost drown that animal in the sea.

The Buriats, being a race of cattle-breeders, and at the same time hunters, have an immense number of legends about various animals, of which many have their Idgins (lords).

Besides that of the Mangkhatais, or monsters, there exists also a snake-cult widely spread over the whole Shamanist world. Ribbons, straps, and twisted thongs over the Shaman's vestments represent snakes or their souls. Even the world of lower animals is not forgotten: these are supposed to possess an organization similar to that of human society. Ants have their king—Sharagoldgi-Khan; field-caterpillars and worms are also divided into communities governed by chiefs, who in their turn are under kings. All the animal kingdoms have their sovereigns: the birds have Khan Garideh, a mythical bird of the Indian tales; the beasts—Arslan-Zon, the lion; the snakes—Abyrga-Mogoi, the snake; Abarga-Ekhe-Zagassun, the great fish, ranks as king of the fishes; it has 13 fins. The bat alone is not subject to any one, it being neither bird, nor beast, nor fish, nor insect. The bear, which is so prominent in the cult of other Shamanists, does not play an important part in the beliefs of the Buriats.

18. Tree-worship.—The vegetable world also has its sacred trees, with their corresponding Idgins (lords). A sacred tree must have red pith; it is known by the name of Gan-mod, the fire-tree. If used for building houses, it will be warm in winter, but it is insecure in cases of fire and lightning. In woods, along footpaths, at fords, and on the highest points of mountain-passes, trees decorated with ribbons (*iren*) are often met with. It does not, however, follow that such sacrifices are offered to the tree itself. More frequently they are intended for the lord of the mountain-pass, ford, or forest. Only trees of a strange and uncommon aspect are considered worthy of worship. Some plants, according to the belief of the Buriats and other Shamanists, cause rain and thunderstorms, if dug out; such is the root of the *Statice gmelini.* Others, such as the *Juniperus communis, Picea sibirica, Thymus serpyllum, Betula alba,* and *Betula daurica* are considered pure and sacred, and are used in religious rites. Along with these there exist also unclean trees, such as the aspen tree (*Populus tremulans*). Wicked black Shamans of both sexes sometimes drive even gentle and peaceful Buriats to the most extreme degree of exasperation and even to murder. But to kill a Shaman does not mean to have got rid of him. To deprive the corpse of the power of working harm, it must be fixed down in the grave with aspen poles and covered over with aspen logs.

19. Nature-worship.—In inorganic Nature also Shamanists find objects of worship. We refer here to mountain summits, cliffs, etc., which have their own lords or Idgins, one of the most terrible of whom is the lord of a cliff at the source of the river Angara. At this spot runs a range of submerged rocks, and amongst them rises a high and steep cliff, past which the stream rushes with incredible rapidity, the high foaming waves unceasingly hurling their spray at the rocky ramparts. In former times Buriats suspected of great crimes were sworn in before this rock. The Russian Government, however, has been specially requested by them to put an end to this practice, as it frightened not only the accused but also those who had to administer the oath. 'An ungodly man even there, at that awful spot, would not be afraid of lying, whilst believers and god-fearing men do not dare to disturb the terrible *zayan* even in a right cause, and, however innocent, rather take the guilt upon themselves' (see Samokvasoff, *The Law of Custom among the Siberian Aborigines*). According to the Altaians, the lords of mountains quarrel with one another, enter into relationship, get married, and form alliances.

20. Fetishism.—In the part dealing with the Tengris we mentioned the stones cast down by them from heaven—the *buman shulun* and *zada.* Here we have already real fetishes, possessing magic properties similar to a magnet, which has the property of attracting iron. The Shamanist Turks do not stop here: every strange-looking little stone is regarded as a *saat* and *tchaat tash* (*saat* and *zada* reveal the common origin of the names). Such stones are often worn on the girdle, together with their knife and tinder, by the Uriankhai Sojots. In localities which abound in ancient archæological monuments, tumuli, and statues of stone, these are called *tchaa tas,* and to some of them even sacrifices are offered. According to tradition, Jenghiz-Khan was in possession of a very powerful magic stone, and in a decisive battle with the Naimans, after which the Mongol conqueror acquired a powerful influence over Eastern politics, he made use of his stone, causing a terrible snow-storm to arise against his enemies and thus putting them to flight.

21. Earth-worship.—Among the Buriats and Mongols earth-worship exists, but it assumed different forms among the two. To the Mongols, according to Banzaroff, the earth appears as a female principle, and heaven as a male one. This ancient belief has, according to Banzaroff's statement, been observed by older travellers among the Kumans who inhabited the steppes of South Russia, and in ancient Russian historical documents were known under the name of Polovtsi, as well as among an earlier people that lived in the present Northern Mongolia—the Tukin, according to the Chinese transcription, and Turks, according to

ancient runes, like lapidary inscriptions, first deciphered in 1893 by the Danish scholar Thomsen. The name of the goddess of the earth was Etugen; by the Mongols she is more often called Teleglen-Edzen, the master or mistress of the surface of the earth. In the higher style on Mongolian documents the earth is called Altan-telgey (the golden surface). Banzaroff's remarks lead one to believe that the word Etugen was also used in the collective sense of the 77 Etugens as a 'pendant' to the 99 Tengris. The indications relating to the existence of this cult among the Kumans and the Tukiu, the ancient Turks, and the number 77, which is a favourite with the Siberian Turks, instead of the multiple of 9, which is usual among the Mongols, make one suspect the non-Mongolian origin of the cult. Simpler, more original, and more exact is the conception concerning the lord of the earth among the Balagan Buriats. His name is Daban-Sagan-Noin, he is an old man with white hair; his wife is a grey-haired old woman called Deleyte-Sagan-Khatun. The Olkhonian Buriats, living as they do in the midst of the Baikal, offer sacrifice to the mistress of the sea—Aba-Khatun—whilst as lord of the whole earth we find here Bukha-Noin, with whom we have already acquainted the reader. Sacrifices to the lord of the earth are made when the agricultural season is over.

22. The cult of the heavenly bodies.—This is but slightly developed in the Buriat Shamanism. The sun is said to have its Idgin—a woman to whom it is the custom to sacrifice a ram. A former investigator, Shashkoff, saw *ongons* of the sun and moon in the shape of discs covered with red stuff; but Khangaloff and Agapitoff could find no trace of them; thus one may perhaps agree with Agapitoff that this cult is passing into oblivion. The moon is better remembered: according to Shashkoff, it is sometimes the cause of a woman's pregnancy. In the short Mongolian annals, *Altan Tobchi* (golden button), it is mentioned that one of Jenghiz-Khan's ancestors was conceived of a moon's ray. A legend about a malicious woman and her step-daughter, whom a wolf wanted to devour, but who was saved by the sun and the moon, is wide-spread among all the Shamanist tribes. The sun and the moon descended and carried off the persecuted girl to the heavens, together with the pail she was using to get water with, and the shrub by which she held herself whilst coming down to the water's edge. The moon prevailed upon the sun to leave the girl to him, because of his feeling lonely on his tedious nightly rounds. In the spots which appear on the moon's surface the Buriats and other Shamanists discern a girl with a pail and a shrub in her hands. We have already mentioned Venus—Ukha-Solbon, the evening star, which is considered a Tengri's son. The conceptions concerning heavenly bodies are probably very ancient ones. The Great Bear is called by the Buriats and the Mongols 'seven old men,' and sometimes 'seven Tengris.' Banzaroff tells us that, in the book of sacrifices, or the veneration of the stars and gods, there is a prayer to seven Tengris, but he does not quote it. The Turks of Siberia call the Great Bear *Djity Kudai*, 'seven gods,' and also *Djity Khyz*, 'seven maidens.' The common name is here an indication of ancient origin. In the constellation of Orion every one can see three marals (*Cervus maral*) chased by a huntsman and three dogs. The star with a reddish tint has been wounded by the hunter's arrow. We have heard that this hunter is the son-in-law of Erlik-Khan. The dogs in time will overtake the marals, and that will be the end of the world. The Polar star along with the two bright stars of the Little Bear group is called the picket, to which two lassoed horses are tethered and around which they move. We have already spoken of the fact that certain occupations (*e.g.* the fisherman's and the blacksmith's) have their protectors.

23. Fire-worship. There are also gods of the chase and of the household, as 'Udeshi-Burkhat,' the doorkeepers; but the Tengri of fire, the brother of Ukha-Solbon—Sakhidai-Noin—stands above all and commands the greatest respect; his wife is known by the name of Sakhala-Khatun. The master of fire is called in incantations the maker of happiness; he sits by the hearth nodding his head, and with his tinder strikes fire and kindles a flame. His wife sits swinging to and fro like a person in a state of intoxication (depicting the dancing flame on the hearth). Just as among the Indo-European nations, fire has a sacred importance to the Mongols and Buriats. 'His fire is out,' one says of the head of an extinct or ruined family. The Mongols, when selling a person's property for debt, close up his dwelling and extinguish the fire by pouring water down the smoke-outlet. A bride, in taking leave of the paternal house in the company of her friends, walks round the fire. On entering her husband's house she bows before the fire, arranges the firewood, and, by way of sacrifice, throws pieces of mutton grease on to the hearth. Among many Shamanists, tinder, being the means of procuring fire, is never placed with the deceased. The explanation of this is twofold: a corpse is considered unclean, and tinder may not be placed alongside of one, as it is the symbol of fire, the all-cleansing element. Likewise a deceased person, as he may perhaps show hostility towards the living, must not be given the dangerous implement possessing the mysterious power of creating fire.

24. Cosmogony.—The cosmogony of the Buriats is not distinguished by originality. Other Shamanists have more elaborate cosmogonies: from the very beginning they evolve in regular sequence the idea of two principles of good and evil. In the four Buriat variations known to us we discover only fragments, retained in the memory of the people, of an entire epic which has been preserved in the greatest detail in the Altai tales. The Buriats say that formerly there was nothing except water; then the god Sombov-Burkhan, or (according to others) three gods or Burkhans, Esseghe-Burkhan, Maidari-Burkhan, and Shibegeni-Burkhan (in the last two are clearly seen the Buddhist Maitreya and Sakyamuni), met a bird, Anghir (*Anas rutila*), that swam on the waters, and compelled it to dive to the bottom of the sea and fetch up from there some earth. Anghir brought up some black earth in its beak, and on its feet some red clay. Thereupon God, or the gods, threw both the black and the red earth round about, and thus hard soil was formed, upon which grew up both trees and a variety of grass. Afterwards the gods created man (man and woman) covered with wool, and in order to decide to whom should fall the honour of giving life to the couple so created, they agreed to place each a candle in a vessel and to retire to rest. He whose candle should burn till morning and in whose vessel a flower should blossom was to give life to men. Shibegeni awoke before the others, and observing that only Maidari's candle was still burning, and that there was also a flower grown, whereas his own candle was already extinguished and there was no flower in his vessel, hastened to change candles with Maidari and to transplant his flower into his own pot. When the others woke up and found the flower and burning candle in Shibegeni's vessel, they decided that he was to give life to men. Maidari, however, in virtue of his capability of knowing everything, was aware of the deception

perpetrated, and said to Shibegeni: 'Thou hast deceived us, and consequently the men given life by thee will be deceivers.' Thereupon the two Burkhans flew up to heaven, and Shibegeni gave life to men, and set a dog to watch them. Here there appears on the scene a new person, Shitkur (devil), who promised to feed the dog and give it a hair covering to ward off the attacks of winter frosts, if the dog permitted his approach to men (the dog was created naked, without any hair). The dog was tempted by this promise of food and hair, and admitted Shitkur to men; the latter were spat upon, and the dog got covered with coarse hair. Shibegeni thereupon came down to earth and cursed the dog, saying that notwithstanding its hair it would suffer from frosts in winter, and would be enslaved by man; it would get beaten, and to satisfy its hunger it would have to gnaw bones and to devour excrement. As to man, Shibegeni shaved off all his hair, excepting that on the head, so that now man became naked, and only here and there, when he is grown, does he get some hair on his body. According to this legend men were created by a deceiver. In the Altai version, over the waters there appear the god of light and his assistant Erlik-Khan. The latter plunges down to get earth, but on handing it to the god he keeps back a part of it; it grows in his mouth, and he is compelled to pray to God to be delivered from this infliction. The earth taken out of the mouth of Erlik forms, later on, mountains and stones. Between the two principles a struggle is carried on, until at last the giant of the god of light, Mandy-goshun, precipitates Erlik-Khan into the abyss. At the present time, according to the Altai cosmology, the god of light, Ulghen the Good, governs the world, but his goodness prevents him from persecuting and punishing men for their faults. He only deprives them of his protection; then it is Erlik who assumes his right to torture men. Having suffered his infliction, men improve again, and return to Ulghen. The god of light restrains Erlik.

25. Ongons.—Turning now to the material and ritual side of the cult, we shall first treat of the ongons. The Turks of Yenisei call the ongon *tyus*, whereas among the Altaians it is named *kurmes*. On the one hand, it is an image of God, and, on the other, God himself, a fetish possessed of his own power. The tyus, or ongon, reminds us of the rôle which among some Christian peoples is filled by the images of saints.

In the teaching of the Church the icon is a representation of some saint, and has for its object to call up in believers pious reminiscences of the life and deeds of the depicted person, and to arouse the desire to follow his example, but the common people look upon the icons in a different light. Candles lighted before the icons are not merely an outward sign of veneration, but also a sacrifice to God; bowings and prayers are petitions and thanksgivings for benefits vouchsafed. The saints have their own special spheres of influence. St. Humbert is looked upon as the patron of hunters; St. Nicholas as the patron of sailors. There are patrons of cattle, and healers of diseases. Even one and the same person possesses different qualities on different icons. In every chapel one can find several pictures of the Madonna, and yet we see the lame and the crippled make their pilgrimages of hundreds of miles to pray to a Madonna, the healer of the cripple; others go to another icon to free themselves from nervous fits, hysteria, and epilepsy. The icons perform miracles; consequently in one way or another, either by their own power or by that obtained from another source, they manifest their capability of acting, and therefore cannot be considered as simple representations, or as pictures which engender certain feelings and dispositions, but as an independent power. The conception of the ongons is much more coarse and naive. Together with the ongons, pictures are also known under the name of ongons; these represent the deities of a lower order. According to Banzaroff, all the relatives and forefathers of Jenghiz-Khan have become ongons; as ongons also are accounted some dead, but renowned, Shamans. The method of representing the ongon does not present much variety. Generally speaking, it is either a piece of some material, or several pieces with designs, mostly of human figures, and various accessories in the shape of owl-feathers or bits of otter fur. In some instances we find a coarsely made wooden figure of man. The Baikal Buriats (of Kuda, Olkhon, and Verkholensk) acknowledge the so-called mountain ongons. These are found mostly among newly married couples. On a small piece of brocade or silken material are designed a few coarsely made human figures, the trunk being represented by a straight line, as also the hands and legs, while the eyes are made of glass beads sewn on, over the head being fixed the feathers of an owl; from the upper side of the ends of the piece with the above designs ribbons hang down; on the breast of every image are suspended little figures made of tin. Among the antiquities found on the Ural Mountains in the Government of Perm, one frequently meets with bronze figures of birds with their wings outstretched, and of human beings with small human figures on their breasts. A probable explanation of these little figures found on bronze articles and upon ongons is that they represent the souls of the large figures. The number of figures and their names vary in different localities. The mountain ongons are not kept inside the *yurta*, but in the yard, and more frequently in the neighbourhood of the winter quarters. A niche is cut out in a column, and therein is placed an ongon, which is first deposited in a wooden case or a felt bag, in which, by way of an offering, are also placed branches of the *Thymus serpyllum* and tobacco. The Buriats of Olkhon construct a low deal enclosure with an overhanging roof, and suspend their ongons within the enclosure; sometimes they cut down a birch tree and put it with its branches in the ground, suspending their ongons in felt bags from the branches, just as birds are suspended in their cages; then they erect over the tree a protecting roof of deals. The acquirement of mountain ongons after a wedding, when the couple are moving into their own house, and the variety of figures on the ongons and of their names, seem to point to their representing local, specially venerated, household deities. Each of these ongons serves only for its particular owner; after his death the ongon is burnt, and the new master calls in a Shaman to consecrate a new one and place it in position. Among some Shamanists, as, for example, those of Altai, the ongon is fixed for a time only. They make ongons of hares' skins and keep them for seven years only, after which period they are replaced by new ones. The ongons which are kept inside the *yurtas* are divided into men's and women's; the former are kept on the left-hand side of the entrance, or husband's part; the latter on the right-hand side, which is destined for women and their special belongings. Speaking of men's ongons, Agapitoff mentions a very ancient one among the Balagan Buriats, which was brought from Mongolia by a progenitor of one tribe of Buriats. It consisted of a coarsely made human head with hair on it and a beard of sheepskin, and had iron rattles round the neck. It was called Borto. Judging from the name, it may represent an ancient, semi-mythical ancestor of Jenghiz-Khan, Burte-Chono. Its Mongolian origin is corroborated by the fact also that devotions before it are performed in the same way as the Buriat Lamaists bow before their Buddhas. Although the ongon spirits are accounted as lower deities, the ongon pictures are sometimes representations also of the highest personages of the Buriat Olympus. The son of a Tengri, the god of fire, Sakhidai-Noin, and Sakhala-Khatun, his consort, have their own ongons—two coarse wooden figures covered with red cloth. Such an ancient ongon Agapitoff saw in the house of a Buriat fifty years old, who told him that it belonged to his grandfather, *i.e.* to the period of the expedition of Pallas and of Georgy. Some ongons of fire seen by Agapitoff were evidently of a more recent, common origin (*ongons zurukhtan* = ongons with designs on them). The Ukhan-Khat ongons, *i.e.* those of the Water Khans, present, on comparison with the above described, the peculiarity that, besides the pictures of men, on the upper part of the piece of stuff there is a line representing heaven, the human figures are drawn in two rows, one beneath the other, and under the lower row there are representations of the camel, the snake, and the frog. On many ongons which are to be seen in the Russian Museum of the Emperor Alexander III., over the human heads and above the line roughly representing heaven, a number of points stand for the stars. Among the latter one can always distinguish the constellation of the Great Bear; other stars are also indicated, but their arrangement has not the slightest resemblance to the actual arrangement in the heavens; sometimes a cloud in the sky is represented on the ongons by a curved line.

The ongons are very numerous, and would almost require an article to themselves. It will suffice here to mention only a few of them. Women's ongons, placed on the right-hand of the entrance, are generally considered as protectors of children, but there are also some which protect child-bearing. Ongons of the lords of animals, such as the ferret, the ermine, and the marten, are also met with. As lord of the ferret is considered a famous ancient Shaman Ollengha, who came from Mongolia, learned Shamanism in Pekin, and travelled not on horseback, but on a ferret. This Shaman, according to tradition, lived at the time when the Buriats were subjugated by Russia, and was the first to pay tribute to the White Czar. The distinguishing feature of the ongons of animals, with the exception of the lord of the goat, consists in the skin of the animal, or a part of it, entering into the composition of the design. The Baikal Buriats have an ongon with a human figure representing a Shaman with a tambourine. This ongon was known to Georgy, but we have little information about it. Agapitoff affirms that, according to the accounts of the Buriats, it is a representation of an ancient Shaman. There are also ongons of diseases. The one which is considered helpful in cases of swellings and boils consists of a bit of skin cut up into strips in the form of a ring, and there is an ongon of the itch—viz. a bit of sheepskin. Extremely complicated is the Balagan Khotkho ongon. It is dedicated to fifty-eight personages among whom are included both

Ukha-Solbon and the nine daughters of Esseghe-Malan and Gaiznshin—two girls who had died in winter of cold and hunger, and who are invoked in the places at the estuary of the Selenga in cases of influenza (see above)—and the lord of the moon and sun. But all the Khotkho ongons seen by the writer had less than fifty-eight pictures. The most complete ongon, which is preserved in the Museum of the East Siberian section of the Geographical Society, has only thirty-eight pictures.

The ongons of the white smiths—the sons of Bojntoi—stand quite apart. They, it is asserted, came down from heaven, and each one held some smith's implement in his hand. Their ongons represent small human figures of iron, holding smith's implements in their hands.

With the ongons should be mentioned also the so-called *zya*. If a person desires to destroy his enemy, he draws a figure of him on a bit of cloth-stuff or paper, and, with adjurations, hides it in, or somewhere near, the house of his victim. This is a very dangerous thing, especially if done with the help of a black Shaman. The victim begins to sicken, and his only safety is to be found in calling in a good Shaman, who finds the *zya* and burns it.

26. **Dedication of animals.**—Alongside of the ongons, there is a custom among Shamanists of dedicating to their gods domestic animals. The Turks of Yenisei and the Altai black Tatars, even at the time when an ongon or tyus is being prepared, frequently deem it necessary to dedicate to the ongon some animal possessed of certain definite marks. The process of dedication consists in fumigating the animal with the smoke of a burning *Juniperus communis*, in sprinkling it with wine, and hanging coloured ribbon on it, whilst the Shaman chants his adjurations. The colour of the ribbon depends on the ongon and the god to whom the animal is consecrated. The consecrated animal is then sent to the herd, and becomes something like a Polynesian tabu. It must not be ridden (if it be an animal for riding) by any one but its own master; a married woman may not touch it, and it must not be used for any heavy work. An animal may be so consecrated either for a time or for life. These animals are called by the Turks of Yenisei *yazykh*, by the Sojots *adykh*, by the Mongols *setertey*. All these words denote both the dedication and the tabu. This custom prevails also among the Mongolian Buddhists. In Pozdneyeff's book, *The Life of the Buddhist Monks in Mongolia* (St. Petersburg, 1894), there is a table showing the colour which horses must have when they are dedicated to certain Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Evidently Buddhism, in its toleration of religious superstition among its followers, whilst spreading over Mongolia, adopted the ancient custom of dedicating animals to the higher beings, but changed the ancient Shamanist names of the deities into the new Buddhist ones. These animals may be considered as living ongons up to a certain point, although there is a substantial difference between the two. The ongon, be it what it may, is at all events a god, but the *setertey* is merely an animal dedicated to God, and is frequently adopted as an addition to the ongon. To every ongon offerings are made of wine, meat, incense, etc. In the writer's work on the tyuses (ongons) of the South Yenisei Turks, the order of offering sacrifices to them is given in detail. The sacrifices are extremely varied. An animal dedicated only to a god is carefully kept, but no offerings are made to it. The Buriats also have the same custom. Georgy, in his time, saw a horse dedicated to a god. To Bukha-Noin is dedicated a grey uncastrated ox; to the Water Khans, a red breeding-ox, and sometimes also fish or eels; to the Shaman Itzerkel-Aiakhanzaieff, a piebald horse; to the lord of the black horse and his wife, a dark bay horse, and, in sacrifice, a raven-black one; to the Eastern Tengris are dedicated a chestnut horse and a cow of the same colour. To some deities are also dedicated wild animals or birds: for example, to the lord of the island of Olkhon, a pigeon. Among the Buriats' neighbours—the Karagals—the traces of totemism are clear. According to their traditions, their people sprang from four brothers—the mole, the bear, the eelpout, and man. A totem of the mole—the eldest brother—is to be found in the *yurta* of almost every Karagal; but these people are dying out, for in 1888 there were only 300 of them, and now there are not more than 150. They are dying both physically and morally, as may be seen in their forgetting of their traditions and customs.

27. **Imitative dances.**—An interesting phenomenon is presented in the so-called *nadan ongoner* (= merry-making ongons). At the evening parties of young people a Shaman is frequently invited to enliven the company. Before entering the assembly, he stops at the door and takes off his boots and girdle (*i.e.* he follows the customary proceeding when deities are to be invoked), takes into his hands the conjuring wands (*morini-khorbo* = horse-staves; see p. 16[b]), and begins his invocation to the *zayans* (gods). Having finished his invocation, he calls forth one of the deities, and thereupon turns himself into that deity, and plays the part of the latter. The themes vary greatly. Sometimes he plays the part of Batya-ubugun—an old man who complains of the infidelity of his wife, tells stories of her scandalous on-goings, and seeks her among those present. Thereupon the woman herself comes forth, and enlivens the young people by her cynical sallies. Afterwards Ukha-Solbon, with his three wives, is invoked. The most popular personages are the belted ongon and the joking ongon. Sometimes a scene of taming a horse is played. But more frequently the Shaman induces the young people to dance, to go through different gymnastic tricks, and awkward persons he jokingly rewards with blows from his staff. The Shaman also plays the part of the bear, ox (Bukha ongon), wolf, pig, and, among the Kuda Buriats, also of Zarya-Asarghi, *i.e.* the porcupine. In all these rôles the Shaman imitates the personages whom he represents. The funny nature of these displays does not obscure their signification. Here we may see the origin of those masquerades which have a sacred meaning, and in which the youth of Polynesia still participate; there, not one person only, but a whole assembly or club, a secret society, participate in the mystery. With fearful masks of ghouls on their faces, they terrify the spectators (see Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, Leipzig, 1900, and his more detailed work, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, Berlin, 1902). Masks are by no means unknown to the Shamanists. Formerly the Shamans used to wear leather and metallic masks on their faces; nowadays they have plaits which fall down from their hats over their faces. The complete costume of a Buriat or Tungus Shaman, by its numerous projections, imitates a human skeleton whose toes are provided with claws. At sacrifices, especially great ones, the Shaman carries on dialogues consecutively with different deities. Not infrequently he performs the ceremony with assistants. In Shamanism, however, the dramatization of religious rites stopped short in the primary stage, but it became highly developed in Northern Buddhism, in Tibet, also here and there in Mongolia, and partly among the Buriat Lamaists. In Tibet they represent whole dramas and mysteries from the life of Śākyamuni in his former transmigrations (see Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 515).

28. As regards the rites of Buriat Shamanism, the presence of a Shaman is by no means required in all of them. The feeding of ongons is done by the master of a house; even some women's ongons are made by women themselves, without the participation of a Shaman. When crossing a mountain, there is hardly a Shamanist who would not jump off his horse to cast *tarasun* (wine of milk) before the lord of the pass, and a person of import-

ance ties a piece of ribbon and horse's hair to a tree on the pass, near a heap of stones which has been collected by the faithful. Banzaroff, in his time, noticed that even public sacrifices were not all celebrated in the presence, and with the participation, of a Shaman. The Turks of Yenisei, in summer, celebrate the so-called mountain sacrifices (*tag-tai*) and heavenly sacrifices (*tiger-tai*), the latter being performed by the oldest of the tribe but not by a Shaman. Certain sacrifices, on the occasion of the birth of a child, and also of its passing from childhood to adolescence, are made without the assistance of a Shaman, just as on the above-mentioned occasions. Here everything is done by the eldest of a family, and, in case the rites and the prayers are forgotten by him, he is helped by some experienced person acting as a prompter. Divination and foretelling the future are done also by ordinary competent people. The future is guessed by the sound of the string of a bow, but the most popular way of divination is by means of a sheep's shoulder-blade burnt on the fire. This has been known from the times of Attila, and in Mongolia a large literature exists on the subject. Divination is practised also during the sacrifices to the Water Khans, and consists of pouring melted tin into water: if the tin comes out entire at once, without being separated into parts, it is regarded as a favourable sign. If the tin poured out does not form a regular figure, the latter is examined with a view to determining the future accordingly. Divination is also practised by arrows, for the discovery of missing things. A thick arrow is taken, placed on the hand, and the direction towards which it inclines is followed. This kind of divination is now practised by some Buriat Lamas, although every indication points to its Shamanist origin. It probably stands in connexion with the stories about divining arrows which of themselves seek out the object aimed at.

29. **Sacrifice.**—In their form the Buriat sacrifices may be divided into private (*kirik*) and public (*tailgan*).

Indispensable adjuncts of every sacrifice are sprinkling with wine, milk, sometimes tea, and libations. These are the simplest forms of offerings, and are made almost daily. Before a Buriat drinks a cup of wine, he throws some drops of it into the fire, upwards, and round about. Further, in more complicated forms of appeal to the gods, there come real sacrificial offerings, which are slain to the accompaniment of divers ceremonies. In this case the soul of the proceedings is the Shaman. He directs the libations and invokes the deities; then he himself plays the part of a deity, and in the latter's name relates the story and adventures of the god or gods whom he has invoked previously. There is still another very simple way of making offerings, which, in the majority of cases, does not require a Shaman. This consists in tying ribbons and throwing coins in those places in which the presence of some deity is expected. By far the most common and frequent occasion for sacrifices is supplied by diseases. For that reason, the Shaman is considered by many rather as a physician and diviner than as a priest. The simplest form of exorcism against an illness consists in the sick person's being seated with his hat on near the fire, when a cup of wine is handed to him; by his side a Shaman takes his stand, fumigates him with sacred herbs, and utters an invocation to the particular deity; he relates the biography of the latter, and entreats the deity to help the sick one. During the prayer a libation of wine is made thrice; the fourth libation is for the ongon, lord of the ferret, who is considered as the patron of the hearth; after this a cup of wine is handed to the Shaman, who, after sprinkling to the lord of fire and drinking some of the contents, hands the cup back to the members of the household; the next cup is poured out for the sick person, who shares it with his relatives; and the last cup is intended for the Shaman. There are other ways of curing diseases, into which is introduced, together with the mystic acts, an element of a purely therapeutic character: such are the *tarims*. *Ukhan-tarim*, viz. the water-*tarim*, consists in the sick man, most frequently suffering from rheumatism, being, after divers exorcisms and aspersions made by a Shaman, besprinkled or (as in a Russian bath-house) beaten with a bunch of sacred herbs dipped in boiling and consecrated water. In doing this the Shaman raves like a madman, calling out '*Khalkai, khalkai*,' 'Hot, hot'; and then '*Tyty, tyty*,' 'Cold, cold,' in this way driving out the disease. This rite over, the patient, who has been perspiring very freely, is wrapped in his fur coat and put to bed. The fire-*tarim* is the rite at which the Shaman brings iron to a white heat, rubs his foot on it, and places it over the diseased spot.

Sometimes, but rarely, the water- and fire-*tarims* follow one another, *i.e.* first the water cure is applied, and then the fire.

Very interesting are the cures consisting in the substitution for a sick man of another person or animal. An astonishing historical example of this was shown in the sickness of a Mongolian Khan. The illness would not yield to either Lama's or Shaman's treatment, therefore recourse was had to an extreme measure: instead of the Khan's soul, the souls of a hundred of his subjects who inhabited the woodlands of the Mongolian mountain chain, 'Ghentey,' were presented to the evil spirit Shitkur. The details of this remarkable rite are not known to us; but evidently the bargain was struck, since the Khan recovered; and yet the people offered to the devil remained alive also. This Khan and his successors did not dare any longer to interfere in the government of another's subjects, and asked the Bogdo-Gegen of Urga to transfer them to himself. The Bogdo-Gegen himself is the incarnation of a deity, and he has no fear of the devil. This small group of the inhabitants of Northern Mongolia is known even now under the name of 'the devil's subjects.' People shun them, and avoid any relationship with them as unclean. The only obligation which they have to perform consists in supplying a yearly tribute of game to the Bogdo-Gegen, of wild boars, wild goats, and zerens (*Antilope gutturosa*). But the Bogdo-Gegen does not himself partake of this tribute; he distributes it in presents. The Buriats, however, have no means to pay to the devils such costly ransoms, and they manage to dispense therewith by a simple device. Should a child suffer from dysentery, the women of the family fill a sheep's stomach with sheep's blood, boil it in a pot, and put it, whilst still warm, over the child's stomach, and then, taking three pieces of tinder and giving them the names of three of the oldest women in the neighbourhood, they place these pieces so named in the sheep's stomach, over the child's body, and set it on fire. If one of the three pieces of tinder begins to crackle in burning, it denotes a favourable issue, since it is supposed that, instead of the child, the old woman whose name was given to the crackling piece will die. In carrying out this rite, neither the Shaman nor men generally take any part; everything is done by child-loving mothers and experienced neighbours. At another similar rite, *dolio*, no Macbeth-like witches take any part. An experienced Shaman is brought to a dangerously ill person, and, in some cases, he offers, in the place of the sick man's soul, stolen by an evil spirit, some animal known by certain definite signs, which the Shaman with great care and minute details specifies. This animal is led into the *yurta*, thrice it is dragged up to the sick-bed, and the patient three times spits upon it. Thereupon the latter is killed, its flesh boiled, and the patient is made to inhale the steam of the soup. The meat is eaten by those present, but a part of it is left until the recovery of the patient; of this a bit is thrown into the fire, and the remainder eaten.

Kirik, like the preceding rites, belongs in intention to propitiatory rites, but it presents a generalized form. It is performed not only in cases of sickness, but of any misfortune. The sacrifice in this rite does not denote a substitute for the soul of the sick man, but is rather a propitiatory offering. Generally domestic animals are sacrificed, and only in rare cases fish. The selection of an animal for the sacrifice, as well as the enumeration of its signs and peculiarities, is left to the Shamans. In *kirik* we can distinguish three chief moments of action. The first is devoted to the consecration of the dishes and beverages prepared for the sacrifice, viz. milk-wine and sour milk. The invited Shaman fumigates them with the smoke of the fir bark; then he walks out of the *yurta*, followed by men carrying the prepared food; outside, the Shaman begins to sing a hymn to the invoked *zayan* (deity), three of those present sing with him, whilst the others arrange the food, previously prepared at a spot which is called *turghe*, and light the fire under the pot in which the sacrificial meat is to be boiled. The consecration of the victim goes on, the Shaman reads a prayer and sprinkles wine. This sprinkling may be considered as a distinct moment; it is called *sasali barokhu* (= to make *sasali*, i.e. a libation). This rite is an essential feature and an invariable adjunct of all sacrificial offerings when a Shaman is present, as well as a shortened form of a sacrifice which every one offers almost daily. When *sasali* is over, the animal is killed, its skin is taken off with the head and legs, and the larynx, lungs, and heart are left with the skin. The skin is stuffed with straw, and birch branches are stuck in the nostrils; on the forehead, by means of a small stick, is fixed a bit of the bark of *Picea sibirica* called *jido*; afterwards the skin is hung on a birch tree, full of branches, previously set in the ground, care being taken that the animal's head shall look in the direction where, in the opinion of the participants, the invoked *zayan* (deity) resides. The boiled meat is separated from the bones, the latter being scraped for the removal of the adhering flesh, and the whole is placed in a wooden vessel; part of the contents is burnt later on, but the greater portion is consumed. The Shaman, who during the performance of the rites above described is seated with his hosts and drinks *tarasun*, stands up after the sacrificial mounted skin has been hung, and begins his invocations to the *zayan*. The latter makes his approach, and the Shaman trembles, feeling the breath of the deity; he now goes up to the latter, now springs back from him, under the influence of fear; at last, getting into a most ecstatic state, he suddenly changes his manner: the deity has entered into him, and in a tone of authority begins to talk within him. The *zayan*, having entered the Shaman, relates his whole history, his exploits, and foretells the future. Having accomplished what he was invoked for, the *zayan* comes out of the Shaman, and the latter at that moment groans, cries loudly, shivers; he undergoes a very painful process; the deity forsakes him, the

light and the power which were in him disappear, move away from him; he feels weak; round about him is darkness; his thoughts get confused, and sometimes he falls down in a fit, or continues standing as if hypnotized; it is only by degrees, and as if awakening from a deep sleep, that he returns to his usual mode of life. Such is the description of his state given to the writer by a young and popular Turkish Shaman.

The *tailgan* is a public sacrifice, performed on behalf of a whole community, the sacrificial animals being supplied by several households, according to their means; but the meat after the sacrifice is divided equally amongst the participants. The *tailgan*, at the same time, is enjoyed as a popular festival, at which the youths engage in wrestling and jumping, whilst in olden times there was arrow-shooting. The *tailgans* dedicated to the various *zayans* are performed at certain definite seasons of the year: the one to the Western Tengris in spring corresponds to the Yakutsk spring festival called *yhsyckh*; that to the Water Khans is in summer, and to the mother-earth at the end of the summer season. All the *tailgans* have a general character; the only special features are connected with the character of the deities invoked. The most widely-spread and common form of the ritual is that which is practised at the sacrifices in honour of the Western Khans. For this sacrifice people go into the fields and select there a fine commodious space at the foot of a hill. In this festivity only men and girls take part; married women and widows have to stay at home. The utensils, wine, and sour milk are fumigated with pine bark, before starting for the selected spot, by one of the men (cf. *kirik*). The sprinkling with *tarasun* is done by the Shaman at the house of one of the more respected participants in the *tailgan*, where the others also assemble and take part in the rite. On an appointed spot utensils with provisions are arranged in a row from west to east, whereas the participants take their seats towards the south; the place where they sit is called *turghe*; in front of the utensils are stuck birch branches, which are also called *turghe*. The sacrificial animals are kept apart; there also are steaming the big kettles for boiling meat. When everything is arranged, birch trees are stuck into the ground, on which later on are hung the skins of the sacrificed animals; thereupon every participant has to supply a white rope of hair intertwined with white and black ribbons, which each one prepares beforehand. These ropes are tied together, and to them is affixed a white hare skin. By means of this rope they bind the tops of the birch trees; the latter are placed in an inclined position and are supported with pegs. After the trees have been fixed and their tops united with the rope, the Shaman reads a prayer, and the participants, having cups filled to the brim in their hands, at the command of the Shaman, '*Seg!*' pour out the contents of their cups. This libation is repeated three times, after which they throw away their empty cups. For him whose cup falls on its bottom the omen is considered favourable; this person is acclaimed by all with '*Torokh! torokh!*' These libations are further repeated, but previously the Shaman places in every cup a branch of the *Picea* (*jido*). Afterwards sour milk is offered to the sacrificial animals. Among classical peoples it was also a custom to offer drink to the sacrificial animals before they were killed. Afterwards the sacrificial animals are killed, and their skins and meat are treated as has been already described at the *kirik*. The bones of the animals, each one separately, are collected on little tables made of birch sticks and burnt; the ends of the intestines of the animals are burnt on a separate fire. The principal rite is performed after the ceremony. Every one takes a pail, in which meat is put, and stands up; the Shaman invokes the Western *zayans*; they come in turns and relate their own stories, until it is the turn of Bukha-Noin-Baobai. The Shaman then stands on all fours, bellows like a bull, butts those present as if with horns, and attempts to upset the birch trees tied with white rope, whilst several men keep them in position. After his unsuccessful attempts at upsetting the trees, Bukha-Noin goes away, bellowing ten times more. On his return, the Shaman invokes another *zayan*, Nagad-Zarin, and then the rite is concluded by petitions and entreaties to the Western gods for divers favours. This ends the whole ceremony. Strictly speaking, the *tailgan* is, in its form, a more solemnly performed *kirik*. At other *tailgans* the ritual observed is almost identical, but at the *tailgan* to the lord of fire the principal part is done in the *yurta*, since the sacrifice is offered to the lord of the domestic hearth; the *tailgan* to the Water Khans is arranged at a river, the participants drinking the water thereof, and divining not by means of throwing down the cups, but by pouring melted tin upon the water. The Shaman here does not butt with his horns, but tries to throw himself into the river.

At the domestic sacrifices of the blacksmiths, the master beats the iron and strikes it with a hammer, whilst the Shaman reads the prayers. Striking the heated iron enters also into the ritual of the *tailgan* to the Eastern Khans.

30. The Shaman. — In all the religious ceremonies the Shaman is the principal actor. No people nowadays call their priests by that name. Banzaroff derived the word 'Shaman' from a Manchu root. A Samoyed would call a Shaman *Taibey*; a Lapp, *Noyda*; a Siberian Tatar, *Kam*; a Buriat and Mongolian, *Boo*. Banzaroff assures us that the word 'Shaman' is met with in Chinese writings of the 7th cent., when Northern Mongolia was dominated by *Yuan-Yuan*, a people of Tungus-Manchu origin. But, generally speaking, the most ancient mention of Shamanism may be found in Herodotus's reference to priests who used to divine by means of rods. In his works we find also that the way of killing animals by means of compressing the aorta is exactly the same as that which is made use of by the Shaman at sacrifices (iv. 60, 67). The Shamans of the Buriats believe in their origin from the eagle, the son of a Tengri, and many of the black and white Shamans boast of long pedigrees; they have also many a quarrel and reckoning amongst themselves. The ancestors of many became *zayans*, whose memory is honoured by sacrifices. A real Shaman has to possess many qualifications. First of all, his organism has to be sensitive, full of nerve, and receptive. He must have a good memory to remember the manifold formulas and conjurations necessary for him to repeat by heart; he has also to make extempore prayers for certain occasions, and consequently must be able to give rhythmical form to his speech. Above all, he must not doubt his own calling and abilities, and has to be sincere. Many of the Shamans are capable of most sincerely and devotedly giving themselves up to the rôle they have to fill. When a nervous child cries in its sleep or is inclined to hallucinations, the aborigines say he is troubled by spirits and must become a Shaman. It must also be mentioned that the native races in Siberia are very liable to suffer from nervous diseases. Young girls, during their monthly periods, frequently fall into a temporary aberration; the young men also suffer from aimless yearning, which drives many to suicide. All this, of course, may account also for the Shamans' disposition and hallucinations. Among some tribes there are epileptic Shamans, who murmur disjointed words during the services; such Shamans are provided with assistant interpreters. We have not, however, seen such Shamans among the Buriats. Although among them any man who shows certain qualifications may become a Shaman, yet, his abilities notwithstanding, he would find himself in an unfavourable position in comparison with others who had a Shaman's origin and a whole series of Shaman ancestors; these help him and mediate for their client, even before Erlik-Khan himself. It is possible, however, to note even among the Buriats the commencement of an evolution of hereditary priesthood, which keeps up not only the education of the people, but also the memory of the achievements of their ancestors. The black Shamans of the Buriats have gone still further: they conceal from the crowd the secret of their mysterious lore. They monopolize it in order to keep ordinary mortals in fear. It is owing to this circumstance that the efforts of native investigators, and of persons closely connected with the Buriats, are so barren of results in respect of knowledge of the servants of the awe-inspiring Tengris. There are some cases of grown-up and even aged people becoming Shamans; but these are exceptional. Generally it is a child of Shaman origin who begins almost from infancy to learn his business. The writer saw among the Uriankhis a boy of ten years old singing the conjurations with his mother during Shamanic attendance on a sick man.

The future Shaman visits the *tailgans* and the *kiriks*, watches the proceedings attentively, learns of experienced elders how to sing prayers and conjurations; but, whilst preparing, he frequently retires into the mountains and forests, and there spends many days at a stretch in solitude. There, by the side of a log fire, he utters conjurations, brings himself into a state of ecstasy, and masters the technique of Shamanic actions. Sometimes, after such practice, a neophyte comes straight out and begins his work; but generally it is necessary for him to obtain the consecration which enlightens the Shaman's mind. In this case the principal actor is the father-Shaman, usually the early

instructor of the candidate. The consecration begins with the rite of purification by water. The water is taken from three springs, at which an offering of wine is made to the lords of the springs. The water is then carried home and warmed; at the same time, bundles of young birches, plucked with their roots, are also brought in. Into the water are thrown the *Juniperus*, *Thymus serpyllum*, and the bark of the *Picea sibirica*. Then follows the sacrifice of a goat, which is killed not by compressing the aorta with the hand through a cut made in the side of the animal, but by a thrust of a knife into the heart. Some drops of the blood are poured into the water. The father-Shaman, helped at the ceremony by nine assistants who are called sons of the Shaman, divines by means of the shoulder-blade, and makes a libation to the ancestors of the Shaman; then, lowering the birches into the cauldron and making them soft, he strikes the naked Shaman with them, at the same time giving him instruction regarding his future duties. These deserve to be mentioned in detail. '(1) When a poor man calls thee in, go to him on foot, claim from him no remuneration and be satisfied with what is given thee. (2) Always take good care of the poor, help them, defend them from evil spirits, and intercede for them with the good spirits. (3) If a rich man should call thee in, proceed to him on an ox (only the poor make use of such conveyance), and do not claim much for thy trouble. (4) If a rich and a poor man should call thee in at the same time, go first to the poor man.' The consecrated one swears duly to obey the instructions imparted to him.

After the purification, in a few days, follows the *first consecration*. There are in all nine of them; but there appear to be no longer any Shamans who have undergone all these. In the first place, every consecration requires some expenditure; in the second place, the persecutions and extraneous hindrances to which all non-Christian religions are subjected make the native races avoid and shun all public ceremonies. At the first consecration, the neophyte, with the nine sons of the father-Shaman, goes about the houses to collect the means for defraying the expenses of the ceremony. Afterwards the father-Shaman, his nine sons, and the consecrated one proceed into solitude to hold a nine days' fast, their food consisting only of tea and toasted flour. To keep away evil spirits from the *yurta*, or rude hut, in which the fasters reside, it is tied three times round with a rope of hair, and some wooden ornaments having a symbolical meaning are here and there attached to it. On the eve of consecration a Shaman arrives, and along with those fasting sings a hymn to the *zayans*. For the day of consecration the following preparations are made. (1) A birch tree is planted in the *yurta* of the Shaman, the top of the tree being passed through the upper aperture of the *yurta*. This tree is called *izdeshi-burkhan*—a symbol of God opening the gate of heaven to the Shaman. (2) A birch tree decorated with coloured ribbons—red and yellow if a black Shaman is being consecrated, white and blue if it be a white Shaman, or all four colours if the Shaman is going to serve both the black and the white *zayans*—is also placed in position. (3) A birch tree (*Azarghi serghé*) to which is tied a small bell and a sacrificial horse. (4) *Ekhe-sharimes* (*i.e.* the large yellow tree) with incisions made on it in the sides, so that the Shaman can spring up it. Afterwards posts are fixed to which to tie the sacrificial animals, as well as the trees on which the bones of the sacrificial animals will have to be burnt. From the tree fixed in the *yurta* to the posts outside either a coloured ribbon is stretched or a path of turf is laid out—the way for the neophyte to his high calling. Next, the Shaman's implements are consecrated, viz. the horse-staves (which, among the Buriats, are a substitute for tambourines), little bells—*khesé* (*khesé*, *khesm*, strictly speaking, means a tambourine, but among the Buriats, who have the horse-staves, its place is taken by a little bell)—and the *khur*, a musical instrument somewhat resembling a tuning-fork, having a thin wire of steel fixed between the two side-pins. When being played, it is put into the mouth, which serves as a resonant, and the middle wire is set in motion, which then gives a dull, jarring sound. The consecration is accompanied by prayers chanted to the Western Tengris, and by the smearing of the ends of the staves with blood. Over the *khur* is sprinkled *tarasun* prepared on the spot. After the consecration of the implements a fresh invocation to the Tengris commences, in which the neophyte also takes part. Thereupon they all proceed from the *yurta* outside, and here, as at the purification with water, hot water is prepared and mixed with the blood of the sacrificial goat; with this is smeared the head, the eyes, and the ears of the neophyte, who is then again subjected to strokes of the birch on the bare body, the instructions given him at the preceding purification by water being repeated. The new Shaman, with the staves and the *khesé* in his hands, chants along with the others the adjurations, above all to the lord of the pole-cat, who established the rites of consecration, viz. the learned Shaman who brought to Baikal from Pekin the science of Shamanism. The Shaman then climbs up the birch tree to the very top, followed by the others. Such, at least, is the assertion of Agapitoff and Khangaloff. According to others, however, the Shaman, at his first consecration, springs up only to the first notch made in the tree, the second consecration entitling him to climb up to the second notch. Every new consecration gives the Shaman new privileges, *e.g.* to add new stripes and to hang new rattles on his costume. After the fifth consecration he acquires the right to carry the *shiré*, i.e. a box on four legs, the sides of which are filled with representations of the sun and the moon and other symbolic figures. It is asserted that with every new consecration, up to the ninth, the dimensions and the height of the *shiré* go on increasing. This statement, however, cannot now be verified, since there are no longer such multi-consecrated Shamans to be found; more especially, as the custom of carrying the *shiré* has been preserved only among the poorest of the Olkhon Buriats. Be that as it may, we have here the beginning of a priestly hierarchy. The meaning of the notches on the tree can be easily explained from the Altaian Lamaism. Whilst praying to the god of light, Ulghen, the Shaman also by degrees raises himself higher and higher during the ceremony. Every such notch denotes a special heaven, including the ninth; every heaven has its special deity, whom the Shaman consecutively meets and with whom he holds converse.

A consecrated Shaman, like the ministers of other religions, is distinguished from ordinary mortals by special outward attributes, besides having obligations of service to the gods and natural characteristics of his own. As the most essential implement of a Buriat Shaman must be considered the horse-staves—*morini-khorbo*; without them he cannot perform any of the principal rites. The staff is about 80 centimetres in length; the upper end is bent, and out of it is cut the figure of a horse's head; at some distance from the upper end the staff forms a small knot; in the middle part the staff is thicker (the knee-joints of the horse), and on the lower end a hoof is cut out. On the upper half of the staff are fixed miniature stirrups, little bells, conical weights of iron (*shamshorgo*), and coloured ribbons. The staves are cut, for the newly consecrated Shaman, from a live birch tree standing in a forest where Shamans lie buried. It is considered desirable to cut off the pieces for the staff in such a manner that the tree shall not perish, otherwise it is of bad omen for the Shaman. A Shaman who has already had five consecrations may provide himself with iron horse-staves. Their signification can be gathered from the description: they are the horses on which Shamans fly to heaven and to the earthly *zayans*. As to the tambourine (*khesé*), it is but little known among the Buriats, although among the Mongol Shamanists and Mongolized Uriankhis it is in use. At great Shaman ceremonies, in which a Shaman and his nine sons take part, and some of which the writer witnessed at the estuary of the river Selenga, among the Kuda Buriats, one of the assistants holds in his hands a small tambourine; but neither the meaning of the tambourine, nor the rôle of the assistant, is quite clear. Next, as an appurtenance of a Shaman may be considered the *khur*, a tuning-fork, with a wire tongue between the sides (see above), an implement largely in use among Shamanists. It may be met with from the sources of the Amur to the Ural, and from the Arctic Ocean down to Tashkent. Here and there it is merely a musical instrument. The Shaman's mantle (*orgoy*) is now in some parts put on only after death, for burial; with the white Shamans it is of white stuff, and among the black Shamans of a blue colour. One no longer hears about the Shaman's boots, or about the metal diadem, consisting of an iron ring with two convex arches, also of iron, crossing one another at right angles, and with a long jointed chain, which hangs down from the nape of the neck to the heels—we know of them only from the descriptions of travellers, and from specimens preserved in a few museums. The old-fashioned *orgoy* was shorter than the *orgoy* of the present day. In front, over the chest part, there used to be sewn at the sides thin iron plates, and on these were hung iron figures of single- and double-headed birds, with pictures of small fishes and animals. The whole of the back part was covered with twisted strips of iron, which represented snakes and their rattles (*shamshorgo*). On the back also were suspended two planchets, with a whole row of little bells and tambourine-bells. On the chest, above the thin plates, used to hang little copper planchets with radii. On the sleeves were also hung thin iron plates, in imitation of the shoulder, forearm, and

ray bones (*os radialis*). On the shoes there were also sewn thin plates in imitation of the tibia, and toes of iron with claws. This prompted Gmelin to assert that two Shamans who came to him from Nizhne-udinsk resembled chained devils. About the masks on the faces we have spoken above. Sometimes the Buriat Shaman has, besides, a whip with bells. A proper explanation of all the parts of a Shaman's costume has still to be given. The existing accounts are extremely contradictory, since the old travellers were so little prepared for the study of Shamanism at the period of its development.

31. Thus equipped, the priest enters upon his difficult calling. If he be a white Shaman and his first efforts are successful, he is beloved and received by all. But if he be a black (or a female) Shaman, he (or she) is feared rather than loved. Cases of murdering female and male Shamans, simply on their being suspected of having stolen souls, spread disease, or caused drought and other misfortunes, are not infrequent. Shamans are rarely well-to-do or possessed of means; they are unpractical people, and sometimes, when their work is hard, they have recourse to stimulants, which shatter still more their disordered nervous system. The writer saw a big Shaman the day after he had worked throughout the night. He was lying utterly exhausted and could scarcely breathe. We offered him a glass of brandy, in the hope that it would refresh him, and that he would take food to strengthen him; but instead of taking food he at once jumped off his bed, snatched his tambourine, and, in token of gratitude, wished to entreat the gods to grant a favourable issue to our travels; but the excitement soon passed off, and he fell down and went to sleep. We had to leave the place without his blessing, as we could not wait until he awoke. Nearing the end of his earthly travels, when there no longer remains any hope of recovery, notwithstanding all the efforts of his brethren, the Shaman begins to foretell his own future, what Tengris he will serve, promises to take care of his own people, and names the horse which should be despatched with him. A dead Shaman's body is kept in the *yurta* for three days, dressed in a new costume, over which his *orgoy* is put. The young people, his nine sons, compose and sing hymns to his memory, and fumigate his body with sacred herbs. Thereupon the body is put on the back of the horse named by the deceased, one of those present sitting with the body and supporting it on the horse's back. When the horse has been led three times round the *yurta*, the dead body is taken into a wood, to the cemetery for Shamans. His relatives and clients accompany the dead man, making libations, and at a place halfway to the cemetery they set a table with eatables. On arrival at the grave, the dead body is placed upon a felt matting, and the ninth arrow is discharged in the direction of the house, the remaining eight, with quiver and bow, being placed with the body to enable the deceased to defend good people from evil spirits. All the other marks of the Shaman's calling are either broken or burnt. A pyre is then erected, they set the body on fire, kill the horse, and return home. On the third day they return to collect the Shaman's bones, put them into a sack, and, having made a hole in a thick pine, put the sack into it, cover the hole, and plaster it over. Sometimes the Shamans' bodies are not burnt, but placed upon a scaffolding erected for the purpose in a wood. This kind of burial is also practised by the Yenisei Urianklıis.

32. The present decay of Shamanism is to be explained not so much by persecutions as by the fact that under the influence of Buddhism and Christianity the religious horizon of the people has expanded to a great extent. The religious missionary polemicists saw in the Shaman nothing but a cheat and a conjurer, a man morally depraved. His religion was unhesitatingly pronounced to be the worship of the evil spirit. One of the most enlightened and impartial Russian missionaries, who has done a very great deal for the study of Shamanism in the Altai, the Archpriest Basil Verbitzky, asserted that in some of the mysteries of the Shamans one could not deny the participation of the spirit of darkness.

Let us conclude this sketch by the words of another authority on Shamanism, the academician Radloff, taken from his *Aus Sibirien*, 1884: 'It is perfectly comprehensible when a minister of a certain religion and a missionary, preaching and glorifying his own teaching, criticizes what he considers to be a delusion; but it is absurd to be obliged to read and to hear such asseverations as that the Shamanist religion is the worship of the spirit of falsehood and of evil, whereas the most important of the Shamanist rites—the worship of the god of light, Ulghen (among the Altaians)—consists entirely of prayers and entreaties for protection against the enemy of mankind—the evil spirit! This dirty, half-savage Shaman, illiterate inhabitant of the forest—ignorant and poor man as he is—after all appears as a propagator of the idea of truth, goodness, and mercy in the midst of his countrymen, who are ignored by the civilized world.'

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DEMETRIUS KLEMENTZ.

BURMA.—In order to arrive at definite ideas on the religious notions of the population of a country like Burma, which is a meeting-point of distinct varieties of mankind and distinct civilizations, its geographical, ethnological, linguistic, and historical positions and the resultant ethics have all to be taken into consideration.

I. *GEOGRAPHY.*—Geographically the country known as Burma lies east of India, south of China, and west of Siam and modern Indo-China; and the population has been deeply affected by all the surrounding religious influences. Politically it is divided into Upper and Lower Burma—divisions

that do not at all affect religious considerations. Upper Burma is a fairly compact area, roughly between 92° and 101° E. longitude, and between 28° and 20° N. latitude in its extreme limits. Lower Burma is a very long-drawn-out and straggling area along the N.E. and E. coasts of the Bay of Bengal, stretching from about 20° N. a long way down the Malay Peninsula as far as 10° N. The whole country, therefore, covers a large irregular space, within which dwells an apparently heterogeneous population of some ten and a half million people, of many nationalities, and certainly presenting a great variety of appearance and civilization.

II. *ETHNOLOGY.* — The whole of the existing indigenous, *i.e.* non-immigrant, population of Burma belongs to the general Indo-Chinese type of mankind in one form or another. Ethnologically it was, nevertheless, originally an immigrant population from the North, migrating from Western China—probably from between the upper courses of the Yangtse Kiang and Hoang Ho rivers—which in very early times entered the area now known as Burma in three main waves. These invasions are represented at the present time by the three chief races inhabiting the country—the Talaings, the Shans, and the Burmese—spreading over it in that order. Belonging ethnologically to these races, themselves all considerably civilized, there are a great many lesser tribes in every stage of civil development from practical savagery upwards. These crop up all over the country, which is mainly mountainous. They have been left in the wilder parts as backwaters in the rolling stream of invasion. The congeners of these tribes are to be found all about the long frontiers of Burma, in Tibet and the Northern borders of India, in isolated patches in India itself to the westwards, eastward all over the Indo-China of to-day as far as the shores of the ocean, and beyond doubt in many parts of Southern China as well. The foundations of the religious notions of the whole people must be sought, therefore, in those of the aboriginal Indo-Chinese races.

1. **The Talaings.**—Of the principal races now inhabiting Burma, the Talaings, as the Burmese and Europeans call them, or **Peguans**, as they are known to Europeans particularly, or **Mons**, as they still call themselves in their own language, are the remains of the earliest irruption (Mon-Annam or Mon-Khmer) of the Indo-Chinese into the S.E. corner of Asia, which once presumably covered the great area between the Khāsi Hills of Assam and the Pacific Ocean. Although nowadays, as the result of conquest by the Burmans as late as the middle of the 18th cent., the Talaings are almost altogether absorbed by the predominating Burman, they always before that exercised an enormous influence on the population generally as a ruling race; and their religious ideas have consequently greatly coloured those of the other occupants of a large part of the country.

2. **The Shans.**—The Shans, as they are known to the Burmese, or **Tai**, as they call themselves, represent what may be termed the mid-irruption (Siamese-Chinese) from the North—this time, so far as there is acceptable evidence, from S.W. China. Beyond the Eastern borders of Burma their best known representatives are the Laos and the Siamese, while to the West they became powerful as the Āhoms (*q.v.*) of Assam. In fact, they have at some time or other extended from the Brahmaputra to the Gulf of Tongking, and even into the islands of the China Sea. They, too, have been a ruling race in many parts of Burma, and have exercised a great influence on the religious notions of the people.

3. **The Burmese.**—The **Bamā** (written *Mramma*), whom we call the Burmese, constitute the results of the latest of the great expansions of the Indo-Chinese, which took place in comparatively recent times, southwards into Burma and the Eastern borders of India, and westwards into Tibet, where they formed respectively the chief divisions of a great Tibeto-Burman race represented by themselves and a number of allied tribes in all stages of civilization, from the Western Himālayas down to the southernmost portion of Burma. After a long and varying struggle for supremacy, the Burman has succeeded in the land of his adoption in attaining an overwhelming influence, which is still increasing owing to the beaten races seeking to merge their nationality where they can in that of the conqueror.

4. **Classification of allied tribes.**—In a country where the population is practically of one ultimate stock, language plays the most important part of all considerations in relation to internal classification and to establishing local affinities and differences. It must obviously have a great influence over the religions professed by the people. In Burma, consciously or unconsciously, students of ethnology have almost invariably tended to classify race by language, and language no doubt in that country is the surest criterion of difference.

5. **Burman tribes.**—Adopting the above method now, it may be stated that attached to the Burmans proper are eighteen minor tribes and divisions. Of these the **Maghs** or **Arakanese**, on the Bengal borders to the S.W., and strongly influenced by situation, form the chief civilized division; while the **Lihsaw** wild tribes, living among the Shans on the Chinese frontier to the N.E., are the principal representatives of the lower culture.

6. **The Kachins.**—Then follows, in many petty subdivisions, the important race of the Kachins, also known as **Chingpaws** and **Singhphos**. These are a specially interesting people as relics of a post-Mon-Annam irruption of Tibeto-Burmans left behind in the Northern Hills of Burma, after the branches that subsequently became the Tibetans, Nagās, Burmans, and Kuki-Chins had passed onwards. Their most interesting feature is that they are still following the ancient instinct of the main race and spreading steadily southwards, showing all the old fight and turbulence that no doubt served to bring success to their ancestors in their emigrations of long ago. Though minutely subdivided, they are all one people. All the chiefs are considered to be of one family, and a Szi Kachin, for instance, settling under a Maran chief becomes a Maran.

7. **The Kuki-Chins.**—All along the western frontier of Burma, and spreading far into the Assam hills to the West, lies the Tibeto-Burman race of the Kuki-Chins in eighteen tribes, known under a bewildering variety of synonyms, according as they have been reported on by Assamese or Burmese officials. This people in its still existing wild condition probably preserves to the present day many of the customs once prevalent among the whole Burman race, before the civilizing influences of Buddhism acted on that nationality. On this ground the Chins are of special interest to the student of the religions prevailing in Burma.

8. **Shan divisions.**—Turning to the minor congeners of the Shans, we find them spread about the country as widely as the Burmans from N. to S., but chiefly round by the East. Of the Shans proper we have the Southern Shans with Siamese influence, and the Northern Shans with the older Chinese and Āhom (ancient Assamese) influence.

9. **The Karens.**—For our present purpose the Karens are perhaps the most interesting and valuable division of the Siamese-Chinese race. They are now spread, in fifteen tribes, over the

S.E. frontier and the Talaing area, and are also wedged in between the Shans and Burmans proper in Upper Burma. The Karen undoubtedly had his original home in China, and his speech belongs to the Siamese-Chinese sub-family; but his ethnic peculiarities are many, and he is not readily to be identified with the other races among whom he dwells, and with whom his affinities lie. A striking modern characteristic is his readiness to adopt the teachings of Christianity.

10. Talaing divisions.—As in the case of the other two main races in Burma, the Mon-Annam tribes allied to the Talaings are to be found scattered about the country, chiefly on the N.E. frontiers of the Shan States, and even in the centre of Upper Burma, sometimes in a very primitive condition. The Talaings themselves may be referred to the Northern Cambodian people, and the allied tribes, numbering a dozen, may be called the **Wa-Palaung** group. Of these the 'Wild Was' are chiefly known, outside their habitat, for head-hunting on religious ceremonial principles, though their close relations, the Palaungs, are peaceful and industrious Buddhist traders of some education.

11. Relative strength of the races.—By language the Census of 1901 returned roughly 77½ per cent of the indigenous population as speaking Burmese, 5 per cent Tibeto-Burmese, 17 per cent Siamese-Chinese, ½ per cent Mon-Khmer. The extent to which the Burman is absorbing the other races, as shown by domination of language, may be stated thus, so far as it is possible to co-ordinate the Census statements on this point: of the indigenous population the Burmese number 69 per cent, the other Tibeto-Burmans 4 per cent, the Siamese-Chinese 26 per cent, and the Mon-Khmer 1 per cent.

12. Minute subdivisions.—One cause of the enormous number of subdivisions of the hill peoples especially is well illustrated by the remarks made in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. i. p. 592, when speaking of the Akhās (also Akhös, Kaws, Hka-Kaws), a remote Lihsaw tribe of the higher hills in the Shan State of Kengtung on the Chinese border. They have strong Chinese leanings, and are of a simple, timid, unresourceful nature. Akhā girls will marry any stranger.

'One often finds half a dozen Chinamen with Akhā wives living in an Akhā village. Akhā settlements, in which a good proportion of the male inhabitants are Chinese, or in which the inhabitants are of mixed Chinese and Akhā descent, style themselves *Khochia*, or Communities of Guests. It is as well to record this fact, because the word will certainly become corrupted and unintelligible before long, and the people will have a distinctive type of feature, which may well puzzle the ethnographer of the future.'

Such communities will have also a confused mixture of Chinese ancestral and Burmese animistic worship. Such must also be the case with the offspring of the numerous marriages permitted between free men and Kachin and Chin female slaves.

13. List of tribes.—The locally recognized divisions of the people are usually spoken of as if their names and ethnical reference were well known, and in describing superstitions and customs it is difficult to avoid making references to small sub-tribes. It is necessary, therefore, to give here a list of those more commonly spoken of under their best known names, grouped together according to the ethnology above adopted.

INDO-CHINESE TRIBES.

I. TIBETO-BURMAN RACE.

(*a*) *Burmese Group.*

Burmese, Arakanese, Tavoyan, Yaw, Chaungthā, Yabein, Inthā, Taungyo, Kadū, Mro, Hpon.

Lihsaw Sub-group.

Lihsaw, Lahū, Akhā, Akho.

(*b*) *Kachin Group.*

Chingpaw, Singhpho, Kauri, Szi, Lashī, Marū, Maingthā.

(*c*) *Kuki-Chin Group.*

Northern: Thado, Sokte, Siyin.
Central: Tashon, Lai, Shonshe, Kyaw.
Southern: Chinmē, Welaung, Chinbok, Yawdwin, Yindu (Shendu), Chinbōn, Taungtha, Kami, Anu, Sak (Thet), Yoma Chin.

II. SIAMESE-CHINESE RACE.

(*a*) *Tai (Shan) Group.*

Northern: Burmese Shan, Khamti, Chinese Shan.
Southern: Siamese, Lao, Hkun, Lu.

(*b*) *Karen Group.*

Northern: Karenni (Red Karen), Bre, Mano, Sawngtung, Padeng Zayein, Banyang Zayein, Kawnsawng, Yintale, Sinhmaw Mepauk, Yinbaw, White Karen.
Southern: Sgau, Pwo, Mopghā, Taungthū.

III. MON-ANNAM RACE.

(*a*) *North Cambodian Group.*

Talaing.

(*b*) *Wa-Palaung Group.*

Hka Muk, Lemet, Palaung, Wa, Tai Loi, En, Hsen Sum, Mong Lwe, Hka La, Son, Riāng, Danaw.

III. *HISTORY.*—The history of Burma, so far as the present purpose is concerned, is that of a struggle for supremacy among the Burmans, the Shans, and the Talaings, lasting through all historical times, with practically no intervention on the part of alien races until the arrival of the English in 1824. The story is a veritable tangle of successive conquests and re-conquests of the whole or part of the country by these races, whose influence as such may be said to have been paramount roughly in the following regions: the Burmans in the valleys of the Irrawaddy and Sittang Rivers above Prome and Toungoo; the Talaings in the deltas of these two rivers below those points, and in that of the Salween and what is now the Province of Tenasserim; and the Shans in all the country in the hills to the East and North. For considerable periods each of these races has been supreme over the whole area, the last to rule being the Burmans after the middle of the 18th cent. A.D.

Taking as comprehensive a view of the situation as is possible in the face of the kaleidoscopic changes presented to us, we may say that there were Burman dynasties at Tagaung in the North at any rate in the early cents. A.D., followed by a dynasty connected with them at Prome, succeeded in its turn by another at Pagān, which lasted till 1298. This last gave way to two contemporary Shan dynasties at Pinyā and Sagaing up to 1364, while a Burman dynasty was set up at Toungoo from 1313 to 1540. Contemporaneously there was an ancient Talaing dynasty at Thatōn and Pegu from 573 to 1050, which then became tributary to the Burmans of Pagān till 1287, at which date a Shan dynasty was set up at Pegu till it was ousted by the Burman line of Toungoo mentioned above, which then became the Burman dynasty of Pegu in 1540.

In 1364 the Shan lines of Pinyā and Sagaing became merged in the Burman dynasty of Ava, and this in its turn was upset by the Burman line of Pegu in 1551. This general dynasty of Pegu and Ava lasted, with a good many Shan irruptions from Siam, as regards Pegu, till 1740, when for 17 years a second Shan line was established at Pegu, giving way finally to the Alompra dynasty of Shwebo, Ava, Amarapura, and Mandalay till 1886, when the whole country came under the domination of the English. The English had in the meantime taken Arakan and Tenasserim in 1826, and all Burma as far north as Thayetmyo and Toungoo in 1852.

All this time there had been an independent State in Arakan from early times with varying capitals, the last of which was Myaukū (Myohaung, the Old City), near Akyab, until it was conquered by the Alompra dynasty in 1782.

The main point to grasp in all this confusion of struggle is that the conquerors for the time being

usurped the chief influence over the population, and did their best to destroy the individuality of the conquered, with varying success almost up to the point of extinction, as in the case of the Talaings by the Burmans after 1757. And so the result has been thoroughly to mix up the ethical ideas of the people subjected to so much change of influence.

The capitals of the various dynasties have existed all over the country as centres of religious influence. Tagaung and Shwebo are to the North. Then come Ava, Sagaing, Myinzaing, Pinyā, Amarapura, and Mandalay, all close together. Some distance to the South lie Pagān, Toungoo, and Prome. The rest, Martaban, Thatōn, Pegu, and Rangoon, are all in the deltas near the sea. Rangoon, however, though containing the most important Buddhist shrine in the East, the Shwēdagōn Pagoda, was never a native capital. Arakan was always a district apart, and in Tenasserim proper there was never an important town.

The religious history of Burma, apart from the indigenous influences created by the conflicts of the native population, has been materially affected by the introduction of Buddhism from India and the consequent Indian modifications of the ethics of the people. The history of that introduction is still a controversial subject, but it may be generally stated thus: The Northern (Mahāyāna), or debased ritualistic School of Buddhism, was the first to come into Burma from the North, and also among the Talaings in the South with a considerable admixture of pure Hinduism. This brought with it a perceptible leaven of Hindu and Indian animistic ceremony. In the early centuries A.D. the Southern (Hīnayāna), or purer School of Buddhism from Ceylon, began to have influence in the Talaing country, and was introduced into Burma proper by the conqueror Anawrahtā of Pagān in the 11th cent. wherever he had power. There was then a further overwhelming revival of the same school in the 15th cent., again among the Talaings, under the whilom monk, King Dammazēdi or Yāzādibadi of the Kalyāni Inscriptions at Pegu. This has spread all over Burma, and has so wiped out the Northern School that the very existence of the latter in the country at any time is denied by the orthodox natives of the present day.

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IV. *ETHICS AND RELIGION.*—It will be clear that the basis of the religious notions and ethics of the people now inhabiting Burma must lie in those of the general Indo-Chinese race, as preserved in the three great branches thereof that have spread themselves over the land. The superstructure must be the result of such variations as partial isolation, caused by local antipathies covering a very long period, has brought about in the case of individual tribes and associations, and of such accretions and modifications as contact with surrounding aliens has produced in the course of migrations.

1. Buddhism.—The professed religion of Burma is Buddhism (see next art.). It counts among its adherents, according to the Census of 1901, practically the whole indigenous population; but the Census returns are in reality entirely misleading, as will be explained below (§ 3).

2. Alien religions.—Of the other great religions, professed chiefly by alien immigrants and temporary residents, the representatives are insignificant in numbers. There are about 300,000 Hindus, mostly foreigners; some 340,000 Muhammadans; and about 150,000 Christians, many of whom belong to the native population. All the natives professing these religions present interesting phenomena to the student. There are also a few Jews, Jains, Sikhs, and Parsis, who need not be considered here.

(1) *Hindu Animists.*—Among the Hindus are some 50,000 Paraiyans and Malas, representing the 'low-caste' pariahs of the Madras Presidency. The interest attaching to these classes in Burma is that they are regarded as Hindus, and are likely to increase largely in immigrant numbers. In reality, however, they go to swell the ranks of the undiluted Animists in the country. In their Indian homes they are classified as followers of the Saiva form of the Hindu religion, but they are nevertheless 'Devil-worshippers,' *i.e.* Animists, just as the great majority of the inhabitants of Burma are Animists at heart, as will be shown later on.

(2) *Manipuri Hindus.*—There is in Upper Burma, and spread in families over many parts of the country, a considerable community of Manipuris from Assam, across the hills on the Western borders. They were originally Hindu captives from Manipur, brought over in the 18th and early 19th cents., and settled about Upper Burma. The lower classes of these forced immigrants are now known as Kathēs, and the upper classes as Ponnās. The former have mostly become Buddhists, while retaining many of their old Hindu customs, but the latter have exercised a great influence as priests and astrologers over all classes of their conquerors from the former Royal Court downwards, and have no doubt had much to do with the existing unorthodox practices and beliefs of the professedly Buddhist population. Their name implies that they are Brāhmans (*Punyā*), though very few could have had any claim to be such in their own homes before capture.

(3) *Muhammadans.*—Among the Muhammadans there are in Burma two native communities which attract considerable general attention—the Zairbādis or Pathīs, and the Panthays. The Zairbādis are in various ways descendants of Indian Muhammadans, who acquired a Burmese domicile and reared families by local wives. They have, except in the case of the products of recent intermarriages in Arakan, thoroughly mixed with the people, and in appearance, manner, and costume are not easily distinguishable from the ordinary Burman. They are apt to be fanatical Muhammadans, with an admixture of belief and custom adopted from their surroundings. For instance, their women have the same extreme freedom of movement as the other indigenous women enjoy. No doubt it would repay the student to give the Zairbādis a closer examination than has hitherto been accorded them. The Panthays are the well-known Muhammadan Chinese of Yunnan, of mixed alien military and native descent, who until quite recently ruled there. Some of them are settled on the extreme North-Eastern borders, and numbers wander about the country as traders, but they can hardly be said to influence the religion of the people.

(4) *The Chinese.*—There are altogether some 65,000 Chinese in Burma, chiefly from the Southern parts of China, who were all returned at the Census of 1901 as Animists, except such as definitely called themselves Christians, Muhammadans, or Buddhists. In the words of the *Census Report* (p. 35), 'Taoism and Confucianism differ but little in their essence from the national worship of the people of Burma.'

(5) *The Selungs.*—In the Mergui Archipelago off the coast of Tenasserim is a small race of 'Wild Malays,' known as the Selungs, who are primitive Animists, but do not properly belong to Burma and its civilization at all.

(6) *Christianity.*—The strength of the various forms of Christianity among the native population is purely a question of missionary effort. The Protestants compare with Roman Catholics as 90 to 36, and of the Protestants, the Baptists (American) compare with the rest as 67 to 23, the great bulk of the remainder being Anglicans.

(7) *The 'Christian' sect.*—In addition to these there were no fewer than 18,000 persons, or over 11 per cent of the whole community, that returned themselves in 1901 merely as 'Christians.' They largely represent a secession from the Baptists, which is of interest as illustrating the manner in which sects can arise in obscure and unexpected places. In 1884, certain members of the American Baptist Church at Lamadaw, Rangoon, had a dispute with their missionary and were formally excommunicated, a proceeding acutely felt in an isolated community such as any body of Christians must be in a country like Burma. Among these people were some who held prominent official and other positions, and they formed themselves into a sect labelled merely 'Christian' without any qualification. They elected pastors of their own, and created their own ritual and literature, all printed in Burmese at Rangoon and elsewhere.

(8) *Christianity among the Karens.*—Christianity among the wilder converts, as in the case of the Karens, of whom whole villages are now reckoned as Baptist Christians (American), is largely tinged with the old Animism. The mental attitude of these people towards religion is still best illustrated by a legend recorded in Smeaton's *Loyal Karens of Burma*, p. 184, often quoted because it so clearly explains so many phenomena of

religious practice in general, and because it admirably describes 'the whole spirit of compromise in which rude uncultured minds regard new faiths that appeal more to the reason than to the instinct that heritage of an immemorial past' (*Census Report*, 1901, p. 24). The story relates that some children, along with a litter of pigs, had been left by their parents on a high platform, out of the way of a dangerous tiger. The tiger came, and, disappointed of his prey in the house, soon scented out the children. He sprang at them, but fell short. He tried to climb, but the hard, smooth surface of the bamboo defied his claws. He then frightened the children by his terrible roars. So in terror the children threw down the pigs to him, one after another. Their eyes, however, were fixed not on the tiger, but on the path by which they expected to see their father come. Their hands fed the tiger from fear, but their ears were eagerly listening for the twang of their father's bowstring, which would send the arrow quivering into the tiger's heart. And so, say the Karens, 'although we have to make sacrifices to the demons, our hearts are still true to God. We must throw sops to the foul demons who afflict us, but our hearts are ever looking for God.'

3. Animism : Nat-worship.—It is now a recognized fact that, whatever the profession of faith may be, the practical everyday religion of the whole of the Burmese peoples is Animism, called generally in Burmese 'Nat-worship,' *nat* being the generic term for all kinds of supernatural beings.

The term *nat* is probably not derived from the Indian imported word *nātha*, 'lord,' though that term has precisely the same scope and sense. Its use to describe the indigenous spirits, and also those adopted from India, is possibly the result of its happening exactly to translate such Indian terms as *dēva*, *dēvatā*, and the like, denoting subordinate gods, so far as the Burman is concerned with them.

To the Burman Buddhists, even among the members of the late Royal Court and the *pōngyīs* (Buddhist monks and teachers) themselves, the propitiation of the Nats (called also by the Karens *Las*, and by the Talaings *Kaluks*) is a matter of daily concern, and in this they are followed by the Buddhist Shans and Talaings. Meanwhile, as Sir J. G. Scott says, the formal exercise of their professed religion need only 'be set about in a business-like way and at proper and convenient seasons.' In daily life, from birth to marriage and death, all the rites and forms observed are Animistic in origin, the spirit-worshipper's object being to avert or mitigate calamity. Nat-worship is the most important and the most pervading thing in religious life. Even the Buddhist monasteries are protected by the Nats, the spirit-shrines (*natkun*, *natsin*, usually tr. 'nat-houses') stand beside pagodas, and the Buddhist monks themselves take part in Animistic rites and act as experts in astrology and fortune-telling.

'The Burman has much more faith in ascertaining lucky and unlucky days and in the deductions from his horoscope than in the virtue of alms (to Buddhist monks) and the efficacy of worship at the pagoda' (*Thirty-Seven Nats*, p. 2).

At the extremity of every village (*yuāson*) there is a *natsin* for the guardian *nats* of the neighbourhood, in whose honour feasts are held at regulated seasons. Certain feasts in honour of the Nats were also formally recognized by the former Burmese Court. Ministers of State, and even the King himself, who was the religious as well as the secular chief, attended them in their official capacity; while the ritual to be observed was carefully set forth in the *Lawka Byūhā*, the *Shwe Ponnidān*, and other treatises on Court etiquette and duties. A highly educated Talaing has thus described (*Thirty-Seven Nats*, p. 2) the prevailing feeling:

'Not only has every human being, but also every conspicuous object and every article of utility, a guardian spirit. When people die, it is said that they become spiritual bodies requiring spiritual food; and in order that these spirits or *nats* may not harm the living, they make certain customary offerings to them. Some persons who have familiar spirits make annual offerings to the *nats*.' He then goes on to say that the great Buddhist reforming conqueror in Burma, Anawrahtā, in the 11th cent. A.D., attempted to destroy the worship, with the result that, 'when the people came to hear about the order of the king directing the destruction of their *nat* houses, they obeyed it, but they hung up a cocoanut in their houses to represent them, and as an offering to the dispossessed *nats*.'

In Nat-worship, as practised at the present day, we have, in fact, presented to us a composite faith, the result of all the influences which have through the ages been brought to bear on the modern inhabitant of Burma. Perhaps the best way to define the Nats is as supernatural beings derived from three separate sources: (1) The tutelary spirits that fill the earth and all that is thereon, man himself and all the creatures, objects, and places among which he lives and moves and has his being—springing out of the ancient indigenous Animistic beliefs of the people. (2) The ghosts and spirits of the departed—the ancestor-worship of the Chinese and Indo-Chinese races to the North and East. (3) The supernatural beings of the Buddhists, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal—imported with the professed faith, derived westward from the old Brāhmanic cosmogony of India, and indicating in its terminology and form the sources of importation. The Nats and their worship represent, indeed, a mixture of three distinct cults—nature-worship, ancestor-worship, and demon-worship. The comparatively recent imports from India are not yet, however, completely assimilated in the minds of the Burmese with their indigenous spirits. They more or less clearly distinguish between them, and keep the ancestors and the spirits of nature distinct from the demons and godlings that have come to them from across the western borders.

The multiple origin of the modern Nat-worship accounts for the long-established attitude of the educated and the late Royal classes towards the cult of the Nats, in that it has made them accept in its entirety the demonolatry accompanying the importation of Buddhism, and reject the grosser forms of nature-worship inherited from their forebears. It also accounts for the opposite attitude of the uneducated classes, who have accepted in a confused way the Indian demonolatry, and have at the same time adhered to the old mixed nature- and ancestor-worship of their inheritance as their chief cult. Among the wild tribes, the further they are removed from civilization the more surely do their beliefs and practices accord with their descent or with their environment.

This mixture of variant indigenous Animistic influences and Indian Brahmanic demonolatry with Buddhist modifications thereof pervades all the religion and ethics of the civilized Burmans, Shans, and Talaings, and colours all their customs, ceremonies, beliefs, and superstitions, and the practices resulting therefrom. It is by no means absent from those of the uncultured peoples, and even wild tribes, who have come and are steadily coming year by year in greater numbers, under the influence of Buddhism, and in the case of the Karens both under Buddhism and Christianity. This fact should never be lost sight of by any one who wishes to describe or to study the mental equipment and attitude of the peoples of Burma.

Eclecticism in Burma.—A confused intermingling of everything around them is often observable in the religious ideas of the more uncultivated tribes of mixed origin, *e.g.* the Taws, Danūs, Danaws, Payes, Kadus, Yaws, Hpons, etc., but it reaches a climax in the Lahus or Muhsos (called also Lahunā, Lahu-hsi, and Kioi), who are the Musus, Mossos, and Luchais of Garnier, Prince Louis of Orleans, Bons d'Anty, and other French observers. The Lahūs are a Tibeto-Burman tribe of the Burmese group and Lihsaw sub-group, living among the Shans and Was on the N.E. frontier bordering on China. Their traditions are Tibetan, and their cult an amalgam of ancestral Animism, Chinese Buddhism, and Burmese practices, with an admixture of Confucianism. They worship *tawura*, guardians of houses, villages, the flood, the fell, and so on, of the ordinary type, and also a great general sky-spirit, Ne-u. They had priests (*huye*) in charge of shrines (*fufang*), under a *tafuye*, or high priest. All this is Tibetan Buddhism with Chinese nomenclature. There is still a *tafuye*, the Chief of Mong Hka, who is civil and ecclesiastical ruler. His abode and the temple he controls are Confucian in form, but with the usual Burmese Buddhist accessories. The shrines are called indifferently *kyaung* (Burmese) or *fufang* (Chinese), and are decorated with Chinese inscriptions. Their chief festivals (*wawlong* and *wawnoi*) are held at the Chinese New Year (like those of the Lihsaws generally), with Chinese and Indo-Chinese characteristics.

4. Attitude towards Divinity.—There is no doubt that the idea of a single universal God is foreign to the Indo-Chinese mind as developed in Burma. There is no tendency towards a belief in God, or in idols or priests, as the symbols or interpreters of Divinity, or towards the adoration of stocks and stones.

The nearest approach to an apprehension of the idea of God-head is among the Kachins, who in one series of legends refer to Chinun Way Shun. He is said to have existed before the formation of the world, and to have created all the Nats. But, under the name Ka, he is also the Spirit of the Tilth.

Nevertheless, there has always been much made of the possession by the Karens of traditions concerning God and of ethics of a distinctly Christian type before 1828, when the existing American Baptist missionary influence commenced. The pronounced Christian and Judaistic tone of these traditions has naturally excited much comment, but there can be no doubt that they are imported, probably through early Roman Catholic missionaries about 1740 (*Vita di Gian Maria Percoto*, 1781). Their strongly Jewish form has given rise to a rather vague conjecture that they were learnt from early Nestorian Christians, during the wanderings of the Karens southwards from their original Indo-Chinese home.

5. The soul.—To the Burman the soul is an independent immaterial entity, bound by special attraction to an individual body, and giving life to it. But the soul can leave the body and return to it at will, or be captured and kept away. It is, however, essential to the life of the body that the soul should be in it, and so when it wanders the person affected is thrown into an abnormal condition, and dreams and swoons, or becomes ill. In a general way these ideas are shared by the Kachins, Chins, and Karens. The soul is materialized in the form of an invisible butterfly (*leippyā*), which hovers a while in the neighbourhood of the corpse after death. The *leippyā* of King Mindōn Min, who died in 1878, dwelt in a small, flat, heart-shaped piece of gold (*thenyōn*), which was suspended over his body until burial.

Sickness is caused by the wandering *leippyā* being captured by an evil spirit or a witch. It is recalled by ceremonies (*leippyā-hkaw*) for adults, consisting of offerings to the spirit to induce it to give up the *leippyā*. Infants whose mothers have died are in great danger lest the dead woman, having become a spirit, should retain the *leippyā* of her child. The ceremony in this case consists in propping up a mirror near the child, and dropping a film of cotton on it. If the film slips down into a kerchief placed below the mirror, it is laid on the child's breast, and thus the *leippyā* is saved.

Among the Kachins there is a belief that persons with the evil eye have two souls (*numlā*), while all other people have only one. The evil eye is caused by the secondary soul. The Kachins say also that the spirit of a man lives in the sun, which is the universal essence (probably an echo of Indian Vedāntic philosophy through Burmese Buddhism), and from it the threads of life spread out to each individual, in whom life lasts until the thread snaps.

The soul is so much mixed up with the idea of a spirit in the popular philosophy of all the races, that European observers have called the Karen *la*, which is really a synonym for an ordinary spirit or *nat*, the soul. Thus, the Sawngtung Karens, the Taungthūs, and the Taungyōs have a *sabā-leippyā* (paddy-butterfly), which is the Spirit of the Tilth. So essential is this spirit to the success of the tilth of the Karens that, when paddy is sold, a handful is always retained out of each basket, to preserve the *sabā-leippyā* to the sellers. Allied to this belief, among the Sgau and Pwo Karens, is the Spirit of Harvest, Pībiyaw, which is a cricket that lives in a crab-hole. And so the earth thrown up by crabs is used on the threshing-floor, and crickets are placed on the yoke-supports of ploughing oxen.

6. The future life.—Ideas as to a future life are but feebly developed in the Indo-Chinese mind as exhibited in Burma; and, where distinct notions of heaven and hell are reported (as amongst Kauri and Szi Kachins, and amongst Siyin and other Chins), they are due to contact with Burmese Buddhists.

The Kachins generally do not go beyond consigning the spirit of the dead to a position among the Nats, or to the place 'where its fathers and mothers have gone,' accordingly as harm does or does not befall the family or any of its members after the death. By certain ceremonies they induce the spirits of the recently dead to go away and not return, but they do not know where they go. Siyin Chins after death still enjoy drinking and hunting, but in no definite place. The Haka Chins believe in Mithikwa (Deadman's Village), divided into Pwethikwa and Sattikwa, pleasant and unpleasant. Every one goes to the former except those who are slain by the enemy, for they have to remain his slaves in Sattikwa until avenged by blood. This presents an Animistic explanation of the blood-feud. When Sawngtung Karens die they go to Loi Maw Hill, the home of Lei, the tribal guardian.

7. Benevolent spirits.—The Kachins say that Shingrawa, the man-creator of the earth, which he shaped with a hammer, is kind and good, and therefore little notice is taken of him, and shrines to him are few and neglected. This attitude towards benevolent *nats* is important as explaining the absence of their worship in Burma, and also the statement of most European observers that all *nats* and spirits are malevolent, which is not the case. The Southern Chins also have a national spirit, Kozin, who is indifferent. The house-guardian (*eing-saung nat*) of the Burmans and Talaings is another instance of a spirit who is described as simply indifferent.

Besides Shingrawa, the Kachins recognize as beneficent *nats*: Sinlap, the giver of wisdom; Jan, the sun; and Shitta, the moon. These may be worshipped only by the chief, once a year or at the periodical national festival (*manau*), and then without sacrifices. Trikurat, or Kyam, is a good spirit of the forest, who fascinates the game which the hunter stalks. He is propitiated by treading on ashes from the house-hearth on return from a hunting expedition, and sprinkling the blood of the victim towards the jungle. The Spirit of the Forest himself, Chitōn, is, however, of doubtful character. In some places he is represented as malignant and in others as good-natured.

The attitude of the ordinary Burman Buddhist in regard to this point is shown by an extract from the inscription in Burmese on a bell for a village pagoda: 'May the *nats* who dwell in the air and on the earth defend from evil creatures the two fat bullocks which plough the fields. May the guardian *nats* of the house and the village keep from harm Chit-ū, our son, and little Mā Mī, our darling daughter.'

8. Nature-worship.—There is a distinct worship, or propitiation, of spirits representing Nature generally among all the tribes, in addition to that of the individual, familiar, or tribal guardians. There are everywhere national spirits of the Sky, the Sun and Moon, Rain and the Flood, of the Fell, the Forests and Trees, and of Agriculture. But the tendency to localize the national spirit is everywhere visible, and in reality the national spirit is often hardly differentiated from the tribal. Good instances of this are to be found in Uyingyī, the Spirit of the Neighbourhood, among the Talaings, and in the 'District' *nat* of the Burmans and Talaings, who is known as 'the Lord' (*Ashingyī* in Burmese, *Okkayā* in Talaing).

(1) *Spirits of the Sky.*—Mu, or Mushang, is the *nat* of the heavens among the Kachins. Ponphyoi of the Kachins dwells in the sky, and generally interests himself in the affairs of mankind, and so does Upakā of the Burmans; but his interest is sinister, as he snaps up mortals. On the other hand, Sinlap, the Kachin Spirit of Wisdom, also dwells in the sky.

(2) *Spirits of the Sun and Moon* are found in various places. The best instances are the Kachin Jan, the Sun, and Shitta, the Moon, already mentioned.

(3) *Spirits of Rain.*—The Thein *nats* of the Burmese are the Spirits of the Showers. They cause showers by coming out of their houses, the stars, to sport in mimic fight. Thunder and lightning are the clash of their arms.

(4) *Spirits of the Wind.*—Mbon, the Spirit of the Wind among the Kachins, may be worshipped only

at the national harvest festival (*manau*), and then by the chiefs alone. The periodical winds bring the fertilizing rain; hence, no doubt, the cult and its importance.

(5) *Spirits of the Flood.*—The Burmans and Talaings believe that Maung Ingyī lives in the water, and causes death by drowning. He has a feast to himself in Waso (the Buddhist Lent). The wild head-hunting Was are careful to appease Ariynom, the Spirit of the Flood, on their expeditions after heads.

(6) *Spirits of the Fell.*—The Wild Was are careful also to propitiate Hkumturu, the Spirit of the Fell, on their head-hunting expeditions.

(7) *Spirits of the Forests and the Trees.*—The most widely spread nature-cult of all is that of the forest and tree *nats*. All the hill tribes dread them, and the most characteristic superstitions of the people of the cultivated plains are related to them. Every prominent tree, every grove, every area of jungle, besides the forest in general, has its special *nat* (*seikthā* in Burmese), often with a specialized name. Everywhere the ordinary home of the non-personal and non-familiar *nat* attached to the earth is in the trees. Among all the tribes, every dark and prominent hill-coppice has a *nat*-shrine in it. Among the Karens and all the allied tribes, the village-guardian lives in a tree, coppice, or dense grove near the village, where he has a shrine. Among the Tame Was also the village *nat* dwells in a tree, while the Wild Was always hang the guardian heads taken in head-hunting on the avenue approaches to the villages. The general character of the forest-*nat* is that of an evil spirit. Among the Burmans, Hmin Nat drives mad those who chance to meet him; and, despite his occasional good character, Chitōn, the forest-*nat* of the Kachins, represents the evil principle. Wannein, or Ple, Nat of the Taungyos is feared throughout a district which is larger than the habitat of the tribe. The familiar Burmese Akāthasō, Seikkasō, and Bōmmasō, who live respectively in the tops, trunks, and roots of trees, are, however, direct importations, names and all, from India.

The attitude of the more civilized peoples in the hills towards the forest spirits is well explained in an account of the Buddhist Palaungs in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer* (i. 491):

'Their *nats* live in a big tree, a well marked hill, a large rock, or some such natural feature. They are male and female, and all of them have names. The most powerful is the spirit who dwells on Loi Seng Hill and is called Takālū. Others of note are: Tarū-Rheng, who lives near the group of pagodas at Zeyān Village; Peng-Mong, who frequents the dense jungle on the west side of the big hill near Zeyān; Tahkūlōng used to live close to the ruin of an old pagoda near Payāgyi or Selān Village, but he was much neglected, and has been invited to bestow himself in the clump of jungle on the hillock at the east gate of Namshan, due east of the Sawbwā's (chief's) palace; the Loilan Nat lives on a hill near Myōthit, and there are many more.'

Palaung customs are often illuminating, and one of the most instructive is the national festival held in March on Loi Seng Hill for the worship of the 'first tea tree.' Tea is their chief form of agriculture, and the interest in this worship and annual festival is that this tree is said to have been introduced only three hundred and seventy years ago. Here we have, then, before us the actual rise of an Animistic ritual.

(8) *Spirits of Agriculture.*—These are, of course, universal, and are best dealt with generally, when discussing festivals and ceremonies. The Burmans and Talaings have Būmadī (Indian origin) and Nāgyī, Spirits of the Earth and Grain respectively. Among the Kachins, Wawm or Chinwawm can be worshipped by the chiefs alone, and only at festivals. The *sabā-leippyā* (paddy-butterfly), the Spirit of the Tilth among the Karens, is worshipped by sprinkling lighted distilled liquor over the ground at the time of jungle-clearing by fire (*taungyā* cultivation). Often the tribal guardian and the Spirit of Agriculture are mixed up, as in the case of the Nat of Loi Maw Hill among the Karens, whose festival is in May.

9. National Festivals.—(1) *Quasi-Buddhist.*—The Burman has a natural talent for making his proceedings attractive and beautiful, and his national festivals have, therefore, attracted much attention, but the chief of them are now Buddhist, or so overladen with Buddhism as not to come within the present purview, the Animism in them being more or less directly Indian. Such as these are the New Year's Feast, Thingyān Pwe, a feast of offerings (to the monks), the Water Feast of European observers held in Tagū (April); the illuminations in Thadingyut (October); the Tāwadeinthā in Tasaungmōn (November).

At the *New Year's Feast*, the dousing of every one met with is perhaps the most remarkable custom that the European observes in the country, but it is really a reference to Indian Brāhmanism, as the water represents consecrated water used for washing the sacred images. The root-idea of throwing it on human beings is to honour them by treating them as sacred. Its true ceremonial nature comes out well in the words of Sir J. G. Scott (*The Burman*, ii. 51):

'The wetting is considered a compliment. A clerk comes up to his master, *shekos* to him, and gravely pours the contents of a silver cup down the back of his neck, saying, "*Ye kadaw mi*," "I will do homage to you with water."'

At the *Tāwadeinthā Festival*, the *padēthā bin*, a sort of Christmas tree, representing the abode of the *nats* and covered with gifts of all kinds, including money, is of an Indo-Chinese type. It is, however, deposited at the pagoda or monastery, and is used for the maintenance of the place or for alms at the disposal of the custodians (*kyaung-thugyī*, *kāppiyā dāyakā*).

(2) *Indigenous seasonal.*—The majority of the indigenous festivals are seasonal feasts connected more or less directly with agriculture, and they exhibit two prominent phenomena: There is no prayer for assistance connected with them, but plenty of precaution that the spirits may not interfere, and they mostly include a drunken orgy. The root-idea of much of the ceremonial is illustrated by the great October *nat*-feast of the Palaungs held at Namshan, in which the *nats* are simply invited to join, their arrival being signified by atmospheric changes determined by the wise man called in.

The Red Karens have a *seedtime* festival in April, at which the ceremony is chiefly a maypole dance round a ceremonially selected post; and before sowing, the Kachins have six holidays, all connected with agricultural operations. What the object of the Karen festival is does not appear, but that of the Kachins is distinctly to avert danger to the coming crop.

Averting danger is also the clear object of the *harvest* festivals. At the Edu festival of the Red Karens (the term implying merely a 'public ceremony'), a tribal scape-goat in the shape of an image of an elephant or horse is provided. The same idea runs through the harvest feast of the Talaings and Burmans, at which a straw woman, clothed in skirt (*tamein*), kerchief, and articles of female attire, and a quantity of *kauk-hnyin* (sticky rice confection) are put into a cart and driven round the fields, and finally set up at the place selected for the *bin*. The village boys usually eat the rice, though in some fear and trembling for the vengeance of the *nat*. The Red Karens are not, however, satisfied with their scape-goat, but further proceed to frighten away the ghosts of friends and relatives by noise, and to appease them by small pieces of roasted bullock or pig sent in

procession to the next village, to be eaten by friends there. They thus avert danger in all the occult ways known to them.

10. **Ancestor-worship.**—The obvious origin of the races inhabiting Burma would argue strong proclivities towards pronounced ancestor-worship, but it is a matter of great interest and importance in the study of religion in the Far East that the facts point the other way. The further removed tribes are from the Chinese frontier and influence, the vaguer is the nature of the worship of ancestors, and the more do their spirits become mixed up with the worship of the *nats* in general. Thus, among the Southern Chins, as well as among the cultured Talaings, Shans, and Burmans, strongly imbued with Indian ideas, the ancestors and the general *nats* are all mixed up. Among the Kachins any one may, but does not necessarily, become a *nat* after death, and additions are constantly being made to the number of such ancestral *nats*, on the motion of the mediums called in when sickness occurs. The most primitive form of ancestor-worship is observable among the Hpons, a wild nomad waterways tribe of the Burmese group who worship only the dead parents, and not even the grand-parents. When there is any sickness about, food is placed at the north end of the house, perhaps indicating the origin of immigration, and the head of the family prays to his parents to help themselves and him.

On the other hand, tribes along the Eastern frontiers show strong Chinese proclivities. The recently arrived Mengs (Miaotzu) to the N.E. are practically purely ancestor-worshippers, with very vague ideas of a general over-ruling power. The Yaos, also strongly Chinese, have a particular dread of the ancestors, who are worshipped shortly after a marriage, at a special altar, which is carried into the hills and left there. The more secluded the place, the less chance have the ancestors of finding their way home. The Akhās propitiate the ancestors (*miksas*), who are said to live in the regions of the setting sun, in order to prevent their returning home and injuring them. They enter the house by the *west* door, which is tabued to males, though women may use it reverently. Similarly, the gates and great entrance arches to Akhā villages are meant to keep out the ancestors, and are closed when a sacrifice is going on. It may here be noted that among Karens and other tribes the house *nats* live to the *west* of the house. The Akhās will not talk about the ancestors, as they might avenge any derogatory remarks on the speaker. The allied Akhös believe that the ancestors dwell at a special hearth in the house tabued to all but the family. The Lihsaws, who have many Chinese leanings, have a mixed worship of ancestors and *nats* of the forest and fell.

11. **Totemism.**—Totemism may be said to exist in Burma in certain indications to be found only in customs relating to eating and marriage, and doubtfully in the naming of children. The tendency throughout the country is to eat all edible living creatures, without superstitions being attached to those selected; but the tribes will sometimes eschew certain animals. Kachins except from their diet snakes, wild cats, monkeys, and usually dogs. Karens will not eat any monkeys, except the white-eyelid monkey. Among Kachins and Karens there is in some instances a very strict limitation of marriage to certain villages. In the Burmese Royal Family marriage between the king and his sister (half-sister preferred) was prescribed, and such marriages between the original ancestors are the rule in tales of origin. Kadū villages are divided into two factions, Amā and Apwā, which take each other's girls in marriage; the girls then belong to the faction into which they have married. The strongest indication of a former totemism is in a custom among the Kachins by which persons of the same 'family name' are all considered to be of the same blood, and may not marry even when belonging to different tribes. The Shan and Kachin system of naming children after animal 'birthday' names, and of changing and concealing personal names in after life, has been referred to a former totemism; but this is an extremely doubtful reference, especially as the Burmese *nan* (Indian *nāma*), or animal name, distinguishing the birthdays of Burmans, relates solely to astrological ideas.

12. **Tales of origin.**—The meaning and objects of tales of origin told by the tribes in Burma, where not directly intended to connect a tribe with some revered personage or people of a higher civilization, are obscure, and it would be difficult to trace any connexion even between tales of animal origin and totemism. Most of the tales are merely historical, or meant to be historical, as in the cases where origin is traced to a certain village (Sokte and Kweshin Chins), or in the common ascription of the birthplace of a tribe to a rock or hill with a special name, usually in remembrance apparently of some place before migration. Other tales are obviously attempts at an explanation, such as coming out of the bowels of the earth (Thadō and Yo Chins). The more civilized tales are old-world stories, partly out of their Scriptures, dished up afresh, as when the Burmans relate in a circumstantial way their descent from nine celestial beings—five men and four women. Sometimes we find incompatible origins recorded by different observers of the same tribes or groups of tribes. Thus Was are variously said, in different stories, to be descended from celestial beings, frogs, and gourds.

(*a*) *Human origin.*—Tales of human origin generally contain a miraculous element, but not always. The White Karens say that they came from the children of a married brother and sister that quarrelled and separated. Kachins also claim descent from a married brother and sister—Pawpaw Nan-chaung and Chang-hko—and the fragments of her child cut up by a *nat*. White Chins came from a man and a woman that fell from the clouds. The miraculous element sometimes involves the idea of virgin conception, perhaps more or less directly Buddhist. Thus, a variant of the Kachin tale of Chang-hko describes her as having no husband: and the Inthās claim descent from a Burmese princess by the spirit of a lover whom she had never met. The miraculous element often involves descent from an egg. The Yahao Chins are descended from an egg laid by the sun and hatched in a pot by a Burmese woman, the Palaungs from one of three eggs laid by a Nagā (serpent) princess; but this last legend is largely of Buddhist origin. The Taws, however, simply say that they came out of an egg. Magic is sometimes brought into play to account for tribal origin, as when the Sgau and Pwo Karens say that they are descended from a primeval ancestor, Tawmaipah, through the magical powers of a boar's tusk.

(*b*) *Animal origin.*—Hsenwi (Theinni) Shans are descended from tigers, and all their *sawbwās* (chiefs) include *hsö* (tiger) in their personal name. Yokwā, Thettā, and Kapi Chins were all born of a wild goat. The ancestor of the Marū Kachins was a *nat* married to a monkey, and their children were the bear and the rainbow, and a brother and sister that married. All these were *nats*.

(*c*) *Vegetable origin.*—According to the Kachins, the Creator, Chinun Way Shun, made the first man, Shingrawa, out of a pumpkin with the aid of the *nats*. Shingrawa made the earth. The primeval pair of the Siyin Chins came out of a gourd that fell from heaven and split open as it fell. The Tame Was also came out of a gourd.

13. **Deluge tales.**—Closely connected with tales of origin, stories of a Deluge are common in Burma among Shans, Kachins, and Karens. The Kachins say that the world was destroyed by a flood, and only a brother and sister were saved in a boat, though the *nats* were unaffected by it. This seems to point to a partial flooding of the country at some period, as the Deluge tale of the Kengtung Shans refers directly to the time before the great lake in the Kengtung State was naturally drained off.

14. **Evil spirits.**—(1) *General characteristics.*—The root characteristic of the *nats* is power. They can do as they like, and the fulfilment of wishes depends on them. They are all-powerful, and

irresistible so far as mankind is concerned. As to the supposed exercise of their powers, it is commonly said by observers that among the wild tribes all the spirits are maleficent (*natso*); but this is an obvious error, arising out of the fact that worship is almost entirely devoted to the warding off of the evil spirits, the kindly ones being not usually worshipped at all. This is shown in the notable instance, *inter alia*, of the Kachin belief that the ghosts of the murdered cannot trouble the murderer, as they would be too much afraid of his ghost after his death to worry him while still alive.

The general attitude of the people of Burma towards the evil spirits is well illustrated by that taken respectively by the Chins, and the Sgau and Pwo Karens. To the Chins the evil spirits are individual, and belong to everything—village, house, clan, family, person, the flood, the fell, the air, the trees, and especially the groves in the jungle. They are innumerable. In the house alone there are twenty, of whom the following six are important:

'Dwopi lives above the door of the house, and has the power of inflicting madness. Inmai lives in the post in the front corner of the house, and can cause thorns to pierce the feet and legs. Nokpi and Nalwun live in the verandah, and can cause women to be barren. Naonō lives in the wall, and causes fever and ague. Awaia lives above and outside the gate, and can cause nightmare and bad dreams' (*Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. i. p. 473).

The Sgau and Pwo Karens believe that Nā is incarnate in all dangerous animals, and he is ceremonially driven away from the fields and houses. The Seven Nā destroy by the tiger, old age, sickness, drowning, man, fall, and 'every other means.'

(2) *Ghosts.—Tasē* is the generic term for malignant ghosts, which are the spirits of those who have existed as human beings and are still endowed with passions and material appetites. They roam about after sunset in search of human prey. There is a great fear of the ghosts of the recently dead. This is illustrated in various ways. Thus to the Kachins the ordinary evil spirit is the ghost of a recently deceased ancestor, and among the Red Karens no dead body may be taken through the village, or by any way but that nearest to the cemetery, even if a hole in the house wall is entailed thereby. Burmans have a modified form of the Karen idea as to carrying the dead to burial.

(*a*) *Haunting ghosts.*—To the Burmans *natsein* are the ghosts of persons who have died a violent death (*thayē*) and haunt the place of death. Under Buddhist influence the idea has been extended to monks and nuns who break their vows.

(*b*) *Ghosts of women who die in childbirth.*—In common with every part of India, all the people of Burma have a special dread of the ghosts of women who die in childbirth (*thabēt*). Among the Red Karens (Ere) no man may help to bury such a woman. The Kachin *swawm* is a vampire, composed of a woman dying in childbirth and her child, which transmigrates into animals; but this notion is, no doubt, due to mixed Brāhmanic and Buddhist influence, from propinquity to Shans and Burmans.

(3) *Forms assumed by evil spirits.*—The ideas current in the most civilized parts among the Burmans as to the forms which evil spirits assume are typical of the whole country. They may become incarnate in dangerous animals, especially the large poisonous snake, hamadryad. They may be contained in anything, such as a large wooden *limban* (low food-stand), which disappears on being touched, or a stone pillar embedded in the ground, which will rise and disappear suddenly (Mandalay District). They take terrifying forms—a leopard, a black pig swelling into an enormous black shadowy figure, a white apparition rushing at its victim (Mandalay District). *Hminza* are the ghosts of children in the form of cats and dogs. *Thayē* and *thabēt* are hideous giants with long slimy tongues, which they use as an elephant uses his trunk (borrowed from India).

(4) *Disease and death.*—Disease and death are always due to the action of evil spirits. The origin of this belief is well illustrated by the Red Karens, who say that Lu is a particularly wicked spirit, living on corpses and causing disease and death in order to supply himself with food. So among the Talaings the house guardian will cause fever, unless offerings of money, rice, eggs, sugar, and fruit are made to him, as he has to be kept well fed.

Much of the belief in the causing of disease and death by spirits is due to the idea of vengeance on the living for misfortunes that the spirits have suffered during life. The spirits of the unfortunate (*tasē, thayē, thabēt*) all cause death or epidemics. This idea has brought about a peculiar form of vengeance, inflicted by the living on the man who introduces an epidemic into a Karen village. The unlucky individual incurs a perpetual debt, payable by his descendants until the 'value' of each life lost in consequence is wiped out. Vengeance for slights and injuries inflicted on spirits is, of course, expected. Thus, fever is the natural consequence of mocking at a spirit-shrine (*natsin, nat-thitpin*).

There is a mixture of the ideas of the benevolent guardian and the malignant spirit in this connexion, no doubt due to the notion of vengeance above alluded to. This comes out clearly in the legend of Mahagiri or Māgayē Nat, one of the Thirty-seven. He was in the story a blacksmith put to a cruel death at Tagaung, the first capital of the Burmans, and he is also the house guardian of to-day (*eingsaung nat*). He causes a fatal colic, known as Tagaung colic, and recognized as such in Burmese pharmacy. Among the Kachins disease and death are caused by the action of ancestors, who have become *nats*, and pain by the bite of *nats*. In 1902 a quantity of circumstantial evidence was produced to the Land Revenue Settlement Office of Mandalay as to a number of deaths occurring in succession in consequence of cultivating certain fields of the Kannizā and Nanmadawzā *kwins* (cultivated areas), all attributed to the action of the guardian *nats*.

15. **Guardians.**—The people of Burma regard guardian spirits with mixed feelings. They look to them for support and safety in all conditions of life, and at the same time consider them to be decidedly capable of infinite mischief. They occupy a place midway between the indifferent benevolent spirit and the actively malignant spirit. The predominant feeling towards the guardians is that they have to be kept in a good temper.

Guardians are, of course, infinite in their variety, as everything connected with mankind and his environment has its guardian. The propitiatory candles offered everywhere at pagodas are in the shape of the guardian *nat* of the day on which the worshipper was born. The combination of the guardians of the birthdays of the bridal pair controls the lucky and unlucky days for marriage. All this, however, is Brāhmanic influence on a Buddhist people.

(*a*) *Human guardians.*—The Sgau and Pwo Karens say that every man has his guardian (*la*), which may wander in his sleep or be stolen by demons, and then follow sickness and death. Sickness can be removed only by a sacrifice at which every member of the family must be present, or it is unavailing. Incidentally this is a cause for reluctance to being baptized as a Christian, as refusal to join in the ceremony is looked on as committing murder; or, on the other hand, it may lead to entire families being baptized together. A convert to Christianity is treated as dead, and there is a mock burial to induce his *la* to believe that the convert really is dead, so as not to miss him at the next sacrifice for restoration to health.

(*b*) *House guardians.*—The *eingsaung nat*, or house guardian, is regarded and treated in a great variety of ways. One use made of him by the Talaings is to scare away burglars. The Burmese have largely incorporated their ideas regarding him into their acquired Buddhism, and make images of Buddha (*thayō*) out of the bones of respected relatives who have been cremated, ground to powder, and mixed with wood-oil (*thissi*). They pray to these images as the house guardians. The incorporeal house *nat* of the Burman, however, lives in the south post of the house (*thabyēteing*), and so it is adorned with leaves, and all corpses are placed beside it when laid out. Among the Taungthus the interest of the house guardian in the people is so great that he must be informed if the family is increased or decreased in size. The Karens think that the best way to propitiate the house guardian is to supply him with liquor an instance of anthropomorphism. The abiding terrors of the Wild Wa are Ariya and Liyea, his house guardians, and he propitiates them with perpetual sacrifices of considerable value whenever anything goes wrong.

(*c*) *Village and town guardians.*—The terror of the house

guardian exhibited by the Wild Wa is intensified to such an extent when he contemplates Hkum Yeng, the village guardian, that it has led to the human sacrifice and to the head-hunting for that purpose which have made him famous throughout Burma and Indo-China and many parts of China itself. Among the Burmans and the people generally the village and town *nats* (*Ywa saung, Myoma*) are regarded much in the same light as are the house *nats*.

(*d*) *Tribal and national guardians*.—Among the Chins the founders of clans (*khun*) are the guardians of all their descendants—a fact which gives a clue to the institution of tribal or State guardians generally. Sometimes the State or national guardian exists at a special locality, but has no particular ceremonial attached to him. Thus Lei, the national guardian of the Sawngtung Karens, lives on Loi Maw Hill, but is not propitiated; and Nang Nagā, the female *nat* of Yang Hpa Hin Hill at Kengtung, who is the guardian of that State, has no particular ceremonies belonging to her. This is modified usually to an annual festival, as with the Hpons, who are said to know of no other spirit than the Great Nat (Natgyī), and have the idea of the national guardian in its simplest form. Formal worship on a large scale is, however, fairly common, as with the Kachins. It is sometimes most reverential, as when the Szi Kachins worship Yunnu with bared head and crouching attitude. Wannein or Ple Nat of the Taungyos is a generic name for the guardians of groups of villages. He is worshipped at a considerable festival held annually.

(*e*) *Property guardians*.—The guardians of objects belonging to or connected with mankind assume an infinite variety of form. Examples are the spirit maidens (*nat-thamī*) who guarded the eleven royal umbrellas at the Palace of Mandalay, one being specially attached to each. Racing boats, and therefore the royal boats, are possessions of great value in Burma, and the whole world of the *nats* was called in to guard those at the Royal Palace of the late dynasty. The guardians were represented by carvings and pictures in great variety all over the boats: squirrels, tigers, fish, birds, centipedes, *nats* of Indian origin, men, centaurs (*athamōkkī*), crocodiles, parrots, *nats* of the sun and moon, and the man-lion (*manuthīhā*). The lake-dwellers of the Yawng Hwe Lake, the Inthās, have copied this idea in the worship of the *Hpaungdaw-ū*, five images of Buddha, on their ancestral barge. To this category of *nats* belong the Oktazaung, or treasure-guardians, of the Burmese, who are spirit maidens in charge of treasures buried in the earth. Sawlapaw, the late great chief of the Red Karens, had a special spirit-guarded treasury above ground (*aukhaw*); but this was due to Shan influence.

16. **Propitiation.**—(1) *Ceremonies*.—All propitiatory ceremonies among the wild tribes end in drinking and dancing, and commonly in drunken orgies. Among the Burman villagers a typical instance of the procedure at such a ceremony is that here extracted from the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 30:

'The rites were performed in a stretch of thick jungle, about a quarter of a mile from the village. There were about twenty men and as many boys, but no women. Although women are most commonly the hierophants in the exorcism of *nats*, they are never present at formal *nat* feasts. The *natsin* (shrine) was a small wooden house on piles at the foot of a fine *padauk* tree, which was connected at the back of the door of the shrine by a number of plies of white thread, called the *nats'* bridge. The spirit ordinarily lived in this tree, and only came to the shrine to secure the offerings. He was a jungle spirit, a hamadryad. Their officiating wise man was an old Burman of no particular position in the village. He commenced proceedings by offering a corked bottle of *kaungyē* (rice beer) to the *seikthā* (jungle spirit) of the *padauk* tree. This was followed by another of water, and then little heaps of *lapēt* (tea salad) placed on large leaves were deposited with the same genuflexions as are customary at the pagoda. This was done by the assembled villagers, and, while it was going on, the *sayā* (wise man) sprinkled water all round the shrine, and strewed rice in handfuls about it. This rice was furnished by each household in the village. The officiating *sayā* then recited a long prayer for rain from the north and from the south (which was the main object of the ceremony), and for peace and deliverance, and for immunity from evil generally.'

A formal tug-of-war is performed by the whole village taking sides. This is a Burman ceremony, and its object is to rouse the *thein nats*, spirits of the showers, to come out of the stars, which are their houses. In the Chindwin district a bamboo basket, on which is painted a woman's face, swathed in a jacket and skirt (*tamein*), is carried on a man's shoulders, to the dancing of youths and maidens.

(2) *Offerings and sacrifices*.—The Kachins give an explanation of the objects of animal sacrifices and of the common practice of consuming the flesh of the sacrifice. They say that, when they are in trouble, their primeval mother, Chang-hko, demands the pigs and the cattle, or she will eat out their lives. So, when any one is sick, they say, 'We must eat to the *nats*.' The Kachins have, further, an illuminating custom of being able to promise the sacrifice ordered by the *tumsa* (exorcist) at some future time, if it be not available when first ordered. Here we seem to have the embryo of the idea leading to the pictures and effigies, in lieu of actual sacrifice, used by the Chinese and their followers in Indo-China.

The principle of sacrifice is to give a small portion of the animal or thing sacrificed to the *nats* and to devour the rest, or to eat up what has temporarily been deposited as an offering. Sometimes only the useless parts of the sacrifice are offered. Thus the White Karens give up small portions only, and the Kachins a portion, cut off by the village butcher (*kyang-jong*), of all animals taken in hunting, to the house guardians as '*nats'* flesh.' Among the Burmans the edible parts of large animals sacrificed are placed on the *nats'* shrine for a short time. The commoner practice, however, is to give what is useless. Burmans hang round shrines the entrails of fowls used for divination. Some Kachins give only the offal of sacrificed animals, while Red Karens deposit the head, ears, legs, and entrails, on the shrines of *nats*.

Absolute sacrifice, though uncommon on any considerable scale, is not unknown. In times of sickness, Red Karens give offerings of pigs, fowls, rice, and liquor, at the cemetery, to the evil spirit, Lu. Akhās offer a portion of all feasts to the ancestors, at the place where the last death occurred, or to the *west* of the house 'where the ancestors live,' in a pot which is afterwards buried.

On a small scale, absolute sacrifice is common enough. Burmans always pour out a libation (*yēsetkya*) at alms-givings and funerals. Marū Kachins make a libation to the *nats* before drinking any liquor. Talaings offer the first morsel of all food to the village guardian, by holding the platter in the air. At the great national pastime, boat-racing, there is always a preliminary paddle over the course by both sides to propitiate the guardian spirits of the river; 'at the stem of each boat a man crouches, holding with outstretched arm a bunch of plantains, some cooked rice, flowers, and betel' (Scott, *The Burman*, ii. 59).

The animals and food sacrificed are usually those used for food by the people: buffaloes, pigs, fowls (Kachins, Chins, Karens); pigs and fowls (Was, Shans, Burmans, White Karens); dogs (Kachins, Chins); cows and goats (Kachins, Chins); fish and eggs (most tribes). Of vegetable foods, cooked rice is the usual offering, and also the locally made liquors. Taungthūs offer annually fish (*ngāpein*), liquor, rice, and the household stew in Kasōn (April–May) to the house *nats*; and fish, rice, ginger, salt, and chillies in Nayōn (May–June) to the village *nats*.

17. **Human sacrifice.**—There can be no doubt that human sacrifice prevailed in Burma until recent days, both as a propitiatory and as a preventive action in reference to the unseen powers; and, in the case of the Wild Was, the extension of the practice even to the present time in the form of head-hunting is of the greatest interest, because that custom has there a direct ceremonial origin.

(1) *Burmans*.—When Alaunghpayā, the founder of the last or Alompra dynasty of Burma, founded Rangoon in 1755, he sacrificed a Talaing prince, whose spirit became the Sūlē Natgyī, or Guardian (*Myōsadē*), of Rangoon, still worshipped at the Sūlē Pagoda, a prominent shrine in the heart of the now great city. When his last great successor, Mindōn Min, father of Thībaw who was deposed in 1885, founded Mandalay in 1857, he caused a pregnant woman to be slain at night on the advice of a *pōnnā* (Hindu astrologer), in order that her spirit might become the guardian *nat* of the new city. Offerings of fruit and food were openly made by the king in the palace to the spirit of the dead woman, which was supposed to have taken the

shape of a snake. It should be borne in mind that the word 'Alaunghpayā' as a name means 'a coming Buddha,' and that Mindōn Min was a strict Buddhist in ordinary life. In the Anglo-Burman war of 1826, the commander of the Burmese army, the Pukhan Wungyī, proposed to offer the European prisoners at Ava as a sacrifice to the *nats*, and sent them to the Aungbinlē Lake, near Mandalay, for the purpose.

In addition to this direct evidence, there is that afforded by the stone figures, grasping clubs, as guardians (*sade*), at the corners of the city walls at Mandalay, seated above jars filled with oil of various kinds. Circumstantial tales exist of human sacrifices on the setting up of such figures both at Amarapura (1782) and at Mandalay.

The object of such human sacrifices, also attached to the foundation of the main city gates, is that the haunting ghost (*natsein*) of the deceased shall hover about the place, and attack all strangers who come with evil intentions. The frequent change of capital which has occurred throughout Burmese history is said by the Burmans to have been due to the loss of efficiency on the part of the guardians, as shown by the disappearance of the oil in the jars under their images, and other portents.

(2) *Shans.*—About a hundred years ago the boundary at Kenglaw between the Shan States of Kengtung and Kenghung, now the British and Chinese boundary, was fixed by burying two men alive, one facing north and the other south. In British times two images of Buddha were substituted, back to back, at the same place for the same purpose.

(3) *White Karens and Danaws.*—White (Mepū) Karens have abandoned slavery, but, while it existed, slaves were buried alive with their masters. A small hole was left through which they could breathe, and food was supplied to them for seven days. If they could then rise unaided from their graves, they became free. The same thing is said of the Danaws.

(4) *Wild Was: head-hunting.*—The Wild Was expose human heads for the general propitiation of guardian spirits, the custom being one of the most instructive among those to be observed in Burma, as these people have to hunt annually for the heads they thus set up. The Wild Was' own description of the origin of their head-hunting is thus given in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1896:

'Ya Htawm and Ya Htai are the father and mother spirits of the Was, and of all their spirits alone were genial and benignant. The most seemly offering to them was a snow-white grinning skull. The ordinary sacrifices on special occasions were, however, to be buffaloes, bullocks, pigs, and fowls, with plentiful libations of rice spirit. The special occasions were marriage, the commencement of a war, death, and the putting up of a human skull. In addition to these meat offerings, a human skull was always desirable under exceptional circumstances, or for special objects. Thus, when a new village was founded, a skull was an imperative necessity. If there were a drought which threatened a failure of the crops, no means would be so successful in bringing rain as the dedication of a skull. If disease swept away many victims, a skull alone would stay the pestilence. But the good parental ogres expressly said it was not necessary that the villagers should slay a man in order to get his head. They might get the skull by barter.'

The regulated posting up of men's heads ensures plenty of dogs (to eat), corn, and liquor. The Wa regards his skulls as a protection against the spirits of evil. Without a skull his harvest might fail, his kine might die, the ancestral spirits might be enraged, or malignant spirits might gain entrance to the village and kill the inhabitants or drink all the liquor.

The skulls are placed on posts (*tak-keng*) or in an avenue approaching the village, usually under over-arching trees or dense undergrowth, after the fashion of the Kachin avenue approach, which consists of posts ornamented with symbols and imitation weapons to keep off evil spirits.

A Wa never misses an opportunity of taking a head, because the ghost of the dead man hangs about his skull and resents the approach of other spirits. For this reason the skulls of strangers are the most valuable, for such a ghost does not know his way about, and cannot possibly wander from his earthly remains. An unprotected stranger is therefore pretty sure to lose his head if he wanders among the Wild Was, no matter what the time of the year may be. The more eminent he is, the more sure he is to die.

There is a regular season for head-hunting—in March and April—to protect the crops, and at least one new head is required annually. The head-hunting party is usually about a dozen strong. Villages are never attacked, nor does the party leave its own country. They sometimes meet and attack each other for heads, but this does not provoke revenge. There is a tariff for heads when bought, according to ease in securing them. Lem are lowest; Lahū much more expensive; Chinese very expensive; ordinary Shan are rare; Burmese never secured.

When heads are brought home there is a general dance ending in drunken orgies. They are cleaned before being put up. No offerings are ever made in the avenue of skulls, and sacrifices are all made at the spirit-house in the village, while the bones, skins, horns, hoofs, and feathers are deposited there or in individual houses, never in the avenue.

One proof of the sacrificial nature of the human head-hunting lies in the treatment of buffalo heads. Each house stands apart on its own plot of uneven ground, and is usually enclosed within a slight fence. Inside this is the record of the number of buffaloes the owner has sacrificed to the spirits. For each beast he puts up a forked stick, in shape like the letter Y, and there are usually rows of these from three or four to hundreds. The heads thus represented are piled up in a heap at the end of the house, as a guarantee of good faith in the matter of the sticks.

As a consequence of this head-hunting habit, Wa villages are cleverly contrived savage fortresses; but, except in this matter, the Wild Was are harmless, unenterprising agriculturists, well behaved and industrious.

The breaking down of the custom from actual head-hunting to mere symbolism is seen from the Chinese view of the Was. They reckon the Wa's civilization by his method of head-collecting. The most savage, the Wild Was proper, are those who take any heads, next those who take heads in fights only, next those who merely buy them, and the most civilized are those who substitute heads of bears, panthers, and other wild beasts for human heads. There are, however, real Wild Was who ring all these changes round the head-hunting centre, which is about the Nawng Hkeo Lake.

18. Protective action.—Apart from the employment of such agents as mediums, exorcists, and the like, with their arts, such as necromancy, magic, and so on, the peoples of Burma take protective action on their own account against the unseen powers of evil. This is roughly a residuum of the various kinds of knowledge that their 'wise men' have taught them. No part of the population is free from the resultant practices. Buddhism is quite powerless not only to restrain these practices, but even to help the people to escape from them. Orthodox Buddhist monks will not, in the more civilized parts and under the ordinary conditions of life, join in the more openly Animistic protective ceremonies, yet they will be present on sufficiently important occasions, and take, as it were, a scriptural share in them. The use of the monk at deathbeds, with which he is not professionally concerned, and which he is not always asked to attend, is that the good influence of his pious presence may keep away evil spirits. His pres-

ence is, in fact, an additional protective charm against the *nats*.

(1) *General protection*.—In all Burmese houses there is kept a pot of charmed water (*nyaunggyē-ō*), over which an astrologer has uttered spells. This water is sprinkled about the house, as a protection against evil spirits generally. Another specific for protection against troublesome familiar spirits is a change of name practised by Burmans and Shans. Burmans when on a journey keep away evil spirits by tying a bunch of plantains and a twig of the *thabyè* tree to a cart or boat. An offering to the nearest shrine (*natsin*) each time a fishing boat is launched will prevent the *nats* from interfering with a haul. Hunters tie back the twigs of any large tree they meet in their way, to scare away the forest demons (*tawsaung nat*). At all boat-races the main object of the preliminary paddle over the course with offerings is to prevent the *nats* who inhabit that particular reach of the river from interfering with the race.

(2) *Specific action*.—(*a*) *Protection against the spirits of the recently deceased*.—The Kachins and other tribes put up entanglements to prevent the dead from entering their villages, and supply them with models of whatever they may be supposed to want. The protective nature of the death ceremonies comes out clearly in those of the Taungthūs, who tie the thumbs and great toes together, and release the spirit by measuring the corpse with twisted cotton, setting food before it, taking it to the cemetery, pouring water over the face as an emblem of the division between the quick and the dead 'as a stream divides countries,' and setting a torch in front of the biers of persons dying on holidays (when domestic ceremonies are impossible) 'to show the way.' Among the Padaungs the bodies of women who die in childbirth are first beaten with sticks to ascertain death, and are then cut open, so that the infant may be buried separately. The protection here is found in the idea that the woman's spirit will hover round the infant and leave the village alone.

(*b*) *Protection against epidemics*.—The avowed attitude of the Karens towards ceremonials in times of distress explains them. They say that at such times it is well to make peace with all religions. This feeling comes out in all popular efforts in Burma to scare away the spirits that cause epidemics. Burmans paint the figure of an ogre (*balū*) on a pot, which is then broken. On three nights the whole village turns out to frighten away the spirits of disease by noise. If that fails, the Buddhist monks are called in to preach away the pestilence. If that fails, the village and the sick are abandoned. Before the people return, the monks read 'the Law' (*Dammathat*) through the streets, the *nat* shrine is repaired, and new offerings are abundantly supplied. Among the Talaings, when the Buddhist ceremonial has failed, the Village Saving Ceremony (*yuā-hkyā*) is resorted to. This is pure devil-dancing on the part of the people, who impersonate evil spirits (*tasē*), ogres (*balū*), *nats*, witches, dogs, and pigs. The object is to get an answer from the spirits that the sick will recover. There is always a favourable answer, whereupon there is a wild rush for the *leippyās* (errant butterfly souls of the sick). They are captured in loincloths (*pasō*) and shaken over the head of the sick. Burmans drive away the cholera *nat* by beating the roof and making as much noise as possible (*thayētōp*), after a (Buddhist) ceremony of consecrating water-vessels (*payēt-ō*), which contain, *inter alia*, sticks with yellow strings wound round them. These strings are afterwards worn as prophylactic bracelets, and are also hung round the eaves of the houses in bags. The noise-making in all these ceremonies is largely copied from the Chinese.

(*c*) *Protection of houses and sacred buildings*.—The Talaings suspend a coco-nut wrapped in yellow or red cloth in the south-east angle-post of a house, to invoke the protection of the house guardian (*eingsaung nat*), Min Māgayē, one of the Thirty-seven. The Burmans place a piece of white cloth, with fragrant *thanākā* ointment, on the tops of all the posts, or on one in three, to protect all wooden buildings, houses, wayside rest-houses (*zayāts*), and bridges from the ill-luck brought by the evil spirits inhabiting the knots in the wood of the posts. The object of striking the great bells on Buddhist pagoda platforms is spirit-scaring. During the foundation ceremony of a village pagoda built by a Shan, a round earthen vase, containing gold, silver, and precious stones, besides rice and sweetmeats, was closed with wax, in which a lighted taper was stuck, and deposited by the builder in the south-eastern hole made for the foundation. The builder also repeated a long prayer while earth was being filled into the hole and sprinkled with water. All this was to scare away the great serpent in whose direction the south-eastern corner of the foundation pointed (Anderson, *Mandalay to Momein*, 52).

(3) *Transfer of evil spirits: scape-goats*.—The ideas of inducing evil spirits to betake themselves elsewhere and of making scape-goats in some form or other are universal in Burma. Red Karens have a scape-goat in the shape of an image of a horse or elephant carved on the top of a post set up at the harvest festival (*edu*), and surrounded by offerings of rice spirit, fruit, and flowers. The animal is supposed to carry off all evil spirits to a safe distance. Sgau and Pwo Karens never forgive injuries, real or fancied, of village to village. When it is necessary, however, to combine in times of common danger, they create a scape-goat in the shape of a man chosen 'to confess the sins of the nation.' He runs off, and is captured and made to repeat each injury in turn, which is settled then and there. Burmans, on occasions of sickness, set up small figures of clay outside the house, and draw pictures of peacocks and hares (representing the spirits of the sun and moon respectively) on small fans kept in the house. Small coffins, with miniature effigie of the sick persons (*ayōt*) inside them, are buried to the east or the west of the house. This ceremony (*payātayā*) is a protection against further sickness, and the image and pictures are scape-goats for carrying away the spirits of disease.

19. **Divination**.—(1) *General methods*.—In Burma, divination is left to the people by the monks, and the *Deittōn* (*Ditthavana*, The Collection of False Doctrines), the great book used by the Bēdinsayās (imported Indian astrologers), is not admitted into the monasteries. The governing principle is, as elsewhere, augury from uncontrollable chance. The Kachins heat bamboos (*saman*) till they split, and the length of the resulting fibres settles the augury. So do the knots in torn leaves (*shippā wot*)—a system of augury copied by the Hpons under another name. Szi Kachins count the odd sticks in each group placed haphazard between the fingers of one hand, out of thirty-three selected bamboos. Chins go by the direction in which the blood of sacrifices flows. Burmans boil eggs hard, and judge by the whiteness: the whiter the egg, the more favourable the omen.

The most important form of divination in Burma is that of the Karens, from the bones of fowls. This has spread far and wide, and decides everything in the Red Karen's life, even the succession to the chiefship. Any one can divine. The thigh and wing bones are scraped till holes appear, and that bone is selected in which the holes are even. Bits of bamboo are placed in the holes, and the augury is taken from the slant of the bamboos: outwards, for; inwards, against. Among the Kachins the bones are kept until they are grimed with the smoke of years, as they have then acquired an established reputation. War chiefs keep such old bones in carved bamboo phials, and usually store them in the roof.

Kachins use also the brains, sinews, and entrails of fowls, and the entrails of cattle and pigs. Divining from the entrails of fowls is common among the Burmans. The birds are cut open from the tail, and the entrails are extracted and turned larger side uppermost. The longer and thicker they are, and the larger the stomach, the more favourable the omen. The White Karens extend the idea to the livers of fowls and pigs: smooth, straight, or pale wins; malformed or dark loses. This augury is so trusted that it will serve to break off a love match.

Spirit action is also brought into play for the purposes of divination. Among the Taungthūs, if the offerings at the annual festival to the village guardian are insufficient for the appetites of those present, there will be a bad harvest. The heaviness of a good crop depends on the surplus after all have finished. At funerals, Kachins place heaps of rice-flour at or near graves. If they are found to have been disturbed in the morning, there will be another death in the family. One kind of augury the Burmese people have in common with most of the world. Sgau and Pwo Karens place a clod of earth under the pillow, so that dreams may point out the proper site for hill-side cultivation (*taungyā*, forest-burning).

The Chins employ an obscure method of divination from the contents of eggs blown through a hole at each end. After the operation the shells are placed on sticks with some cock's feathers.

(2) *Ordeals and oaths*.—Ordeals and oaths are hardly separated in the native mind in Burma, and each is in reality a form of divination. Oaths of the native sort are in consequence much dreaded, whereas the form adopted by the English (*chanzā*) from the Buddhists, with its Indian spiritual horrors, has not now any supernaturally terrifying effect.

(*a*) *Ordeals*.—Trial by ordeal (*kabbā*) was constantly in requisition in the native courts, and the treatment of witches was horrible. There were four regular kinds of judicial ordeal.

(1) Candle burning (*mi-htun*). Candles are placed on an altar, and the party loses whose candle goes out first. (2) Thrusting the finger into molten lead (*hke-htauk*). The fore-finger is protected except at the tip; the least hurt, as decided by the flow of serum on pricking, wins. (3) Water ordeals (*yela*). Whichever party can stay under in deep water longest wins. (4) Chewing or swallowing rice (*sanwa*). The guilty cannot swallow, probably through anxiety affecting the nerves. This is also a common Indian idea.

Kachins deposit stakes on each side. Rice is then boiled on a leaf; the best boiled rice wins. Among chiefs the accused puts his hand into water boiled in a bamboo ceremonially selected by an exorcist (*tumsa*). If the skin comes off, he loses.

(*b*) *Oaths.*—Among Lai Chins, the oaths most feared are drinking water which has been poured over a tiger's skull, and drinking blood mixed with liquor. Among the Northern Chins, contracting chiefs pour liquor over a cow and shoot or stab the animal, cut off the tail, and smear their faces, to an imprecatory chant. A stone is set up to mark the spot. The oath most feared by the people is to eat earth. Sgau and Pwo Karens lay hands on the sacrifice (buffalo) in settlement of claims, and divide it into portions, each party eating half his portion and burying the rest.

(*c*) *Oaths of allegiance.*—Among Sgau and Pwo Karens, individuals, villages, and clans are bound together by drinking spirits in which the blood of the parties has been mixed. Blood-brotherhood of this nature is also known among the Burmans. Another method of swearing allegiance is to divide an ox exactly in two, and every member of each contracting party eats a part of the half belonging to his party. Each side also takes one horn so marked that they are recognized as being a pair. Production of the horn compels either party to aid the other in any circumstances. See BROTHERHOOD (artif.) i. 3.

(3) *Astrology.*—The Burman is so fettered by his horoscope (*sadā*) and the lucky and unlucky days for him recorded therein, which are taught him in rhymes (*lingā*) from childhood, that the character has been given him by strangers of alternate idleness and energy. But both are enforced by the numerous days and seasons when he may not work without disaster to himself. Unlucky days (*pyatthādanē*) cause him so much fear that he will resort to all sorts of excuses to avoid business on them. Similarly, on lucky days (*yētyāza*) he will work beyond his strength, because he is assured of success. These facts are worthy of careful attention, as it is so easy for European observers to mistake Asiatics: *e.g.*, the character of laziness given to the Nicobarese is greatly due to their habit of holding their very frequent feasts and necromantic ceremonies all through the night.

Burmese astrology, and the superstitions on which it is based, are *primâ facie* Indian. Many of the terms used are certainly Indian. Nevertheless, they are only partially Indian, and Chinese influence has had much to do with the development of Burmese astrology as we now find it. The astrologers of the Burmese Court were all *pōnnās* (supposed Brāhmans from Manipur), whose chief study was the Sāmaveda, and whose books were the Tantra, Jyoti, and Kāma Śāstras of Bengal. Their title was Bēdinsayā, 'learned in the Vedangas.' Their astronomy is purely Hindu. They worked the Royal clepsydra, calculated the incidence of the year and the intercalary months, drew up the horoscopes, calculated the lucky days, and told fortunes. But they are dying out, and at no time did they have much influence on the astrology of the country side, which followed the *Hpēwān*—the Shan system of the Sixty-Year Cycle, so well known in China, Siam, Cambodia, Annam, etc.—for reckoning the calendar. Shan soothsayers are considered the most learned, and all their prognostications are worked out from the *Hpēwān*. Almost all the Burmese superstitions about the path of the dragon (*nagā-hlē*), which regulates the lucky days, and the lucky rhymes (*mingalā lingā*) that control marriages, are taken direct from this table, which in its main lines is exactly that of Taoist fortune-tellers in China.

The *Hpēwān* is used to work out horoscopes, settle marriages (by the theory of hostile pairs taught in *yan-pet-lingā*, rhymes known to every Burmese girl), partnerships, and undertakings generally; and since, in Burma, the Shans have partially adopted the Buddhist calendar, such confusion is caused in the almanac that much practice and experience are required to work it. Hence partly its charm and power. Its influence is proved by the fact that the Buddhist monks nowadays issue annually an almanac (*mahā-thingān*), which shows many traces of the *Hpēwān*.

Based on this difficult method of calculation, a very complicated astrological system has been set up, which has, however, a strong admixture of Buddhist astrological notions in it. The day of birth is one governing point, and on horoscopes the days of the week are represented by numbers and symbols of 'the presiding animal of the day.' Another governing point is the position of the dragon (*topai, nagā*), as the great thing to aim at is to avoid facing its mouth in any transactions, especially cattle-buying. This is ascertained by the terminal syllables of the names of the days. The *Hpēwān* is also used to ascertain, by a simple calculation, which looks like a real puzzle to the uninitiated, what offerings to the *nats* are suitable on any given day.

Lucky and unlucky days are fixed according to the Shan and not the Burmese calendar; and, as they do not correspond, the Burman cannot calculate them for himself, and is thus forced to go to the astrologer. There is a long list of lucky days for building operations, picked, in eclectic fashion, out of the imported Buddhist and indigenous animals and *nats*; the unlucky days depend on the final syllable of the names. Lastly, a long series of days are individually unlucky for a very great variety of enterprises, practically for all the business of native life. The lucky days in the month are in a considerable minority.

There is a curious superstition as to bleeding, which has an astrological basis. The centre of vigour in the human body is believed to shift downwards during the week: on Sunday it is in the head, Monday in the forehead, Tuesday in the shoulders, Wednesday in the mouth, chin, and cheeks, Thursday in the waist and hands, Friday in the breast and legs, Saturday in the abdomen and toes. Bleeding from any of these parts on their particular day is considered very dangerous and sinister (*Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 63).

20. Necromancy.—(1) *Nature of necromancy in Burma.*—'The object of the Burmans' necromancy is to acquire influence over the spirits and make them do their bidding. Witches and wizards are supposed to be materialized spirits or beings who can project their bodies into space and regulate their movements' (Taw Sein Ko, *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 73). Such beings are usually women. Although the familiar spirits and spells of the Burman necromancer can be shown to be chiefly Indian in origin, his incantations are composed in Sanskrit, Pāli, Burmese, Talaing, and Shan, or in an unintelligible jargon made up of one or more of these languages, thus showing both their eclectic and their indigenous nature. They are used in conjunction with something to be worn or kept with a view to protection from disease or injury of a pronounced kind—gunshot wounds, famine, plague, epidemics, hydrophobia, enemies in general, and the like.

All necromancers (*wēzā*, 'wise men') are mixed up in the Burman's mind, and are divided into good (mediums and exorcists) and bad (wizards and witches), and each of the two categories is divided into four classes, according to the element with which they work—mercury (*pyadā*), iron (*than*), medicine (*se*), magic squares (*in*). All this is Indian.

Medicine, which among the Burmans is Indian in origin, is not clear of necromancy. The doctor

(*sethamā*) is a mere quack, with an empirical knowledge of leaves, barks, flowers, seeds, roots, and a few minerals. The *dātsayā* is a dietist, and the *beindawsayā* is a druggist, but a doctor seldom combines both practices, and in either case is largely necromantic, professing to cure the witch-caused diseases (*son*) commonly believed in. The position of the moon and the stars has more to do with the cure than the medicine, and the horoscope than the diet. Cases of death or failure to cure are attributed to error in the astrological or horoscopic information supplied. In Lower Burma there is supposed to be a wizards' town at Kalē Thaungtot on the Chindwin River, with a wizard king, who can undo the effects of bewitchment in those who go on a pilgrimage there.

The methods of wild necromancy appear in the practice of the Kachins. Somebody wants a powerful man to be made ill. The *tumsa* (exorcist, wizard) recites the special charm necessary to cause the particular sickness desired, and meanwhile his client plants a few stalks of long grass by the side of the road leading towards the victim's house. Then either a dog or a pig is killed, and the body is wrapped in grass and placed by the road and left there, while spears are cast and shots fired in the same direction. The ceremony closes by the *tumsa* and each of those present taking up four or five stalks of grass and casting them similarly towards the person who is to be charmed (*kumpachin khyemnai*) (E. C. S. George, *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 427).

(2) *Alchemy and palmistry.*—The Burmese are inveterate alchemists and palmists, and their practice is a mixture of all the occult superstitions known to the people, from Indian alchemy and palmistry to Karen augury from chicken bones.

(3) *Exorcism.*—Evil spirits and malignant ghosts (*tasē, hminzā, thayē, thabēt*) are exorcized by the general public by making a loud jarring noise, by beating anything that comes in their way—walls and doors of houses, kettles, metal trays, cymbals, and so on. In cases of spirit-caused sickness the *nat* is sometimes simply scared away by threats; but it is usual to apply drastic measures, such as severely beating the patient and rubbing pungent substances into the eyes. The argument is that the ill-treatment falls on the spirit, and that, therefore, when it has departed, the patient will be free from any after effects. The methods of the exorcists are usually as eclectic as possible; but among the Chins every spirit has its own special sacrifice, known only to the wise men and women, and will accept no other.

Every professional curer of disease—physician, priest, medium, wise man, necromancer, or wizard—is an exorcist, following practices that are hardly to be differentiated one from the other.

(*a*) *Priests.*—The idea of a priesthood is foreign to the untutored Indo-Chinese mind, and a recognized priestly class does not exist among the uncultivated tribes in Burma, or indeed among the more civilized population. The persons who profess to deal with supernatural matters follow in ordinary life occupations carrying no particular respect, often the reverse. The Burman, Talaing, or Shan *pōngyi*, or Buddhist monk, is not technically a minister of religion, and the only approach to priesthood among the Kachins is the *jaiwa*, who is an exorcist (*tumsa*) practising his art for powerful chiefs (*duwas*). Some tribes, notably the Kachins, have an incipient priesthood, however, in the persons of their chiefs, who alone can perform certain tribal and national sacrifices; and the idea of personal sanctity in its very infancy is to be seen in the triennial feast of the White Karens, at which men only may be present. The cases of the *tafuye*, high priest chief of the Lahūs, and of the *damadā sawbwā*, the hereditary priest of the *nats* among the Palaungs, are not to the point. The former is the result of a jumble of Chinese and Indo-Chinese ideas on the part of a tribe of Tibeto-Burman origin with strong Chinese proclivities, and the latter of a Mon-Annam tribe settled in the Shan country, of some education derived from Burmese sources. This last hereditary priesthood is an inaccurate adaptation of the Burmese *thāthanābaing*, or 'head of religion,' whose title is usually with equal incorrectness translated by the English term 'archbishop,' as he is merely the chief of the heads of the Monastic Order, *primus inter pares.* Ordinarily the priestly personage is not to be distinguished from the necromancer or exorcist, and acquires his qualifications in the same way.

(*b*) *Wise men and women.*—The Burman wise men and women and diviners generally (*natsaw, tumsa, mitwe*) are merely ordinary villagers of no social standing, who act in a *quasi*-priestly capacity as occasion demands. The chief professional exorcist (of Indian origin) is the wise-man physician who 'works in iron' (*than wezā*), and is a vendor of charms against injury. The female medium is known as the *nat*'s wife (*natkadaw*), and retains her powers only so long as the *nat* possesses her and keeps her in an hysterical condition. This condition is recognized as necessary, and a formal marriage with the *nat* is celebrated. At the late Royal Court, under Indian influence, mediums and professional exorcists, both male (*natsayā, natōk, natsaw, natthungē*) and female (*natkadaw, natmeimmā*), were employed to chant and pray in the proper form at the State festivals.

(*c*) *Qualifications.*—The qualifications of an exorcist or wise man commence with none at all, as in the case of the Wild Was, who have no priests or mediums, and among whom any old man can conduct the invocations. The Red Karens require very slight qualifications, and the diviners are usually selected old men, who carry out the national chicken-bone divination, and have charge of the village *nat*-shrine. But the Kachin exorcist (*tumsa*) succeeds to the office by natural selection after a voluntary apprenticeship, and the Kachin diviner (*mitwe*), who is a medium entirely under spirit possession, divining while in a state of frenzy, has to undergo a severe apprenticeship and ordeal to prove that he has communications with the spirit world.

Among the civilized Burmans, the qualifications of the exorcists (*hmawsayā*) are much more sophisticated. They drink water in which ashes of scrolls containing cabalistic squares and mystic figures have been mixed, or take special medicines, or are tatued with figures of *nats*, magic squares, and incantations. Some of these exorcists maintain their reputation by conjuring tricks (*hkontelet pwe*) which are regarded as miracles.

(*d*) *Methods.*—The ordinary use of an exorcist or medium is to restore health, and the methods usually employed are magic and dancing. In the Chindwin District, Aung Naing Nat causes cattle disease, and he is exorcized by placing a betel box and a pipe in a bag hung from a bamboo pole, and by dancing round the diseased animal, which is tied to a post. Some exorcists have a divining rod (*ywātān*), with which they thrash the possessed to drive out the witch in possession. The true dancing mediums are generally women (*natwun*), who limit their operations, as a rule, to hysterical chanting and whirling dances, though they occasionally exorcize as well. Such women wear a distinctive garment in the shape of a red cloth wrapped round the head. Among the Talaings the dancing medium is of importance, and is employed at the triennial national feast to the village guardians, to dance away sickness in general. A costume suited to the particular spirit to be addressed or invoked is customary among Burmans, Kachins, and others—a custom that is specially noticeable in the festivals in honour of the Thirty-seven Nats, when the dress of the medium is an essential part of the ceremony.

(*e*) *Ceremonies.*—A typical instance of a Burman exorcizing ceremony, applicable also to the Kachins, to drive out sickness is the following: 'A bamboo altar is constructed in the house, and various offerings (boiled fowls, pork, plantains, coco-nuts, rice, etc.) are placed on it for the *nat.* The exorcist (*natsayā*) then stands a bright copper or brass plate on end near the altar, and begins to chant, at the same time watching for the shadow of the *nat* on the polished copper. When this appears, the officiant begins to dance, and gradually works herself into a state of ecstasy. The state of tension produced frequently causes the patient to do the same thing, with obvious results one way or the other, especially if, as not unseldom happens, this invocation of the possessing spirit is continued for two or three days' (*Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 29).

Sick children are afflicted by Chaungzōn Nat, the Spirit of the Junction of the Waters. Little boats, in which are placed an egg, some of the child's hair, and some sweetmeats, are made and consigned, by way of providing a scape-goat, to the Irrawaddy after such a ceremony as that just described.

(*f*) *Spirit possession.*—The idea of spirit possession in other creatures than mediums has not been much developed in Burma; but Burmans, possibly under Indian influence, believe that evil spirits and malignant ghosts enter into alligators and tigers and cause them to destroy human life.

(4) *Magic.*—The object of Burmese magic (*pyinsalēt*) is to secure hallucination in respect of the five senses, and to confer temporary invulnerability. This is achieved by potent mixtures, such as the following: equal parts of the livers of a human being, monkey, black dog, goat, cobra, and owl, and a whole lizard, pounded from midnight till dawn, and kept in a gold or silver box, and rubbed on various parts of the body. This will secure second sight, invisibility, death of an enemy, and a good many other objects of desire.

(*a*) *Indian influence.*—Certain specific kinds of magic have no doubt come from India—which accounts for the otherwise

puzzling fact that Buddhist monks (*pōngyis*) themselves are much addicted to it. That they have drawn on native Animistic sources to enlarge their knowledge is but natural. The name, story, and exorcism of Pōnnakā Nat are all from the West. He does mischief through an invisible agency in three ways: throwing stones at a house, beating people with a stick, and burning houses or villages. Invisible stone-throwing on the roofs of houses, attributed to *nats*, is a common grievance in Burma.

(*b*) *Wild tribes.*—Among the wilder tribes, magic takes a simpler and more directly unsophisticated form. The Sgau and the Pwo Karens, when embarking on an expedition, kill a hog or a fowl, and roll up in a leaf, with some salt, a portion of the heart, liver, and entrails. This ties up the heads of the enemy.

(*c*) *Articles subjected to magic.*—(i.) *Boats.* The Great Nat (Buddhist in origin) of the Palaungs visited Loi Seng Hill in Tawngpeng in a magic barge (*hpaung setkyā*). Inthās, who are lake-dwellers on the Yawng Hwe Lake, worship the magic boat (*hpaung-daw*) in which their original ancestor came (probably of Burmese origin).—(ii.) *Stones.* At Nyaung-ū there is a twisted stone, in which dwells Ape Shwe Myosin, a spirit. If the sick can lift it, they will recover; if not, they will die. On Mandalay Hill, before a shrine, there is a flat oval stone. If the stone is heavy to lift, it is a bad sign for a journey.—(iii.) *Charms.* There are numerous charms for invulnerability and security from violence, which consist of internal medicine, bathing in medicated water, carrying balls of mercury, iron, or orpiment, and amulets and talismans about the body, especially in the head-dress (*gaungbaung*), or wearing small silver charms inserted under the skin, which is tatued with figures and cabalistic squares. The main charms for invulnerability are Indian, and are connected with the legend of Bawithādā, the miraculous leaper, which is but the Burmese pronunciation of an uncorrupted Pāli form.

(5) *Evil eye.*—Except as the result of Hindu influence, the idea of the evil eye (*lusōnkyā*) has never developed in Burma, though it exists; and among the Kachins some people who have two souls (*numla*), one of which possesses the evil eye, are looked upon as dangerous, and are murdered.

(6) *Tatuing.*—Every self-respecting Burman is extensively tatued from the waist to the knee. The practice is largely connected with magic.

(*a*) *Male tatuing.*—Among Burmans the tatuing is almost always for reasons of magic. Exorcists (*hmawsayā*) attain their powers by being tatued with figures of *nats*, incantations, and cabalistic squares (*in*). With these also every Burman is tatued. Being tatued with figures of *nats* in red, by means of a charmed mixture of vermilion and human fat, gives protection against wounds inflicted by sword, gun, or cudgel, and confers reckless courage. Figures of *nats* and cabalistic squares confer invulnerability. Conventional figures of tigers on the legs confer swiftness of foot, and are sought after by thieves and highwaymen. The sources of this kind of magic are eclectic, and even Buddhist inscriptions in Pāli are brought into requisition.

Shan military officers of rank were tatued in order to acquire the powers of deceased heroes, and the ceremony was accompanied with ceremonial cannibalism. Red Karens are tatued in red with the tribal emblem of the rising sun on the small of the back, as a magic symbol. Sawngtung Karens had two black squares beneath the chin for the same reason. Was are occasionally tatued on the arms and breast with charms.

The tatuing of the Burman from waist to knee is nowadays a mere custom for 'beauty,' but was beyond doubt originally a protective magical charm, as is shown by the figures ordinarily selected, and by the incantations repeated during the operation. Shan tatuing of the same kind is more extensive, down the calves and up the back and chest, and is still more avowedly of a necromantic nature, as are all the additional figures about the bodies of some Burmans. Tatuing with the figure of Bawdithādā, the miraculous leaper, as a symbol of fighting capacity, and carried out with occult ceremonies, is a notable instance of necromancy adopted originally from Indian sources.

The Burman has an ineradicable belief in the efficacy of tatued charms. In 1881 a youth in Rangoon was tatued with a *byeing* (paddy-bird) as a protection from drowning, and was thrown with his consent into the Rangoon River and was drowned. The tatuers (*sayā*) were convicted of manslaughter; but all the Burmans thought it a miscarriage of justice, as the drowning was due in their minds to some mistake in the ceremony (Scott, *The Burman*, i. 56).

(*b*) *Female tatuing.*—Among Burmans, female tatuing is rare and disreputable, and is resorted to as a love-charm—a small triangle of three red dots.

Lai Chin women are tatued in black all over the face and breast, originally probably as a means of identification if captured by outsiders. A similar custom is said to exist in the North at the sources of the Nam Ma, the extreme north-east of the Shan States. Maru Kachin women used to be tatued in a series of rings from the foot to the knee, perhaps for identification.

(*c*) *Tatuing as a badge.*—Burman soldiers were tatued with the animal badge of their regiments on the small of the back—dragon, lion, rat, etc.—no doubt as a charm.

(*d*) *Tatuing as a punishment.*—Burman criminals were tatued with a circle on the cheek (*pagwet*), or with descriptive devices on the chest, to show that they were murderers (*luthat*), thieves (*thu-hko*), or dacoits (*damya*, highwaymen). Sometimes the offence was tatued on them in words.

(7) *Witchcraft.*—Brāhmanic influence, through Buddhism, has had a distinct effect on the modern Burmese practice of witchcraft, which is recognized in the Burmese 'Law-Books,' wherein are instructions as to the finding of witches and as to the manner of punishing them. The Talaings consider that witches and wizards are the result of the 'devil-dances' instituted to drive away epidemics.

Witches (*sōnmā*) and wizards (*sōn*) can harm others by occult influence, and by sending out their own spirits (*leippyā*) to possess them. Proofs of their action in case of death used to be found by cremating the body of the person affected, and discovering pieces of hide or beef (*apin*) in the fire; in the case of the living, similar information is sought by placing food in a platter outside the house at nightfall, for the dogs to eat. If in the morning grass was found in the platter, the victim was under a witch's displeasure; if stones, he would recover; if earth, he would certainly die.

If a witch confessed on accusation, she was merely banished. If she would not confess, she had to go through a cruel and disgusting ordeal by water, when, if she floated, she was judged to be guilty, because she must have floated on account of the charmed empty gourd or bladder in her stomach. If she sank, she was not guilty, and had to be heavily compensated. She was not allowed to drown.

Among the Kachins, some exorcists (*tumsa*) are also wizards, and can cause sickness by bewitching their victims (*marong matsai*). The 'wild' attitude generally towards witchcraft and its professors is thus well described by George in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. i. p. 427, when summarizing a case between Kachins before himself:

> 'C, the brother of A and B, happened to die of fever, and before dying declared that D had bewitched him. Within a fortnight A and B collected a following, attacked D's house, shot him dead, and, capturing the whole of the household and relations, some thirteen in all, sold them into slavery. Even on trial A and B would not admit the possibility of C having made a mistake, and were scandalized that the British Government should interfere on the behalf of the wizard.'

21. Cannibalism.—Cannibalism is persistently, but quite doubtfully, ascribed to the Wild Was, Kachins, and even Shans. It probably always existed in a ceremonial form, to obtain magical powers, among Shan military officers of distinction, while undergoing a particular form of tatuing. In 1888 the captured rebel chief Twet Ngalū was shot and buried by his guard. He had been a monk, had a great name as a sorcerer, and was elaborately tatued. The nearest Shan *sawbwa* (chief) dug up the corpse, and boiled down the head and other portions of the body into a potent decoction, and was with difficulty dissuaded from sending a small phial of this for the use of the British Chief Commissioner (*Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 37). The existing head-hunting of the Wild Was is a relic of cannibalism, as is admitted by themselves, and it has been attributed to them as long as there have been Europeans in the East (see Camoens, *Lusiadas*, cant. x. 86).

22. Domestic customs.—(1) *Pregnancy.*—Customs connected with pregnancy are not common. Kachin women must not eat honey or porcupine flesh at that time, as they cause miscarriage. Among Shans the husband should not drive pigs, carry the dead, dig or fill in holes, or mock at others.

(2) *Birth.*—Kachin customs explain the reason for the observances at birth. Normal births are under the protection of the house guardian. Abnormal births occur when the jungle *nats* (*sawn*) have driven out the guardians—a situation which the exorcist ascertains by divination from bamboos

(*chippawot*). Therefore, by way of general propitiation, at all births two pots of beer are prepared: one for the general company and one named after the child immediately on its appearance, and drunk in its honour. So also it is necessary to notify the fact of the birth to the *nats* by sacrifices. After a normal birth the mother remains at home out of the *nats'* way for three days, and on the fourth she is formally protected from the *nats* who desire to carry off her child, by throwing a spear at a spring. At abnormal births the *nats* are appeased by sacrifices, and driven away by noise and the burning of foul-smelling things.

The Red Karens improve on the beer-drinking of the Kachins by turning their birth feasts into orgies of meat and drink, and teaching the infant to drink liquor while still at the breast. When the child is three or four days old, the mother takes it and a hoe in her arms, and hoes a little ground, soon after which the ear-boring ceremony, usually a function at puberty, takes place, showing its protective origin. Sawngtung Karens on the birth of a child place a brass ring and a skein of white cotton on the shrine (*natsin*) of the house guardians. Among them, too, twins and triplets, being spiritually dangerous, are always killed.

Spirit-scaring, combined with spirit protection, under cover of driving out evil humours—an idea acquired from Indian medicine of no very early date—is no doubt responsible for the extraordinarily cruel birth-customs of the modern Burman. Immediately after the birth of the child, the mother is rubbed over with turmeric (*nā-nwin*), and then heated with fire, blankets, and hot bricks (*ōt pū*) for seven days. She is then steamed over a jar of boiling water, and finally has a cold bath. All this time she perpetually drinks *sein*, a secret green concoction prepared by midwives (*wunzwē*), and smells at *samōnnet* (balls of the *Nigella sativa*).

Among Shans, and Red Karens especially, a good many articles of food are forbidden to the mother, and even to her husband, for from seven days to a month. Impurity of the mother is recognized by the Shans for seven days, and purification is effected by exposure to the fire of any wood that does not exude milk or gum, and finally by bathing.

Among Red and White Karens there are curious traces of the *couvade*. Among the Red Karens only the father may act as midwife, and he may not speak to any one after the birth of his child. Among the White Karens (Mēpū) no one may leave the village after a birth until the umbilical cord is cut, this event being announced by bursting a bamboo by heating. This custom is said to be extended to the birth of domestic animals. No stranger may enter the house of a woman during her confinement. No customs seem to exist connected with the umbilical cord, except that the Red Karens hang up all the cords of the village in sealed bamboo receptacles (*kyedauk*) on a selected tree. The Shans have a custom, borrowed from India, of bathing male infants in a bath containing articles of value.

(3) *Names and naming.*—Kachins give a child a name immediately after birth, or the *nats* will give it a name that will kill it. There is a good deal of restriction in naming children. Shans, copied in this by the Kachins and White Karens, are confined to quite a small choice of names, according to the order in which the child is born. Among the Bre and Sawngtung (Red Karens) a child must be named after its maternal grandparent, according to sex—by the mother, unless the chicken-bone augury is against her, when the father has the right. Burmans are named after the initial of the name of the day of the week on which they are born (Indian influence), and the future character of the child is deduced from the name of the birthday.

There is a good deal of changing of names. All boys, on entering on the obligatory probation in a monastery, are given a scholastic name in Indian horoscopic fashion, which is retained for life if they become monks, but may not be used if they return to lay life. But amongst Shans, if there is illness or misfortune or suspected hostile spirit influences, the name is changed, to avert evil and procure better luck, according to horoscopic rules which are Buddhist, subjected to Chinese influence. In the case of infants, a lucky name is given by a supposed exchange of the child for something after which it is named: *e.g.* cloth, silver, weight, roast meat, visitor, moon, birth-marks, alms (to a monastery). A Burman, however, may change his name at any time by merely sending a packet of tea salad (*lapēt*) to all concerned, and announcing the fact. Among Sgau and Pwo Karens the parents change their names on the birth of a child.

(4) *Puberty* is not much noticed domestically. Ear-boring is obligatory on all girls, but is optional with boys, among the Burmans. All Bre (Red Karen) children stain their teeth black with much ceremony at about ten years of age—no doubt in connexion with puberty.

(5) *Marriage.*—Marriages in Burma present an astonishing variety of practice and principle, and nearly all the methods known to mankind are there in vogue somewhere or other. The only general guide disclosed as to the mental attitude of the people towards the subject is that marriage is on the whole regarded as a purely civil matter with which religion has very little concern—an attitude that is encouraged by the Buddhist religion, but not at all suited to the notions of Brāhmanism, or of the modern Hindu astrologers, who have introduced all the ceremony possible to them in the conditions.

(*a*) *Forbidden degrees.*—The rule is that marriage with parents, grandparents, children, grandchildren, brothers and sisters, is forbidden, but sometimes uncles and aunts are added (Shans). A Burman may marry his stepmother. The matriarchal system of forbidden degrees is in vogue among the Kachins, so that the usual marriage is with the daughter of the mother's brother, but never with the daughter of the father's or mother's sister. Likewise any one, even a stranger, with the same family name (father's side) is within the forbidden degrees, and consequently all blood-relationship runs through the females. The same idea obliges a Kachin or a Chin to marry his elder brother's widow, or in extreme cases to provide a substitute for her re-marriage.

A severely restricted area of marriage found among the Karens looks like a relic of totemism, but probably has quite a different explanation. Among Sgau and Pwo Karens, in times of general danger, the girls of allied villages are given in exchange as brides to become hostages for the good faith of the villagers towards each other. Hence we seem to have an explanation of some curious Karen customs. The Sawngtungs may marry only among cousins residing in specified villages, and then not without the consent of the elders. The area of choice is so small that many aged enforced bachelors and spinsters exist, and it results in great irregularity of age in the married couple. This is carried to an extreme extent by the Banyoks of Banyin in Loi Seng, where the field of choice is among six families at the order of the chief official of the district (*taungsā*). It has nearly wiped out the tribe.

The Szi Kachins have a custom which looks like an instance of Indian hypergamy, but is probably really referable to those above mentioned. They have permanently connected families, one of which gives daughters to another, but cannot receive them back. *E.g.*, Chumlūt girls may marry Malangs, but Malang girls may not be married to Chumlūts.

(*b*) *Freedom of choice.*—Absolute freedom of action is a characteristic of the Burman woman. She has separate property, whether owned before or acquired after marriage, and she takes this property with her on divorce. She marries whom she pleases, and separates or divorces, if offended, without any ceremony beyond the consent of the village elders. She has a voice in all domestic matters and in purchases and sales of family property, and acts with her husband's authority in his absence, when he is a village official. All this is in direct contradiction of the equally prevalent marriages by capture or by purchase.

(*c*) *Courtship.*—Courtship among Burmans and Shans is formally conducted according to social rules, so as to prevent improprieties. The exactly opposite custom of recognized experimental cohabitation before marriage is practised by the Kachins, who provide 'bachelors' huts' (*dum-ntā*) for the

purpose. A child born in consequence is a 'debt' to the girl's father, and its father has to pay a fine or marry the girl. On the other hand, among Sawngtung Karens boys on attaining puberty must live entirely in a bachelor's hut (*haw*) outside the village, and may not speak to a girl until married, except at death-feasts and marriages.

Among the Meng (Miaotzu) there is a sort of irrevocable betrothal, at which the engaged couple sing and dance and go off together at intervals for years, or until the girl is *enceinte*. The Yao have the same custom, but less crude—the girl remaining at home until claimed, and the singing of the couple being by way of strophe and antistrophe, while there is some consultation of horoscopes. Karens, however, have infant marriage, or irrevocable betrothal between children of five or six, when a feast, consisting of orgies, takes place, and another is held at the subsequent marriage. Breach of such a betrothal is expiated by a fine.

(*d*) *Marriage by purchase.*—Palaung girls are bought and retained for life in the husband's family. Lihsaw girls are bought at fixed customary prices, become their husbands' property, and are saleable if they cannot agree with them.

(*e*) *Marriage by capture.*—Marriage by capture is a widespread custom among hill tribes. Kachin marriages are preceded by actual capture, after a respectable householder in the girl's village has fixed her dower. The girls are not consulted, and are bound by their parents' wishes. Even the bought wives of the Lihsaws are actually abducted as a preliminary. Among the Palaungs, boys and girls first romp together and are subsequently drawn by lot in pairs. The marriage is a concerted elopement, without ceremonies. Among Akhās, the pair leave the hut for the night, and in the morning inform the girl's parents.

Among Burmans, throwing stones on the roof of the bridal pair on the marriage night, and tying a string across the bridegroom's path in order to demand a present, are probably relics of a bygone marriage by capture. This last custom is practised also by secluded tribes on the eastern frontiers.

(*f*) *Absence of ceremonial.*—Everywhere the feeling is that marriage does not require any ceremony. There is none amongst the Mengs, Chins, Akhās, Taungyos, or Banyok Karens, or among Shans and Burmans in the villages.

(*g*) *Ceremonial.*—It rarely happens that anything takes place beyond public announcement to friends or a feast of rejoicing. The Red Karens and Kachins indulge in drunken orgies. Amongst educated Burmans, Shans, and others who copy them, there are sometimes ceremonies of an Indian type conducted by *pōnnās*, but these are foreign to the indigenous ideas. Kachins have a simple ceremony, the essential point of which is feeding each other in public. The Akhos tie the arms of the bridal pair together. The Sgau and Pwo Karens are more elaborate in their ceremonies. They drench the bride with water as she enters the bridegroom's house, and the binding ceremony is the drinking of a cup of spirits by the elders representing the parties. Among Red Karens the cup is drunk by the bridal pair themselves in each other's houses. The only approach to a regular ceremony is among the Kadūs. Both they and the Taungthūs ask the daughter of the house from the house *nat*, but the Kadū bridegroom makes a present of a bamboo, full of tea, equal in length to the king-post of the bride's house; and small packets of *lapèt* are suspended by a string, the whole length of the king-post. The hands of the young couple are then joined, and they go hand in hand down the stairs and *shikho* to the *nat* of the house at the foot.

(*h*) *Adultery.*—One hears but little of married adultery, but a good deal of connexion between the unmarried. The usual penalty is expulsion from the village among some tribes, as the Taungthūs, who resent it when it results in illegitimate children. Among Taungyos, the mother of an illegitimate child must either be married or compensated. If she cannot prove the affiliation, she is turned out of the village. Sawngtung Karens expel the runaway couples of their villages, but punish elopements of their own girls with strangers by enforced suicide of the guilty parties or by hanging.

(*i*) *Polygamy.*—Polygamy is unrestricted among the Chins, and is the rule among the Akhās. It is permitted to the Taungyos, where the wife is merely cook and household servant. Among the Kachins, it is the result only of the obligation to marry a widow of an elder brother. It is not forbidden, but rare, among Burmans, Talaings, Shans, and Padaungs. It is forbidden to all Karens, except Padaungs, and to Akhos.

(*j*) *Divorce.*—Among Burmans, Shans, and Red Karens, divorce is by mutual consent; nevertheless it is neither common nor reputable. Palaungs copy the Burmese, but adultery demands compensation merely, not divorce. Among Akhos it is easy on a money payment. It is unknown among Sawngtung and White Karens, and among Chins, whose absconding wives, if recovered, are taken back on the murder of the seducer.

(6) *Death.*—Throughout Burma the object of the death ceremonies is to prevent the spirits of the dead, especially of the person just deceased, from injuring the living; and the origin of the universal wakes and feasting is to propitiate the spirits by letting them have a share in them. The ceremonies are a combined exorcism and propitiation. This is shown in the practice of postponing funerals until the community can properly carry out the necessary ceremonies.

Among Palaungs, bodies are kept unburied for some time under the control of the village elders, and the whole village is feasted in the interval. All funerals are public, the entire community attending. If a Red Karen dies away from home, his funeral cannot be celebrated until his guardian spirit permits it. Feasting, dancing, and noise-making go on until the spirit announces its arrival by tinkling a cow-bell, when the funeral takes place over a straw effigy. Here the sense of the funeral ceremonies clearly comes out.

Postponement of funerals is general. A prominent example is the often described *pōngyibyān*, or funeral of a respected monk long after his death. Lihsaws keep their dead in a wooden coffin surrounded by stakes, until the spirits are consulted. Siyin Chins artificially dry corpses for a year or more before burial, by smoking and sun-drying, until they are reduced to a quarter of their original size. The Kachins bury the dead at once, without ceremony, but postpone the funeral ceremonies till a convenient period. In the case of chiefs, the body is kept in a coffin supported above the earth.

Kachins commence the funeral ceremonies (*manmakhoi*) by presenting the *nats'* portion of a sacrifice (buffalo, bullock, pig, or fowl), chosen by an exorcist (*tumsa*) in consultation with the spirit of the deceased (*manshippawt nat*), at his temporary shrine (*manjong*) at the back of the house, where the household *nats* are worshipped. The sacrifice is then devoured. Among the Akhās, the slaughter of five buffaloes and a drinking-feast are the only ceremonies, even at the death of a man of position. Wakes are universal, and are intended to be propitiatory in the sense that the spirits can join in them. The Siyin Chins commence the funeral ceremony (*mithi*) with a slow measured dance, with locked hands and bent heads, round a platform on which the corpse is set upright, covered with gay cloths and ornaments. They wind up with a drunken debauch, such as is common on similar occasions among Red Karens, Kachins, and others.

The Kachin's elaborate death ceremonies, after he has propitiated the spirit of the deceased, are all designed to frighten it away. There is a death-dance and a wild rush into the jungle to frighten the ghost and drive it away. The spirit is requested not to become a *nat* and worry the living. The reason is made clear by the belief that a man returns six days and a woman seven days after a funeral; therefore the temporary shrine to the deceased (*manjong*) is destroyed so that it may not be found, and the first thing caught in the interval is offered to the ghost with spirits, with the avowed object of inducing the ghost to keep away. There is a death-dance after the destruction of the shrine, and a general drinking bout ends the ceremonies. Red Karens fire off guns at an approaching death, and make all the noise possible at funerals, to frighten away the *nats*. Burmans still do the same, although the practice is discouraged by their Buddhism, and was not permitted under native rule. So great is the fear of the returning spirit that, among Sgau and Pwo Karens, widows and orphans are banished the house, lest their misfortune should prove contagious. Shans sweep the place selected for the grave, with brambles and thorns, to clear off the evil spirits.

Kachins and some Karens have disconcerting notions as to exacting compensation for injury of whatever kind, real or fancied. Deaths, and even any debts or injuries, are avenged by murder or blood-money, or by reprisal against the place or thing causing the injury, at any time thereafter as long as memory lasts. A stream (in theory its *nat*) will be hacked with swords (*dhas*) if any one is drowned in it.

Both Burmans and Shans have special customs, which do not appear to be indigenous, and are due to the Brahmanism introduced with Buddhism. Of these may be mentioned placing 'ferry money' (*kadoka*) between the teeth of the deceased; swing-

ing the corpse three times over the grave, and throwing in a handful of earth by each person present (*utcik*) before the body is lowered into the grave; allowing no marks of a burn on the wrappings of the corpse; and not allowing people who have touched the corpse to enter the village without bathing.

(7) *Disposal of the dead.*—The various peoples and tribes in Burma dispose of the dead by burying the body, or burning it and burying the ashes, or by both these methods. Where burial is resorted to, coffins are universal, and there is much variety as to place of burial. With different tribes there are customs of burying in formal cemeteries, in separate graves, and in lonely places in the jungle. So also there are many ways of dealing with graves—from ignoring and forgetting them to elaborate monuments, dolmens, cromlechs, and barrows. The principle determining all the ceremonies and practices seems to be the prevention of injury to the living from the spirits of the dead by haunting.

(*a*) Burial.—(i.) *Burial in cemeteries.*—Formal public cemeteries are used by Burmans, Karens, and Chins (Lai, Siyin, Sokte, Thadō, and Tashōn), the last named burying their dead outside the village in structures of mud and stone erected on the surface of the ground. In the Wild Wa country, barrows are found near the villages, three feet high by three wide, and up to a hundred yards long.

(ii.) *Separate burial.*—Tame Was bury inside their villages, and Wild Was at the foot of the steps leading to the house. Northern Chins (Haka, Shunkla) bury in deep catacombs in the yard in front of the house. Among Chins also (Siyin, Sokte, Thadō, Tashōn), superior families have vault-like structures entered by a door, and surrounded by stone pillars and tall carved posts. Chiefs are separately buried on the road leading to the village.

(iii.) *Burial in remote places.*—The object of burial in remote and lonely places is to keep the spirit from haunting the living. The living forget the place, and the dead their way home. The idea in an attenuated form is seen in the Shan custom of burying separately in the jungle or near the village, and in the Burman custom of putting up no stone or other mark on or near the grave. Lihsaws merely bury the corpse at a distance. Akhās simply bury in a lonely place without ceremonies, and forget the grave, which is made level with the earth. Yaos bury in some remote spot, and mark the grave by three stones placed in a small triangle, but the poorer classes make no mark on the grave. Mengs (Miaotzu) bury in the deep jungle, and the nearest relative tends the grave for three years, after which it is forgotten. Kachins explain all these customs by their habit of burying at any spot chosen by a Chinese soothsayer (*sensen*) as favourable for security from the ghost of the deceased.

(iv.) *Coffins.*—Burial is nearly always in a coffin, but the poorer Yaws merely wrap the corpse in matting. The usual coffin in the jungles is made from a trunk, hollowed out for the purpose. Those of the Red Karens are large, and contain, besides the corpse, food, clothing, implements, and necessaries of life. They are decorated during life as handsomely as the owner can afford. The Burman, on the other hand, is buried in a light coffin roughly nailed together.

(*b*) Cremation.—(i.) *Objects of cremation.*—Cremation is resorted to both for reasons of safety and of honour. All Kachins burn lunatics (*marā*), victims of violent deaths (*sawā*) or of smallpox, and women dying in childbirth (*ntang*)—*i.e.* all persons likely to become dangerous ghosts. Palaungs burn their chiefs, and the Yaos their wealthy personages, in coffins. Some tribes burn all their dead (Szi, and formerly Marū Kachins and Lai Chins). The ashes of cremated bodies are always buried. Lai Chins bury them together with the clothes of the deceased.

(ii.) *Cremation of the respected and holy dead.*—The well-known cremation of a respected *pōngyī*, or Buddhist monk (*pōngyībyān*), with all its Indian Buddhist ceremonial, is in reality an indigenous ceremony. Burmans burn especially respected and aged persons as well, collect the bones, wash them, and bury them in a pot in the cemetery or near a pagoda. Over the ashes they erect a small pagoda without the crowning umbrella (*htī*), but over the ashes of a great *pōngyī* an ordinary pagoda is erected.

(*c*) *Burial at ancestral home.*—In direct contradiction to the lonely grave, which is to be forgotten as soon as possible, there is the strong feeling among Karens and Chins of the necessity of being buried at the ancestral home. The explanation is to be found in the Red Karen funeral ceremonies, which show that the guardian spirit of the deceased will haunt the living until the corpse has been disposed of with its permission. All Chins attach great importance to burial in the ancestral villages, and Chinbōn Chins who die at a distance from home are burnt, and their ashes are carried to the ancestral cemetery. Among Red Karens the body should be taken, if possible, to the grave from the deceased's house; if that is impossible, there must be a mock funeral over an effigy.

(*d*) *Monuments.*—The object of the ordinary monument in Burma is to provide a home for the spirit of the deceased, in the hope that it may remain there. Kachins erect a conical thatch (*lup*) over graves, but Szi Kachins a *lup* or a hut. The Chinbōn Chins build a miniature house of the ordinary type, and the Red Karens a miniature shed containing food. In the Wild Wa country are found cromlechs and collections of boulders, with pointed stones in the centre which are said to be the abode of house *nats*. This statement is supported by the Meng custom of raising oblong heaps of stones over the lonely graves they make in the deep jungle, evidently in the hope of keeping the spirits of the deceased, or house *nats*, at a distance. Lai Chins erect a dolmen over the ashes of the cremated dead.

(8) *Slavery.*—Slavery is almost universal among the hill tribes. It has a distinct effect on their physical development, and accounts for the great variety of form and feature, and sometimes of custom, observable where it is prevalent. Usually it is the result of raids on neighbours, but people of the same tribe and even of the same village (Kachins, Chins, Karens) and also relatives (Red Karens) may be enslaved or sold into slavery. Slavery for debt is everywhere recognized, and the general principle of legalized slavery is clearly shown by the Sgau and Pwo Karen custom of selling into slavery defaulting debtors, captives in forays, and confirmed thieves. This principle, in its extreme application common in the Far East, is visible in the Akhā custom of selling themselves into slavery when their crops fail. The Chins prefer monks (*pōngyīs*) and women as slaves, because they are the least likely to escape, and Sgau and Pwo Karens killed the men and the children in forays, but saved the women as slaves.

The custom is to treat slaves well, and not to make them work harder than their masters, provided they give no trouble. The female slaves are not turned into concubines, and are not made to suffer indignities (Red Karens, Chins, and Kachins). They may marry free men, the master acting as father-in-law (Kachins), and slaves may marry free women (Kachins). But the abiding principle in Burmese slavery is—once a slave always a slave for all succeeding generations. All the children of slaves are slaves. It is the only idea of 'caste' that has reached the Indo-Chinese races in Burma, and it has been applied to religious uses with cruel effect. It begins with a superstition. The Sgau and Pwo Karens sell into slavery widows and widowers who cannot pay the 'price' of the deceased, and those who introduce epidemics—a principle that was extended to the tillers of the Royal lands (*lamaing*) in Mandalay, who were all slaves *ipso facto*. With the help of imported Brāhmanical ideas, the principle was further extended to the attendants at Buddhist shrines, the so-called pagoda slaves (*parāgyūn*). The pagoda slave, absolutely dedicated to the service of the pagoda, is a familiar spectacle in Burma. He could not be liberated or find a substitute, and the slavery descended for ever to all children, wives, and husbands of pagoda slaves, and to any free children they might have had on marriage. The duty was to keep the pagodas in order, and the slave might be employed in no other capacity, on pain of the employer being sent to the lowest (Buddhist) hell. The pagoda slaves are, in fact, a 'low caste.' The whole idea is Indian, no doubt introduced with Buddhism from the analogy of the dedicated attendants of Hindu shrines, with the help of the indigenous practices as to slavery. So great is the stigma attached to slavery of this nature, that all the prestige and authority of the British Government have been unable materially to alter the status or means of livelihood of this unfortunate class since the emancipation granted them under British rule.

23. Palace customs.—The customs of the late Royal Court of Burma, up to the British occupation of the country in 1885, are preserved in the *Lawkābyūhā Inyōn* volume, and in the *Yāzawindaw*

(Royal Chronicle) of Mandalay. They not only present a faithful picture of all the religious and superstitious ideas of the people, but are also a sort of epitome of them, whether indigenous or imported. Many of the allusions contained in the religious or *quasi*-religious practices of the Palace refer directly to Buddhism, or to the old Brāhmanism which accompanied it, or to the modern Hinduism introduced by the Royal astrologers. The references to the indigenous Animism are also numerous, and of these the most instructive and important for the study of religion in Burma are recorded in the following account:

(1) *Enthronement ceremonial.*—At the enthronement of the kings of the last dynasty, a temporary palace was erected, called the Thagyānān (the Palace of Thagyā, the arch-*nat* of the Thirty-seven and Buddhist 'archangel'), where the king performed the ceremonial washing of his head before ascending the throne. Here was also deposited a golden casket containing some 'golden quicksilver' with the nine precious stones (Indian) and some charmed water. After the washing the king was 'anointed' with water blessed by eight Hindu astrologers (*pōnnās*), and presented by them with a charmed flower (*payeitpān*). After this ceremony a *pōnnā* fixed the auspicious day for ascending the throne, which was made of *pīpal* wood (the Indian sacred fig). As soon as the royal couple were seated thereon, the lucky silver gong (*mingalā ngwēmaung*) was sounded.

(2) *The king's sacred position.*—The king's title was Athē-ū-san-paing-than-ashin, 'Lord of the life, head, and hair of all human beings.' His word was above the law and infallible. His orders were Divine communications (*byā-theit*). He was immeasurably above every other human being; all, even the chief queen, were obliged to treat him and all his personal property with the utmost respect as sacred, and a special honorific language was used in his presence with respect to him.

(3) *The royal wives.*—The king was obliged to have eight queens and as many concubines as Chinese and Shan potentates presented to him. The neglect of Thībaw, the last king, to comply with this custom caused much concern among his most law-abiding subjects. The chief queen was usually a half-sister, but sometimes even a sister.

(4) *The Order of the 'Salwē.'*—This was an Order established in the persons of those who were entitled to wear the *salwē*, a belt of golden chains tied together by bosses, worn over the shoulder, the number of strands indicating the rank. The regulations concerning it are recorded in the *Salwēdin Sadān* (Book of the Order of the Salwē). These show that the *salwē* is nothing but the Indian *janēu* (Brāhmanical cord) turned to secular purposes.

(5) *Court festivals.*—In every month of the year there was a Royal feast for the Court and the public. Some of these were national, some peculiar to Mandalay, some almost exclusively Court functions. Animistic practices were current at many of them.

(*a*) March-April, *Tagū: Hnit-thit Thigyāndaw Pwe*, New Year's Day and Water Feast.—On New Year's Day water from the Irrawaddy, doubly sacred from the blessing of the *pōnnās* and the handling of the king, was used to wash the sacred images in the pagodas. The king and chief queen washed their hair in water from the hollows of sacred cotton trees growing in the villages of Bōk and Kyūwun, while *pōnnās* invoked the *nats* of *hōn* (fire) and *gyō* (planets).

(*b*) April-May, *Kasōn: Nyaungyēdaw Pwe*, Charmed Water Feast.—Water from the Irrawaddy was formally presented to the king and chief queen, and given by them to the courtiers and maids of honour to wash the sacred images within the palace walls.

(*c*) May-June, *Nayōn: Mōnāt Pūzaw* (Hindu *Moghanatha-pūjā*), Worship of the Lord of the Clouds.—This consisted of prayers for rain (*nga-payeik*) by the *sadaws* (heads of Buddhist monasteries), also known as Ngayān Min's Prayer. He was king of the murrel fish (snake-head), whose prayer when his lagoon dried up is known all over Burma. At this ceremony *pōnnās* prayed to figures representing the *nats* of the rain, which are human spirits, and the *nats* of the water, which are the spirits of alligators, frogs, and murrel fish. These were set up in *tazaungs* (temporary seven-tier structures), and finally thrown into the Irrawaddy. The whole festival has a strong Indian bias.

(*d*) In the same month was held the feast of the *Mingalā Lēdan Pwe*, the Feast of the Lucky Ploughing, when the king, in full military costume, ploughed and harrowed a certain field to procure a good harvest, while *pōnnās* offered prayers to fifteen Hindu gods, and male and female necromancers (*natsayās, natōks, natsaws*) invoked the Thirty-seven Nats.

(*e*) July-August, *Wāgaung: Sayēdān Pwe*, the Feast of the Offerings.—The king sent officials (*natōks* and *natteins*) with offerings of clothing to the shrine (*natkun*) of the Shwēbyin Nyinaung Nats, two of the Thirty-seven, at Taunghyōn.

(*f*) October-November, *Tasaungmōn: Kateindaw Pwe*, the Feast of the Presentation of Robes (to the monks).—The wives of the Court officials had to perform, between sunset and sunrise, the whole process of making cloth for draping the most sacred images in the Seven Nānthin Pagodas, from spinning to the woven material, out of raw cotton supplied by the king. At the full moon the fifteen chief *nats* of the royal family (all really Hindu deities), whose metal images were kept in a special building with a three-tier roof, were worshipped by the Court.

(*g*) At the *Tazaungdaing Pwe*, the Feast of Burning the Shrines, also held in this month, eight large *pyātthāts* (ornamented wicker work spires) and many small bamboo models of pagodas were displayed to the king and chief queen and then burnt.

(*h*) November-December, *Nadaw: Mahā-peinnē Pwedaw*, the Feast of the Royal First-fruits.—The first-fruits of the royal fields from the crown predial lands (*lamaing*), were sent by the king to the Mahā-peinnē Nat at the Arakan Pagoda at Amarapura. Mahā-peinnē represents Mahāvinṇa or Gaṇeśa, the Hindu god of learning, and the whole ceremony was largely Indian, including the distribution of largesse in the shape of Maundy money (*kyūlōn*), received as revenue from Bhamo.

(*i*) February-March, *Tabaung: Payā Pwe* or *Thepōn Zēdīdaw Pwe*, the Feast of the Shrines.—This is the month for worshipping the *nats*, and royal offerings were sent to the Nats, Aungzwāmagyī, Ngāzīshin, and Mahāgiri (Māgayē) of Pōpā Hill (all of the Thirty-seven), and also to the guardians (*nats, balūs*) of the four great gates of the city of Mandalay. Pagodas of sand were also reared to gain or retain good health.

24. **Hindu influence.**—In cases where the old Brāhmanism (introduced with Buddhism) and the modern Hinduism (introduced by the Manipurī astrologers) have affected the religious ideas of the natives of Burma, the fact has been already pointed out in each instance. But there are certain other prominent examples of the influence of Hinduism which require to be considered separately.

(1) *On the Royal Court.*—The late Royal Court was strongly impregnated with Hindu superstition, which was prominently present in the punishment by the legal flogging of persons who habitually killed cows or ate beef. It came out strongly after the king had been deposed, in the doings of various persons who had been connected with the Court. A Hindu Manipurī astrologer (*pōnnā*) was employed by the two Chaunggwā princes in a plot against the British Government at Mandalay in 1886, though they were accompanied by a Burman Buddhist priest (*pōngyī*). He drew their horoscopes, prophesying that the younger brother only would succeed. The party of the elder brother thereupon dissolved. The *sadaw* (abbot) of the Mōdī Monastery at Mandalay was in the plot, and during a second plot, hatched in 1888 in that Monastery, the horoscope of the prince, a charmed bullet-proof image, and a jar of sacred water were found, when the place was attacked. The jar had been used for taking the oath of allegiance to the prince, and the ceremony had consisted of drinking a cupful of the water from the jar, in which an image of Gautama Buddha, made out of wood from the Bo-tree at Bodh Gayā, had been dipped. The Indian proclivities of the Court also appear in the magic stone in the courtyard of the Shwēdagon Pagoda at Rangoon, which is engraved with the hare (moon) and the peacock (sun), symbolical of the claim of the last dynasty to both 'lunar and solar' descent (Rājpūt). The worship of *the White*

Elephant was greatly mixed up with the Court ceremonial, and, though apparently a peculiarly Burmese and Far Eastern institution, is nevertheless an instance of Indian influence introduced with Buddhism. The *Saddān*, or *Sinbyūdaw*, or White Elephant, was not white, but was an animal endowed with mystical signs and powers of so pronounced an Indian type that Hindus greatly reverenced it.

(2) *On the people.*—Among the people it is perhaps natural to find, considering their source, that powers of witchcraft, sorcery, and necromancy generally should follow the typical Indian custom of running in families. Hindu influence also causes much confusion in belief, and *nats* (Burman), *balūs* (ogres, doubtfully Burman), and *pyeittās* (ghosts, clearly Indian *prēta*) are all found mixed up in the same story as disease- and death-bringing spirits. Most of the Animistic customs of the Burmans, Talaings, and Shans are nowadays referred incorrectly to a Brāhmanic origin through Buddhism. Hindu influence, too, much affects the Burmans as to lucky and unlucky days of the week, and these in their turn exercise so great an influence on their actions, ceremonies, and medicinal dieting as seriously to interfere with daily life.

(3) *Pagoda slaves and other outcasts.* — The Pagoda slaves (*parāgyūn*) [see above, 'Slavery'] are an 'outcast' caste of the true Indian type—an idea entirely foreign to the Indo-Chinese mind. There is the same feeling towards professional wandering beggars (*tadaungsā*), who may follow no other occupation; and with these are associated lepers, the deformed and the maimed (recalling the Indian idea of the 'sin of misfortune'), conductors of funerals, makers of coffins, and diggers of graves (*sandalē*). The feeling was extended to the slave tillers of the government lands (*lamaing*), to the lictors (*letyātaung thingyeing*), and to those specially tatued for crime (*pagwēt*), who were also constables, jailors, and executioners. No one associated with them, and they were often denied burial, being thrown out along with the town offal.

(4) *The Nawngtung vestals.*—The marriage of four virgins every three years to Sao Kaing, the Spirit of Lake Nawngtung at Kengtung (Shan States) is Hindu in type, the influence in this case probably coming up from the South through Siam from Cambodia. There is little dedication, however, as the girls go home after the ceremony and may marry; but if one of them dies soon afterwards, the *nat* has 'accepted' her.

(5) *On festivals.*—Hindu influence clearly appears again at the New Year Festival at Kengtung, when an indecent figure of Lahū Nat, a frog, is carried through the town, and thrown into the river with obscene antics, 'for the public welfare.'

(6) *On superstitions.*—A *pōnnā*, by means of necromantic dreams, successfully cultivated a field in Nānmadawzā Kwin near Mandalay, in which dwelt a death-dealing *nat*, when every Burman who tried to cultivate it came to an untimely end. The posts of a house are believed to be male, female, neuter, and the ogre's (*balū*) respectively, or according as they are of one size throughout, or bulge at the bottom, in the middle, or at the top. Female posts are the best for building, next the male; the others must be avoided. *Nat* shrines in trees are connected to the trees by a bridge made of threads for the use of the *nat*.

(7) *Serpent-worship.* — The accepted Burmese tradition is that King Anawrahtā (Anawrahtāzaw) of Pagān, the Buddhist reformer of the 11th cent. A.D., put an end to the *nāgā-* (pronounced in Burma *nāgā*), or serpent-worship then prevalent. He probably merely scotched it, as is shown by the *naga* images about the Shwēzīgōn Pagoda at Pagān, built after his death. The cult must, however, as its name implies, have been imported from India, and the numerous legends and folktales now current of *naga* maidens and *naga* heroes may safely be referred to a form of Animism that is not indigenous in the country, or be regarded as indigenous animal fables coloured by the cosmogony received through Buddhist sources. The presentation of a monster *naga* to the Pagoda is still an annual ceremony at the Tāwadeinthā (Buddhist) festival in Tasaungmōn (November), and on either side of the Mintet Tagū, or State Staircase at the Palace at Mandalay, are four guardian images (*pyawthā tayinthā*) directly referable to Indian *naga*-worship.

(8) *The Five Nats.*—Burmese books lay much stress on the Five Nats, which have all Indian names combined with the native word *so*, meaning 'ruler.' They are all 'nature' spirits: Mekkasō, Lord of the Rain (*mēgha*); Bōmmasō, Lord of the Earth (*bhummi*); Yōkkasō, Lord of the Trees (*rukkha*); Akāthasō, Lord of the Sky (*ākāsa*); and Thārasō, Lord of the Waters (*sāra*, lake).

(9) *The Thirty-seven Nats.*—The Thirty-seven Nats, famous throughout Burma, are clearly of Buddhist origin, and represent the inhabitants of Tāwadeinthā, the *tāvatiṁsa* heaven, the abode of the Thirty-three, where dwell the ruling spirits that interfere with mankind. To the Thirty-three four have been added in modern times, making up the now orthodox number of Thirty-seven. The existing spirits are not by any means, in name, form, or representation, identical with the original Thirty-three, whose images, much debased from the Indian form, are still in existence at the Shwēzīgōn Pagoda at Pagān, which was constructed at various dates from A.D. 1094 to 1164. At the present day, the Thirty-seven are all, with one exception, national heroes or heroines, whose story or life has caught the popular fancy. Consequently there is some vagueness in the orthodox list, though there is an extraordinary unanimity, among those who profess to know the subject, as to their names, and even the order in which they should come. In their existing form they exhibit in a remarkable manner the tendency of all mankind to fasten old-world stories and attributes on popular heroes. The Thirty-seven Nats are now purely Animistic in nature. The one *nat* of this Order that retains his original characteristics is Thagyā Nat, who represents Indra in the form of Śakra (by Burmese phonetics *Thāgyā*), the *primus inter pares* in the heaven of the Thirty-three in Buddhism, and the Recording Angel of Burmese orthodoxy. He is the first or chief of the Thirty-seven among the Burmans, but the Talaings find no place for him, and rank the second of the Burmans, Mahāgiri or Māgayē, the house *nat* personified, as the first.

On analysis, the Thirty-seven Nats resolve themselves into five groups, each connected with a cycle of *quasi*-historical tales, an explanation of which in detail would involve an examination of the very complicated history of Burma, often in its more obscure passages. Roughly, the five cycles of tales are all connected with royal families, including several kings, and therefore with great heroes and heroines. They commence with stories of mythical times in Tagaung and Prome, and are continued all through Burmese history to modern times. The great king of Pegu, Tabīn Shwēdī (1530–1550), and a prisoner of war taken by Bayīn Naung of Pegu (1551-1581), the Branginoco (Bayīngyīnaungzaw) of the contemporary Portuguese writers, are included in the list. Even the great-grandson of Branginoco, alive in the middle of the 17th cent., is one of the Thirty-seven. Only one of the Order besides Thagyā Nat belongs to no special category. He was a personage of no particular consideration, Maung Po Tu, a trader of Pinyā, who was killed by a tiger, and became famous by his tragic death. Tragedy in life, indeed, has been the usual passport to inclusion in the Thirty-seven.

Each member of the Order has his or her own particular festival, and there is a well-known book, the *Mahāgītā Mēdanīgyān*, which purports to be

a book of odes to the Thirty-seven Nats, though, strictly speaking, it contains a series of short biographical and genealogical sketches in verse for recitation under spirit possession by female mediums (*nat-kadaw*) at the festivals. They are by way of being moralities, and are meant to impress on the audience the sins of treason, rebellion, and assassination. The ceremonial at the festivals of the Thirty-seven Nats is distinctly Animistic in tone.

25. Superstitions.—The superstitions of Burma naturally embody tags of every kind of belief that has at one time or other attracted the attention of the people. Superstitions are apt to run through the country without regard to origin. Those of the Burmans may be looked on as common, at any rate, to the Talaings and Shans also, and to the tribes that have come in contact with them. They all have, however, some that are peculiar, more or less, to themselves. Of these superstitions some are now selected as samples:

(1) *Burmans and general.*—Combings of hair and parings of nails are tied to a stone and sunk in deep water. Water soiled by washing clothes, and saliva, are carefully disposed of. Children's cauls bring promotion in life to the possessor. The smell of cooking brings on fever, especially frying in oil. The mother of seven sons or daughters will become a witch. Women dying in childbirth are cut open and the child (*alôn*) is buried in some secret spot to prevent necromancers (*hmawsayā*) from digging it up and misusing it. At the funeral of a *pongyi* (*pōngyibyān*) there is a tug of war (*lōnswē*), to ascertain which side is to have the merit (*kūthō*) of dragging the body to the pyre. The natural 'spirit flames' at Kamā, between Prome and Thayētmyō, are the fire of a spectral blacksmith. A live boa-constrictor (*sabāgyī*) is kept on fishermen's boats as a warning of storms, as, when one is coming, it slips overboard and makes for the shore. The gall bladder of the snake is a good medicine, and the fat a remedy for rheumatism. It is unlucky for bees to hive under the house, but lucky on the house-top. Shavings of rhinoceros horn cure epilepsy and poisons. Horns of buffaloes, when flawless and solid (*thanāt-hpī*), are a charm for invulnerability. Stones found in the heads of birds, in trees, and in animals (*amadē*) are highly prized as amulets. In the Mandalay Palace grounds there stood the Hkōnān, the palace of the king of the pigeons. If a hen lays an egg on a cloth, the owner will lose money. A snake crossing the path will delay a lawsuit, a journey, or a raid. If a dog carries an unclean thing into the house, it denotes riches to the owner. The steps of a monastery (*kyaung*) must be in odd numbers. Knots in the side pieces (*hlēgatit*) of the steps leading to the house determine its luck. Oil at the Yenangyaung oil-wells is found by the direction in which a marble elephant on a flat stone moves of itself, or in which its shadow falls on the surrounding offerings. Scrapings from meteoric stones cure ophthalmia. Eating *lapēt* (tea salad) settles all bargains, and is sometimes the binding part of a marriage ceremony. In all the native Courts, except the Supreme Court (*Hlutdaw*), decisions were finally settled when the parties had received and eaten a packet of *lapēt*. Appeal after that in any circumstances was a crime, punished by public flogging (*maung-kyaw*) round the roads. Omens are drawn from the sun and moon, howling of dogs, flight and song of birds, twitching of the eyelids or any part of the body. If a mushroom is met with at the beginning of a journey, it will succeed. Small charms (*hkaung-beit-set*) to secure invulnerability, up to as many as thirty, are let in under the skin; they consist of discs of gold, silver, lead, pebbles, tortoise-shell, and horn. Charmed necklaces and bracelets are worn for the same purpose.

(2) *Shans.*—Inhaling the smoke of pine-wood or taking a mixture of monkey's blood and turmeric prevents bleeding at the nose and mouth in lying-in women. Corpses of the unmarried are married to stumps by being knocked against them on the way to burial.

(3) *Talaings.*—It is dangerous to mention any one by name during a devil-dance held to frighten away an epidemic, as the evil spirits might afflict the owner with it.

(4) *Kachins.*—Eclipses are caused by a dog (*shittākwā*) swallowing the moon. The rainbow is from a crab (*chikan*), which lives in marshy hollows connected with a subterranean ocean. Thunder is the voice of Mushang, the Nat of the Heavens. Lightning is represented by a phrase, *myit hpyap kalamai*, 'rolling and shaking the eyes (of Mushang).' Earthquakes are caused by crocodiles burrowing in the earth from the subterranean ocean. The markings of the moon are due to the foliage of the rubber tree. It offends the house *nat* if a visitor goes out at the back door. Snakes and porcupines across the path are unlucky; deer, hedgehog, rhinoceros, and otter are lucky. The wild cat is doubtful, being classed both ways in different places. It is unlucky for young men to drink the beer named at births after a new-born child.

(5) *Karens.*—It is lucky if a cricket, representing the Harvest Spirit, crawls up the yoke-support of the oxen and flies upwards from the top. Lights on graves are the spirits of the dead, and are the occasion of an annual festival. The Bre Karens drink, for strength and courage, the blood of any animal they kill. Among the Sawngtung Karens no one may leave the village on the day of the birth of a child in it, and no eggs may be kept in the village while the fields are being reaped. The first ancestor of the White Karens had a magic wishing drum. Taungthū ghosts do not walk on festival days. Giving away anything at all on sowing or planting days means blight for the crop. Among the Taungyo Karens no paddy may be taken out of the bins during Pyāthō (December–January).

(6) *Was and Palaungs.*—Among the Palaungs, if a person dies on the last day of the month, the body must be buried at once, or there will be fire, epidemic, or murder in the village. Among the Ens, if a tree is felled, a man dies, and so over extensive areas the people will not work hill-fields, for fear of offending the spirits.

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R. C. TEMPLE.

BURMA AND ASSAM (Buddhism in).—i. BURMA.—1. Origin and history.—The common assertion is that Buddhism was first established in Burma by Buddhaghosa from Ceylon about A.D. 450. The delta lands were not even called Burma then, and the Mons or Talaings were the inhabitants, to the complete exclusion of the Burmese proper. The capital of the Burmese was then Pagān. It is supposed that the fighting, which ended in the destruction of Tharekettara (the modern Prome) and the building of Pagān, was carried on by settlers from India, some of whom had come by ship to Prome, which was then on the sea, and others who had come to Northern Burma by way of Manipur. These last were certainly Mahāyānists, who followed the canon drawn up by Kanishka, at the synod held at Jalandhara in the Panjāb. The Mon converts, and assumedly the Indian immigrants, were Hīnayānists, who adopted the canon of Asoka, formulated by him at his synod in 250 B.C., held at Pātaliputra. This canon was taken to Ceylon, where it has been followed ever since. Pagān was established about the beginning of our era, and Tharekettara, the site of which is a short distance east of the modern Prome, had been a famous capital for something like five centuries before this.

There is no real history of Burma till the time of Anawrahtā, who succeeded to the throne of Pagān in A.D. 1010, and is renowned as the first Burmese national hero—a sort of Alfred the Great. He began the struggle between Burma proper and Yamanya, between the Burmese and the Mons, which did not end till 1755, when Pagān was captured and Rangoon founded. This was also the struggle between Buddhists of the Northern canon and Buddhists of the Southern; between Sanskrit and Magadhi, as the Burmese call Pāli; between the Mahāyānists and the Hīnayānists, the Great Vehicle and the Little Vehicle. The doctrinal form of the conquered was imposed on the conquerors, but this came about through the personality of the originator of the great struggle.

Serpent-worship had been followed for about a hundred years before the time of Anawrahtā. It was grafted on the Kanishka canon by a usurper king, Saw Yahan, and the ministers of this debased religion were called *Ari* or *Ariya*, 'the Noble.' They lived in monasteries, but are said to have been of dissolute life. Their robes were blue like those of the lāmas of Tibet and China, and they let their hair grow two inches long. Anawrahtā was converted to the purer form of Buddhism by a wandering monk, who is called Arahan, and is therefore practically nameless. The first act of the proselyte king was to send a messenger to the Mon king, Manuha of Thatōn, asking for a copy of the *Tripiṭaka*, the three Baskets of the Law. King Manuha refused. Anawrahtā made no second request. He raised an army, marched to Thatōn, levelled the city with the ground, and brought everything—the Books of the Law, the king Manuha, and the people—in a body to Pagān. From this time dates the erection of the temples which make Pagān so remarkable a ruined city, and also the spread of the present form of Buddhism over all the land of Burma.

This is the common story, and it may very well represent the establishment of Buddhism of the Southern school throughout Burma; but the slow disinterment of buried cities and the study of Chinese and Tai annals seem to show that Buddhaghoṣa had predecessors as missionaries, and it is quite certain that there were Buddhists in Burma proper long before Buddhaghoṣa's time.

Hitherto the assumption has been that Buddhism firmly established itself in Burma about the time when it was beginning to disappear in India. It may be true that it was then first universally accepted in the form which it retains to the present day. It seems very clear, however, that Buddhism had been introduced long before, perhaps only to struggle with the Animists, who then inhabited the country, but at any rate had been introduced and stayed, and was certainly not merely a tolerated religion.

Buddhaghoṣa landed at, or near, Thatōn with his volume of the Scriptures. Thatōn was then certainly on the sea-coast, but Forchhammer maintained that the apostle landed, not at the modern Thatōn, but at Golanagara, which lies twenty-two miles north-west of it. This is quite possibly the site of the original Thatōn, for the changing of capitals was always a characteristic of the peoples of Burma, whether Burman, Mon, or Tai. There are frequent references to the struggle between Brāhmans and Buddhists in the coastwise lands before this, and it seems quite probable that there is some truth in the legend, believed by all Burmans, that king Dhammathawka, as they call Aśoka, sent two missionaries, Thawna and Ottara, to what we call Burma, after the sitting of the third great synod in 241 B.C.

Kanishka, the last and probably the greatest of the three great Buddhist monarchs of Northern India, is commonly called the Constantine of the East. His date is very uncertain, but the best authorities seem to agree that he ascended the throne about A.D. 120. He carried Buddhism to far-away Khotan. He defeated the armies of the emperor of China, and he beat back the attacks of the Parthians. It is possible that it was he who introduced Buddhism into China and Japan.

But the name of the Buddhist monarch best known in Burma is that of Aśoka (Dhammathawka), who was crowned in 269 B.C. and reigned till 231 B.C. He was the grandson of Chandragupta, the petty chief who founded the Maurya dynasty, the great military monarchy that held the whole of India from Patna to the Panjāb. Aśoka was the greatest of these Maurya monarchs. He was converted to Buddhism, and made it the State religion of all Northern India. Kanishka is called the Constantine of the East, but Aśoka was both a Paul and a Constantine. He sent missionaries over all the world known to him. He ordered the dedication of *stūpas* to the Buddha in the remotest parts. It is nearly certain that he introduced Buddhism into the Tai kingdom of Nanchao, which had its capital at Talifu, and remained there till it was overthrown by Kublai Khan.

The Burmese Buddhists know little of Kanishka, but the name of Dhammathawka is well known, and tradition credits him with the foundation of many pagodas with the bones and relics of the Buddha (see art. BUDDHA in vol. ii. p. 884[b] f.). There are such *stūpas* at Tavoy, Moulmein, Toungoo, and Thayet in Lower Burma. There are many of these *shwemōkthos* and *shwemōkdaws* in the Upper Province, and even farther off still, in the tributary Shan States: at Kyauksè, Sampenago, in the Bhamo District; at Pwela in the Myelat, round the Inle lake, and in many parts of the hills. They are all implicitly credited to Dhammathawka, and it can hardly be that some of them are not on the list of the 84,000 which he ordered to be built. It is perhaps significant that the Burmese royal history says that a band of *kṣatriyas* came after the founding of Tagaung (old Pagān) and established a capital which they called Mawriya, in the neighbourhood of the present village of Mweyen.

When the Maurya empire broke up, Buddhism did not cease to be the dominant religion of the north of India. The *Questions of Milinda* give us the history of the conversion of the Greek Menander and of his disputations with the sage Nāgasena. The Bactrian Greeks, though they were pushed southward and farther south by the Śākya, or Hun tribes of the Scythian steppes, established a great kingdom in the Panjāb, and Menander's empire was hardly less extensive than that of the warlike Aśoka, and even included for a time the sacred Magadha. The Scythians themselves were not content with driving the Greeks across the Oxus. They pushed on and established the Kushan dynasty, and seized the Middle Land itself, the sacred heart of India. It was then that Kanishka fixed his home in the holy city of Peshāwar, and it was there that he received and befriended Yüan-Ch'ang (Hiuen-Tsiang), the Master of the Law, the great traveller and writer. Kanishka built a great audience-hall for the monks, and a noble relic-tower. It is not impossible that this is the shrine discovered in 1909. Kanishka also convened a great council to examine and codify all the Buddhist writings. The canon which we now have was laboriously drawn up and engraved on copper. It was buried in the relic-chamber of a pagoda, and, since the ashes of the Buddha claim to have been found after more than 2500 years, possibly this canon also will be discovered in the same neighbourhood.

With the death of Kanishka the decay of Buddhism in India began. It seems likely that the growth of Buddhism in Burma began at least then, and probably earlier. At any rate, everything seems to show that the theory that it did not begin till five centuries later is mistaken. All the researches of the very poorly supported Archæological Department in Burma tend to establish the certainty of the early connexion of Burma with India, and indeed to prove that the Burmese race came from the north-west, and not from the north-east; from the northern slopes of the Thian Shan range, and not from any part of the modern China. The Burmese Chronicle, the *Mahāyāzawin*, asserts this, and all recent discoveries tend to prove that it is right.

In the year 1908–09, excavations conducted under the direction of Taw Sein Ko at Hmawza have conclusively proved that the Northern school of Buddhism was established at Prome, the ancient

Tharekettara. Votive tablets found at the Legu pagoda, and the sculpture there, are in the same style as the familiar Gupta work of Northern India. It seems, therefore, indisputable that there was communication between the kingdom of Tharekettara and Northern India, when the Guptas (A.D. 319–606) rose in Kanauj, and the term 'Pali' began to be used instead of 'Magadhi.' Magadhi declined as the Guptas rose, just as Kosali declined when Magadha conquered and annexed Kosala. It may be asserted with some confidence that communications did not begin with the Guptas, and that there was connexion between Burma and India long before, and that Buddhism came much earlier than has been hitherto believed.

Neither the Mahāyānists nor the Hīnayānists use the tongue in which the Buddha Gautama preached, the widely diffused dialect of Kosala, or Koshala, where he was born and brought up. After his death Kosala was conquered, and Magadha took its place. The edicts of Aśoka were issued in Magadhi, though history records that the Sanskrit of the Veda was still in official use at the court of his grandfather, Chandragupta. Kosala was the ancient land of Oudh, and Magadha is the modern Behar. Rhys Davids, however, points out that the official tongue of Magadha differed from the local Magadhi, or Kosali, in many little ways, because it was based on the tongue which Gautama spoke, the dialect which had been the form of speech used by Rama and his race. The literary form of Kosali was known as Pāli, that is to say, 'canonical,' because the *Pāli*, or canon, of the Buddhists was composed in the ancient dialect of Oudh.

The relation of Pāli to Sanskrit may be roughly compared with that which the Romance languages bear to Latin. Because it became the language of the Buddhist canon, Magadhi gradually came to be called Pāli, and so identified itself with the reformers. Sanskrit remained the form in which the orthodox Brāhmans expressed themselves. It may be noted that the people of Burma and Ceylon still prefer to use the old name 'Magadhi' instead of 'Pāli.' Magadhi, at the time of the missionary journeys of the first Buddhist apostles, was a sort of *lingua franca*, as Hindustani or Malay is now, and the Sinhalese language is, as a matter of fact, derived from Magadhi. Any one talking Pāli could probably make himself understood by the people of Ceylon, just as a Yün-nanese can understand a Peking Chinaman, or a Lao Shan can follow a Siamese on the one side, or a British Tai on the other.

It seems to be proved beyond reasonable doubt that Buddhism was established both in Southern and in Western Burma long before the hitherto accepted dates. Very probably it got no great hold on the country. It is also probable that the Mahāyānist school was much the more strongly represented until the time of Anawrahtā. It can hardly be doubted that some of Aśoka's apostles visited and settled in both Upper and Lower Burma. Probably, however, the missionaries of Kanishka were much more numerous and more successful.

By the time of Kanishka, Indian Buddhism had lost the simple morality and 'agnostic idealism,' as Waddell calls it, of its founder, and had taken in much from the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and from Śaivism. It had become 'a speculative theistic system with a mysticism of sophistic nihilism in the background' (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 10).

It is unfortunate that the age of Kanishka is very imperfectly determined. We have so far records varying from the year 3 to the year 18, and the learned are at variance as to whether these are years of reign or years of an era. Fleet holds that they refer to the Samvat era, while others take them to refer to other eras with omitted hundreds. The net result is that Kanishka may be placed anywhere between 56 B.C. and A.D. 288—rather a wide interval for a monarch who made his influence felt from the upper reaches of the Tigris to the Great Wall of China.

It has been authoritatively asserted that the Mahāyānist form of Buddhism was introduced into Burma by Chinese missionaries in the 4th century. If for this we read Tai or Shan missionaries between the 1st and 4th cents., it will probably be much nearer the truth. Hīnayānist Buddhism had probably come in a tentative way with Aśoka's apostles before this, and, as is clearly established, Mahāyānism penetrated even as far as the Malay Peninsula, not at all impossibly through Burma, at the time when Buddhism is generally credited with being first planted in Burma itself.

The Northern school may certainly be called corrupted in comparison with the first teaching of the Buddha, and it was still further corrupted by the Tantra system. This was founded by Asaṅga, a noted monk of Peshāwar in the Panjab, and is a mixture of magic and witchcraft with Śiva-worship. This was grafted on the already corrupted Buddhism, and has left many traces in Burmese Buddhism. The religion which existed in Pagān before Anawrahtā's rape of the king and the religious books and the people of Thatōn was a medley of *naga-* or serpent-worship, Tantrism, and Mahāyānism, with not a few traces of Tibetan lāmaism, which came with the 8th cent. and possibly gave the country the word *pōngyī*, or 'monk,' which may be compared with *bōn-gyepa*, the Tibetan *bon*, 'mendicant.'

The professors of the Northern school of Buddhism, the *Ariya* of Pagān, were full of superstitions, and they were workers of miracles. Burnouf had little respect for them. 'The pen,' he says, 'refuses to transcribe doctrines as miserable in respect of form as they are odious and degrading in respect of meaning.' How long they had been found in Pagān there is nothing to show. It is, however, quite certain that the autocrat Anawrahtā effected the fusion of the two schools in the 11th century. He finally put an end to the *Ariya*, but traces of Mahāyānism have clung to the outward form of Hīnayānism in Burma ever since. If the religion may be said certainly to belong to the Southern school, it may no less certainly be asserted that it was moulded by the Northern. But Buddhism can hardly be called a religion. In its concrete form it is rather a sort of philosophy practised by a monastic organization like that of the Dominican or Franciscan Orders.

2. Buddhist Scriptures and religious works.—The canons of Buddhism may have been the work of an immediate disciple of the Buddha, drawn up at the first council in the year after the Benign One's death, but it is certain that the canon of the *Tripiṭaka* was really first settled at the council held under Aśoka in the 3rd cent. B.C. From the inscriptions we may rest assured that at that time the most important part of the Buddhist canon existed, as we now have it, divided into five portions.

The miracle-mongering Mahāyānists enlarged the original canon to a huge extent by expanding the texts of the original documents, by adding material of their own, and by entering into compromises with any local form of popular superstition; but however the individuals may have affected Burmese forms, this canon was never adopted in Burma. The Buddhist of the Southern school may be a scientific freethinker, as Lillie calls him, but he maintained with great tenacity the purity of the early Buddhistic teaching. This exists in the canon of Ceylon, and it is this form which Burmese Buddhism implicitly adopts. The Burmese also recognize only the Pāli, the canon language. This is as distinctively the language of the Hīnayānist school as Sanskrit is of the Mahāyānist. When the natives of India began to use Sanskrit as their literary language, from the 2nd cent. A.D. onwards, the people we call Buddhists gave up writing in Pali, though they probably understood it. But the books they wrote in Buddhistic Sanskrit were new books. We find that the Buddhistic Sanskrit texts abound in wild, extravagant, and exasperating digressions. Such works as the *Lalita Vistara*, the *Buddha Charita*, and some others are based on the old myths of Asia. In these we can detect the common origin of the story of Bacchus, of Kṛṣṇa, and of many other gods and heroes.

The last census of India showed that out of

nearly nine and a half million Buddhists in the Indian Empire, all but about 300,000 are in Burma. Ceylon may be regarded as the holier place by the Buddhist, possibly even by the Burmese Buddhist, but, since very shortly after the permanent establishment of Buddhism in Pagān by Anawrahtā, Burma has consistently held a very high place in the interpretation of the authentic Buddhist Scriptures in the language which they call Magadhi, or the Mula-bhasa, and Western scholars call Pāli. This Magadhi, or Pāli, has been to the Burmese what Latin was to the mediæval scholiasts and scholars of Europe. This has been so much the case that Burmese writings dealing with matters of religion or philosophy are as full of Magadhi terms as European scientific phraseology is filled with classical terminology.

Since the 11th cent. there have been produced in Burma, in the Pāli language, great numbers of religious works, grammatical treatises, and dissertations on philosophy, which have attained a reputation far beyond the limits of Burma. They have been studied in Siam and perhaps not least in Ceylon itself.

The palm-leaf manuscripts spread so much that copies may be found both in Ceylon and in Siam, in any monastery which pretends to a respectable library; and of later years, when all the more noteworthy works of Burmese authorship have been printed at the local presses, Burmese treatises have become still more common.

The reputation is well deserved. The Burmese *bhikṣus*, since the days of the Pagân monarchy, have been noted, not merely for their study of the *Abhidhamma*, but for scholarly researches in the canons which deal with metaphysics and psychology. For centuries monks from Siam and from Ceylon have come to study in Burmese monasteries, which have always been rich in commentaries and exegeses on the *Abhidhamma* (*q.v.*). Only one specimen of this literature is to be read in any Western language. The *Dhamma-saṅgaṇi* was translated in the first few years of the 20th cent. by Mrs. Rhys Davids under the title of *Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*. This introduction to Buddhist metaphysics is the shortest of the canonical works, but it is to be followed by a translation of the *Saṅgaha* by Mrs. Rhys Davids in collaboration with a Burmese scholar, Maung Shwe Zan Aung. A Pāli dictionary is also in process of production to take the place of Childers' dictionary, which has fallen far short of the knowledge and needs of the Western student of Pāli.

3. Religious education.—While the Buddhist monks of Burma have long been noted for their scholarship, the Buddhist people of Burma have been no less noted for their education. The percentage of literates among the men is almost as high as it is in Ireland, and is higher than the proportion in Italy. Burma has less than a third of the population of the Madras Presidency, yet the number of literate persons is very nearly the same. The census figures of 1901 are not nearly so favourable as those of 1891, because at the latter census a much higher proportion of hill peoples were enumerated, and, besides this, the number of natives of India in the country had largely increased. Still, even on this less favourable estimate it appears that, on an average, of every five persons in Burma one individual would have been found who could read and write. The proportion of literates is much higher in the rural districts, and especially in Upper Burma, than in the delta, where the number of illiterate immigrants from India is very considerable.

The credit for the superiority of the Burman is entirely due to the monastic schools. These have existed for centuries, much as they may be seen now in country places. If the *śrāmanas* had done nothing else, they would deserve honour for the way in which they instruct the boys of the country. The theory of Buddhism is essentially selfish, or at any rate it encourages selfishness. Each individual must work out his own salvation, and no one else can help him, except by example, just as the Buddha is a model not only for the people, but for the *bhikṣu* himself. There are no regular services held by the mendicants; no preaching of sermons at stated times; no assembling of congregations; no religious forms for burials, or births, least of all for marriages. Some energetic and zealous monks do read homilies and deliver sermons, but there is no need for them to do so, and there is no summoning of the religious to attend. The one religious ceremony is the admission of the novice to the Order, when the postulant has completed his studies, has decided to put off the world and join the company of the *samanera*, and this is really a continuation of the teaching of the youth of the country. It enables the creature to become a human being, for no Burman can claim to have attained humanity until he has put on the yellow robe, and the ceremony of initiation is intended merely to provide that no one defective mentally or physically shall enter the Noble Order.

At the age of eight or nine every Burman boy goes to the monastery school, except in the towns, where the people are degenerate, and, as often as not, are half-Chinese, half Muhammadan, half-Hindu, or half-English, and go to the Government or Mission schools. In the country villages—and the Burman is not a lover of towns, but essentially a tiller of the soil—it may be taken for certain that every one sends his boys to the monastery. There they begin by learning the alphabet, shouting out the letters at the top of their voices, and copying them out with steatite pencils from the roughly made black wooden board on which the teacher-monk has written them.

As soon as the boy has learnt his alphabet thoroughly he is started on his first text. This is practically always the *Mingala-thut* (*Miṅgala Sutta*), which may be translated, 'the Buddhist Beatitudes.' It is made up of twelve Pāli versicles, with a short introductory preface. In the version given to the schoolboy each Pāli word has its Burmese equivalent. This is learnt ploddingly word by word, and verse by verse, and the pupil is not considered to have mastered it till he can repeat the text and its translation without blundering or hesitation of any kind. After this the meaning is taken up word by word and stanza by stanza, and the whole is explained in simple language. The choice of this poem is a most admirable one, for the Pāli is exceedingly simple, and the sentiments are of the most elevating kind. After the text and its meaning have been thoroughly learned, the easiest rules of grammar in connexion with the *Mingala-thut* are explained. Time is of no object to the monk or the boy, or to the Burman of any age or position; and the study of 'the Beatitudes' in many cases takes a year, more or less, according to the application and the intelligence of the pupil. But when he does know the text, he knows it thoroughly.

The second text taken up is generally the *Nāma-kāra* of Buddhaghoṣa, which is a short lyric, composed in a moment of inspiration by that apostle. A small treatise giving a list and description of the most excellent things is often studied instead of the *Nāma-kāra*. These are: the Nine Excellences of the Buddha; the Six Excellences of the Law; and the Nine Excellences of the Assembly of the Perfect. This also is in verse, as indeed is the case with by far the greater part of the literature not merely of Burma, but of the rest of Indo-China and of India. By the time the monastery schoolboy has got through the *Miṅgala-thut*, the *Nāma-kāra*, and the Book of the Excellent Characteristics of the Church and its Founder, he has acquired considerable proficiency in both reading and writing, and he is able to go on to the study of the works of Shin Silavamsa, Shin Ratthasara, and others of the poetical composers of the Burmese classics. These are the most noted writers, and it is only after he has mastered them that the young Burman student begins to read the Ten Great *Zats*, the descriptions of the *avatāras* of the Buddha, which are in prose. It is with these prose works that the Western student usually begins his Pāli reading.

But the monastic scholar does not merely read these easier poetical works. Step by step he continues his grammatical studies with them, and the meaning of the text, and its applications to the Buddhist religion, are exhaustively explained to him by his bedesman teacher. From the very beginning the boy is taught, with many illustrative examples and stories from the Scriptures and from the Commentaries, to shun evil in thought as much as in deed, because it is an obstacle to progress towards a higher form of life, and final emancipation from the sorrow of earthly existence. He is taught to be upright and pure, not in the hope of escaping punishment, but because of the peace of mind which rewards him. He is taught to reverence parents, wife, children, and teachers; and, above all, the duties which every Buddhist owes to the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly are impressed upon him. He is in fact educated in everything that a proper citizen owes to his country, to society, and to himself. The theory is excellent, and the education of the monasteries far surpasses the instruction of the Anglo-vernacular schools from every point of view, except that of immediate success in life and the obtaining of a

post under Government. At the time when the boy is at his most impressionable stage, his mind is built up, instead of being buried in a mass of ill-digested information; and his heart is being trained instead of being ignored.

A boy whose parents can permit him to stay on in the monastery, and are willing that he should learn the literature of his country, instead of the science and wisdom of the Western nations, now passes on to the *Pareittam*, the *Lawkaniti*, the *Dhammaniti*, and the *Rajaniti*. The *Pāreittam*, or Book of Protection, is a collection of excerpts in prose and verse from the *Tripiṭakas*, each of which is supposed to be a safeguard against some calamity or danger: against evil spirits, plague, pestilence, and famine, fire, battle, and murder, snake-bite, and even against poison. The *Lawkaniti* teaches him worldly wisdom; the *Dhammaniti* gives further moral instruction; and the *Rajaniti* is a work like *The Prince* of Macchiavelli, compiled, to suit Oriental ethics, by the sage Chaṇakya.

Many pupils stop far short of this. In the old days all parents who could afford to keep their son idle let him proceed as far as this if he had the necessary intelligence and industry. At this point, however, ordinary teaching ended. If the pupil continued his studies, it was usually as a *samanera*, or novice. The boy was dressed up in princely robes to recall Siddartha's renunciation of the world. He made the tour of the town or village in jubilant procession, with troops of gaily dressed maidens. He bade farewell to parents, relatives, and friends, entered the monastery, and went through the customary examination before the head of the community. Then his head was shaved. He was robed in the yellow monkish garments, had the begging bowl hung round his neck, and fell in among the body of the mendicants. He received his religious name, which he kept for the rest of his life if he remained in the Order, and remembered only as an incident if he went back to secular life.

The old-fashioned rule was that every youth should spend three Lents (roughly from July to October) in the monastery and conform to all its rules, including fasting after noontide and going the begging round in the morning. One Lent was for the father, one for the mother, and one for the *samanera* himself. To spend less than one entire Lent was considered hardly decent. Western influences, however, have taught many that life is not long enough for this, and the Lent is often cut down to a month, a week, or even a few days. Three days is considered the shortest period that is respectable. The novices, of course, go on with their studies. The code of the *Vinaya*, the Buddhist *Ancren Riwle*, the doctrine taught in the *Dighanikāya*, and, finally, the psychological ethics of the *Abhidhamma*, are as much as the most apt are able to study before they are qualified for formal admission to the Order.

The Southern school of Buddhism has never recognized a hierarchy. There is nothing like the system of Tibet, which is so surprisingly like that of the Church of Rome, even to the practice of the confessional and the recognition of purgatory. The need for unity and the requirements of church discipline, however, call for some sort of grading, and a system of classes is recognized, which is very much the same as existed in the time of the Buddha himself.

There is, firstly, the *shin*, the novice, or *samanera*, who is not a professed member of the Order; secondly, the *upasin*, who, after the prescribed time, has been formally admitted to the Order, and becomes a *śrāmana* or *bhikṣu*; and thirdly, the *pōngyi*, or 'great glory,' who, by virtue of not less than ten years' stay in the monastery, has proved his steadfastness, and becomes a *thera*. In actual practice there is a slightly extended system of grades: first, the *shin*, or postulant; second, the *pyitshin*, the full member of the Order; third, the *saya*, the head of the monastery, who never has fewer than ten Lents; fourth, the *gaingōk*, whose control extends over groups of monasteries; and fifth, the *sadaw*, who might be compared to a vicar-general. The *thathanapaing*, or Grand Superior of the Order, in the time of the Burmese monarchy, was appointed from among the *sadaws*, and had a council, called the *thudhamma*, varying in number from eight to twelve. In 1904 the British Government recognized in formal darbar a *thathanapaing*, chosen by the *sadaws*, and gave him a formal patent, and it is probable that this course will be followed in the future.

Notwithstanding these ranks, however, the religion is eminently republican in character. The monasteries are open to all,—to the peasant and to the highest dignitary,—and the longest stayer has the greatest honour. Rank counts by number of Lents spent in the monastery, no matter whether the *bhikṣu* is a provincial or merely a wandering friar, and individual dignity releases no one from the duty of the daily begging round. Nothing except the frailty of age excuses the most learned and famous *sadaw* from the morning round. The bedesman's robes are the same for the postulant and the member of the *thudhamma*. The monk has no obligation to bestir himself on behalf of his fellow-monks or the laity. He is not called upon to convert the unbeliever or to reassure the doubter. All he has to do is to work out his own salvation. But he teaches the youth of the country, and this binds the entire population to his support. He not merely teaches them letters, but forms their mind and character. The nightly vespers, when the lauds are chanted and all bow three times before the figure of the Buddha, and three times before the head of the monastery, are more impressive than the most eloquent sermon would be.

4. Schism.—There is very little non-conformity, to say nothing of heresies, among the Burmese Buddhists. For years there were bitter disputes as to ordination, after Anawrahta had established Hinayanism in Pagān. Chapada, the monk, had received the *upasampada* ordination from the *theras* of the Mahāvihara in Ceylon, and he loftily denied the validity of the orders conferred on the Burmese religious of the old school, called the *Marammu-samgha*, not less than those of Purima Bhikku Samgha, who claimed apostolic sanction from Sona and Uttara, said to have been sent forth by King Aśoka. These bickerings ended only with the destruction of Pagān itself, and they have never since been revived.

The sects of modern times have mostly risen out of revolt against excessive austerity, or as a protest against reprehensible laxity. There are a few communities, called *Sawtis* or *Mans*, who are anti-clericals. They neither reverence the mendicants nor support the monasteries, and some do not even worship before the pagodas, but recite their prayers in the open fields instead. The doxologies which they use are the same as those repeated by the ordinary orthodox Buddhists, and the schism is unimportant. The disputes between the *Mahāgandis* and the *Sulagandis* are simply the sempiternal quarrel between the ascetic and the weak of flesh, between the High Churchman and the Low, the Catholic and the Puritan, the emotional and the austere. These differences have some dignity imparted to them by the assertion of the *Mahāgandis* that man is endowed with free will. This the *Sulagandis* deny, claiming that a man's whole life is controlled entirely by *kan* (*karma*), the influence of past good and evil deeds on existences to come. The *Sulagandis* attribute all importance to the intention; the *Mahāgandis* think that action is sufficient and the intention immaterial.

5. Spirit-worship.—But doctrinal schisms are insignificant compared with the undoubted fact that all Burmese Buddhism is tainted with spirit-worship. The Southern form of the faith triumphed, but the Northern belief in magic and devil-worship has left lasting traces on the religion of Burma, and still more on the Buddhism of the Shan States. It is not merely that they recognize the Twelve Guardian Spirits, whom they have borrowed from the Hindus. The *nats*, the spirits of the air, the flood, and the fell, are much more present influences to the Burman than the calm, philosophic model of the Buddha. The *nats* are constantly consulted and propitiated. The Buddha is, as a rule, directly addressed only on worship days. Spirit-trees sometimes intrude into the limits of the monastic grounds, and spirit-shrines are to be seen in the shadow of the pagoda, and have as many offerings as the relic-shrine. And the spirits, as always, are malignant, and have to be propitiated. The World-Renowned One is long-suffering and benign. Moreover, he is only a model. The spirits are everywhere, and they are malicious, and constantly active. So the Burman does his best to serve both, and has the greater bias towards the spirits.

There is a pagoda at, or near, every village in the

country, and probably also a monastery, but there is a spirit-shrine in every house, and the spirits are consulted before houses are built, marriages made, bargains struck, or journeys begun. In the times of native rule, spirit-feasts were formally recognized by the State, and the ritual was very carefully set forth in lengthy treatises. Moreover, there is a precise list of 'The Thirty-seven *Nats* (spirits) of Burma,' with forms of the odes to be sung to them, the dances to be performed before them, the vestments to be worn on the occasion, and the life histories of these anthropomorphic deities.

All this is written at length in the *Mahāgita Medani*, and presentments of the Thirty-seven *Nats* are to be seen in the curtilage and enclosure of the Shwēzigōn pagoda at Pagān. Further details of spirit-worship are to be found in the *Deitton*, of which a summary is given in Father Sangermano's *Burmese Empire* (1833).

Notwithstanding all this, the Burman would be greatly offended if he were called a spirit-worshipper, and genuinely believes himself to be a most orthodox Buddhist.

The census of 1901 showed that there were 15,371 monasteries in Burma. This gives an average of over two for each village and town in the province, and implies one monastery for every ninety-three houses. In these religious houses there were 46,278 fully ordained monks and probationers, and 45,369 acolytes, wearing the yellow robe. There were thus more than 91,500 wearing the bedesman's robes, and this represents 2½ per cent of the male population of Burma. Perhaps Burma is not so conspicuously the centre of Buddhist religious life and learning in Indo-China as it was in the time of the Pagān dynasty, from the 10th to the 13th century. In those days fraternities came to Pagān from Ceylon, then called Sihaldīpa; from the conquered Haṁsavatī (Pegu); from Ayuttara (Siam); from Kampoja (the Shan States); from Nepāl, and from China; and each sect or fraternity had separate quarters given in which it could live. But even now, notwithstanding the spirit-worshipping taint, Burma can claim to maintain Buddhism in a form nearer that of the Buddha's teaching than any other country.

6. Buddhist architecture.—(*a*) *Monasteries.*—The Burmese monastery never varies in design. Some few may be built of bricks; most are of timber. In very poor neighbourhoods, they may be of bamboo, but the ground plan is always the same. The *pōngyī-kyaung* so strongly resembles the wooden temples of Nepāl that it can hardly be doubted that the model came from there, or that both have a common origin. The whole building stands on piles, and there are technically only two rooms (if they can be called rooms). In some cases there may be partitions, but there are never any doors, so that the whole interior is practically one hall. A staircase, generally of brick and stucco, frequently embellished with dragons, leads up to the verandah. The verandah, called *zingyan*, is open to the sky, and runs round three sides of the building, and from this there is free entrance on all three sides to the main body of the monastery, which is really one big chamber. The flooring rises in steps. There is one grade from the verandah to the outer chamber, where lay visitors find their place; another step up marks the entrance to the inner chamber, where the monks sit; and a third rises to the structure, always on the eastern side of the building, where the image of Gautama Buddha is enthroned. Over this is built the tiered spire, called the *pyathat*, shooting up in regularly diminishing, super-imposed roofs to the *hti*, or umbrella, which is placed on the top. Both the spire and the umbrella are marks of sanctity, and the spire has three, five, or seven roofs, according to the dignity of the *pōngyī-kyaung*, or rather of its head. The wood for a monastery is always chosen from the best and most seasoned logs available, or within the means of the pious founder. Sometimes these are excessively large. At the south-west corner there is a chamber, which is used as a store-room. On the west side there is another, which the younger members of the community use as a dormitory. The head of the house, whether *sadaw*, *gaingōk*, or plain *pōngyī*, sleeps at the south-east corner of the building, that is to say in the part closest to the *hpaya-kyaung*, where the image of the Buddha is. The north-eastern part is used as the schoolroom and for the reception of visitors, and has the appearance of a separate room, but is not really so.

Outwardly the monastery looks as if it had several storeys, but this is never the case. The national, and still more the religious, feeling against having any one's feet above the indweller's head is very strong. The outside line is broken up into apparent pavilions, with a profusion of gabled roofs, culminating in the eastern spire, all adorned with carvings, lavished on gables, ridges, eaves, finials, and balustrades, greater or less, according to the wealth of the founder. No monk, it may be remarked, can build a monastery for himself, nor can he ask to have one built for his accommodation. The monasteries are the only national buildings, now that there is no palace, which make any attempt at ornamentation.

A *pōngyī-kyaung* is never, at any rate when it is first built, inside a village or a town. Dwellings may spring up around it later, but always at a considerable distance. The monastery always has the best and quietest site, and stands in a spacious compound, fenced in and planted with umbrageous trees and bamboos, and often with fruit trees, flowering shrubs, and rare and curious plants. The monastic library is invariably detached from the main building, to avoid danger from fire. Within a certain limit from the monastery fence, pillars mark out a boundary, inside which the taking of any kind of life is forbidden. All Buddhist visitors take off their shoes or sandals as soon as they enter the *hparawaing*, as the monastic curtilage is called, and carry them to the foot of the staircase, where they are left until the visit is over. Inside the monastery compound, but perhaps more frequently on a site of its own, is the *thein*, where monks are admitted to the holy Order. This is seldom more than a spire, rising over a lofty pillared space for the ceremony.

(*b*) *Pagodas.* — The characteristic pagoda of Burma is a solid pyramidal relic-shrine, such as is called a tope or a *stūpa* in India. The masonry temples are almost entirely confined to Pagān. The Arakan temple, the Mahāmyatmuni of the suburbs of Mandalay, is almost the only notable example outside of that ruined city.

Pagoda is almost certainly a metathesis for *dagoba*. The Burmese name is *zedi* or *hpaya*. The Burmese recognize four kinds of *zedi*: first, *dat-daw zedi*, containing relics of a Buddha or of a *rahanda*; second, *paribawga zedi*, erected over the clothing or utensils of a Buddha or of a sainted personage; third, *dhamma zedi*, built over sacred books or texts; and fourth, *udeiksa zedi*, containing images of the Buddha or models of sacred buildings. The last two classes are naturally by far the most numerous.

It is the desire of every Burman Buddhist to be known as the founder of a pagoda, and sacred texts and facsimiles of noted shrines are obviously more easily obtained than relics, or even exact models of relics. The vast majority of *zedis* are of brick, covered over with stucco, and white-washed at intervals during the founder's life-time. Very rich men gild either the whole shrine or the spire.

Many of the most famous shrines, notably the Shwēdagōn in Rangoon, have been cased and re-cased and cased again many times. The original shrine was of quite modest dimen-

sions, and a tunnel, which was driven into the centre of the Rangoon *zedi* at the time of the First Burmese War, showed that it had been enlarged in this way seven times. The original pagoda is thought to have been only twenty-seven feet high and to have been erected in 585 B.C. The present spire rises to a height of three hundred and sixty-five feet.

The modern Burmese pagoda is undoubtedly the lineal descendant of the ancient Buddhist *stūpas* of India, and the development of the type can therefore be traced for a period of over two thousand years. The oldest forms were massive and simple. The modern ones have fined away into slender spires, and have added a great deal, in the way of exterior adornment. They have gained in elegance, but have lost in grandeur.

All the more notable pagodas have palm-leaf *thamaings*, or chronicles, very often containing much that is of interest in secular history. Like the monasteries, they all stand on a wide open platform, and on this there are built numbers of smaller pagodas, shrines, rest-houses, *tazaung pyathats*, crowded with tier upon tier of images of the Buddha, altars for offerings, and *tagondaings*, flag-staffs crowned with umbrella *htis*, metal caps, or figures of heraldic creatures. The approaches to the pagodas in very many cases are along covered ways called *saungdan*, the sides of which are adorned with fresco paintings, and the stairways are mostly in groups of steps of uneven numbers, just as, according to immemorial rule, the stair to a monastery must have an odd number of steps.

Pagodas, as far as structure is concerned, are divided into four distinct parts. There is first the terrace. This is square, and is usually of brick or mason work. At the corners are often found the *manōtthiha*, the curious, human-faced lions, with one head and two bodies, embellished with wings. They inevitably recall the ancient winged lions of Assyria. Upon this terrace stands the plinth, usually of an elaborate polygonal form, and with a boldly moulded, stepped contour. Above this rises the bell-shaped body of the pagoda, divided into an upper and a lower part by an ornamental band. Upon this stands the spire, which is made up of a number of rings: a lotus-leaf belt, with a bead moulding in the centre, and lotus leaves fringing it above and below. The spire ends in a spike-shaped cone, which is finished off with the metal-work crown, or *hti*. This is usually very graceful in design, made of open metal-work, very commonly gilt, and always hung with bells, sometimes of gold and silver and studded with gems. The Burmese divide important pagodas into twelve parts, most of which are symbolical subdivisions of the spire portion of the *zedi*.

The symbolical meaning of the different parts of the pagoda is not universally recognized by the Burmese, but it is a favourite subject of discourse with many monks, and seems to have come to Burma from the Shan States and perhaps from China. According to this view, the four-sided base is intended to represent the dwellings of the four great world-kings, 'Chaturlokapālas,' whose figures are enthroned within the four arched shrines, and who act as guardian spirits of the world. The eight-sided centre, called *shittaung*, is the *tuṣita* heaven. It is here that Arimadeya or Maitreya, the Buddha of the next world-cycle, dwells, and with him are all the other Bodhisattvas, or Buddhas in embryo, awaiting the season when they will descend to the earth as Buddhas. The upper bell-shaped portion, above the circular moulding, called the *kyiwaing*, is intended to represent the highest heaven, where the Buddhas go after they have attained to complete enlightenment and have fulfilled their high mission. This is called the *kaunglaungbōn*. Another symbolization represents the five diminishing terraces of the base, to stand for Mount Meru in its five-fold division; or a triple basement recalling the three worlds of *kāmaloka* (sense), *rūpaloka* (form), and *arūpaloka* (shapelessness), the Benign One, called *Tilokamahita*, being 'the revered of the three worlds.'

(*c*) *Temples*.—The masonry temples of Pagān are not nearly so characteristic of the country, though they are the pride of Burma. They are absolutely different from the national *zedi*, and the general details may almost all be traced to Indian art, but at the same time there are notable originalities. The arches and vaults resting on their pilasters, with cornice, capital, and base, are quite foreign to Hindu architecture, and suggest rather the Bactrian Greeks of the time of Milinda. In one sense, therefore, they are Burmese, for nothing like them is to be found anywhere else. Unlike the pagodas, the purpose of these temples is to contain, not relics, but huge images of the Buddha. This naturally affects their plan, and instead of rising in bell-shape they are constructed in gradually diminishing terraces, and are only capped by a spire of the type of the ordinary Hindu *śivālaya*, or perhaps more like the Jain temples of Northern India. The Thapinyu temple has only one shrine, directly below the *sikra*, to receive the image, but the Ananda has four, with presentments of all four Buddhas of this world-cycle, fronting to the four cardinal points of the compass. A striking feature is the narrow slit windows, so placed that a shaft of light falls full on the placid features of the Buddha.

Such temples have always been rare in Buddhist countries, and are foreign to the idea of Buddhism, which does not recognize idol-worship. The only example existing in India is that of the Mahābawdi at Bodh Gayā, in the charge of Hindu *mahants*. A model of it may be seen at Pagān, and the original is believed to date from about A.D. 500, when Mahāyānism was the form of North Indian Buddhism. There is no similarity between the Mahābawdi and any of the Pagān temples. Of late years a fashion has sprung up, especially in the Shan States, of building temples of this kind, on the model of the Mahāmyatmuni in Mandalay—the Arakan pagoda of the tourist, and presumably 'the old Moulmein Pagoda' of Rudyard Kipling.

(*d*) *Images*.—It seems clearly established that the making of images of the World-Renowned One did not appear in Buddhism until some time after the beginning of the Christian era. They are extraordinarily abundant in Burma now. Only three forms are recognized: seated images, figures standing erect, and recumbent images, called by the Burmese respectively *tinbinkwe*, *mayat-daw*, and *shinbin tha-lyaung*. They represent the Buddha in the act of meditation under the Bo-tree, where he attained to supreme wisdom; in the act of preaching; and after death, when he had attained to the blissful calm of *nirvāṇa*. The seated form is by far the most common. In the Eastern Shan States, in the Lao country, and in Siam, figures which suggest the worship of Indra are not uncommonly found and suggest Mahāyānism. So also do the images, enthroned in vaults, under the bell-shaped pagodas, which are not uncommon in the Shan States, but are rarely, if ever, found in Burma.

ii. ASSAM.—The Buddhism of Assam is fast disappearing. At the time of the census of 1901 there were only 9065 Buddhists in the country, that is to say, no more than ·16 of the population. At one time they held the whole, or at any rate the whole of the Brahmaputra area, which is the main portion, of Assam. The rest, even to the present day, is inhabited by hill tribes: Chingpaws, Nagas, Mishmis, and the like. In the early part of the 13th cent. the Tais invaded and occupied the country. They gave themselves, or were given, the name of *Āhoms*, from which the name Assam is derived. The Shans called it *Wehsali-lōng*, and the Buddhistical name of the province is *Weisali*. The invaders were an army sent by Hsö Hkan-hpa, the Tai king, who founded the Möng Mao empire, which may not impossibly have been the 'kingdom of Pong.' They settled on two long islands, formed by branches of the Brahmaputra, and never returned to their Shan homes. Gradually they occupied the whole of the valley, or main part of Assam, and established Buddhism everywhere except in the hills. For four hundred years they maintained themselves and Buddhism, and then in 1611 their ruler Chu-cheng-hpa (an essentially Tai name) was converted to Hinduism, and practically the whole of his subjects followed his example.

At the present day the *Kalitas*, as the monks of the Ahoms were called, are found in only a few remote recesses of Assam, and it seems probable that even these will disappear before long, and with them Assamese Buddhism. All that will remain will be the Mongolian features which characterize a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of Assam. The Tai language is almost as much changed, where it is used at all, as the religion of the country. The few pagodas, fast crumbling away, are of the same type as the pagodas of Burma and of the Shan States, and none has any special celebrity. The monasteries of the Kalitas seem to be of the immemorial type of the Buddhist monastic buildings, which, some say, reproduce the traditional forms of ancient wooden architecture in India, Assyria, and parts of Central Asia. They may represent to us the wooden palaces of Nineveh, and hint at the architecture of King Solomon's temple, built of the cedars of Lebanon.

Buddhism has never been a propagandist religion among the Eastern peoples who have adopted it. In quite recent times, however, the faith has been adopted, chiefly in Burma, by Europeans of zeal, education, and energy, who are writing and preaching its merits and beauties. It is possible that they may revive Buddhism in Assam and plant it elsewhere, but it does not seem very probable.

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J. GEORGE SCOTT.

BURNING.—See DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

BUSHIDO.—See ETHICS (Japanese).

BUSHMEN.—See BANTU.

BUSHNELL.—**1. Life.**—Horace Bushnell was born on April 14th, 1802, in Litchfield, Connecticut, U.S.A. His father, Ensign Bushnell, came of a family with a Huguenot strain of mental alertness and religious sincerity. His mother, Dotha (*née* Bishop), had been brought up in the Episcopal Church. When the family removed to New Preston, Connecticut, in 1805, they joined the Congregational Church there. The mingling of religious traditions in his home saved Horace from being brought up in the strict and arid Calvinism of the time. He described his mother as 'rising even to a kind of sublimity in the attribute of discretion.' There was no atmosphere of 'artificial pious consciousness in the home, but stress was laid on industry, order, time, fidelity, reverence, neatness, truth, intelligence, prayer.' In this way he experienced the meaning of 'Christian nurture' before he attempted to interpret it as a theory of the beginning of the religious life. Similarly, his practical education in household duties is described in the lecture on the 'Age of Homespun,' in his book, *Work and Play* (1864).

He entered Yale College in 1823, when he was 21 years old, and, having graduated, became Tutor in Law in 1829. He threw off his doubts and hesitations in a College revival. His own account was: 'When the preacher touches the Trinity and logic shatters it all to pieces, I am all at the four winds; but I am glad I have a heart as well as a head. My heart wants the Father; my heart wants the Son; my heart wants the Holy Ghost, and one just as much as the other' (Cheney, p. 56).

In 1831 he took leave of his pupils, telling them as his parting advice: 'Be perfectly honest in forming all your opinions and principles of action; never swerve in conduct from your honest conviction. If between them both you go over Niagara, go' (*ib.* p. 62).

He was ordained pastor of the North Church in Hartford in 1833. In the same year (13th Sept.) he was married to Mary Apthorp, a lineal descendent of John Davenport, the first minister of New Haven.

The main part of his life was passed in Hartford, where his public service to the town is kept in memory by the Bushnell Park. The important events of his life were the publication of his books challenging the dogmas held by the Churches of the 'standing order' (*i.e.* the original Congregational Churches of New England), the replies made to his challenge, and the public and private consequences of his views. He was a keen but sweet-tempered controversialist, and without bitterness accepted what came. He had four children, of whom two, a daughter and a son, died. Two daughters, to whom he wrote some delightful letters, survived him. Other events were his holidays in search of health, some of which were spent in California and in Europe, and his invitations to important lectureships and appointments. He lived 'till all men were at peace with him,' and died at the age of 74, on 17th Feb. 1876.

2. Theology.—Bushnell's life work was largely determined by the theological atmosphere in which he found himself. In his own Church there was an old and a new school, and he found himself 'daintily inserted between an acid and an alkali, having it for his task both to keep them apart and to save himself from being bitten by one or devoured by the other.'

The religious atmosphere of New England was still more heavily charged with theological animus. Bellamy, Hopkins, Emmons, the younger Edwards, Dwight, and Taylor were engaged nominally in making improvements on the Calvinism of Jonathan Edwards, really in trying to accommodate that system to the pressure of modern thought by introducing, in various degrees, a leaven of pantheism. In 1828, Dr. W. N. Taylor of New Haven had made an unqualified assertion of the self-determining power of the will. Bushnell brought into this environment both a fresh and vigorous personality and a new method. He was a builder, but on a new foundation, rejecting fundamentally the syllogisms of Calvinism, and endeavouring to interpret rationally the religious experience of the Christian heart.

Outlined against the theological background of New England Calvinistic theology, Bushnell's work may be described as the work of a mediator between old and dualistic, and new and monistic schemes of Divine and human relations.

His eye is always on the Christian experience of spiritual things. If it be the nature of religion to deal with the things of the Spirit, Bushnell makes his impression by keeping close to nature. He is deferential to tradition but not bound by it, and frankly distrustful of all dogmatic definitions, as creating more difficulties than they allay. Although strenuously critical of the theologies which he found in possession, his aim was always constructive, and in intention comprehensive.

(1) In *Christian Nurture* (1847) he criticized the revivalism which had become the popular method of recruiting the Church. He recognized that the revival movement had displaced an era of formality and brought in the demand for a genuinely supernatural experience. His criticism was that it

makes nothing of the family and the Church—organic powers which God has constituted as channels of grace. His thesis is that the child is to grow up a Christian, and never know himself as being otherwise. He repudiates baptismal regeneration as a superstition, but finds a reason for infant baptism in the organic unity of the parents with their child, 'who is taken to be regenerate presumptively on the ground of his known connexion with his parents' character, and with the Divine or church life which is the life of that character.' His conception of Christian nurture begins with a kind of ante-natal nurture, and he looks to the Church to possess the world by the 'out-populating power of the Christian stock.' The plea contained in the book is as one-sided in its emphasis as the religion—beginning in an explosion and ending in a torpor—against which he protests. But Bushnell gave a great truth—the law of Christian growth—which has never been better expressed, a home in New England Churches. The materials for a complete synthesis between him and his opponents are only now slowly accumulating in the work of religious psychologists and in the comparative study of historic religions.

(2) The second challenge to current conceptions was an interpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity intended to get rid of a form of statement which could be criticized as tritheistic. He found a convenient instrument for his task in his theory of language, which is described in 'A Dissertation on the Nature of Language as related to Thought and Spirit,' and forms the introduction to the volume *God in Christ* (1849). He regards language as essentially symbolic and pictorial, relative to the subject rather than to the object, and therefore argues that the doctrine of the Trinity might be true for man and yet not give him real information as to the inner nature of the Godhead.

God in Christ was an outcome of 'a personal discovery of Christ and of God as represented in Him.' The change was from faith into faith—a fuller sense of the freeness of God and the ease of approach to Him—and it was associated with an experience in sleep in which he 'saw the Gospel' (see Munger, p. 114). Coleridge, Madame Guyon, Upham, and Fénelon had much influenced him, and led him to a position which he believed could mediate between the old and the new schools of thought. He accepted invitations in one year to lecture in the Divinity School at Cambridge, which was Unitarian; in the Theological School at Andover, which stood by historical Christianity; and in the Divinity School in New Haven. The permanent value of Bushnell's contribution is his insistence that the Christian 'Trinity' is a result of the fact that the revelation of God to man is by historic process. He does not deny that the Persons of the Trinity have real existence in the Godhead. He is not to be classed as a Sabellian, though this charge was made against him. The revelation of God is, in fact, historical. It is only through relations, contrasts, actions, and reactions that we come into a knowledge of God. As the norm or ideal of the race, God will 'live Himself into the acquaintance and biographic history of the world.' Bushnell coins a phrase to express this, and speaks of an 'Instrumental Trinity,' and of the Persons as 'Instrumental Persons' (*God in Christ*, p. 175). In dealing with the Trinity his eye is on experience. He writes on the 'Christian Trinity a Practical Truth.' He maintains that the Trinity is necessary to satisfy the demands of the heart. On the other hand, he makes room for nothing that does not ally itself with experience.

This book led to an unsuccessful attempt to put the author on trial for heresy before the Association, or Associated Churches of the District. Bushnell replied to his critics in a series of brilliant and vigorous essays. In these he approaches more nearly to the historic Christian tradition by recognizing that the Trinity has immanent and permanent existence in the Godhead, but he still regards it as necessary only for purposes of revelation and expression.

(3) His third challenge to the prevailing orthodoxy was more directly in line with the first. In *Nature and the Supernatural* (1858) he challenged the view of miracles which regards them as a suspension of natural law. His object is to defend miracles by regarding them as not contrary to the fundamental constitution and laws of the universe, but as exceptional illustrations of the continuous action of God immanent in the universe. He wishes 'to find a legitimate place for the supernatural in the system of God, and show it as a necessary part of the Divine system itself.' The world was made to include Christianity. The coming of God in Christ is part of its proper and complete order; all the appointments, events, and experiences of human history are consummated in this revelation of God; and in this the final cause of the world's creation is revealed. Miracles belong to the revelation of this higher and final order. It was an essential development of Bushnell's teaching, that religion is man's ascent into the sphere of the liberty of the children of God. On the other hand, he gets rid of the idea of miracle as an infringement of law, by including miracle under law, and naming the law supernatural. What ordinarily prevents man from entering into this freedom is not human nature as such, but sin. 'There is no hope for man or human society, under sin, save in the supernatural interposition of God' (p. 250). In the chapter on 'Miracles and Spiritual Gifts not Discontinued,' he accepts the full logical consequences of his position. Criticism attacked him as a 'demolisher of nature,' but no criticism has invalidated his position as bringing the principle and law of miracles within the sphere of rational statement.

His work on the Atonement (*Vicarious Sacrifice*, 1865, cf. *Forgiveness and Law*, 1874) is noticed elsewhere (see EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT [Chr.]). It is mentioned here only to call attention to its essential harmony with the rest of his work. His central position is that the Vicarious Sacrifice declares the supreme law of human life, and is grounded in principles of duty and right that are universal. 'It is not goodness over-good, and yielding a surplus of merit in that manner for us, but it is just as good as it ought to be, or as the highest right required it to be, a model in that view for us, and a power, if we can suffer it, of ingenerated life in us' (*Vicarious Sacrifice*, p. 32). As in parallel monistic systems of thought, Bushnell does not stop short of Patripassianism.

Apart from his work as a religious teacher, Bushnell made great and permanent contributions to sermonic literature, and to the analysis of the function and method of preaching. His sermons rank with F. W. Robertson's as an example of insight into moral law and the spiritual order. They surpass Robertson's in wealth of poetic imagery and the use of imaginative and rhetorical statement. His sermons and essays are still alive with the frank, vivid, personal perceptions of a man intensely alive, observant of everything he saw, and led step by step by the Divine Spirit into the categories required for registering his experience. His daughter said of him that 'he had no unrelated facts.' His scheme of religion was large enough to include public affairs of town, State, and nation, and to include all work which made for the

education of the whole man—music, art, economics, and politics. His excursions into these subjects led to his receiving invitations to leave the ministry for other spheres, such as that of President of the University of California. On his visit to San Francisco he did actually lay out the site for the present University buildings. But he felt rightly that his own work was central, and kept to it.

Bushnell's theological work has hardly received the attention it deserves in England. His books are well known in Scotland, and his ideas are the basis of the work of many subsequent New England teachers, such as Theodore Munger, George D. Gordon, Lyman Abbott, William Newton Clarke, and others. They were introduced into English religious thought by Alexander Mackennal and Charles Berry, but, owing to want of sufficient theological training, the representatives of the monistic tradition have strayed into pantheism.

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DUGALD MACFADYEN.

BUSINESS.—**1.** 'Business' is a term used with several slight variations in meaning. Primarily it implies a man's occupation or employment, the labour by which he obtains his maintenance as contrasted with that which he expends upon pleasure. Thus the *Times* writes: 'Who and what are those 2000 athletes whose struggles we have been watching for the last two weeks? In the first place they are almost without exception business men, they are an integral part of the community that labour in their several countries.' Again, 'business' conveys the idea of attention to a man's affairs, his investments of capital or stock by the management of which, in factory, shop, or bank, he obtains his income. In Pr 22[29] we read, 'Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings.'

'Business' is also used to indicate the legitimate employment of a man's powers, his right to act in certain affairs in contrast with action in other matters which would be deemed interference or meddling. St. Paul (1 Th 4[11]) advises his Christian disciples: 'Study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands.'

2. Business, in the broad sense, then, implies systematic attention to those affairs and duties by which the necessaries and comforts of life are obtained, and by which the social organization is supported. It thus becomes co-extensive and practically coincident with the field of economic inquiry, *i.e.* the production, distribution, and exchange of wealth. Economic science has come to be regarded as 'a theory of business,' and the exposition of the principles which determine and regulate the making and sharing of wealth constitutes a scientific treatment of business, since these principles set forth the fundamental ideas and laws which underlie business phenomena and procedure.

In 1876, Walter Bagehot wrote in the *Fortnightly Review*: 'The science of political economy as we have it in England may be defined as the science of business, such as business is in large production and trading communities; it is an analysis of that world—the great commerce—by which England has become rich.' The financial and commercial policy of nations, *i.e.* their national and international business, is based on and embodies the economic ideas which prevail at the time. Of this the so-called Mercantilism of the 17th and 18th cents. is an example, and the change in policy effected in the 19th cent. by the writings of Adam Smith further illustrates the same fact.

For the purposes of investigation of the phenomena of business, economics, according to Bagehot, has created an abstract science, that is, one which detaches the peculiar phenomena or aspects of trade and considers them in a scientific manner in isolation. It assumes that men are actuated in business affairs only by motives of business; this is the hypothesis of the 'economic man,' which regards men in matters of business as acting only from motives of gain; in buying and selling they have only this one consideration, and the market is assumed to be composed of men animated by the same force. From this abstract treatment emerge the principles which mainly determine prices, rate of interest, rent, wage-values, etc.

That men are constituted entirely in this way no one suggests; it is purely an abstraction of one aspect of life, a mental separation of certain motives from other influences in order to ascertain what are the laws which operate in the conditions of the isolation of those motives. Just as in dealing with quantities the mathematician ignores other attributes and seeks to ascertain mathematical relations, and as the physicist endeavours to isolate his phenomena so as to learn the laws of electricity, light, and heat, so the hypothesis of the 'economic man' is an attempt to study separately the effects of conduct under such influences as constitute the economic or business attitude, in order to ascertain their tendencies. Of course these tendencies are modified and counteracted in actual life by the action of other forces; but scientific knowledge consists in ascertaining the laws of each force; the method is by isolation where possible, and the economist only follows scientific method in mentally separating certain phenomena for special study. Bagehot says: 'The history of a panic is the history of a confused conflict of many causes, and unless you know what sort of an effect each cause is likely to produce you cannot explain any part of what happens: it is trying to explain the bursting of a boiler without knowing the theory of steam.'

This hypothesis of the economic man has been much criticized, because it has been misunderstood. It has been thought that economists treated the concrete or real man in such a way as to ignore the nobler and moral elements. To such objectors the 'economic man' seemed to postulate a human race governed only by selfish considerations and a universal egoism. This is entirely a misapprehension: in the first place, in business most men are engaged in providing sustenance for their families; the industrious members of society are those who strive to be self-supporting, and these by taxes and voluntary aids help in supporting many of the less industrious. No motive of gratitude, sympathy, or charity is excluded by the fact that a man's industry in business gives him a larger means of expenditure.

Again, the science of economics advocates nothing; it only investigates and explains the manner in which certain business tendencies operate, it does not say what ought to be the case; its laws, as Marshall puts it, are in the *indicative*, not in the *imperative*. Economics deals, in fact, with those motives alone which are measurable and can be represented in terms of money-values. It is because business motives can be expressed by a common measure that explanations can be offered of the phenomena of business which can afford guidance and warning for the

future. Explanation and prediction are of the very essence of science, and it is in the economic rather than in the ethical aspects of conduct that approximate measurement is attainable.

Ricardo's Economics has been much assailed on account of his abstract method; succeeding economists have, however, sufficiently demonstrated both the use of the abstract method and the importance and necessity of inductive methods and historical investigation; modern Economics emphasizes equally the value of the abstract method and the collection of facts and statistics, and their joint application to the solution of social problems, in which also many other factors besides the economic have to be considered. This point need not here be further pursued; it is sufficient for the present purpose that the complexity of modern business has come to be recognized as a subject for scientific treatment. Principles of business, applicable alike to commerce, manufactures, transport, and public administration, can be discovered by investigation, and the varied forms of business are conducted with greater efficiency and profit by those who have made themselves acquainted with these principles and methods. Business becomes more sure, more serious, more dignified, when it is seen to be no mere matter of haphazard, rule of thumb, or personal genius, but a system capable of explanation and demonstration, and one which can be taught on scientific methods. There still remains scope for individual talent, industry, and that peculiar insight which contributes to personal success; but general education in business principles and methods contributes to public convenience, efficiency, and economy, just as scientific training does in engineering or in medicine.

3. The recognition of business as a subject for scientific treatment has taken a very practical form by its introduction into public education and University curricula. At Birmingham and the northern Universities, Faculties of Commerce have been established, in London University a Faculty of Economics. The object in all alike is the encouragement of the investigation of business phenomena and the systematic training of business men. As Professor Ashley stated in his address at Owen's College: 'The Academic teacher will interpret to the business world that world's own experience by his wider acquaintance with the field of inquiry than most men actually engaged in trade have time to acquire.'

These new Faculties, starting with Economics, comprise in their syllabuses the whole technique of commerce—the analysis of banking and the money market, the principles of transport in all its forms, industrial and commercial history, accounting, statistics, logic and scientific method, geography commercial and regional, an account of the British constitution, public administration imperial and local, industrial and commercial law, constitutional and international law and history, principles of insurance, etc. The curriculum is sufficiently wide to allow of specialization in its final courses; at the same time it is sufficiently broad to compel a general knowledge of all the important aspects of business life, and to secure a liberal training and intellectual discipline. Cambridge has not been slow to adopt the new idea, and has instituted a Tripos in Economics and the associated branches of Political Science. America and Germany have also made provision for commercial training in their schools and Universities.

The conclusion is that business is now regarded as offering a career similar to professional and scientific pursuits, and one demanding serious equipment and special training for success. Its scientific bases are established, its methods are formulated, and are capable of exposition and acquisition. It is now accepted that matters which touch so profoundly the well-being of men cannot be left to mere empirical methods, but that the highest efficiency and progress can be attained only by scientific treatment; thus business has come to rank as a University subject with a large and varied curriculum—a proceeding which at once adds to its dignity and importance while it tends to advance civilization and comfort.

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G. ARMITAGE-SMITH.

BUTLER.—1. Life.—The greatest name among English philosophical theologians—Newman said 'the greatest name in the Anglican Church'—is that of Joseph Butler, the author of the *Analogy*. He was born of respectable Presbyterian parents at Wantage on 18th May 1692, and was at first destined for the Presbyterian ministry. To this end, he was educated at an academy for Nonconformist theological students, which enjoyed a deservedly high repute, carried on, first at Gloucester and afterwards at Tewkesbury, by a Mr. Samuel Jones. Here, among Butler's contemporaries, were several men who afterwards attained to eminent positions in Church and State. Secker, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, has described (in an interesting letter to Isaac Watts, 18th Nov. 1711) the severe and prolonged study which candidates for the ministry were there required to undertake. After some years, the young Butler felt that his intellectual and theological convictions called him to the service of the Established Church rather than to that of the Nonconformist bodies; and, with his father's consent, he matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, on 17th March 1715. There was nothing remarkable, so far as we know, in his Oxford career.

'We are obliged,' he wrote to Dr. S. Clarke, 'to mis-spend so much time here in attending frivolous lectures and unintelligible disputations, that I am quite tired out with such a disagreeable way of trifling.'[1]

However, he took his degree in 1718, and in the same year was ordained deacon by Bp. Talbot at Salisbury, his ordination as priest following two months later. He was immediately appointed Preacher at the Rolls Chapel, where his famous series of Fifteen Sermons was preached. His first rectory was that of Haughton-le-Skerne, near Darlington, and in 1725 he was appointed to the wealthy benefice of Stanhope. Shortly after this he resigned the Rolls preachership; he became a prebendary of Rochester in 1733, and Clerk of the Closet to Queen Caroline in 1736. In this year he published *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*, the work by which he is best known.

Butler was a special favourite of the Queen, whose taste for learned conversation was indulged at her private parties, to which Butler was frequently bidden, in company with Hoadley, Secker, Sherlock, and other divines of the then fashionable latitudinarian school. An interesting account of Butler's conversation at this period is preserved in the *Journal* of John Byrom,[2] in which the future bishop is represented as urging the fallibility of Church authority in matters of religious belief. 'The Doctor,' says Byrom, 'talked with much mildness, and myself with too much impetuosity.'

Butler attended the Queen in her last moments, and she took occasion to charge the King with his advancement—a recommendation which led to his

[1] Letter to Clarke (*Works*, i. 332). References are given throughout to the edition of Butler's writings in two volumes, published by the writer of this article in 1900.

[2] Printed for the Chetham Society, 1854–56, vol. ii. p. 96: cf. also p. 486.

preferment to the see of Bristol, the poorest bishopric in England, in 1738. The dissatisfaction, plainly expressed, of the new bishop with the provision thus made for him, was allayed by the addition of the Deanery of St. Paul's, which he held *in commendam* while he remained at Bristol. That he was by no means a lover of money was, however, evident throughout his career; and his private charity was as splendid as it was unostentatious. While at Bristol, he published six remarkable sermons preached on public occasions, which give his views on great questions. Foreign Missions, Poor Relief, Hospitals, Primary Education, the Nature of Liberty, and the Genius of the British Constitution are their respective subjects;[1] and they are still worthy of study. It is interesting to observe the development of Butler's thought, as years went on, in the direction of a more definitely ecclesiastical position than that from which he started. Bred a Nonconformist, as we have seen, he became attracted to Anglicanism as a student. His earliest writings, the Letters to Clarke,[2] written when he was only 21 years of age, are occupied with the deepest and most abstract of all arguments, the *a priori* arguments for the Being of God. He passed on to review the foundations of morality in his ethical discourses at the Rolls; and the last of these, on 'The Ignorance of Man,' contains in germ the dominant thought of the *Analogy*. This great contribution to the Philosophy of Religion deals, indeed, in the Second Part, with topics peculiarly Christian; but there is little in Butler's treatment that was distinctive of his position as a member of the Church of England (unless the mention of a visible Church in *Anal.* ii. 1. 10 be taken to imply this). He does not mention the Sacraments at all, although the nature of his argument would readily admit of an application of it to Sacramental doctrine. But three years after the publication of the *Analogy*, we find him, as Bishop of Bristol, strenuously insisting on the prerogatives of his clergy; and John Wesley records in his *Diary* (August 1739) that Butler wished to prevent him from preaching in the diocese of Bristol. Butler's dread of extravagance and emotionalism was, no doubt, at the root of his objection to Wesley's ministrations; and it is necessary for a bishop to follow ecclesiastical precedent more closely than would be expected of a simple presbyter. But, for all that, the episode is significant. And Butler's charges to his clergy, both at Bristol[3] and at Durham,[4] are definitely assertive of the doctrines and practices of Anglicanism, in a degree for which the student of his earlier works is hardly prepared. It was said of him, indeed, both at Bristol and at Durham, that his proclivities were towards Roman Catholicism—a foolish calumny which hardly needed an answer.

Butler's wide views as to the needs and opportunities of the Church abroad were markedly illustrated by the proposals which he put forward in 1750 for the appointment of bishops to rule the clergy serving in North America.[5] His scheme came to nothing, as political difficulties were urged against it, and the Church in America remained without bishops of its own for a generation after Butler's death. But it was a remarkable illustration of his sagacity that he foresaw the necessities of the situation. In the same year (1750) he was translated to the see of Durham; but his work was nearly finished. He died at Bath on 16th June 1752, and was buried in Bristol Cathedral, where a monument with a fine inscription by Southey marks his grave. It has often been said that in 1747 he refused the Archbishopric of Canterbury, but the story is not sufficiently authenticated. Little is known of his capacity as a ruler of men; but both in regard to intellectual power and to sanctity of character he occupies a very high—perhaps the highest—place in the hierarchy of the Anglican Church.

[1] See *Works*, i. 203 ff. [2] *Ib.* i. 311 ff.
[3] *Ib.* i. 302. [4] *Ib.* i. 287.
[5] See Tiffany's *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, 1895, p. 269.

2. **Writings.**—Butler's position as a moralist is defined in his *Fifteen Sermons* and in the *Dissertation on Virtue* appended to the *Analogy*. The ethical and political philosophy of Hobbes was fashionable in England during the first half of the eighteenth century, and it was mainly with the view of combating its conclusions, which Butler regarded as dangerous to public and private morals, that the *Sermons* were published. The first three are 'Upon Human Nature.' In Sermon i. he expounds the several constituent principles of human nature, of which self-love, benevolence, and conscience are regarded as primary. Its principal thesis—which is in direct conflict with Hobbes—is that

> 'there are as real and the same kind of indications in human nature, that we were made for society and to do good to our fellow-creatures; as that we were intended to take care of our own life and health and private good' (i. 5).

In Sermon ii. he argues for the *supremacy* of conscience, as the guide of man's higher nature, and he insists strongly on its superiority to the natural passions and instincts (a point which he found Shaftesbury to have neglected). This is further brought out in Sermon iii., where, the soul being compared to an organized constitution in which the inferior elements are subordinated to the superior, the obligation to virtue is expounded. 'Follow nature' is a reasonable rule, provided that it be recognized that the constitution of human nature is adapted to virtue as truly as the constitution of a watch is adapted to the measurement of time. The two sermons on 'Compassion' (v. and vi.) develop further his polemic against Hobbes. Not so directly controversial are the important discourses on 'Resentment' and the 'Forgiveness of Injuries' (viii. and ix.), in which the distinction between sudden anger (θυμός) and deliberate indignation against wrongdoing (ὀργή) is brought out, and the precept 'Love your enemies' is explained. Of much psychological interest are the sermons on 'Self-Deceit' (x.) and on 'Balaam' (vii.); and in those on the 'Love of our Neighbour' (xi. and xii.) there is a valuable account of the relation between pleasure and desire, where once again Hobbes' psychology provokes the discussion. It is a fundamental principle with Butler (as with most modern psychologists) that desire seeks its appropriate object directly, and that it is not aroused, as Hedonism would teach, by the anticipation of its own satisfaction.

> 'All particular appetites and passions are towards external things themselves, distinct from the pleasure arising from them' (xi. 6).

Thus Love of our Neighbour, or Benevolence, may be described as 'disinterested'; it is a natural principle which primarily seeks its own gratification. That indirectly it ministers to personal happiness does not rob it of its disinterested character, or afford any excuse for resolving it into self-love, as the school of Hobbes would do. From this, Butler is led on to treat of the 'Love of God' in two noble and almost eloquent discourses (xiii. and xiv.), in which, with Fénelon and the mystics of every age, he defends its 'disinterested' quality.

A part of his ethical system which has found many critics is his conception of the relation between self-love and conscience. Both, in his view, are 'superior' principles; and in his anxiety to recommend his system as reasonable to those who have been attracted by Hedonist doctrines, he allows much to prudence and self-love.

'So far as the interests of virtue depend upon the theory of it being secured from open scorn, so far its very being in the world depends upon its appearing to have no contrariety to private interest and self-love' (xi. 21).

And it is Butler's conviction, and it lies behind his whole argument, that under the control of a benevolent Providence conscience and self-love will, in the end and at last, be found always to have pointed the same way. But he recognizes (as every observer must) that cases arise in life in which the two do not give the same counsel for the guidance of personal conduct, and in which honesty does not appear to be the best policy, so far as the present world is concerned. In such cases there is no hesitation in his teaching as to the supremacy of conscience; and even if he permits or encourages the man who is thus perplexed to look forward to the equity of the future life, where the wrongs of the present will be redressed, he does not allow this to be the dominant motive of his action. His ethics are *intuitional*, not *utilitarian*, like those of Hobbes, and they are not stained by that taint of 'otherworldliness' which is manifest in the moral doctrines of Paley and his school.

Butler's fame rests more securely on his contribution to Christian Apologetic than upon his Ethics, and the *Analogy* has always been more widely read than the *Sermons*. The title of this famous work is self-explanatory. *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature* falls into two parts, the first concerned with the analogy of 'Natural' Religion to what we know of Nature and her laws, and the second with the analogy of 'Revealed,' *i.e.* the Christian, Religion to the same model. His aim throughout is to present the reasonableness of religious belief to those who recognize a Supreme Author and Governor of the world, but who hesitate as to the religious doctrines of a Future Life, of Future Reward and Retribution, of the Moral Government of the world, of Miracles, of the Redemption of Christ, and so forth. He is not arguing the case of Theism against Atheism or Pantheism. He has, in his mind, the Deistical philosophy prevalent in England and France, which had not only affected minds hostile to religious influences, but had infected the teaching of professedly Christian theologians (see DEISM). In his early correspondence with Clarke, to which reference has been made above, he shows that he had pondered deeply the abstract and metaphysical arguments for the Being of God; but in the *Analogy* he is not directly concerned with these. John Toland (1670–1722) and Matthew Tindal (1656–1733) are the writers whom he has most clearly in view,[1] although he does not directly name them as he names his ethical opponent, Hobbes, in the *Sermons*. Their books, *Christianity not mysterious*, and *Christianity as old as the Creation*, were intended to rationalize the Christian system, and to show that the idea of revelation is a quite unnecessary element, while incidentally their tendency was to undermine the foundations of natural religion as well as of revealed, by urging the grave difficulties with which the theory of religion is beset. Butler's line of defence is bold and original. He takes as his text a saying of Origen, that

'he who believes the Scriptures to have proceeded from Him who is the Author of Nature, may well expect to find the same sort of difficulties in it as are found in the constitution of Nature' (*Introd.* 6);

and he urges that difficulties in the theory of religion, whether natural or revealed, cannot be regarded as insuperable by practical men, if similar difficulties remain unexplained in nature. His argument from analogy is mainly a negative one. He never claims that natural law may be discerned everywhere in the spiritual world; he does not pretend to offer a 'natural' analogue to *every* spiritual fact. But he urges that for many of the difficulties which Deists and their disciples find in religious theory natural analogies may be found, and that thus an answer is provided to those who rely on these difficulties as destructive of belief. Probability is, for men, the guide of life; and exact demonstration of the purposes of the Eternal is hardly to be expected by those who recognize man's ignorance and the Divine Infinitude.

The opening chapter of the *Analogy* upon 'A Future Life' is, perhaps, the least convincing, as it seems to suggest a materialistic doctrine of the soul which is incredible. But Butler's argument does not necessarily involve this. We do not know, he urges, that the soul is extended in space and consequently 'discerptible,' and hence we cannot infer its destruction or the cessation of its activities from the analogy of bodily dissolution. He does not venture to argue positively from the immateriality of the soul to its immortality, as many of his metaphysical predecessors had done. Chapter ii. is concerned with the rewards and punishments of a future state, and he urges the analogy between what religion teaches about these and what experience teaches us about the temporal punishments of this present life. The Moral Government of the world is next passed under review (ch. iii.); if a perfect moral administration is not to be observed now, yet its *beginnings* may be traced, the natural tendency of virtue seems to be in the direction of happiness, and it may be reasonably expected that this tendency will hereafter be actualized in a perfect manner. A state of probation implies trial, difficulties, and danger (ch. iv.), which are also the conditions of our life under the natural government of the world. Such a state is intended for moral discipline and improvement (ch. v.), and the present order of things seems peculiarly fit to serve this purpose. Theoretical doctrines of necessitarianism (ch. vi.) need be no hindrance to religious belief, for religion is a practical matter, and in all the practical affairs of life we act as if we were free. And, finally, our inevitable ignorance of the whole scheme of Providence (ch. vii.) should make us cautious in laying stress on difficulties which we cannot completely resolve.

In Part II. of the *Analogy*, Butler begins by explaining the *importance* of revelation, supposing it to be a fact (ch. i.), in opposition to the Deistical doctrine that reason is a quite sufficient and satisfactory guide without it; and he is urgent in pointing out that we are not competent to determine *a priori* what is the method or the content of revelation (i. 28). True to his practical good sense throughout, he insists that *a priori* methods in theology are apt to mislead, as the subject is really beyond our powers. There is no special presumption, he proceeds, against a revelation because it involves miracle (ch. ii.)—an argument which he develops with vigour, but which is not entirely satisfying. He returns in ch. iii. to the question of our competence for theological speculation, and his answer is decisive: 'Reason can, and it ought to judge, not only of the meaning, but also of the morality and the evidence of revelation' (iii. 13)—a far-reaching proposition. Conscience, he teaches, is the gift of God quite as much as Scripture; and no alleged dictum of revelation can be allowed to outweigh the unmistakable dictates of our moral faculty. We could not predict, that is, what course a true revelation must take; but if an alleged revelation contain clear immoralities or inconsistencies, we may safely pronounce it to be false. The stately chapter on the Redemption of

[1] Tindal, in *Christianity as old as the Creation*[2] (1732, p. 251), had tried to controvert the doctrine of benevolence put forward in his sermons by 'the judicious Mr. Butler.'

Christ (v.) is notable chiefly for its insistence on the great principle that it is the Death of Christ, and not theories as to the manner of its influence in the spiritual world, which brings redemption. That the evidence of Christianity does not amount to demonstration, and that the Christian religion has not gained the allegiance of all mankind, are often urged as obstacles to its acceptance (ch. vi.); but probable evidence is all that nature provides, and truth always takes time to win its way.

So brief an account of the contents of the *Analogy* does not exhibit either the power of the argument or its extent; but Butler's style is so severely concise that it is all but impossible to make a *précis* of his reasonings. It is sufficient if some idea has been provided of the scope of his work, the most remarkable feature of which is, perhaps, the sagacity with which he has anticipated objections. Most of the apologetic literature of the eighteenth century is useless in the twentieth century, but this cannot be said of the *Analogy*. The author was conscious, in a degree to which his contemporaries, whether heterodox or orthodox, did not attain, of the limitations of human knowledge—of the greatness of God and the littleness of man; and the pleas of modern Agnosticism, accordingly, hardly affect his carefully considered argument. Pitt is reported to have said that the *Analogy* is 'a dangerous book, raising more doubts than it solved'; but this would be a shallow criticism. The difficulties with which it deals are not of Butler's making; they had been suggested openly by the writers whose influence he set himself to combat; and although many hasty readers may remember the difficulties while they forget the answers to them, that is not the fault of the book, but of human nature. It may be said, on the contrary, that there is no better tonic, even in the twentieth century, for weakness of spirit when a man is confronted with the perplexities of religious theory than the manly and straightforward work of Butler.

3. **Influence.**—It is curious that the *Analogy* is little quoted by the professedly apologetic writers of the age immediately succeeding that of the author. Leland, in his *View of the Deistical Writers* (1754), does not mention Butler at all, although he is at the pains of collecting various answers to Deistical doctrines; nor is it easy to find references to the *Analogy* for fifty years after its author's death, although it passed through a good many editions, and, as we have seen, his reputation as a metaphysical theologian stood high in his lifetime. But in the nineteenth century Butler's writings exerted a truly remarkable influence upon divines of every school, and no writer was more frequently quoted in English theological circles. The study of the *Analogy*, says Newman (*Apologia*, ch. i.), 'has been to so many, as it was to me, an era in their religious opinions.' And Newman mentions specially Butler's doctrine of Probability, and his doctrine of Analogy suggestive of a sort of sacramentalism of Nature, as underlying much that he himself taught in after years. At first sight, the connexion between Butler and the Tractarians is not obvious; but it may have been real, nevertheless, and the banishment of Butler's works from the curricula of the Oxford schools as a result of the anti-Newman reaction in 1845 may not have been so unreasonable as it seemed. The fact is that Butler's system had little in common with the simple evangelical piety of Wesley and the successors of Wesley in the English Church in the beginning of the nineteenth century; he laid more stress on reason as a judge of revelation, and spoke more warmly of the importance of a visible Church, than was agreeable to the popular divinity of the period between 1760 and 1830. Butler was, indeed, markedly independent of the influences of his time. There is no trace in his works of wide or extensive reading.[1] He was a wise rather than a learned man; and he was little affected, to all appearance, by the currents of opinion in his own day. This may serve to explain at once his aloofness from contemporary controversy, to the personalities of which he never descends, and the slight impression which he made on the literature of his time, as contrasted with the massive reputation which he achieved a hundred years after his death.

LITERATURE.—For Butler's career: T. Bartlett's *Memoirs of Joseph Butler* (1839) is the main authority; see also the *Life* prefixed to Fitzgerald's edition of the *Analogy* (1860); W. Lucas Collins, *Butler* (1881); W. A. Spooner, *Bishop Butler* (1901); and W. M. Egglestone, *Stanhope Memorials of Bishop Butler* (1878). Of the various editions of Butler's works the most complete are those by W. E. Gladstone (2 vols., 1895), with supplementary volume of Butler studies; and by J. H. Bernard (2 vols., 1900); both of these have notes, and the latter provides an Introduction. Steere's edition of the *Sermons* (1862) is specially noteworthy as including a Memoir and some hitherto unpublished fragments; and Fitzgerald's edition of the *Analogy* (1860) is excellent. The essays upon Butler's writings and influence are innumerable.

J. H. BERNARD.

C

CABBALISM.—See KABBALISM.

CÆSARISM.—From the time of Augustus to the time of Diocletian, what is called 'Cæsarism' is the most noted feature of the Roman Empire. Cæsarism was the outcome of many tendencies. It was a stream which was fed from many sources. It was, for instance, the culmination of the Greek conception of the city-State, in which the latter was regarded as the sphere in which the citizen was to realize himself, the measure and the goal of all his efforts, towards which his whole strength was to be directed. The rights and the duties of the citizen were alike exhausted within the city-State. This relationship governed the whole activity of the citizen. There was no limit to the duty which he owed to the State. For it he was bound to live, for it he ought willingly to die. Within the city-State there was no room for difference of view. State ideals were to be the ideals of the citizen, nor was there any room for the modern idea of freedom as against the State, or any distinction between religion and politics. The citizen was bound to worship and to serve the gods of the State. To refuse the gods their due was treason, and he was liable to punishment by the authorities for refusing to worship the city-gods, as he was liable for any refusal to serve the State in the time of danger or of war. This view, which obtains full expression in the works of Plato and Aristotle, was also the view of Rome. Only it obtained in Rome a more thorough expression. Like everything Roman, it was practical and utilitarian. Devotion to the State—patriotism as it was then understood—had really no limit. It had not only all the

[1] See, for a discussion of the authors who were probably well known to him, a paper on 'The Predecessors of Bishop Butler' by the writer of this article, in *Hermathena*, 1894.

characteristic marks of what we now call patriotism; it had the deepest religious sanction as well. Negatively, to refuse service to the State was treason, and not to recognize and serve the gods was also treason. For the gods and the State were one. They were bound up together, and the highest officer of the State might also be, and often was, the Pontifex Maximus.

Reserving for a little the question of the influences of the Roman provinces on the official Imperial religion, let us glance at the Roman religion itself and its character at the time of the Cæsars, since the advent of the Imperial religion coincided with the decay of the religion of Republican Rome. The old Roman religion was practically inoperative in the Imperial time. The worship of Janus, and of some other Latin and Sabine deities, was continued and offered by the State. But the worship of other Roman deities had decayed. As early as the close of the Punic wars there was a tendency on the part of the people to transfer their devotion to the gods of other peoples. The gods of Olympus were identified with the gods of Rome, and the more abstract forms of the Roman deities were made concrete and anthropomorphic by their identification with the more lively gods of Greece. Nor were these identifications limited to the gods of Greece and Rome. From Egypt there came the worship of Isis, and after a long struggle this worship was allowed by the Roman authorities. The worship of Aesculapius and Cybele also had a recognized place and validity. As Rome proceeded on her conquering career, and as district after district fell under her sway, the thoughts of the citizens were widened, new problems arose, wider horizons needed newer principles and larger methods than were required in the olden times. Means which were used in the narrower spheres had become inadequate. Thus religious rites and ceremonies, which were relied on to avert disaster or to win success, seemed, as the sphere of government enlarged itself, to be quite inadequate to the magnitude of the new situation. It was the custom in earlier Rome, in times of great peril, when all other means had failed, to choose a dictator for the sole purpose of driving a nail into the temple-wall of Juppiter. This remedy seems never to have been used after the time of Scipio. In Rome itself those rites which appeared adequate and sufficient in the old city-States seemed out of all proportion when the city had become a world-wide government. What had seemed sufficient when Rome was simply a city-State among other Italian States, or even when she had brought all Italy under her sway, had become clearly inadequate when her dominion extended from Persia to Britain, and from the Rhine to the Great Desert. Rome had attained to Imperial dominion, the world had attained to some unity under her sway, the decrees of the Senate were operative everywhere, but where was any unity in the world of the gods to correspond with the visible unity of the Roman rule? The Roman citizen could not but feel in some measure that he was a member of an imperial race; he must have felt that adversity and prosperity were now on a larger scale than formerly, that disaster now meant something infinitely more serious than in the olden time. His religious instincts, his feeling that he must somehow have the gods on his side continued, but how was he to propitiate them, or which were the gods to be propitiated? Could there be a power supreme over all the gods, one deity to whom he might surrender himself and the State, one deity who could support and protect him in all situations and difficulties? Thus even on the subjective side, from the pressure of his own needs, there was a necessity which drove the Roman away from the multiplicity of the gods to some Divine centre of unity. For how was he to know which god he had offended or neglected? Or, if he could ascertain this, how was he to propitiate him? Or, if he could answer these questions, how could he know that the god he had offended and had propitiated could avert the disaster? Might not the propitiation of one god offend the others?

On the other hand, there were difficulties in reaching the one Divine power to whom one could surrender oneself and be at peace. It is difficult to reach unity where the gods are the personified powers of Nature. For these powers are so unlike. The sea is unlike the land. Streams are different from mountains. Light has no resemblance to darkness, and the gods, who are these powers personified, can never be reduced to a common denominator. The gods of Greece were so well defined, each of them had attributes so distinctive, that it was scarcely possible to reach unity except by discarding the individual gods. They belonged also to a numerous Divine society, in which each had his place and function, and thus none of them could serve the new need which a world-wide government had brought into prominence. The more clearly defined the gods in the Olympic system, and the more definite their separate functions the less fitted were they for the function of unifying the Divine action, needed by the Roman religious citizen. As a matter of history, we find that the search after Divine unity led the Roman away from his own ancestral gods, and away from the well-marked gods of Greece, to the more vague and mysterious deities of Egypt or the nearer East. Thus the vague, undefined, and mysterious attributes of Isis attracted the Roman worshipper, and her worship rapidly spread in the later Republic and the early Empire. The priests of the goddess claimed that she cured diseases of every kind; she was identified with the female deities of Greece and Rome, possessed all their attributes, and usurped all their functions. Even more intense and absorbing, and affording more scope for passionate devotion, was the service of the Phrygian Mother of the Gods. Her name appears frequently on inscriptions, and she is 'the one, who is all' (Orelli, *Inscr.* no. 1871). We need not dwell here on other signs of the decay of the religion of old Rome, or on the passionate quest of the Romans for a satisfying religion, or for a religion which would justify them in surrendering themselves to its guidance. It is enough to refer to Mithraism and its wide-spread influence over the Roman Empire in the first and second centuries of our era (see the masterly and exhaustive account of its extent and character in Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*). It is sufficient for our purpose at present to point out that one element in the formation of the Imperial religion was the widespread unrest in every class of society, in Rome itself, and in all the provinces of Rome. Faith in the reality and efficiency of the gods of Rome and Greece had passed away, and the need of a Divine protecting power was felt more than ever. The need of devotion was as clamant as ever, or even more so, inasmuch as men's thoughts had widened, and their imaginations could people the universe with pictures of disasters unknown heretofore. They felt the need of one god—a god approachable, placable, able and ready to help. And this need went far to create its object, and to make them fill up with all Divine attributes the visible form of the power of Rome, till it attained an elevation fitted to inspire their trust and reward their devotion.

The ancient throne of the gods was vacant, and there was placed on it the figure of the Emperor, the visible holder of the greatest power known

to man. Many influences helped to make this apotheosis reasonable and fit to the people of the time. There was the fact already noted of the identity of religion and rule in the city-State. The belief that the State and the god were one easily led to the thought of the divinity of the State. Then the decay of belief in the ancient gods, and the need, deep-seated in the human spirit, of something to worship, led on to the worship of visible and beneficent power as embodied in the majesty of Rome. Further, it was no new thing to worship men, either in Rome itself or in the provinces of Greece and of Asia Minor. In Greek story men were raised to Divine rank, or raised themselves to it, as the reward of work well done, and of heroic tasks completed at the cost of labour and of life. So we read the story of Heracles, of Theseus, and of many others. In truth, in no race of the world save the Hebrew was the conception of man far removed from the conception of God. Gods might become men, and men might be raised to Divine rank. And this universal attitude of mind helped to make the thought of the divinity of the Emperor not an absurd or untenable idea. None of the races within the Empire, save only the Jews, had any unalterable or invincible objection to the conception of a Divine humanity. In truth, in the old Roman religion the Divine and the human were thought of as inseparable. This appears very clearly in what is perhaps the most marked feature of the old Roman religion, namely the belief—one of the most universal and effective of the beliefs which ruled the Roman mind—in the Genius of the home, of the city, of the State. This belief peopled all existence, in all its forms, with beings, living, energetic, and helpful, with whom men stood in most intimate relations, and without whom and whose help it was impossible to prosper. It was necessary to invoke the help of the Genius in every transaction, and every process was carried on under the direction and with the help of its presiding spirit. Merchants, setting forth with their goods to some foreign land, invoked the protection of the Genius of the Roman people and of trade. They sought to conciliate, as they journeyed, the Divine power who presided over that way, and whose province it was to give them protection. But more intimate still was the relation of the family to its household Genius, who shared the family meal, who presided over the family's destiny, and was identified with it in weal and woe. The Lares, the Penates, the Genius, were described in many ways, and they had many functions; and the worship of them persisted, despite the opposition of the Church, far down into Christian times. The worship of the Genius of the household prepared the way for the acceptance of the worship of the Emperor and of the Roman State. It was simply an extension of the common belief, on the one hand; and, on the other, it was the identification of the belief in tutelary deities generally with the Genius of the reigning house. As the merchant and the traveller were wont to invoke the protection of the Genius of the Roman people, so now they invoked that same Genius, but as embodied in the reigning Emperor. Thus on this side also there was an open way that led to the worship of the Cæsar.

We must leave to other articles in this Encyclopædia to trace the influence of philosophy and science and speculation generally on the religious beliefs of the Roman people, meaning by that phrase all the populations of the Roman Empire. Only we must affirm that from the literature of the period, and from the philosophy and speculation of the time, no sure indication of the religious state can be obtained. In the speculation of the time there were many tendencies which affected only the cities, and only the educated and the learned. The tendencies to monotheism, to pantheism, to atheism, and to scepticism influenced only a limited number. The larger number, particularly outside of the greater cities, were intensely religious, if they only had known what to worship. Even if their faith in their ancestral gods had become faint, yet the trust in the Divine continued, and they sought for and obtained a more fitting expression. The Genius of their own house became one with the Genius of the Imperial house, and thus Emperor-worship was hallowed by the associations of many memories of former generations; the good ascribed to the action of the family Genius during all the family history was ascribed to the Genius of the Emperor; and so the sacredness of the past was carried over into the new worship. In this way the devotion to the new cult could become fervid and intense, and the delights of devotion could be experienced.

Thus in many ways and through many avenues Emperor-worship was prepared for as the official religion of the Empire. If we glance at the provinces, we can easily see that the preparation for the reception of this official religion was even more effective. As we have seen, in Greece proper the worship of the human as Divine was not foreign to the people. Heroes had been deified, and temples had been erected to them. Founders of States and founders of religions were regarded as Divine. Laws were thought of as Divine, and the traditional givers of laws, like the Athenian and Spartan lawgivers, were regarded as Divine, feared, worshipped, and obeyed. But when we pass further east, among the Grecian peoples of Asia Minor, or into Egypt, we find a condition of things which facilitated the acceptance of the official worship of the Empire. The sacredness which hedged the persons of the kings of Babylon and Assyria passed over to the persons of the Persian kings; and they, if not regarded as incarnations of the Divine, were yet thought of as representatives of it. Titles of honour were heaped on them, and the resources of language were exhausted in order to set forth their unapproachable majesty. In their hands was the power of life and death; peace and gladness were the lot of those on whom they smiled, dishonour and death lay in their frown. The successors of Alexander fell heirs to the reverence shown to their predecessors. Read the history of the Ptolemys of Egypt, note the titles bestowed on them and the reverence accorded them, and it will be evident that to the Egyptian the new religion presented no strange feature. Nor would the claim seem strange to the subjects of the Syrian monarchs, the successors of Alexander in Asia Minor. They also made Divine claims, and to them worship was offered, or something not to be distinguished from it. We cannot enter into detail, but enough has been said to show that to all races, except the Jews, there was no historical reason why they should reject the claim of Rome to Divine obedience.

But the visible power of Rome was greater and more extensive than any other dominion which the world had ever seen. If it did not extend as far eastward as Alexander had reached in his meteoric career, it had penetrated into regions which Alexander had never entered. The dominion of Alexander was broken up into many parts. Rome had grown from more to more throughout the ages, and her dominion appeared to the subject populations to be as stable as the stars. Now, all that symbolized the Roman power was gathered into one hand, and embodied in the Emperor. It was the one supreme power in all lands around the Mediterranean Sea. But that power was not merely the power which could set the legions in motion

and direct them along the Roman roads, east and west, and south and north. That of itself was sufficient to ensure the respect of the subject populations. But the physical power was strengthened and supported by all other sources of power. And all the sources of power lay in the hand of Rome. Moral and spiritual forces were added to her splendid physical resources. The nations were subdued in every sense of the term. With the fall of the nations their gods also were held to be subdued. The gods of the besieged city were invited to leave it ere the final assault was made. When the city or the State fell, the gods were dishonoured. They had not been able to defend their followers. This result was modified by the practice which grew up of identifying the gods of the conquered peoples with the gods of Rome. We have seen how this was accomplished in the case of the gods of Greece. Though the names were different, yet it was thought that in principle and essence they were the same. Thus the gods of the peoples with whom Rome was brought into contact came to be regarded as local forms of the gods known under other names as gods of Rome. This identification was made easier by the fact that the gods of Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt were known to the Romans under the names already given to them in Greece. Julius Cæsar and Tacitus illustrate the process, for they thought they recognized the Gallic and Teutonic deities as other forms of Mercury, Juppiter, Mars, and Minerva. Thus there was established a sort of identity between the gods of the victors and those of the vanquished; and the latter received a place within the pantheon of Rome. In the temples which were speedily erected within the provinces, Roman and barbarian deities were worshipped; and, remote though they were from each other in their original attributes and character, in the temples they were recognized as one.

Still this process did not lead to satisfactory results. There was needed a universal religion for the Empire. This was pressed on the governing minds of the Empire from many points of view. While there was toleration for the religions of the subject races, as long as they did not interfere with the public peace, yet Rome was absolutely intolerant of religious practices and observances which seemed to interfere with the proper ends of government. If a doctrine interfered with the worship of the State-gods, if it assumed a hostile attitude towards Roman religion, if a strange god, so individual as not to be brought into harmony with the supremacy of Juppiter Capitolinus, was worshipped, then that form of religion was persecuted until it disappeared. Thus Druidism was persecuted to the death. It had a tradition and an organization which stoutly resisted any assimilation with the Roman system, and it was the boast of the Emperor Claudius that he had completely annihilated Druidism (Suet. *Claudius*, 25). This may be taken as an illustration of the usual process, and of the method of Rome with regard to religions which proved refractory to the process of assimilation. But the need of a common religion for the Empire became more obvious to the ruling class. In fact, such a need was apparent to many empires before the problem became a practical one to the rulers of Rome. It was the main motive of the action of Antiochus Epiphanes in his persecution of the Jews. It was also a spur to action and a leading force in the active process of Hellenization carried on by the successors of Alexander. But the need of Rome was greater, for the differences of races and of religions and of languages were more conspicuous in the Roman Empire than in any former period of history. In order to unify the Empire, there was needed not only the outward power of military supremacy; there was needed a moral, and especially a religious, bond; there was needed a common oath whereby every one in the service of the Empire could profess his fidelity to the Empire. Soldiers, magistrates, officials, people in office all over the Empire, must have some common symbol of allegiance. This was found in the *sacramentum*, the oath of allegiance by which they swore fidelity to the Empire. This oath was made sacred and universal, for it was sworn by the Genius of Augustus, which was made one with the Genius of the Roman people. A common bond was required for the preservation and the consolidation of the common interests of the Empire, and this was found in the worship of the Emperor as the visible symbol of Roman strength. This, as we have seen, was not inconsistent with the tradition and character of the subject peoples. They were familiar with the thought of the divinity of the State, and of its rulers. Apotheosis was not strange to them. That visible tangible power which was seen in the hand of the masters of many legions was reinforced by the more dreaded forthcoming of supernatural consequences. Thus religion added its sanction to the forces of Imperial might.

While the needs of the time almost forced the Roman rulers to institute this religion of Imperial unity, there are many testimonies to the fact that the earlier Emperors were somewhat reluctant to accept the necessity. There are evidences that Augustus was unwilling to accept the Divine honours which were thrust upon him. But he could not withstand the force of the current. Even in Rome itself the popular current pressed strongly in the direction of ascribing Divine honours to the head of the State. The Senate had set apart and made sacred the place in which Augustus was born (Suet. *Cæsar Augustus*, 5). Many stories of portents and wondrous signs which accompanied his birth were in circulation, and these seemed to have grown with the years. Men looked back from the elevation to which Augustus had attained, and found or feigned many premonitions of it in the past. It is not necessary to dwell on these; it is sufficient to say that in Rome itself a glad welcome was given to the doctrine of the divinity of the Emperor. It is true that this was discouraged by Augustus himself. It is also true that Tiberius followed in this respect the example of his predecessor. It is told by Tacitus how Tiberius refused the petition of ambassadors from farther Spain, who asked for leave to build a temple to the Emperor and his mother, as had been done in Asia. Tacitus even gives a speech which Tiberius was said to have made on the occasion (*Annal.* iv. 37, 38).

Notwithstanding the apparent reluctance of the Emperors to accept Divine honours, the new religion of the Empire made rapid progress. Augustus had permitted temples and altars to be dedicated to him and the goddess Roma at Pergamum (Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. 36). At other places also the practice was permitted. After the death of Augustus, his worship was introduced into Italy and Rome, where it was not allowed during his lifetime. Thus during the reign of Tiberius the worship of the Emperor was widely spread over the whole world. Some testified that they had seen Augustus ascend to heaven. It soon became a crime to profess reluctance to worship the Imperial god. On his death, Divine honours had been decreed to Augustus by the Senate. There were instituted a new order of priests and a new series of religious rites in the service of the Imperial god. As if to give éclat to the new departure, names to the number of twenty-one, from the most prominent citizens, were chosen, and the names

of Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus were added to the number (Tacitus, *Annal.* i. 54). Repeated references are made in the *Annals* of Tacitus to the existence of the Augustan priesthood. A lawsuit was raised against a Roman citizen because he had sold, among other effects, a statue of Augustus. Nor was the name of the Emperor, *Augustus*, without religious significance. It had a religious meaning from the beginning, and the people were conscious of this. Suetonius speculates as to the meaning, but he is persuaded that it did mean something worthy, great, and religious. He tells that the new ruler was called Augustus, because this name was new, and was of higher dignity, and because places devoted to religion and consecrated by augury were called 'august.' He even makes an excursion into philology, and says that it was derived from *auctus*, which signifies 'increase,' or *ab avium gestu gustuve*, 'from the flight of birds' (Suet. *Cæsar Augustus*, 7). Whatever we may think of the etymology, there is no doubt about the fact that the name challenged the reverence of the people, and had a religious significance from the first. What was implied in it is seen from the fact that the crime of *majestas* meant not only treason to the reigning Emperor, but disrespect towards the object of the adoration of the people, whether of the Emperor who had attained to an apotheosis, or of the reigning ruler. The significance of the title Augustus is further made manifest from the following, which we take from Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*², part 2, 'St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp,' 1889, vol. iii. p. 405: 'Imperator cum Augusti nomen accepit, tamquam praesenti et corporali deo fidelis est praestanda devotio' (Veget. ii. 5). A part of this passage is also quoted by Döllinger, *The Gentile and the Jew*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 166.

However reluctant Augustus and Tiberius were to accept the new honours, the pressure of events was too strong for them. The new worship speedily became imperative. It became a crime not to worship, and the citizens of Cyzicus were deprived of their privileges because they had suffered the ceremonies in honour of Augustus to fall into contempt (Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. 36). In this case Imperial pressure was brought to bear on the people in favour of the new Imperial religion. This, however, was almost a solitary instance. There was no unwillingness to accept it. Rather there was keen competition between cities for the honour and the privilege of building temples and organizing priesthoods for the cult of the new religion. It is recorded by Tacitus that eleven Asiatic cities strove for the honour of building a temple to the reigning Emperor: 'Eleven cities rivalled each other, not in power and opulence, but with equal zeal contending for the preference' (*Annal.* iv. 55). If it was an honour to institute a religious organization, with proper buildings and persons for the Imperial worship, it was a very costly honour, as would appear from the fact that the claim of some cities was refused as they could not bear the expense. In the final issue the claim of Smyrna was allowed, mainly because 'of all the cities of Asia, they were the first that built a temple to the Roman name' (Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. 56). Other testimonies might be added to show how rapidly the new religion spread throughout the Empire, and how greatly esteemed was the honour of having a temple to the Cæsar-god within the city. The Senate of Rome was besieged by the cities of the Empire for the privilege of styling themselves *neocori*, servants of the Cæsar-god, and for the privilege of inserting that title on their coins. It is evident that the honour was highly esteemed. But it is time to ask why the provinces, in particular, welcomed the new religion with such eagerness and enthusiasm.

In answer we must remember what the advent of the Empire meant for the provinces. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate their misery and wretchedness in the later ages of the Republic. The proconsuls raged furiously, knowing that their time was short. It is not necessary to dwell on this, or to cite the authorities for it. But we may refer to the miseries of civil war, and to the terror of the times when Marius and Sulla strove for the mastery. The wars between Julius Cæsar and Pompey, the wars between Augustus and Antony, had brought unspeakable misery on the peoples and places where they were conducted. With the advent of the Emperor Augustus wars ceased, the temple of Janus was shut, a government which might fairly be called just held sway in all the provinces. The people felt a sense of security unknown for ages. Cæsar was their friend, their ruler, their defender from enemies without their gates, and from oppression by those within. He gave them security and a peaceful time in which they could live and work. He enabled them to provide for their wants, to accumulate property without the haunting dread that its possession would serve only to make them the mark for the envy and the greed of those possessed of power. Thus the Emperor became an earthly providence, which grew ever greater, as the peoples became more accustomed to its care. Imagination delighted to picture the greatness and the goodness of the Imperial power; orators discoursed on it, and philosophers dwelt on the thought of the great community of the universe, in which gods and men had their places and their functions. Then the common people gathered into one all that they or their ancestors had conceived of greatness and goodness, and piled that upon the head of the Cæsar-saviour. If we had space, we might easily gather from the inscriptions a collection of epithets, descriptive of the glory thus ascribed to the Roman Emperors. These epithets are not merely adulation; they are the outcome of a real religious persuasion. Nor were the Imperial Cæsars without a feeling of reciprocal devotion to the ideal of their calling, and to the duty devolving on them as beings invested with powers and responsibilities more than human. Seneca—to refer only to one instance—reminds Nero that he has succeeded to a vicegerency of God on earth. He is the arbiter of life and death, on whose word depend the fortunes of citizens, the happiness and misery of the people. His innocence raised the highest hopes. The Emperor is the one bond that holds the world-empire together; he is its vital breath. The Imperial task is heavy, and its perils are great. Man, the hardest of animals to govern, cannot be governed long except by love, and can be won only by beneficence and gentleness. In his godlike place, the prince should imitate the mercy of the gods. Wielding illimitable power, he is the servant of all, and cannot usurp the licence of the private subject. He is like one of the heavenly orbs, bound by inevitable law to move onward in a fixed orbit, unswerving and unresting. Such was the teaching of Seneca to his pupil; and this was the ideal of the best Emperors, who felt that they were in the place of an earthly providence to their people. But the consciousness of power led the holders of it from one stage to another. While some felt that this was a power entrusted to them by the gods, others came to regard the divinity by which they ruled as possessed of some inherent significance, and regarded themselves as Divine. Domitian issued his rescripts and formally claimed Divine power under the formula 'Dominus et Deus noster' (Suet. *Domitian*, 13).

On the one hand, the Emperors increasingly

brought forward their claims to Divine power, and insisted on the popular recognition of the claims; on the other hand, the people, especially in the provinces, were forward in ascribing to them all the attributes recognized as Divine by them. Nor was there any other power which could reasonably enter into competition with this. Behind the visible majesty of the Emperor there lay all the prestige of the unrivalled history of Rome. The might of possession belonged to it, and all the visible forces of the world were at his command. Nor can we forget that the deification of the ruling power seemed the fulfilment of a hope which had been cherished for a long time by all the peoples of the East. There was a hope, there were prophecies, of a coming deliverer, and there are evidences extant of the wide-spread character of such a hope. The hope of the individual races was coloured by their history and by their idiosyncrasy. It took one form in Judæa, another in Asia Minor, and another in Greece, but the ferment caused by such an expectation can be traced over all the known world. It is very marked in the inscriptions which still remain. It is not necessary to multiply examples. But a quotation from one inscription may be made, because it illustrates the universal expectation, and describes what it was. The inscription will be found in *Mittheilungen Inst. Athen.* xxiv. [1889] 275 ff.; cf. also W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Græcæ Inscriptiones Selectæ*, Leipzig, 1895, ii. 366. The date of the inscription seems to be about 9 B.C.; Sir William Ramsay dates it 9–4 B.C. (*The Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 436). The inscription refers to the birthday of Augustus. We quote a passage from it:

'This day has given the earth an entirely new aspect. The world would have gone to destruction had there not streamed forth from him who is now born a common blessing. Rightly does he judge who recognizes in this birthday the beginning of life and of all the powers of life: now is that ended when men pitied themselves for being born. . . . From no other day does the individual or the community receive such benefit as from this natal day, full of blessing to all. The providence which rules over all has filled this man with such gifts for the salvation of the world as designate him the Saviour for us and for the coming generations: of wars will he make an end, and establish all things worthily. By his appearing are the hopes of our forefathers fulfilled: not only has he surpassed the good deeds of men of earlier time, but it is impossible that one greater than he can ever appear. The birthday of God has brought to the world glad tidings that are bound up in him. From his birthday a new era begins.'

Speaking of this inscription, Ramsay says that it records 'the decree of the Commune of Asia instituting the new Augustan Year, and ordered to be put up in all the leading cities' (*op. cit.* 436). Of the language of the inscription he says: 'All this was not merely the language of courtly panegyric. It was in a way thoroughly sincere, with all the sincerity that the people of that over-developed and precocious time, with their artificial, highly stimulated, rather feverish intellect, were capable of feeling' (p. 54). Other inscriptions to other Emperors might be quoted, but this is sufficient to show the feeling in the Commune of Asia towards the new cult. Reference might be made to the effect which the perusal of such inscriptions had on the attitude of the people. It would enhance their feeling of the majesty and worth of the Roman Emperor. It would stimulate their loyalty, and deepen it into devotion.

But the missionary energy of the new religion was not left to the passive power and effect of mere inscriptions, however effective these might be in their own way. The new religion had for its propagation an effective organization, a powerful priesthood, with many privileges, with ample powers, and with functions of a large order. While it is probable that, wherever there was a temple built for the worship of the Emperor, there was also an organized priesthood, yet it was in the provinces, especially in the province of Asia, that the priesthood attained to the highest organization and to the greatest efficiency.

'To the confederation of towns the Roman Government in Asia Minor had no occasion to oppose special obstacles. In Roman as in pre-Roman times nine towns of the Troad performed in common religious functions and celebrated common festivals. The diets of the different provinces of Asia Minor, which were here, as in the whole Empire, called into existence as a fixed institution by Augustus, were not different from those of the other provinces. Yet this institution developed itself, or rather changed its nature, here in a peculiar fashion. With the immediate purpose of these annual assemblies of the civic deputies of each province—to bring its wishes to the knowledge of the governor or the government, and generally to serve as organ of the province—was here first combined the celebration of the annual festival for the governing Emperor and the Imperial system generally. Augustus, in the year 725, allowed the diets of Asia and Bithynia to erect temples and show divine honour to him at their places of assembly, Pergamum and Nicomedia. This new arrangement soon extended to the whole Empire, and the blending of the ritual institution with the administrative became a leading idea of the provincial organization of the Imperial period. But, as regards pomp of priests and festivals and civic rivalries, this institution nowhere developed itself so much as in the province of Asia, and, analogously, in the other provinces of Asia Minor; and nowhere, consequently, has there subsisted, alongside of, and above, municipal ambition, a provincial ambition of the towns still more than of the individuals, such as in Asia Minor dominates the whole public life' (Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. tr., 1886, i. 344 f.).

The diets of the different provinces in Asia Minor were thus constituted for certain civil and religious purposes. They had the name of Commune Bithyniæ, Ciliciæ, Galatiæ, Pamphyliæ. The presiding officers of these unions were called 'Bithyniarch,' 'Ciliciarch,' 'Pamphyliarch,' according to the name of the province. We find, for instance, in Ac 19[31] the title 'Asiarch,' used to describe certain friends of Paul, who 'besought him not to adventure himself into the theatre.' As the province of Asia was the earliest and the most distinguished of all the provinces of Asia Minor, we naturally hear more of it than of the others. Not to dwell on the history of these Communes, the important matter for our present purpose is to note their bearing on the Imperial religion. In these Communes, temples were erected and priesthoods were established for the maintenance of this worship. 'In six at least of the cities comprised in the *Commune Asiæ* (Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamum, Sardes, Philadelphia, and Cyzicus), periodic festivals and games were held under the auspices of the confederation' (Lightfoot, *op. cit.* 405, where the authorities for the statement are given).

It appears, also, that each of these cities had a temple or temples dedicated to the worship of the Emperors. As the separate cities were united in the Commune, so they were united in relation to religion. There were local chief priests, and there was a provincial high priest, who had supreme control of this worship over the whole province. The various designations were 'the chief priest of the temple in Smyrna,' 'in Ephesus,' according to the place in which the temple was situated. The provincial high priest was designated 'the high priest of Asia,' or 'of the Commune of Asia.' It was keenly debated for a time whether the high priest of Asia and the Asiarch were descriptions of different offices, or whether they were identical. The question may now be regarded as settled by the investigation of Lightfoot. The evidence which he has brought forward for the view that the chief priest of the province of Asia was also the Asiarch seems quite conclusive. Equally conclusive is the evidence he brings forward as to the tenure of the office. Many authorities assumed that the tenure of the office was for one year. This may have been the case with regard to the local priesthoods, but, as the Asiarch had to preside over the games which were held every fifth year, it is likely that the tenure of the office extended over that period. It is not

necessary for our present purpose to enter minutely into this controversy. All we are concerned with is the importance of the office, and the testimony which these facts bear to the prevalence, the influence, and the seriousness of this form of religion. The position of Asiarch was highly honoured and eagerly sought after. It was a position which no one could maintain unless he had great resources at his command.

'In spite of the expense, this was an honorary position much sought after, not on account of the privileges attached to it, *e.g.* of exemption from trusteeship, but on account of its outward splendour. The festal entrance into the town, in purple dress and with chaplet on the head, preceded by a procession of boys swinging their vessels of incense, was in the horizon of the Greeks of Asia Minor what the olive-branch of Olympia was among the Hellenes. On several occasions this or that Asiatic of quality boasts of having been not merely himself Asiarch, but descended also from Asiarchs' (Mommsen, *op. cit.* 346).

The civil, religious, and social standing of the Asiarch, the organized priesthood in every city of the province, the solidarity of the whole priesthood, ruled and directed by the Asiarch, and the favour of the Imperial government were factors in the popularity and effectiveness of the Imperial religion. It was a visible, tangible religion, invested with all the influence which the favour of the Government and the applause of the people could give it. If, as is probable, the Asiarch had control, not only over the priesthood of the Imperial religion, but also over religion in general, one can easily see how much its power and prestige would be enhanced.

'It is probable that this superintendence, although it primarily concerned the Emperor-worship, extended to the affairs of religion in general. Then, when the old and the new faith began to contend in the Empire for the mastery, it was probably, in the first instance, through the provincial chief priesthood that the contrast between them was converted into conflict. These priests, appointed from the provincials of mark by the diet of the province, were by their traditions and by their official duties far more called and inclined than were the Imperial magistrates to animadvert on neglect of the recognized worship, and, where dissuasion did not avail, as they had not themselves a power of punishment, to bring the act punishable by civil law to the notice of the local or Imperial authorities, and to invoke the aid of the secular arm—above all, to force the Christians to comply with the demands of the Imperial cultus' (Mommsen, *op. cit.* 348 f.).

This quotation from Mommsen brings us face to face with the principle of all the persecutions of the Christian Church, from the first century down to the time of Diocletian. It was the refusal of the Church to submit to the Imperial cult that led to the declaration that they were outlaws, with no rights, and with no legal standing before the rulers. The test of their standing was whether they were willing to burn incense, or to offer worship to Cæsar. The Imperial religion became more and more eager, militant, and oppressive. It was filled with the spirit of aggressive persecution. In its militant aspect, as against all those who refused to bow the knee to Cæsar, it was intolerant, aggressive, and exclusive. Whether it could long continue to command the inward assent of its adherents, or would long be able to satisfy the religious needs of its votaries, is another question. The fervid feeling, and the intense devotion expressed in the inscription quoted above, did not last very long. It lessened after the death of Augustus. As a religious force it is not apparent in the end of the 2nd century. But it still continued to fulfil its purpose as an official religion, and as a test of the loyalty of the citizen. It was well fitted to act the part of an engine of persecution. Its social power remained long after its energy as a religion had passed away. We shall end this article with a quotation from Ramsay, mainly to show what was the real character of this Imperial religion. He is expounding a passage in the Apocalypse (13[12ff]).

'"*It maketh the earth and all that dwell therein to worship the first beast*," for the provincial administration organized the State religion of the Emperors. The Imperial regulation that all loyal subjects must conform to the State religion and take part in the Imperial ritual, was carried out according to the regulations framed by the Commune, which arranged the ritual, superintended and directed its performance, ordered the building of temples and the erection of statues, fixed the holidays and festivals, and so on—"saying to them that dwell on the earth that they should make an image to the beast. . . . *And it was given him to give breath to the statue of the beast, that the statue of the beast should both speak and cause that as many as should not worship the statue of the beast should be killed.*" The last statement is familiar to us; it is not directly attested for the Flavian period by pagan authorities, but it is proved by numerous Christian authorities, and corroborated by known historical facts, and by the interpretation which Trajan stated about twenty-five years later of the principles of Imperial procedure in this department. It is simply the straightforward enunciation of the rule as to the kind of trial that should be given to those who were accused of Christianity. The accused were required to prove their loyalty by performing an act of religious worship of the statue of the Emperor, which (as Pliny mentioned to Trajan) was brought into court in readiness for the test: if they performed the ritual, they were acquitted and dismissed; if they refused to perform it, they were condemned to death. No other proof was sought; no investigation was made; no accusation of any specific crime or misdeed was made, as had been the case in the persecution of Nero, which is described by Tacitus. That short and simple procedure was legal, prescribed by Imperial instructions, and complete' (*The Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 97–99).

LITERATURE.—Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 1904; Döllinger, *The Gentile and the Jew*, Eng. tr. 1862; Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, 1909; L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengesch. Roms*[7], 1901, *Rom. Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, Eng. tr. 1908 ff.; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*[2], part 2, 'St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp,' 1889; Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. tr. 1886, new ed. 1909; Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, 1904 [numerous references to Emperor-worship abound in other works of Sir William Ramsay]; Westcott, 'The Church and the Empire,' Dissertation in *Com. on the Epistles of John*, 1883; Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*, 1906; Kennedy, 'Apostolic Preaching and Emperor Worship,' in *Expositor*, 7th ser., vii. (1909) 289.

JAMES IVERACH.

CAGOTS.—The Cagots are a despised and formerly persecuted people of unknown origin, scattered in small groups under diverse names throughout the Western Pyrenees and in Brittany. They are the *Cagots*, *Cahets*, *Agotacs*, and *Gafets* of the French, the *Agotes* or *Gafos* of the Spaniards, and the *Cacous* of the Bretons, although, strange to say, they are first mentioned as 'Chrestianos' in the year 1288. In 1460 the States of Béarn, where they were most numerous, called on the king of France to curtail their liberties; and in the towns the Cagot communities were then confined to separate quarters called *cagoteries*, which answered to the ghettos of the Jews. In the country districts they dwelt in wretched huts apart from the villagers; they were everywhere obliged to enter the church by a separate door; and after death they were buried by themselves, apparently in unconsecrated ground. In the church they were railed off from the rest of the congregation, a *bénitier* ('holy-water font') was reserved for their exclusive use, and they were either barred from the communion or else obliged to take the host from the end of a stick. In fact, everything was done to humiliate them, until they were emancipated by the French Revolution, at least from all these restrictions, though not from the hatred and contempt of their neighbours, which still largely persist. The side-doors of the churches were built up, but the separate fonts may still be seen in many districts, and other indications survive of the ostracism under which they formerly suffered.

Even in France the odium attaching to this 'infamous and accursed race' is by many attributed to some physical taint, such as goitre, cretinism, or leprosy, and, in 1872, Littré defined the Cagots as 'a people of the Pyrenees affected with a kind of cretinism.' In England, too, they were supposed to be 'afflicted with extreme bodily deformity and degeneracy, and with deficiency of intellect' (Guy and Ferrier, *Forensic Medicine*[4], 1875). But Dr. Hack Tuke, who visited several

of the groups in 1879, could find no evidence of goitre or cretinism amongst them, and he believes that they have been confounded with the inhabitants of the Pyrenees who really suffer from these complaints. Nor could he find any outward indications which marked them off as a people physically distinct from the surrounding inhabitants, except that some are not dark like their neighbours, but blue-eyed and light-haired. Otherwise the Agotaes of the Basques, who are chiefly weavers, blacksmiths, and joiners, but have no land, differ in no respects from the Basques (*q.v.*) themselves, whose language they speak, while, like them, they are strict Roman Catholics. As recently as 1842 in some districts they occupied a separate place during the service, and on Rogation Days they join in a procession which sometimes gives rise to disorders, due to the ill-feeling of their Basque co-religionists.

Although now free from any taint of leprosy, weighty arguments have been advanced to show that the Cagots were originally subject to this disease, and that to it was due their separation from the other inhabitants. This is the opinion of M. de Rochas, one of our chief authorities, who pointed out in 1876 that the Breton word *cacodd* meant 'leprous,' and that this word would easily assume both the French form *Cagot* and the present Breton form *Cacou*. He further remarks that they were also called 'Mézegs,' and that *mézeau* is French for 'leprous.' But such etymologies are seldom to be trusted, and the more general popular belief may still be the more correct one, that the Cagots are descended from some Visigoths or Vandals who were left behind in the Pyrenees when these barbaric hordes pushed through into Spain and Africa in the 5th century. Thus would be explained the above-mentioned blue eyes and light hair, the word *Cagot* itself (*canes Gothi*='dogs of Goths'), and the charge of heresy that in early times was very generally brought against them. For it is to be noticed that these Visigoths themselves were heretics, being members of the then wide-spread Arian sect, to which the orthodox peoples of Gaul and Spain were bitterly opposed. Hence Guilbeau, quoted by Tuke, may most probably be right in holding that the 'Agoths,' as he calls them, 'were originally heretics,' or 'the descendants of certain heretics.' We can now understand why from the very first they were subject to cruel persecutions in Gaul, just as the orthodox inhabitants of Spain were persecuted by their Arian Visigothic conquerors till the heresy was stamped out under King Riccaredus soon after the third Council of Toledo in 589.

No clear explanation has been given of the curious designation 'Chrestianos,' which dates from the 13th cent.; but Tuke writes that at times 'many were no doubt falsely suspected of leprosy'; and as lepers were actually called *pauperes Christi*, the term may have originated in this way. The suggestion is the more probable since the cretins, who, we have seen, were constantly confounded with the Cagots, were also called Christians.

LITERATURE.—Michel, *Hist. des races maudites de la France et de l'Espagne*, 1847; De Rochas, *Les Parias de France et d'Espagne*, 1876; Krause, *Die Pariavölker der Gegenwart*, 1903; Webster, *Bulletin de la Société Ramon*, 1867; Hack Tuke, *JAI* ix. (1880) p. 376 ff.

A. H. KEANE.

CAINITES.—See OPHITES.

CAIRN.—See STONES.

CAKES AND LOAVES.—I. **Cakes made of firstfruits.**—In primitive communities, and as a ritual custom surviving into much later stages, firstfruits are the subject of solemn ceremonial observances, before the bulk of the harvest can be eaten. They are eaten sacramentally, in order that the eaters may obtain the Divine life which is present in them (for example, that of the corn-spirit). Or, probably at a later stage, they are offered sacrificially to the gods, who are supposed to have given the fruits of the earth to man; or sometimes both rites are combined (see FIRST-FRUITS).

The earliest form in which grain was cooked was probably that of roasting, grinding, and making it into rude cakes. This preceded that of baking it into loaves. Hence we find that the grain of the first sheaves is made into a cake, later a loaf, which is eaten, or presented, sometimes with a few sheaves, to the god. The transition stage was probably that of boiling grain, or mixing it with milk or honey—the mixture being poured out as a libation, or eaten. Thus in N.W. India, the first of the grain is mixed with milk and sugar, and eaten by each member of the family (Elliot, *Hist. of N.W. Prov. of India*, 1869, i. 197). Among the Basutos the grain is boiled and presented to the gods (Frazer, *GB*[2] ii. 459).

Some instances of this sacramental use of cakes formed of the firstfruits may be given. The Solomon Islanders, at the ingathering of the canarium nut, eat flat cakes made of the pounded nuts (Woodford, *Head Hunters*, 1890, pp. 26–28). The Ainus make new millet into cakes, which are worshipped by the old men. Then the cakes are eaten, after which the new millet may be used (Batchelor, *Ainu and their Folklore*, 1901, p. 204). Among the Natchez, the women gathered the first sheaves of maize; part was used as an offering, and part made into unleavened cakes, which were presented to the setting sun, and eaten in the evening (Chateaubriand, *Voyage en Amérique*, Paris, 1870, pp. 130–136). The Quichés of Central America, after gathering in the firstfruits, presented them to the priests. Some of the firstfruits were baked into cakes, which were offered to the idols who guarded their fields. These cakes were afterwards given to the poor (Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. des nations civil. du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale*, Paris, 1857–59, ii. 566). The Totonacs made a dough of firstfruits and the blood of three slain infants, of which certain of the people partook every six months (*NR* iii. 440). The cakes made of maize by the Virgins of the Sun in Peru at the festival of the Sun were eaten sacramentally by the Inca and his nobles (Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, 1890, p. 51). Among the Coorgs of Southern India, after the first sheaf of rice is cut, enough of it is prepared and made into flour to provide a cake, which the whole family must eat. The man who cuts the rice afterwards kneads a cake from the meal, mixed with other things. Every one must partake of this cake. The Burghers, a tribe in the Nilgiri Hills, choose a man of another tribe to reap the first sheaf of grain. This grain is made into meal and baked into cakes, when it is offered as a firstfruit oblation. Afterwards these cakes are partaken of by the whole family (Harkness, *Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, 1832, p. 56 ff.). The pagan Cheremisses eat sacramentally of the new loaf made from the new corn, the pieces being distributed by the sorcerer to each person (*GB*[2] ii. 321). Modern European folk-survivals show many instances of the ceremonial eating of a cake or loaf made of the new crops, and this doubtless represents an earlier sacramental eating of a cake or loaf containing the life of the corn-spirit, especially as the bread is often in the shape of a man or an animal. In Sweden the grain of the last sheaf is made into a

loaf in the form of a girl, the loaf being divided among the entire household and eaten by them. At La Palisse, in France, a similar use is made of the grain of the last sheaf, which is baked into the shape of a man. This is kept until the harvest is over, when the Mayor breaks it into bits, and distributes it among the people, to be eaten by them. The Lithuanian peasant used the grain of the sheaf which was first threshed and winnowed. This was baked into small leaves, of which each member of the household received one. These were eaten, accompanied by an elaborate ritual (*GB*² ii. 318, 319). In Sweden, Denmark, and Esthonia, the cake or loaf is in the form of a boar, a characteristic representative of the corn-spirit (*GB*² ii. 286 ff.; Grimm, *Teut. Mythology*, pp. 63, 213).

The sacrificial or other ritual use of cakes baked from firstfruits is of frequent occurrence. At Athens, during the Thargelia, the first loaf, made after the carrying home of the harvest, was called the *thargelos*. Part of the processional ritual consisted in carrying the *eiresione*, a bough of olive or laurel, tied up with wool, and laden with fruits and cakes (Harrison, *Prol. to Greek Rel.*, 1903, p. 78 ff.). At Rome, the cakes which the Vestals prepared from the firstfruits were called *mola salsa*. The corn for making these was plucked in May by the Vestals, and the cakes were prepared and offered by them in June. At the Vestalia, donkeys were also decorated with wreaths and cakes (Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Republic*, 1899, pp. 148–149; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 283 ff.). Among the Hebrews, at the feast of Pentecost, two loaves of fine flour made from the first of the wheat were offered as a wave-offering, and kept sacred for the priest (Lv. 23[15ff.]). In Nu 15[20f.] the Hebrews are ordered to make a cake of dough from the first-fruits of the land of Canaan, and use it for a heave-offering. See FESTIVALS (Hebrew).

The Celtic Beltane cakes, of which so many survivals have been noted in Scotland, may have been made of some of the firstfruits kept over till spring, though this is not stated. But they were generally divided, and eaten ritually. In some cases the pieces were drawn by lot, and he who received a blackened piece was regarded as 'devoted,' and was the subject of a mock sacrifice. The cakes were sometimes rolled down hill, and, if one broke, it determined the fate of its owner throughout the year. In another instance the cake was divided, and offered sacrificially to various noxious animals. The cakes were prepared in a special manner, and sometimes sprinkled with whipped eggs, milk, etc. In some cases they were made with raised knobs (Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 1774, i. 97; Sinclair, *Statistical Account*, 1791, v. 84, xi. 620, xv. 517; *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, 1888, ii. 439 ff.; *FL*, 1895, vi. 2 ff.; see also FESTIVALS [Celtic]). Cf. with these the Teutonic custom of making a loaf of every kind of grain, and placing it in the first furrow—a custom resembling the Roman offering of meal cakes in the corn-fields. Both of these were sacrificial, and they were probably sprinkled with milk and honey and eaten sacramentally by the ploughmen (Grimm, 1239). In parts of England, ploughmen, at the end of wheat-sowing, are feasted with seed cakes, and, at sheep-shearing, with wafers and cakes (Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, 1870, i. 45).

In many parts of the world cakes stamped with the symbols or with the actual form of a divinity, or dough and paste images of gods and goddesses, are commonly found, and are frequently ritually eaten. Among the Egyptians, according to Plutarch, a cake stamped with the figure of a donkey (the symbol of Typhon) was baked on certain days (Jablonski, *Pantheon Aegyptiorum*, Frankfort, 1750, ii. 74). The Mexicans, at the festivals of various divinities, made images of dough and seeds, or of seeds kneaded with the blood of children, which were carried in procession or otherwise reverenced. The heart was then cut out, as in ordinary human sacrifices, and the image was distributed among the people and eaten ritually. The most marked instance was that of the god Huitzilopochtli, whose image was ritually slain, while the ceremonial eating was called *teoqualo*, 'god is eaten' (*NR* iii. 299, and *passim*). The Hanīfa, an Arab tribe, made an idol of *ḥais* (a mass of dates kneaded with butter and milk), and ate it in time of famine (W. R. Smith, p. 225). The cakes offered by Hebrew women to the queen of heaven (Jer 7[18]) may have been stamped with the figure of Astarte. In India, married women make an image of Pārvatī with flour, rice, and grain, which after some days is taken outside the village and left there (Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 438). A snake tribe in the Panjāb, every year on the same day, make a snake of dough, which is carried round the village and afterwards buried (*GB*² ii. 441). Among the Teutons baked figures of sacred animals or of gods were reverenced, and probably, to judge by folk-survivals, ritually eaten. In the *Fridthiofssage* we hear of images of gods baked by women and anointed with oil. The *Indiculus Superstitionum* (8th cent.) contains a section, 'De simulacro de consparsa farina,' showing that the making of such images continued into Christian times, while pastry and dough figures in much later times are a direct continuation of the earlier pagan instances (Grimm, 63, 501, 1306; Saupe, *Indiculus Superstitionum*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 30 f.).

2. Cakes in sacrifice and ritual.—Cakes are also offered in sacrifices of propitiation or thanksgiving, either alone or with other articles of food, or are made use of in other ritual ways. The Sea Dayaks offer cakes, with many other things, to the god or spirit who partakes of their essence (Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, 1896, i. 189). Similarly, the Malays propitiate the spirits of sickness by placing fourteen cakes—seven cooked and seven uncooked—along with numerous other articles, in a frame of bamboo, which is hung on a tree (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 1900, p. 414). In Mexico, women who had died in childbed were deified and propitiated by offerings of bread, kneaded into various shapes, and pies. Balls of dough and pies were offered on one of the feasts of Tlaloc; and to Quetzalcoatl no bloody sacrifice was offered, but only bread, flowers, etc. (*NR* iii. 250, 334, 363). On the South American pampas, Darwin saw a tree on which were hung offerings of bread (*Journal of Researches*, 1897, p. 82). An interesting instance of the use of cakes, among other offerings, for purposes of propitiation and subsequent divination is recorded among the pagan Prussians by Jan Malecki (ed. Speyer, 1582, p. 259 f.). In their worship of 'Putscaetus, qui sacris arboribus et lucis praeest' (concerning whom see, further, Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 99 f.), and who was believed to have his abode beneath an elder tree, the Prussians

'litant pane, cerevisia, aliisque cibis sub arbore sambuco positis, precantes a Putscaeto ut placatum efficiat Marcoppolum deum magnatum et nobilium ne graviore servitute a dominis ipsi premantur: utque sibi mittantur Barstuccae qui subterranei vocantur. His enim daemonibus in domo versantibus se fieri credunt fortunatiores: eisque collocant vesperi in horreo super mensam mappa stratam panes, caseos, butyrum et cerevisiam: nec dubitant de fortunarum accessione si mane reperiant cibos illic assumtos.'

In similar fashion, in India, cakes, sweetmeats, and parched or fried grain are frequent forms of sacrifice; and this custom dates from ancient times, since the Vedas prescribe an offering of cakes (*apūpa*) to be made to the gods (Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 463). At the present time the ordinary propitiatory offerings at village shrines in India are cakes, milk, and flowers. Cakes are also offered to the earth-goddess by the Patāris and Majhwārs (*PR* i. 32, 98), and Śiva is daily fed with cakes and pastry. Among the ancient Hindus the fortnightly religious services consisted chiefly in the preparation of sacrificial cakes of rice pounded in a mortar, kneaded into a ball by the head of the family, and baked on the fire. The consecrated cake was then cut up, and pieces, sprinkled with butter, were thrown into the flames, in the names of the various gods, including the god of flame himself. Other pieces were reverently eaten by the family (Monier Williams, *Rel. Thought and Life in India*, London, 1883, pt. i. pp. 93, 367). Among offerings in the Shinto ritual in Japan, food and drink take a very important place. Cakes made of rice are found among these offerings. At the present time these rice cakes, or *mochi*, are among the annual offerings at the tomb of the first Mikado, Jimmu. At every new moon the female attendants at the palace solemnly offered, in the 'place of reverence,' cakes to the sacred mirror which represented the sun-goddess. Among the New Year's Day observances in Japan one of the ceremonial rites consists in the laying on the domestic shrine of unleavened cakes made of glutinous pounded rice. These cakes are

called 'mirror' cakes on account of their shape, which is that of a flattened sphere. They are two in number—one representing the sun, or male principle; the other the moon, or female principle. This kind of cake is also called the 'tooth-hardening' cake, because it is supposed to strengthen the constitution (Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1905, pp. 212–13, 291, 313). In ancient Egypt, cakes were an invariable part of the offerings to the gods, and are referred to in the inscriptions. The formula of offering says: 'I give you a thousand cakes,' etc. These cakes were of different shapes, some being round or oval, and others triangular. Sometimes also they were made in the form of leaves, or even of animals. The round or oval were sometimes sprinkled with seeds. In the sacrifices to Isis at Bubastis the body of the sacrificial victim was filled with cakes and other meats, and then buried (Herod. ii. 40). Strabo (p. 811 f.) describes the offering to the sacred crocodile, Sukhos, as consisting of a cake, meat, and honey wine, which were put by the priests into its mouth (Wilkinson, iii. 416, 418, ii. 457; Wiedemann, Eng. tr. 192).

Among the ancient Hebrews, cakes or loaves were offered, either alone or together with animal sacrifices. These cakes were unleavened, sometimes made with oil or sprinkled with oil, and were baked either in an oven or in a pan (Lv $2^{4.5}$). The peace-offering consisted of unleavened cakes mixed with oil, leavened wafers anointed with oil, and cakes mixed with oil and fried. Leavened bread was also offered in this case (Lv $7^{12.13}$). Cereal offerings, sometimes in the form of cakes, accompanied animal sacrifices (Lv 5^{11} 8^{26} 14^{10}, Nu 6^{17} $15^{4.6.9}$). The most typical offering was that of the shewbread, consisting of twelve loaves or cakes of unleavened bread, which were placed in two heaps before the Lord in the Holy Place every Sabbath. On these frankincense was sprinkled, and the old loaves were eaten by the priests (Lv 24^{9}, Nu 4^{7}, 1 S 21^{4}; Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 7). The Hebrew ritual of the shewbread may have been derived from the similar Bab. custom. In the chamber of Bel-Merodach, at his temple in Babylon, stood a golden table on which were placed 12, 24, 36, or even 72 cakes of unleavened bread, which the god was supposed to eat (Zimmern, *Beitrage zur Kenntniss der bab. Rel.*, 1901, pp. 94, 95; Haupt, *JBL*, 1900, p. 59; Bel, vv.$^{3.6}$); and offerings of cakes are occasionally represented on early Bab. seals (Ward, in Curtiss, *Primitive Sem. Religion To-day*, New York, 1902, p. 267 f.).

In Greece, cakes (πέλανος, πέμμα, πόπανον) formed an important part of all sacrificial offerings, or were offered separately. Plato speaks of those who thought it impious to stain the altars of the gods with blood, and whose sacrifices consisted only of cakes and fruit mixed with honey (*de Legibus*, vi. 782). In many of the principal temples of Apollo, great importance was attached to bloodless sacrifices. There was an altar at Delos, called the 'altar of the pious,' on which only cakes of wheat and barley were placed (Porphyry, *de Abstinentia*, ii. 28). At Delphi, cakes and frankincense were consecrated in sacred baskets. At Patara the cakes took the form of bows and arrows, or lyres, symbolic of the two aspects of the deity (C. O. Müller, *Hist. and Ant. of the Doric Race*, 1839, ii. 331). In the ritual of Artemis Tauropolos the sacrifices were maintained with cakes and honey. Associated with this was the ritual of Artemis Munychia, where we hear of ἀμφιφῶντες, which were probably cheese-cakes stamped with torches (*CGS* ii. 454 f.). The Chaeronians worshipped a sceptre of Agamemnon, to which there was no temple, it being kept in the house of the priest; and daily sacrifices of all kinds of flesh and cakes were offered beside it (Pausanias, ix. 40. 11–12). The priests of Ægium had the custom of taking cakes, ordinarily used in that place, and flinging them into the sea, to be sent to Arethusa at Syracuse (Paus. vii. 24. 3). The Lilæans, on stated days, took cakes and threw them into the spring of the Cephisus, believing that they appeared again in Castalia (Paus. x. 8. 10). In a sanctuary dedicated to Sosipolis, a native Elean deity, it was the daily custom to lay before him barley cakes kneaded with honey (Paus. vi. 20. 2). In the Eleusinian mysteries the cakes offered were made from barley sown on the Rarian plain (Paus. i. 38. 6). At Athens a sacrificial cake, with twelve knobs on it, was offered to Kronos every spring, on the 15th day of the month Elaphebolion. In the cult of Ge, cakes of barley and honey were yearly thrown into a chasm in the earth, near which her sanctuary stood (*CGS* i. 27 f., iii. 24). In the cult of Demeter, during the processions of the Thesmophoria, cakes were carried. It was also customary at this festival to throw pigs and dough cakes into certain sacred vaults, called the chasms of Demeter and Proserpine. Serpents were said to live there, and these used to consume most of the flesh and cakes thrown in. Afterwards, probably at the next year's festival, women went down into the caverns, and, fetching up the remains, placed them on the altar. Whoever was lucky enough to get a piece of the decayed flesh or cakes sowed it with his corn, and it was believed to ensure good crops (*GB*^{2} ii. 300; *CGS* iii. 99). At the new or full moon the 'suppers of Hekate' were offered by rich people, and, at these feasts, small round cakes set with candles were placed at the cross-roads, as sacred to her and to Artemis (*CGS* ii. 511). At the Diasia, or spring festival, cakes of every imaginable shape appeared in the sacrifices (Harrison, *op. cit.* p. 14). At the Thargelia, cakes of barley, cheese, and figs were placed in the hands of the *pharmakos*, or human victim (*ib.* p. 98). At Athens, during the Plynteria, a cake of dried figs, called the *hegeteria*, was carried in procession (*ib.* p. 116). Cakes steeped in honey were offered to sacred snakes on the Acropolis at Athens, and at Lebadeia, in the shrine of Trophonios. The women in the 4th mime of Herondas offer a πέλανος to the snake of Asklepios (*ib.* p. 349). In the vestibule of the Erechtheum at Athens there stood an altar of Zeus. On this altar no living sacrifice was offered, but merely cakes without a libation of wine (Paus. i. 26. 6). Cakes made of flour, mixed with honey and olive oil, and into which flower blossoms had been kneaded, were offered to Adonis; and in the Dionysiac rites the women also offered mystic cakes—three to Semele and nine to Dionysos (Theocr. *Id.* xv., xxvi.).

In Roman religion, cakes (*libum*) were also offered separately or in conjunction with other sacrifices (for those connected with firstfruits, see § I). At the Palilia, shepherds offered to Pales baskets of millet and cakes made of the same (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 741 ff.). At the Liberalia, old women, crowned with ivy, sold cakes of oil and honey in the streets. These old women were named *sacerdotes Liberi*, and carried with them a small altar, for the convenience of the buyers of these cakes. From each cake that was sold they detached a small piece, which was offered on the altar to Liber in the name of the buyer (*ib.* iii. 725 ff.). At the rustic festivals of Ceres—the Feriae Sementivae and the Paganalia—cakes, along with a pregnant sow, were offered. Cakes of the most primitive kind seem to have been offered in each house in every *curia* during the Fornacalia, or feast of ovens. These cakes were made of *far*, a coarse meal, and formed into cakes by crushing in a primitive manner. Matrons offered to Mater Matuta, at the Matralia, cakes cooked in old-fashioned pans of earthenware (*liba*

tosta) (Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 482 ff.). On the festival of Summanus, cakes, which Festus describes as 'liba farinacea in modum rotae ficta,' were offered or eaten (for moulds of a wheel shape or divided into segments, used for making such cakes, see Evans, *JHS*, 1886, p. 44 ff.).[1] The head of the 'October horse,' perhaps as a representative of the corn-spirit, was decked with cakes or loaves (Festus, ed. Müller, p. 178 ff.). In the sacrificial ritual, after the head of the victim had been sprinkled with morsels of the sacred cake, or *mola salsa*, it was killed by the assistants of the priests. In the old Roman marriage ceremonial (the *confarreatio*) the bride and bridegroom ate together a kind of cake, *panis farreus*, as a sacramental offering to Juppiter (Gaius, i. 108 ff.). In other forms of marriage, cakes sometimes formed part of the sacrifice, which was an important portion of the ceremony. On a bronze hand in the Payne Knight collection in the British Museum, believed to be of the time of the Roman Empire before Constantine, there is a table with three cakes, supposed to be offerings to Juppiter. Upon two other hands are objects which seem to be round offering-cakes, divided by cross lines into four parts. These are like the cakes found at Pompeii.

Offerings of cake or bread still occur occasionally in quarters where Christianity has ousted the ancient paganism. In Bohemia, when a man has been drowned, a loaf of new bread is thrown into the river. In Franconia, on entering a forest, people put offerings of bread and fruit on a stone, to propitiate the demon of the woods; and the bakers, for luck, throw rolls into the flues of their ovens (Tylor, ii. 195, 369).

Cakes were frequently part of the food offered to the dead. In Egypt, cakes were laid beside the dead in the tomb, for the *ka* to feed upon; and the goddess who dwelt in the sycamore trees around the cemetery is represented holding a tray of cakes for the food of the *ba*. Sometimes such offerings were not made of perishable bread, but of stoneware, which by virtue of magic formulæ produced the actual food for the requirements of the dead (Wilkinson, iii. 459; Flinders Petrie, *Rel. of Ancient Egypt*, 1906, pp. 13, 82; Wiedemann, Eng. tr. p. 297). The Ainus offer millet cakes to the dead, and also partake of the same at the funeral banquet (Batchelor, *Ainu of Japan*, 1892, p. 205). At the festival of the dead in Japan, tables of food, such as cakes and fruit, are laid out near the shrine for three days for the use of the dead (Hearn, *Unfamiliar Japan*, 1894, p. 106 ff.). At the elaborate funeral ceremonies of the Hindus, balls of rice (*piṇḍas*) and flat wheaten cakes, on which boiled rice, ghi, and sugar are piled up, are placed beside the deceased for his nourishment; and in the *śrāddha* ceremonies the characteristic feature is the offering of similar *piṇḍas* and cakes of meal, which are said to represent the deified bodies of the *pitṛis*, and which supply them with nutriment, and accumulate merit for them. The *piṇḍas* are left for animals to eat. The feeding of a Brahman with cakes, etc., concludes the ceremonies (Sir William Jones, *Works*, London, 1799, iii. 129 ff. ['Laws of Manu']; Monier Williams, *Religious Thought*, etc., 285 ff.). The Bengali Musalmāns have adopted these characteristic features of the *śrāddha* as an observance on the Shat-i-Barat (Arnold, *Trans. 3rd Inter. Cong. Hist. of Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, i. 319). In European folk-observances connected with funeral rites, survivals of the offering of bread or cakes to the dead are sometimes found. Thus, in the Tirol, on All Souls' Day, cakes are left out for the dead to feed upon (Tylor, ii. 33, 34); and in Russia, gingerbread and tarts are put on the graves by the common people. In some parts of England bread is given to the poor at a funeral, and, on All Souls' Day, 'soul-cakes' are begged for at farmhouses by peasant girls (for this and other references to 'soul-cakes,' cf. Brand, *Pop. Ant.*, 1870, i. 216 ff.).

Images, representing human or animal victims, made of baked or unbaked dough, are sometimes used in sacrifice as substitutes for those. The Egyptians, on account of poverty, made pigs of dough, and, having baked them, offered them instead of the actual animal (Herod. ii. 47). For the same reason, the Greeks, at the festival of Zeus Meilichius, offered little figures of dough in the shape of swine and other animals (Thuc. i. 126). This was a common practice among the ancients, where animals were beyond the means of the worshippers. Bakers made a regular business of baking cakes in the shapes of the various animals sacrificed to the gods (see *GB*[2] ii. 344 n.). Among the Romans, loaves in the shape of men were called *maniae*, and in their ritual use were probably substitutes for earlier human victims. The Hindus, where human sacrifice was not permitted, made human figures of paste or dough, and cut off their heads in honour of the gods (Dubois, *Description of India*, 1817, p. 490). The Brāhmanic sacrifices, in order to avoid taking life, took the form of models of the victim animals in meal and butter (Tylor, ii. 405). The Malays offer to the spirits, on the sacrificial tray, a dough model of a human being called the substitute (Skeat, *op. cit.* 72). Loaves bearing human figures are thrown into a river to disperse fog in China. The custom is said to have been invented in A.D. 220 by an official who was shocked at the barbarity of offering human victims for this purpose (Dennys, *Folklore of China*, 1876, p. 140). Dough images in the form of human beings are made to appease demons of disease and of death, in Bombay, Bhutān, and Borneo. In Borneo, also, if any one has been attacked by a crocodile and has escaped, he casts into the water a substitute for himself, in the shape of an image of a man made from dough or meal. This is done to appease the water-god (*GB*[2] ii. 348, 350). The Pueblo Indians offered dough models of animals after success in the chase (*NR* iii. 174).

3. Cakes in folk-survivals.—Some of the cakes which have a prominent place in folk usage at certain periods of the year, *e.g.* at Christian festivals and holy days, as well as on other occasions, are probably lineally descended from cakes used sacrificially or sacramentally in pagan times. This is suggested by the customs observed in the making of these cakes, or the eating of them, by their division among the members of the family, or by their being marked with sacred symbols (the Cross [hot cross buns]) or figures (those of Christ or the Virgin [Simnel cakes]). These last probably replace the cakes stamped with pagan images or symbols. As in so many other instances where pagan ritual was Christianized, nothing is more likely than that the cakes used at pagan festivals became, by an easy transition, cakes associated with Christian festivals. Among cakes which may have had this

[1] [In the Umbrian ritual for the purification of the Sacred Mount and the lustration of the people, as recorded in the Iguvine Tables, the use of cakes (*struśla*) and of cakelets (*fikla*) played an important part. The nature of the offerings is typically enumerated in ii. *a*, 17–19: *Huntia fertu katlu arvia struhçla fikla pune vinu śalu maletu mantrahklu veskla snata asnata umen fertu*: 'At the Huntia (festival) let him bring a whelp, fruits of the field, cakes, cakelets, mixed wine and vinegar (?), wine, pulverized salt, a mantle, vessels moist and unmoist, and unguent let him bring.' This Huntia was plainly an infernal goddess (cf. on her nature Bücheler, *Umbrica*, Bonn, 1883, p. 128). In the sacrifice to Puemans (a deity of fruits corresponding to the Lat. Pomona [Usener, *op. cit.* p. 34]), to whom a sheep was also offered, the cake played an equal rôle (iii. 27 ff.); and it is especially significant that in the analogous offering to his wife or daughter (*Vesune Puemunes*) the cake was to be in the shape of the female *pudenda* (*struhçla petenata*)—a peculiarly appropriate sacrifice to a fertility goddess (iv. 3 ff.). In like manner, a cake, together with three pregnant sows, fruits of the fields, mixed wine and vinegar, and cakelets, must be offered to Trebus Iovius, a deity of uncertain function (vi. *a*, 58 f.). Somewhat similar offerings were also to be made to Fisus Sancius (the patron deity of the Sacred Mount of Iguvium; vi. *b*, 3 ff.), to Tefer Iovius (a god of fire [?; cf. Umbrian *tefra*, Oscan *tefúrúm*, 'burnt-offering']; vi. *b*, 22 ff.), to Cerrus Martius (probably the war-god [on the etymology of the word, see Walde, *Etymolog. lat. Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1906, p. 114 f., and the literature there cited]; vii. *a*, 3 ff.), to Torra Cerria (probably the personification of Terror [cf. Bücheler, p. 98]; vii. *a*, 41 ff.), and to Torra Iovia ('Terror inspired by Juppiter,' vii. *a*, 53 f.). Besides the instances already noted, the offering of cakelets (*fikla*) was also prescribed among the sacrifices to Juppiter Grabovius (an epithet connected by Bücheler, p. 52, with the Hesychian gloss γραβάν· βόθρον; vi. *a*, 56), Mars Grabovius (vi. *b*, 2), Mars Hodius (a deity of uncertain function; vi. *b*, 44), and Hontus Cerrius (the genius of the under world; vi. *b*, 46).—Louis H. Gray.]

history may be mentioned Yule cakes, made in the form of a child, Twelfth cakes, pancakes on Shrove Tuesday, cakes eaten on various Sundays in Lent (Mothering, Simnel, Whirlin cakes), hot cross buns on Good Friday, Easter cakes, Michaelmas cakes, Hallowe'en or All Souls' Day cakes. The Twelfth cake was divided into as many pieces as there were persons in the house. Portions also were assigned to Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Magi, and these were given as alms. The member of the household who got the bean or piece of money hidden in the cake was hailed as king. In Devonshire, cakes were eaten and cider was drunk on Twelfth Day; parts of the cakes were presented to the apple and pear trees, and a libation of cider was poured over them. This was to secure a good crop (Chambers, *Book of Days*, 1865, i. 62–63; Brand, *op. cit.* i. 15 ff.). Older customs associated with wedding-cakes point to the connexion of this cake with some rite resembling the Roman *confarreatio* (Brand, *op. cit.* ii. 58). For many details regarding these cakes see Brand, *op. cit.*, and cf. the remarks of Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 63, 501.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the course of the article.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

CALAMITY.—See SUFFERING.

CALENDAR.

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CALENDAR (Introductory).—By the term 'calendar' we understand the system by which days are named in relation to their place in larger units of time. In this sense the subdivision of the day into hours or other small units is independent of the calendar, while the era or other method by which years are named or numbered is also, as a rule, independent of it. Even the point from which the year is reckoned may be independent, and the Julian calendar has notoriously been used along with many different eras and many different New Year's Days. Wherever months have been used, the days have usually derived their names from their position in the months, and the system of reckoning months has therefore been a part of the calendar; but the months have sometimes been reckoned independently of the method of numbering the years, and even of the point from which each year has been made to run, so that the calendar is less concerned with the names of years than with the names of months.

1. Natural phenomena on which calendars are based.—The recurrence of day and night and the seasons of the year are so closely bound up with the conditions of human existence, that it is necessary for all men to have regard to them, and it is therefore natural that the day and year should be used everywhere as units for the measurement of time. The recurrence of the phases of the moon, governing as it does the supply of light at night, provides another measure which has been almost universally used from the earliest times, and the convenience of having a unit intermediate between the day and the year has led to the retention of the month, even where it has become an artificial unit independent of the phases of the moon. It is probable that the subdivision of the month has given us the week, though this again has become independent both of the moon and of the month.

2. Elementary principles of calendar construction.—It has been an almost universal practice to name or number the days according to their position in the month, and to name or number the months according to their position in the year. In order to do this it is convenient to have a fixed point for the beginning of each month, and a fixed point for the beginning of each year. Such a point is provided, in the case of the month, by the reappearance of the lunar crescent in the evening sky, after conjunction with the sun. This is what is known as the apparent new moon or phasis, and it probably served to mark the beginning of the month in all primitive calendars, and this phasis still regulates the beginning of the Muhammadan fast of Ramaḍān. But though Nature provides an obvious starting-point for the month, it is otherwise with the year. Except in extreme northerly and southerly latitudes, there is no annual return of the sun after a period of absence, corresponding to the monthly return of the moon; the seasons slide gradually one into another, and a definite starting-point must be obtained either artificially or by astronomical observation. The result is that early calendars, while, for the most part, adhering to the rule that the month must begin at the phasis, have no definite rule for the beginning of the year. The year had to begin at a fixed season, and was made to consist generally of twelve months, sometimes of thirteen months, so as to keep each month fixed to a particular season. The natural desire to make the calendar year correspond with the physical year was often seconded by the desire to connect some religious festival at once with a fixed day of the month (often the full moon, for the sake of evening light) and with a fixed season of the year. The earliest calendars were generally strictly empirical. The new month was determined by simple observation of the phasis, and the number of months in each year was settled from time to time by a civil or religious authority, which was in its turn guided by the state of the weather or of the crops. Father Kugler has shown (*ZA* xxii. [1908] p. 70) that this was the case in Babylonia in the time of the dynasty of Ur (26th–25th or 25th–24th cent. B.C.), as it was certainly the case with the Jews before the calendar reform of Hillel in the 4th cent. A.D. The great problem of ancient calendar-reformers was to discover a rule to determine which years were to contain twelve and which thirteen months, or, as it is more usually expressed, to discover a rule to govern intercalation, as the insertion of the thirteenth, or intercalary, month was called. As astronomical science developed, a second problem arose—that of finding a fixed rule to take the

place of observation in determining the duration of each month. In one or two cases the months were given an artificial length. Thus, in the Egyptian calendar (see CALENDAR [Egyptian]), which must be very ancient, though there is no evidence that it is as ancient as Ed. Meyer supposes (viz. 4241 B.C.), there are twelve months of thirty days each, and five additional days, making a year of the fixed duration of 365 days. On the other hand, the Romans had four months of 31 days, seven months of 29 days, and one month of 28 days, making a total duration of 355 days (approximately equal to twelve lunar months) for the year. When an intercalation was necessary, the Romans inserted 22 or 23 days only, so that the calendar months ceased to correspond with the lunar months. A further feature, peculiar to the Roman calendar, is the longer average duration of the six months from March to August than of the six months from September to February. This is merely an exaggeration of a natural phenomenon, the mean interval between conjunction and phasis being at its minimum at the vernal equinox in March and at its maximum at the autumnal equinox in September, so that the lunar months from March to August are on an average about eight hours longer than those from September to February.

3. The solar year and intercalation.—The oldest approximation to the length of the solar year, of which we have any knowledge, is the Egyptian calendar year of 365 days. It would appear, however, that the Egyptians were early acquainted with a more exact value. Of all the annual astronomical phenomena those most easily observed without instruments of measurement are the heliacal risings of the fixed stars. A star which rises in the daytime or shortly before sunrise is invisible, or visible only in the evening; at the end of this period of invisibility comes a day when the star can just be seen before it is lost in the morning twilight. This is called the heliacal rising of the star. The Egyptians specially observed the heliacal rising of Sirius, the brightest of the fixed stars, and reckoned the mean interval between one heliacal rising and the next at 365 days, 6 hours. Modern calculations have been unable to improve upon this value. We have several references to the date of the heliacal rising of Sirius, the oldest belonging to the reign of Senwosri III., about 1880 B.C. But, in spite of their knowledge of this more exact value for the year, the Egyptians continued to use the year of 365 days till after the introduction of the Julian calendar at Rome (see CALENDAR [Egyptian]). Where a lunar calendar was in use, the observation of annual astronomical phenomena was valuable for the regulation of intercalations, and must from an early date have been considered in addition to the state of the crops. Thus at Babylon the heliacal risings of different zodiacal stars and asterisms were observed, and some rules have come down to us for controlling intercalations in this way. But for the regulation of intercalations it was of more importance to determine the relative lengths of the natural year and natural month than the actual length of either. It would appear that as early as the 6th cent. B.C. a cycle of three intercalations in eight years was introduced both at Athens and at Babylon. Such a cycle assumed that the mean year contained $12\frac{3}{8}$ or 12·375 mean months. The most exact value that modern astronomy can give with certainty is 12·368267 for the number of mean lunar months in the tropical year, on which the seasons depend, and 12·368746 for the number of mean lunar months in the sidereal year, on which the heliacal risings of the fixed stars depend. These values are accurate for the present day; but, while it remains uncertain whether the earth's motion is subject to an acceleration, it is impossible to give the corresponding values in ancient times to more than four decimal places. We thus get 12·3683 for the number of lunar months in the tropical year, and 12·3687 for the number of lunar months in the sidereal year. A value almost identical with these was first proposed in 432 B.C. by the Greek astronomer Meton, who framed a cycle of seven intercalations in nineteen years, reckoning $\frac{235}{19}$ or 12·368421 mean months to the mean year. It is not certain whether the Metonic cycle was ever adopted at Athens (see CALENDAR [Greek]). The same cycle was brought into use in Babylonia in the 4th cent. B.C. at the latest, and has been generally adopted wherever intercalations have been regulated by cycles at all.

4. The calendar month.—Meton and his Greek successors aimed, however, not merely at establishing a cycle of intercalations, but at the establishment of a cycle which should regulate at once the length of the month and the number of months in the year, and which should thus render the calendar entirely independent of observation. For this purpose it was necessary to express the mean length of the month as a number of days represented by a fraction with 235 or a multiple of 235 as its denominator. Meton himself proposed $\frac{6940}{235} = 29^d\ 12^h\ 45^m\ 57{\cdot}45^s$. Callippus in 330 B.C. proposed $\frac{27759}{940} = 29^d\ 12^h\ 44^m\ 25{\cdot}53^s$. Finally, about 143 B.C., Hipparchus proposed $\frac{111035}{3760} = 29^d\ 12^h\ 44^m\ 2{\cdot}55^s$. The true length of the mean lunar month is $29^d\ 12^h\ 44^m\ 2{\cdot}81^s$ for the present day, or $29^d\ 12^h\ 44^m\ 3{\cdot}3^s$ for the time of Hipparchus, so that the cycles successively proposed mark a gradual approach to the true value. Elsewhere the length of the month was beginning to be obtained by calculation instead of by observation, but it was apparently among the Greeks only that these calculations were combined with those governing intercalation to form a cycle. The Elephantine papyri show that the Jews of that city were already, in the 5th cent. B.C., beginning their months not at the phasis of the moon, but at the sunset following the mean conjunction of the sun and moon, which they found by calculation; they adopted a value for the mean lunar month of not less than $29^d\ 12^h\ 43^m\ 44{\cdot}63^s$ and not more than $29^d\ 12^h\ 44^m\ 51{\cdot}15^s$ (*Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, lxix. 19). But, while they found the beginning of the month by calculation, they appear to have had irregular intercalations, governed perhaps by the state of the crops. In the 2nd cent. B.C. both Hipparchus and his Babylonian contemporaries adopted $29^d\ 12^h\ 44^m\ 3{\cdot}3^s$ as the true length of the mean lunar month—a value as exact as any that modern astronomy can assign. The Babylonian astronomers even went the length of computing the time of the true conjunction of the sun and moon, having regard to the anomalistic motion of both luminaries, and then performed the still more complex problem of computing the time of phasis, which determined the beginning of the calendar month.

5. The Julian calendar.—In the 1st cent. B.C. there was a reaction throughout the Roman Empire against the lunar calendar. In 46 B.C., Julius Cæsar, with the aid of the Alexandrian astronomer Sosigenes, constructed the famous Julian calendar, in which the motion of the moon was entirely ignored, and the mean year was taken at the value current in Egypt, 365 days, 6 hours. Each month was given a fixed number of days, with the single exception of February, which received 28 days in ordinary years, and 29 in every fourth year. The example set by Rome was rapidly followed, and different cities and communities in the Roman Empire either adopted the Julian calendar, or

framed calendars of their own based on the same principle. Sometimes the old calendar and the new lived on together, but lunar dates are rare in documents subsequent to the Christian era. The lunar calendar survived among the Jews, who, when they substituted calendar rules for observation in the 4th cent. A.D., adopted the Metonic cycle of intercalations and the Babylonian value for the mean lunar month.

6. The agricultural year.—Where the lunar calendar held good for religious, political, and commercial purposes, it was necessary for agricultural purposes to fix the seasons in some other way. The position of a particular month in the solar year might vary by a month within the space of a few years, and, where intercalation was irregular, might vary by considerably more. It was necessary therefore to have recourse to those phenomena which occupy a fixed place in the solar year, and from an early date Greek farmers recognized the season by observing the solstices and equinoxes, and the annual risings and settings of the fixed stars. They also noted what would be less easy to determine directly—in what sign of the zodiac the sun was stationed. No calendar, properly so called, was constructed out of these materials, but the interval between these different phenomena was early noted, and was connected with the change in the seasons and the state of the weather. Several of these intervals are given by Hesiod. When Meton published his calendar, he inserted the dates of the equinoxes and solstices and the heliacal rising of Sirius. Later astronomers compiled *parapegmata*, giving the exact intervals between those astronomical phenomena which recur annually, with the weather that ought to accompany each; and it was thus possible to obtain by dead reckoning from any single observation an accurate knowledge of the season of the year. These astronomical phenomena were inserted in Cæsar's calendar, often against the wrong date, and long continued in use to designate the season of the year, though their dates were doubtless taken in practice from the published calendar, and not from actual observation (*JPh*, No. 57, pp. 87–99).

7. The lunar calendar in the East.—It is believed that the modern Indian lunar calendar, first expounded in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* belonging to one of the early centuries of our era, is based on Babylonian astronomy, from which several of its lunar values appear to be derived. The months are reckoned in some places from the true conjunction, in some from the true opposition, of the sun and moon; both are elaborately computed with reference to the anomalistic motion of both sun and moon. An intercalation takes place when two conjunctions or two oppositions occur while the sun is in the same sign of the zodiac. Here we have for the first time scientific computation entirely supplanting cycles and observations for both the number of days in the month and the number of months in the year. It is interesting to observe that, in order to accommodate the calendar the better to the anomalistic motion of the sun, the anomalistic year, *i.e.* the mean interval between two successive solar perigees, is taken as the solar year, and its duration is fixed at $365^d\ 6^h\ 12{\cdot}6^m$, whereas the correct duration at the present day is $365^d\ 6^h\ 13{\cdot}9^m$, and the duration in ancient times, for which it is impossible to determine the fraction of a minute, must have been $365^d\ 6^h\ 14^m$. It is interesting to observe that the Babylonians of the 2nd cent. B.C. reckoned $365^d\ 6^h\ 13{\cdot}8^m$, so that Indian astronomy is in this instance a little inferior to Babylonian (Kugler, *Die bab. Mondrechnung*, 1900, p. 95; Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathemat. und techn. Chronol.* i. [1906] 310–402). The Chinese calendar resembles the Indian lunar calendar in its general principles, both as regards the rule governing intercalation and the reckoning of the calendar month from the true conjunction as obtained by a strict astronomical computation; but the constants used are not Babylonian, and appear to have been derived from native astronomy, until this was superseded by Western science in the 17th century.

8. The week.—The Babylonians appear to have observed a Sabbath on every seventh day of the lunar month, and it is probable that this usage was originally connected with the four quarters of the moon. Among the Jews the seven days' week was reckoned independently of the moon, and we already find traces in the 1st cent. B.C. of its connexion at Rome with the sun, moon, and five planets, which have given their names to the seven days. In the modern Jewish calendar the length of the month is so arranged with regard to the days of the week as to prevent certain of the great festivals from falling on the day next to a Sabbath.

9. The lunar month and the week in the Christian calendar.—The connexion of the Christian festival of Easter with the Jewish Passover, and of the Christian Sunday with the Jewish week, has given rise to movable feasts in the Christian calendar. These feasts fall on a fixed day of the week, which is generally at a fixed interval from Easter, which falls on a Sunday on or near the date of Passover. From a very early period the Christians reckoned the date of the Passover and the consequent date of Easter for themselves. For this purpose we find an inaccurate 84 years' cycle used at Rome. Gradually the cycle of 19 years supplanted all others, and, in the form in which it was accommodated to the Julian calendar, the effect on the assumed date of Passover was the same as if the Callippic cycle had been adopted. It therefore assigned on an average 22^s too much to the lunar month. The result was that by the 16th cent. the calculated new moons fell on an average four days later than the true new moons. In the form which eventually won its way to acceptance the rule was that Easter fell on the first Sunday after that 14th day of a lunar month which fell on or next after March 21, where March 21 was supposed to represent the date of the vernal equinox, and it was widely, but erroneously, supposed that this rule was established by the Council of Nicæa in A.D. 325.

10. The Gregorian calendar.—The Julian year had been based on the mean interval between two consecutive heliacal risings of Sirius in Lower Egypt. This was a species of sidereal year. Already in the 2nd cent. B.C. Hipparchus had discovered a difference between the sidereal year, which governs the sun's position in relation to the fixed stars, and the tropical year, which governs the time of the equinoxes and solstices; but this discovery received little attention till the time of Ptolemy in the 2nd cent. A.D. The result was that the dates of the equinoxes and solstices moved slowly backward in the calendar year, until the date of the vernal equinox came to be March 11 instead of March 21. In consequence a new calendar was issued in the year 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII., assisted by the mathematician Clavius. Ten days were omitted at once so as to restore the vernal equinox to the date which it had occupied at the time of the Council of Nicæa; and the mean length of the calendar year was fixed at $365^d\ 5^h\ 49{\cdot}2^m$. The true length of the mean tropical year is at the present time $365^d\ 5^h\ 48{\cdot}8^m$, and must in 1582 have been $365^d\ 5^h\ 49^m$, the fraction of a minute being uncertain. It would appear, therefore, that the Gregorian calendar

adequately represents the tropical year. At the same time, provision was made for a correction of the lunar dates, by means of which Easter is calculated. The new calendar assumed for the lunar month a mean duration of 29d 12h 44m 2·71s —a duration which will be correct about 400 years after the present date. The reformed calendar was immediately adopted in nearly all Catholic countries, but only slowly among Protestant States, and has not yet been accepted by the Greek Church. It has the merit of checking the slow movement of the seasons backwards, which characterizes the Julian calendar; but it is a cumbrous system for calculations spread over long periods, and astronomers generally prefer to use the Julian and not the Gregorian year as the unit of time.

II. The Muhammadan lunar year. — The Muhammadan religion has given currency to an Arabian lunar calendar, in which the calendar year is a purely artificial period of twelve lunar months which is not correlated with the solar year, and which may begin at any season of that year. The beginnings of the months have usually been determined empirically; but calendar rules have been devised for astronomical purposes, and the empirical dates are rapidly giving way, except for religious purposes.

LITERATURE.—Ideler, *Handbuch der mathemat. und techn. Chronol.*, Berlin, 1825, 1826; Lersch, *Einleit. in die Chronol.*2, Freiburg i. Br. 1899; Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathemat. und techn. Chronol.*, i., Leipzig, 1906; Schram, *Kalendariograph. und chronolog. Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908.

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CALENDAR (African).—Data regarding the African calendar are scanty, and concerning many tribes are thus far entirely lacking; but in general it may be affirmed that the degree of development was only meagre. A typical African calendar seems to be presented by that of the Warumbi, a people centred between lat. 0°–1° N., long. 27°–28° E. According to Maes (*Anthropos*, iv. 627),

'ils comptent les mois par lunes, distinguent les saisons et divisent l'année d'après elles. L'année des Warumbi va d'une saison sèche à l'autre. Celle-ci commence en décembre et finit vers la fin de janvier. L'année comporte approximativement 13 lunes, mais les Warumbi n'en comptent point le nombre. Ils ne savent d'ailleurs point déterminer exactement le nombre de jours d'une année. Quelquefois ils comptent par lunes, vous diront qu'il y a quatre ou cinq lunes, que telle ou telle chose est arrivée, mais n'en tiennent point compte pour déterminer leur âge, dont ils n'ont que peu ou point de notion. Chez eux l'on est jeune ou vieux, mais on ne compte jamais le nombre d'années de la vie.'

Perhaps the acme of African calendrical development is shown by the Yoruba, who have a year (*odun*) which is divided into a dry season (*ewo-erun*), the season of the Harmattan wind (*ewo-oye*), and the rainy season (*ewo-ojo*), the latter subdivided into the first rains (*aro-ko*) and the last rains (*aro-kuro*). They have a system of moons and weeks. The week consists of 5 days:[1] *Ako-ojo* ('First Day'), *Ojo-awo* ('Day of the Secret' [sacred to Ifa]), *Ojo-Ogun* ('Day of Ogun' [the god of iron]), *Ojo-Shango* ('Day of Shango' [the god of thunder]), and *Ojo-Obatala* ('Day of Obatala'). The first of these days is unlucky, and during it all work is forbidden; while, in addition, all followers of a particular god must abstain from labour on the day sacred to that god; blacksmiths, for example, are not allowed to ply their craft on *Ojo-Ogun*. Six of these weeks are supposed to make a lunar month, about 12 hours being subtracted from the last week in the moon to make it synchronize with the lunar month. The Yoruba are unacquainted with the hour, but divide the day (*osan*) into 5 periods, and the night (*oru*) into 3 'cock-crowings.' The week of five days is also in use among the Akposa of W. Africa; these are named *Eɣla*, *Ewa*, *Imle*, *Ekpe*, and *Ewle* or *Uwolowo*-day, the last being sacred to that divinity. No work may be performed on the second day, when worship is paid to deities other than Uwolowo (Müller, *Anthropos*, ii. 201). The Ahanta, of the W. Gold Coast, on the other hand, divide the lunar month into two periods of 10 days and one of about 9½, while a week of 8 days is recorded in Old Calabar (Daniell, *L'Institut*, ii. 90).

The Tshi-speaking peoples of W. Africa divide their year, which consists of 13 lunar months (*infi*), into the 'little Hohbor' (*Ahohbor kakrabah*, May–August) and the 'great Hohbor' (*Ahohbor kassi*, September–April), although some of the northern members of this stock have 12 months of 30 or 32 days, named from the seasons, etc. The lunar months are divided into 4 periods of 7 days each: *Adjivo-da* ('Khwadjo's Day'), *Ibna-da* or *Bna-da* ('Kobina's Day'), *Wuku-da* ('Kwaku's Day'), *Yaw-da* ('Yow's [or Kwow's] Day'), *Iffi-da* ('Kwoffi's Day'), *Memin-da* ('Kwamin's Day'), and *Kwasi-da* ('Kwasi's Day'), these names apparently being those of distinguished chiefs apotheosized after death. Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday are considered feminine and lucky; Tuesday is a day of rest for fishermen, Friday for agriculturists, etc. The Tshi weeks begin at different times of the day, and both the Tshi and the Gã add to each seven-day week, to make the period of 4 weeks agree with the lunar month. Besides this system, the Tshi also reckon by periods of 40 or 42 days, the end of each of these periods being the great Adae feast, which is followed, after 18 or 20 days, by the little Adae, these Adaes, like the weeks, beginning at different periods of the day.

Even where the system of lunar months has been developed, the older method may still persist, an admirable example of this being found among the Basuto of S.E. Africa.

'More or less they keep or purely reckon their time by the seasons of the year (their changes), by animals (their birth time), by plants (their annuality or growth), by the stars, such as the Pleiades (their position, time of rising and setting), but more especially by the moon itself. A full month consists of that space of time from the beginning of the evening when the new moon is to be seen in the west . . . to the last day of its appearance in the heavens; and, moreover, includes two more days when the moon cannot be seen at all in the heavens. . . . The first of these two days is called or said by them that the moon *e ile mefela*, lit. 'is gone into the darks'; and the second, *e tlakoa ke litsoene*, lit. 'is being greeted by the apes.'[1] . . . After these days the new moon will be plainly visible to everybody, and therefore on this account they begin on this day to count a new month. Little regard is paid as to counting the number of days in any month, since the bulky moon itself fills up the deficiency' (Sechefo, *Anthropos*, iv. 931 f.).

The twelve lunar months of the Basuto year (*selemo*, also meaning 'spring,' 'plough-time') begin in August, and bear the following names: *Phato*, *Loetse* ('Anointer,' because, in the quaint words of Sechefo, himself a native Basuto, 'the hardy month of Phato [August] has truly been syringed, anointed, and sweetened by the present Loetse [anointer] anointing the land as it were by the sweet oil of delicacy and smiling verdure'), *Mphalane* (apparently from *Liphalana*, 'glitters,' because 'the fields are sparkling and glittering as if it were oceans of water gently moved by the soft breezes, and thus dancing under the brilliant sun'; this was formerly the month for the rite of female circumcision), *Pulungoana* ('young gnu,' these animals being born at this time of the year), *Tsitoe* ('grasshopper,' being the time of the hatching of such insects), *Pherekhong* ('inter-joining of sticks' [for building the huts of the watchers who keep the birds from destroying the crops]), *Tlhakola* ('wiping off' [of the green but impregnated husks of

[1] Cf. the five-day *pasar* week of Java and Sumatra (below, p. 131b). With this may be compared the Bab. *hamuštu*, a period of 5 days (based on the sexagesimal system) used in commercial transactions (Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathemat. und techn. Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1906, i. 94, 119); for further details regarding the Bab. five-day week, see below, p. 76a.

[1] Because the apes, seated on the mountain-peaks, can see the new moon before it becomes visible to men dwelling lower down.

the *mabele* crop]), *Tlhakubele* or *Hlakubele* ('the *mabele* in grain'), '*Mesa* ('fire-kindling' [by the bird-scarers in the chill early morning] or 'roasting' [of mealies, which are plentiful in this month]), *Motseanong* ('laughter at birds' [the *mabele* now being ripe and able to mock the attacks of the birds, thus relieving the bird-scarers of their tasks]), *Phupjoane* ('beginning of swelling' [of the *senyarela-balemi*, a sort of bulb]), and *Phupu* ('bulging out' [of plants]).

It need scarcely be said that in parts of Africa, Muhammadanism has influenced the calendar, as is clearly seen, for instance, in the divisions of the day among the inhabitants of Bornu (Koelle, *African Native Literature*, London, 1854, p. 284).

The recurrence of sacred days among the Yoruba and Tshi has already been noted. In like fashion, Tuesday and Sunday, and especially Friday, are unlucky in Senegal; among the Mandingan Bambarra of the Sudan lucky days were the first of the month, even days not containing 6, and odd days containing 5; in Akkra, on the Gold Coast, a distinction was even drawn between lucky days of a greater or less degree of good fortune; and in Ashanti only about 150 days were recognized as sufficiently lucky for the commencement of important undertakings. Besides these days, there were festivals at greater intervals, such as the feast celebrating the planting of the yam in Dahomey, Ashanti, Fernando Po, etc., and that held at the harvest of the same fruit on the Gold Coast.

LITERATURE.—Waitz, *Anthropol. der Naturvolker*, Leipzig, 1860–77, ii. 201 f., 224; Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, London, 1882, pp. 215–221, and *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, London, 1894, pp. 142–151; Sechefo, 'The Twelve Lunar Months among the Basuto,' in *Anthropos*, iv. 931–941, v. 71–81. The special thanks of the writer are due to Father Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D., editor of *Anthropos*, for his courtesy in sending him advance sheets of the second part of Sechefo's study expressly for the completion of the present article.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

CALENDAR (American).—**I. Calendar systems of the North American Indians.**—The North American Indians may, broadly speaking, be classed among those peoples who stand midway between the hunter state and the agricultural condition of existence. Some of the tribes among them possess calendar systems rich in varied festivals and celebrations, all more or less of an agricultural character; whilst others scarcely appear to notice the passage of time and the seasons, and possess almost no distinguishing feasts or other social observances. But all, even those living upon a more or less fixed agricultural basis, are at one in the simplicity of their methods of computing time, varying only in the more or less elaborate manner in which they celebrate its principal seasonal stages. Day and night, the changes of the moon and the seasons, the growth of vegetation and annual plants, and the habits of animals and birds, form the data upon which their systems are based. By some of the tribes four daily divisions were recognized—sunrise, noon, sunset, and midnight; whilst the diurnal round was usually designated a 'night' or 'sleep.' The manner of reckoning the years depended upon the locality in which the tribe was situated. Thus, in the more northerly latitudes they were known as 'snows,' and in the south as 'summers.' The four seasons were very generally recognized, and were named according to the natural phenomena incidental to their recurrence in various latitudes.

The lunation is by far the most important of the time divisions known to the Northern Amerinds. Before the coming of the white man there was, it is supposed, but little attempt at the construction of anything like a lunar year, and, where this attempt was made, the number of lunations embraced by a 'year' was generally 12. Some of the tribes, however, reckoned 13 moons to a year; and in one calendar—that of the Kiowa, which possesses 12 moons—half a moon is intercalated in one of the unequal four seasons, and the other half in the following season, the year commencing with the second half of a moon. Among the Zuñi of New Mexico the year is known as a 'passage of time,' and the seasons as 'the steps of the year.' The new year is called 'mid-journey of the sun,' to designate the middle of the solar round between the summer solstices. With the Zuñi, half of the months are 'nameless,' and the other six months 'named'; that is, the first six months have definite names, and the last six of the year have ritualistic names (such as Yellow, Blue, Red, White, Variegated, and Black), derived from the colours of the prayer-sticks offered up at the height of each 'crescent,' or moon, to the gods of the north, west, south, east, zenith, and nadir, who are severally represented by these colours.

Compensation for the surplus days in the solar year appears to have occurred to the Sioux or Ojibwas. Captain Jonathan Carver, in his *Three Years' Travels through the Interior Parts of North America* (1796), says:

'Some nations among them reckon their years by moons, and make them consist of twelve synodical or lunar months, observing, when thirty moons have waned, to add a supernumerary one, which they term the lost moon; and then begin to count as before' (p. 161).

He proceeds to relate that the first appearance of each moon was hailed by the Indians with joy. They gave a name to each month as follows, the year beginning at the first new moon after the vernal equinox:

March, Worm Month; *April*, Month of Plants; *May*, Month of Flowers; *June*, Hot Moon; *July*, Buck Moon; *August*, Sturgeon Moon; *September*, Corn Moon; *October*, Travelling Moon; *November*, Beaver Moon; *December*, Hunting Moon; *January*, Cold Moon; *February*, Snow Moon.

They called the last days of each moon the 'naked days,' and its first appearance its 'coming to life again.' They had no division of weeks, but counted days by 'sleeps,' half days by pointing to the sun at noon, and quarters by the rising and setting of the sun, for all of which they possessed hieroglyphic signs. The Haidah intercalated what they called a 'between-month,' because it was between the two periods into which they divided the year; and it is possible that this was sometimes omitted in order to rectify the calendar. The Creeks counted 12½ moons to the year, adding a moon at the end of every second year, reckoned half in the preceding and half in the following year, much as did the Kiowa. Many tribes kept records of events by means of symbolic figures or hieroglyphs. One of the most remarkable of these is the Dakota 'Lone-dog winter count,' painted on a buffalo skin, and depicting the events embraced between the years 1800 and 1871. The calendar history of the Kiowa is a similar record of tribal affairs. The Sioux tribes of the East measure time by leather thongs knotted in various ways—a device which was adopted by the Governor of South Carolina in his dealings with them (Mooney). They divide the year into five seasons, but do not possess so minute and peculiar a division of it as the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia, who resolve the year into two parts, separated by the winter and summer solstices, which they regard as periods of indefinite length, and between which five months are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six weeks (Boas).

The tribes of California, though related ethnologically in a more or less intimate manner, differ considerably from one another in their calendar system. The Hupa keep no account of time, as they consider it superfluous to do so, and guess at

one's age by examining the teeth. The Maidu believe that Kodoyampeh, the Creator, established the seasons, which they divide into *Kum-men-ni*, the rain season; *Yo-ho-men-ni*, the leaf season; *I-hi-lak-ki*, the dry season; and *Mat-men-ni*, the falling-leaf season. The Pima of Southern Arizona have long been accustomed to record events by means of notched sticks.

'Four sticks,' says Russell, 'were "told" to me by the men in whose charge they were. To any other person they would have been absolutely meaningless' ('Pima Annals' in *American Anthropologist*, vol. v.).

The years are marked on these sticks by transverse notches; the events by smaller notches or rude symbols. The oldest of these annals date from the time of the meteoric shower of 13th Nov. 1833, but older sticks were remembered by aged members of the tribe.

The Algonquin Indians of Virginia reckoned years by 'winters,' or *cohonks*—a name taken by them from the note of the wild geese during that season. They divided the year into the budding or blossoming season (spring), highest sun season (summer), corn-gathering season (autumn), and *cohonk* (winter). The months they designated as the moon of stags, corn moon, first and second moon of *cohonk*, etc. They made no distinction between one hour and another; but they divided the day into three parts—the rise, power, and lowering of the sun. They kept a calendar by making knots in string, not unlike the *quipo* records of the Peruvians.

The modern Creeks commence the New Year immediately after the celebration of the *Busk*,[1] or ripening of the new corn, in August (see below). They divide the year into two seasons only, viz. winter and summer; and subdivide it by the successive moons, as follows:

Heyóthlúccoor (Big ripening moon), August; *Otauwoóskóchee* (Little chestnut moon), September; *Otauwoóskólúcco* (Big chestnut moon), October; *Hecwóolée* (Falling-leaf moon), November; *Thláffólúcco* (Big winter moon), December; *Thláffóchósee* (Little winter moon, or Big winter moon's young brother), January; *Hootáhláhássee* (Windy moon), February; *Taúsaútchoosee* (Little spring moon), March; *Taúsautchéelúcco* (Big spring moon), April; *Keéhássee* (Mulberry moon), May; *Kóchóhassee* (Blackberry moon), June; *Hóyeúchee* (Little ripening moon), July.

They count the number of days or years, either past or to come, by tens, and can rarely compute more nearly than within a moon the date upon which a given event took place.

The Comanches, says Schoolcraft (*Hist. of Indian Tribes*, ii. 129), possess

'no computation of time beyond the seasons, which they count by the rising height of the grass, falling of the leaves, and the cold and hot seasons. They seldom count by new moons. With them one sun is one day.'

The Dakotas, says the same authority (ii. 177), 'count time by seasons, and 28 days to the moon.' The names of the moons are:

January, Hard moon; *February*, Moon in which racoons run; *March*, Moon of sore eyes; *April*, Moon when the geese lay; *May*, Moon for planting; *June*, Moon for strawberries and hoeing corn; *July*, Midsummer; *August*, Moon in which corn is gathered; *September*, Wild rice moon; *October* and *November*, Running of the doe; *December*, Moon when the does shed their horns.

The Mandans and Minnetarees, Dakotan tribes, are generally aware that there are more than 12 lunations in a year, but have no formal names for the lunar periods. The Hidatsa, a people of the same nation, speak of the seasons of 'cold weather' or of 'snow,' of 'warm weather,' and of 'death' or 'decay'; but they do not regularly allot a certain number of moons to each of these seasons.

2. Festivals connected with the calendar of the N. American Indians.—To a tribe subsisting upon an agricultural basis the prime object of keeping a calendar is the proper recognition and timely remembrance of seasonal festivals. In latitudes where the seasons are by no means exact in their recurrence, the lack of a stated calendar would quite disorganize all these celebrations; and, even with its aid, some confusion prevails in certain tribes as to the exact dates upon which certain ceremonies should be held. Many of these functions are of a highly elaborate nature, and occupy many days in their observance, the most minute attention being paid to the proper performance of the various rites connected with them. They consist, for the most part, of a preliminary fast, followed by symbolic dances or magical ceremonies, and concluding with a gluttonous orgy. A wide similarity prevails among these ordinances in North America, and, broadly speaking, it may be laid down that visible differences may be accounted for by circumstances of environment or variations in seasonal changes.

Of the Indians of Virginia (Algonquins), who were the first to come under the notice of Europeans, it was observed that they held regularly recurring festivals to celebrate the ripening of fruits and grain, and more irregular feasts to mark the return of wild fowl and the hunting season in general. These were obviously the celebrations of a people subsisting on a basis midway between the hunting and the agricultural states. That they were being slowly impelled towards the latter phase, however, is evident from the fact that their most important annual festival marked the period of harvest, the celebration of which lasted several days. Dances were engaged in, and heroic songs recited; and the entire observance appears to have been identical, in its general aspects, with the Indian festivals of the present day. The Creeks, as noted above, commence their New Year at a similar period, after the celebration of the *Busk*. The Cherokees recognize the same feast, at which time they burn all rubbish, and cleanse their habitations. A fast is then held for three days, during which time purgatives are taken. All crimes except murder are pardoned, so that the community as a whole may commence the new period free of sin. On the fourth morning the high priest produces a new fire by friction, and the members of the tribe are supplied from it. Feasting and dancing are then indulged in for three days, after which the people return to their usual avocations. This festival of the *Busk*, however, appears to have had other significance besides that of a mere seasonal offering of first-fruits. All the dances, invocations, and rites were shaped and ruled by the application of the number four and its multiples in every imaginable relation. Besides being a seasonal celebration, it possessed the significance of a sacrifice to the four winds—the rain-bringers. Four logs were placed in the shape of a cross pointing to the four cardinal points, and then consumed by fire, thus symbolizing the four winds to which they were a burnt-offering. The four winds originally typified the four ancestors of the human race.

Adhering to our classification of tribes according to the chronological sequence by which they became known to Europeans, we find that the Mandans (Dakotas) celebrated each year, as their principal festival, the 'Buffalo Dance'—a feast which marked the return of the buffalo-hunting season. The actions of buffaloes were imitated by eight men wearing the skins of these animals on their backs, with horns, hoofs, and tails remaining. Their bodies were painted black, red, or white; and a lock of buffalo hair was tied round their ankles. In their right hand they held a rattle, and in the left a slender rod, 6 ft. long, while on the back a bunch of green willow boughs was worn. The ceremony took place at the season of the year when the willow leaves fully expand under the bank of the river. Pairing off,

[1] Derived from Creek *puskita* = 'fasting.

the dancers took up their positions on four different sides of a large canoe, to represent the four cardinal points of the compass. Two figures were painted black, to represent night; and two red, to represent day. Two men, dressed as grizzly bears, stood beside the canoe, continually threatening to devour any one who interfered with the ceremony: and these had to be appeased with food, which, in turn, was snatched away from them, and carried off to the prairie by two other men. These were chased by a swarm of urchins, who relieved the men of their spoil. During the ceremony the old men beat upon sacks, chanting supplications for buffaloes and other provender. On the fourth day a man entered in the guise of an evil spirit, who was driven from the vicinity with stones and curses.

Although, on the surface, this festival would appear to be wholly a seasonal celebration, the introduction of the four cardinal points, which are therein symbolized, renders it more complex in its aspect. Essentially a hunter, the red man has ever these points present to his mind, and indeed they are to him, as to Empedocles, 'the source of ever-flowing nature.' Catlin, who recounts the circumstances of the festival, did not detect its origin in the veneration of the cardinal points, but numerous cognate myths since collected prove it to have had this conception as its foundation. The Buffalo Dance was probably a purely seasonal feast, which became confounded with the older idea of worshipping the four points of the universe.

The festivals of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia have been fully investigated by Teit. They appear to be almost wholly social in their nature, and to possess but little true seasonal significance. In the winter-house feasts of these people a messenger is sent ahead by the visitors to announce their coming, so that the function takes somewhat the shape of a 'surprise party.' He further lets down food through a hole in the hut. Another custom of this tribe is to let down a kettle bedecked with feathers, and a lighted slow match, into the hut of the person to be visited, and to swing it violently, to the accompaniment of a rhythmic song. Those who have inserted it keep withdrawing it, while those inside attempt to catch and detain it when captured. Bundles of clothing and food are thrown down to the inmates of the hut as presents, and later on they return the visit. The semi-public feasts of the Thompson River Indians are known as 'potlatches,' and the staple food at these entertainments is usually horse-flesh. When this tribe gathers at the spring-house (*nskaptsé'lx*) for the annual fishing, a great dance-feast takes place. The people assemble in full festival paint, and commence dancing at sunrise, the married and unmarried men and women forming four separate groups. One chief stands at the west, and another at the east. These help to keep time for the dancers, and lead the singing, at intervals praying and prophesying. The unmarried people choose their husbands and wives during the first dance of the morning, and this part of the ceremony would seem symbolic of the spring mating season. At sunset the people again dance four times, and then disperse to their homes. After sunset a ceremonial smoke is held by the older men, when four pipes are smoked to the four cardinal points, or their spiritual prototypes. About fifty or sixty years ago the chief of the ceremonies began to hold these dances once a week, on Saturdays, and kept the days by cutting notches in sticks.

The Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia have a winter dance, connected with the refunding of the purchase-money for a wife. It is most elaborate, but consists chiefly in rigorous cleanliness, and dancing in character, and closes with a veritable orgy.

One of the most highly developed and elaborate festival-systems of the Amerinds is that of the Hopi or Moki of Arizona, which has been exhaustively studied by several prominent anthropologists. It is typical of the snake-dances of all the Pueblo Indians, and is almost theatric in its performances. The *Soyaluna* is a winter-solstice ceremony, held in December, and lasting about 9 days. It is purely an initiatory ceremony, in which the young men of the tribe are put through tests akin to those generally supposed to form part of the Masonic system. On passing the tests, the candidate is admitted to one or other of the secret societies of the tribe. The *Powamu* ceremony (*powamu* = 'put in order') is celebrated under the direction of the chief priest of the Powamu fraternity. By this rite the fields and gardens are symbolically put in order, and protected against sand-storms, ants, and other destructive forces, and finally are consecrated for the coming planting season. From 8 to 12 men participate, belonging to the different totem clans—Badger, Crow, Rabbit, etc. The high priest is assisted by the chief of the Katcina clan, the head of a kindred society. The period of the *Powamu* ceremony is in February. The *Mishonguori* ceremony is held in August, in alternate years, and is performed by the Snake and Antelope fraternities. It is announced on the fourth day following the last day of the *Niman*, or farewell ceremony of the Katcina brotherhood's season. It is essentially a seasonal festivity, the principal object of which is to obtain a good rain-supply, and it lasts 24 days. It is divided into groups of four days each—two of four days each, before the *yungya*, or assembly day; then, two of four days each of the ceremony pure and simple; and, finally, four days following the public performance, which are exclusively devoted to merrymaking. The *Oráibi*, summer snake-ceremony, has been more fully analyzed than any of the others. It is preceded by a preliminary ceremony sixteen days before, and by a nine-day ceremony which commences eight days before the snake-dance. In the years when the snake-dance is not performed, a complicated 'flute ceremony' takes its place. There exist two factions who never take part in the same festivities, called by Voth the 'Conservatives' and 'Liberals,' who are hostile to one another. The exact time for the performance of the snake-dance is difficult to place, as much depends on the condition of the melon and other crops. If the drought is great, the crops suffer, and the ceremony is hastened, but the date is partly regulated by that of the last *Katcina* ceremony in July, the snake-dance usually taking place on the fourth day after the last dance of the *Katcina* ceremony. There is also a winter ceremony lasting nine days, which is celebrated in January. The same *kivas*, or dance-houses, are made use of as in the summer ceremony, and the same songs introduced. This is the *Katcina* festival, which usually takes place in years with even numbers, and lasts intermittently until the summer festival season. These snake-charming ceremonies have their origin in the universal reverence shown to the serpent tribe all over America—a reverence based on the idea that the snake underwent an annual rejuvenescence in the casting of its skin, or perhaps that the symbol of the serpent with its tail in its mouth represented the round, full sun of August, the season of the ceremony of the snake-dance. The latter hypothesis is the more probable, as in the *Katcina* winter ceremony snakes are never used.

The Pima tribe of the Southern branch of the Athapascan family mark their drinking festivals or '*Tiswin* drunks' on their notched stick calendars by the letter 'T.' These take place at the harvest season of the *saguaro* cactus, which marks the beginning of the year. It also coincides with the maize and mesquite harvest, and the torrid heat

of summer. These festivals partake more of the nature of debaucheries than of ritualistic ceremonies, and are purely seasonal celebrations.

'Illness feasts' are common with the Apache Indians. These are held for the purpose of banishing illness, and consist in the patient who suffers being fed by the medicine-man with choice food and *tiswin* drink, to the accompaniment of chanting. Should an epidemic be prevalent, however, a regular festival with dancing takes place, for the purpose of exorcizing those powers of evil who are regarded as answerable for the misfortune. The Apaches are not, however, overburdened with reverential ideas, or prone to self-humiliation, and have few religious festivals. Their principal celebrations are the 'Scalp Dance,' held after a successful combat, a ceremony for the purification of weapons, and burial-feasts attendant upon the sepulture of famous warriors.

The Iroquois have a 'Feast of the Dead' which occurs once in twelve years. The tribe proceed to the burying-place, and, after 'reviving' the names of those who have been dead for twelve years, exhume their bodies and cast them into a pit, along with clothing and provender, much in the spirit in which pre-historic man supplied his dead with things material.

The festivals of the tribes of California have been fully examined by Stephen Powers, who has skilfully analyzed the seasonal ceremonies of the Maidu, Konkan, Karok, Yuki, and other confederacies. The Maidu have four great festivals in the year: the *Hok-tom-we-dah* (open-air festival), in the spring; *I-lak-kum-we-dah* (dry season festival), about 1st July; *Ush-ti-naoh* (burning of the dead), about 1st September; and *Yak-kai-we-dah* (winter festival), about the end of December—all seasonal. Other important festivals of this tribe are the 'Manganita Dance,' held to celebrate the ripening of the manganita berry, and the 'Great Spirit Dance' in propitiation of demons. The Konkan, in the *Tsi-pi ka-mi-ni*, or 'Weeping Dance,' have a ceremony akin to the Iroquois 'Feast of the Dead' and the Maidu 'Burning of the Dead.' It is held in the last days of August, begins in the evening, and lasts till daybreak. The celebrants bring food and clothing to the place of sepulture, all of which articles must be new. These they hang on a semicircle of boughs. In the centre burns a large fire, close to the graves, round which a solemn dance is executed. The goods are then burned, and their 'astral' counterparts are supposed to reach those deceased persons for whom they were intended. This occasion marks the New Year's Day of the tribe. The Karok have a 'Dance of Propitiation' on 1st September, for the purpose of propitiating the spirits of earth and forest, when a fire is kindled—the first of the rainy season. Their 'Salmon Dance' is held at the opening of the salmon-fishing season, to ensure a good catch. The Yurok have a similar festival. The Wailakki celebrate a 'Clover Dance,' which is held when the burr clover is fit to eat; the Yuki have a 'Green Corn Dance' at a similar season; and the Tatu and Pomu have an 'Acorn Dance.' The last mentioned race possesses a curious festival, or rather ceremonial observance, known as the 'Grand Devil Dance.' It is held under the auspices of the fraternity of the 'Woman-Tamers' once in 7 years, and is looked forward to with terror by the women of the tribe. *Yu-ku-ku-la* (the devil) is supposed to visit the tribe in the guise of certain of its members. With these Satanic emissaries the men of the tribe engage in sham combat in defence of the women. This quaint custom is said to have had its rise in the intractability of the women of the Pomu, whom the men hoped to render more amiable by this means. The Nishinam celebrate a 'First Grass Dance' after the rainy season, and a 'Second Grass Dance' in the spring. Another vernal festival of theirs is the *We-da*, held in the early spring to guard against snake-bites. The *Ta-tu-lo-wis*, or 'Rattlesnake Dance,' of the Yokuts is held by the medicine-men of the tribe for the purpose of giving immunity to the Indians, for a year, from the dreaded snake-bite.

3. **Fasts of the N. American Indians.**—The practice of fasting is observed far and wide among the Indians, and, although frequently practised in connexion with public ceremonials, is perhaps more generally carried out in private. The first fast of life is usually the *puberty-fast*, when the youth or girl is sent to a deserted locality to remain alone for a period ranging from one day to a week, during which time he or she is supposed to be granted visions by means of which their career in life, or sometimes the nature of their totemic connexion with the supernatural, is to be made clear. The fast is usually accompanied by signs of self-abasement, such as torn garments or complete denudation, and earth-strewn head.

The most complete account of a puberty-fast is that of Catherine Wabose, or Ogeewyahnockwut Oquay, an Indian prophetess, whose experiences thereof were taken from her own lips by Mrs. Schoolcraft. When she was 12 or 13 years old, she left her mother's lodge, and built a small one for herself. After a fast of four days, she was visited by her mother, who gave her a little snow-water to drink. On the night of the sixth day, whilst still fasting, she was conscious of a supernatural voice, which invited her to walk along a shining path, which led forwards and upwards. There she first met *Kau-ge-gay-be-qua*, the 'Everlasting Standing Woman,' who told her her supernatural name. She next met *Monido-Wininees*, or the 'Little Man Spirit,' who told her that his name would be the name of her first son. She was next addressed by *O-Shau-wau-e-geeghick*, or the 'Bright Blue Sky,' who endowed her with the gift of life. She was then encircled by bright points of light, and by sharp painless instruments, but, mounting upon a fish-like animal, she swam through the air back to the lodge. On the sixth day her mother fed her with a little dried trout, and on that night she experienced a repetition of the vision. On the seventh day she was fed with a little pounded corn in snow-water. After the seventh day she beheld a large round object like a stone descend from the sky and enter the lodge. It conferred upon her the gift of prophecy, and by virtue of this she assumed the rank of a prophetess upon her return to the tribe.

Before embarking upon *a warlike expedition*, or prior to *a great hunt*, it is quite common for the warrior or hunter to fast, and medicine-men regarded the practice as one which conferred upon them special powers of illumination. *Initiation into secret or religious societies* is almost invariably preceded by more or less rigorous abstinence, and in some of the great festivals the chief participants were obliged to fast prior to the ceremony. The length of these varied with the tribe, but in general their duration was from one to four days, a day being counted as from midnight to sunset. Water as well as solid food is generally prohibited in an Indian fast. The native standpoint as regards fasting is succinctly put by a Cherokee medicine-man, who explains its necessity as 'a means to spiritualize the human nature, and quicken the spiritual vision by abstinence from earthly food.' It is not uncommon to regard it as a means by which the 'smell' of worldly things may be removed. Tribal fasts are often announced, to avert any disaster which the medicine-men believe threatens the community.

4. **South American calendars and seasonal festivals.**—(1) *Peru.*—The only species of chronology known in the Peru of the Incas was a lunar reckoning. The four cardinal points in the sun's course were ascertained by means of the *inti-huatana*, a device consisting of a high flattened rock surmounted by a small cone, the shadow of which, falling on certain notches on the stone below, marked the date of the great sun-festivals. The Peruvians, however, had no true calendar. At Cuzco, the capital, the solstices were measured

by pillars called *pachacta unanchac*, or indicators of time, which were erected in four groups on eminences—two in the direction of sunrise, and two in that of sunset—to mark the extreme points of the sun's rising and setting. The solstices were known to have arrived when the sun rose and set between the middle pair in each group. The nearest approximation to the year known to the Incan astronomers was the primitive one of 360 days, divided into 12 moons of 30 days each. These moons were not calendar months in the correct sense, but merely a succession of lunations, commencing with the winter solstice; and no method appears to have existed by which the reckoning might be co-ordinated with the succession of years. The names of the twelve moons, so far as can be ascertained from various sources, were as follows:

Huchuy Pucuy Quilla (Small-growing moon), approximately January; *Hatun Pucuy Quilla* (Great-growing moon), approximately February; *Paucar Pucuy Quilla* (Flower-growing moon), approximately March; *Ayrihua Quilla* (Twin-ears moon), approximately April; *Aymuray Quilla* (Harvest moon), approximately May; *Aucay Cusqui Quilla* (Breaking-soil moon), approximately June; *Chahua Huarqui Quilla* (Irrigation moon), approximately July; *Tarpuy Quilla* (Sowing moon), approximately August; *Ccoya Raymi Quilla* (Moon of the Moon-feast), approximately September; *Uma Raymi Quilla* (Moon of the Feast of the province of Uma), approximately October; *Ayamarca Raymi Quilla* (Moon of the Feast of the province of Ayamarca), approximately November; *Ccapac Raymi Quilla* (Moon of the Great Feast of the Sun), approximately December.

That the natural course of the moon was the standard of time with the Peruvians is inferred chiefly from the fact that the principal religious festivals began on the new moon following a solstice or equinox. The ceremonies in connexion with the greatest festival, the *Ccapac Raymi*, were made to approximate to the lunar phases, the various stages commencing with the 9th day, full moon, and 21st day, or last quarter. But there is good reason to believe that the ruling authorities often determined upon which moon a certain festival was to take place, and were by no means rigid in their acceptance of ecclesiastical chronology.

With the Peruvians each month had its approximate festival, or rather a festival was apportioned to each lunation. But the solstices and equinoxes were the occasions of established ceremonies. The arrival of the winter solstice, which in Peru occurs in June, was celebrated by the *Intip Raymi*, or great feast of the sun. The principal Peruvian festival was the *Ccapac Raymi*, the national feast of the great god Pachacamac, which took place at the summer solstice, when the New Year was supposed to begin. Molina, Fernandez, and Garcilasso, however, date the New Year from the winter solstice. The vernal equinox, which in Peru occurs in September, and coincides with the beginning of the rainy season, was the occasion of the third great feast of the Inca year, the *Ccapac Situa*, or *Ccoya Raymi* (moon-feast).

The general character of these festivals appears to have been mild, and indeed almost child-like. They usually consisted in the sacrifice of llamas from the sacred herds, libations of *maguey* or maize-spirit, and the performance of symbolic dances. One of the most picturesque was that of the *Citoc Raymi*, or gradually increasing sun, held in June, when nine days were given up to festival. For three days previous to the event a rigorous fast was observed, and no fire might be kindled in any house. On the fourth day the Inca, accompanied by the people *en masse*, proceeded to the great square of Cuzco to hail the rising sun, the advent of which they awaited in silence. On its appearance they greeted it with a joyous tumult, and, forming in procession, marched to the golden Temple of the Sun, where llamas were sacrificed, and a new fire was kindled by means of a concave mirror. Grain, flowers, animals, and aromatic gums were the usual sacrificial offerings on such occasions. This festival was broadly typical of all the seasonal celebrations of the Peruvians.

The calendar of Incan Peru was purely agricultural in its basis, and marked in its great festivals the renewal or abandonment of the labours of the field. It owed little to astronomical observation, and was not more advanced than the calendars of races otherwise much inferior in civilization.

(2) *Chili.*—The Araucans, the aboriginal inhabitants of Chili, observed the solstices by the shadows of rocks, reckoning time independently by a succession of 12 lunations having seasonal names.

(3) *Brazil.*—The Bakairi Caribs of Brazil possess a calendar which is almost unique in its nomenclature, illustrating, as it does, the transition from a merely seasonal reckoning to one in which the period of harvest is indicated. It is as follows:

Khopolateri = 'hardest rain' (about January); *Khopopogeto*, 'less rain' (February); *Khopohoketatile*, 'rain ceases' (March); *Khuraitile*, 'it (the weather) becomes good' (April); *Sugheho*, 'wood-cutting' (May and June); (July nameless): *Ihuitabe*, 'end-of-the-day-time' (August); *Khopoewile*, 'the-rain-is-coming' (September and October); (Nov. nameless); *Anaziutule*, 'the-maize-ripens' (December).

The Uapes of Brazil have a calendar to mark the recurrence of the *Dabucuri* festival, or initiation of the young men of the tribe. This occurs six times in the year as follows:

The *assaby* on 1st Jan.; the *ucuqui* on 2nd Feb.; the *miritz* on 3rd March; the *pataud* on 4th May; the *umari* on 5th July; and the *uiga* on 6th November.

These revels are of the most riotous description. The neophytes, painted black and red, are wedded to women of the tribe, to the accompaniment of mournful chants and dances. The myth of the god Jurupari is symbolized (see art. BRAZIL), and the proceedings end in a saturnalia.

(4) *Paraguay.*—The Abipones of Paraguay had a feast on the 'Recovery of the Pleiades.' When they disappeared, they were said to be 'sick,' and much rejoicing was evinced at their reappearance and supposed recovery. The principal festivals of this tribe were occasional, and signalized victories, burials, birth of caciques, shaving of widowers and widows, the changing of names, and councils of war. Upon news of a victory, a public crier was dispatched from house to house, who saluted the women with a kiss, and the men with a spear to which a bell was attached. The spear was returned to him when he left the dwelling after inviting the inmates to the festival. This office was usually filled by a medicine-man of advanced age. The house of celebration was decorated with the scalps of the slain enemies, hung on an erection made of reeds. The victors spent the time from sunset until morning in chanting their victories, and in drinking a species of liquor resembling mead.

(5) *Patagonia.*—The Tehuelches of Patagonia signalize the birth of a child by slaughtering a mare or cow, and removing the stomach, in which the newly-born infant is laid. The tribe then feast on the remainder of the animal. They appear to have no seasonal festivals. See, further, the 'Mexican and Mayan' article.

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CALENDAR (Armenian).—When they became a Christian nation, the Armenians felt the need of a regular calendar for their religious ceremonies, and hence there was developed among them the study of the science of time. So long as they were pagans, this people, like the Egyptians and Persians, had a year of exactly 365 days, while, according to our calendar, the year has 365¼ days. This is why we reckon 366 days every fourth year. In 1460 years there would be a difference of a year between these two computations, so that the Julian year 1460 corresponds to the year 1461 of the Armenian era.

To indicate the relation of events in time, the Armenian chronologists, in the course of ages, invented various eras. These we shall pass in succinct review, referring for fuller details to the special works dealing with them. There are the *great Armenian era*, in which the year is a vague quantity (this is the era usually employed), and the *lesser eras*, the year of which is a fixed quantity.

1. The great Armenian era.—(*a*) '*Vague' year.*—According to Dulaurier (*Recherches*, p. 6), it is probable that the 'vague' year, which is found very early among the Persians, came into Armenia with Zoroastrianism, which, according to Iranian traditions, took its rise in Atropatene; and this transmission was carried out under the successors of Tigranes I., when Armenia passed into the hands of the Achæmenians. The designation 'vague year' is derived from the fact that, in the Armenian year, the days change their positions; similarly, the festivals, in four years, change by a day.

(*b*) *Months.*—The year is divided into twelve months of thirty days, with five additional days (*aweleach*, pronounced *aveliats*) which are intercalated after the twelfth month. The names are given here according to the scheme of transliteration explained by the present writer in Bishop Sebêos' *Histoire d'Héraclius*, Paris, 1904, p. xv:

1. Nawasard.	7. Mehekan.
2. Hoṛi.	8. Areg.
3. Sahmi.	9. Ahekan.
4. Trê.	10. Mareri.
5. Khaloch (pron. Qaṛots).	11. Margach (pron. Margats).
6. Arach (pron. Arats).	12. Hrotich (pron. Hrotits).

Aweleach.

The meaning of the month-names is still very obscure, in spite of the explanations that have been suggested, *e.g.*, by Dulaurier and Hübschmann. First of all, it must be noted that these names are often in the genitive, because they are under the government of the phrase 'month of,' understood before them.

Nawasard means 'New Year' (Dulaurier, *op. cit.* p. 11; Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.*, Leipzig, 1897, i. 202). It is a word of Iranian origin; for meaning, cf. Persian *Nauruz*.

Hoṛi and *Sahmi* are of very uncertain derivation; it has been observed that these words meant 'two' and 'three' in Georgian; these would therefore be the second and third months of the year.

Trê.—Galust Ter Mkrttschian found in a manuscript the older form *Treay*, which explains the common form *Trê*. *Treay* is a genitive; it must, then, be connected with the name of the god *Tir* or *Tiwr*, whom we find mentioned by Agathangelos. Thus the fourth month of the ancient Armenian year is the month of the god Tir.

Khaloch would be the month of harvest (Dulaurier, p. 11 f.); it may also be the Armenian form of a different word, of foreign origin, introduced into the Armenian calendar.

Arach also looks like a genitive plural. All etymologies proposed for it down to the present day are unsatisfactory.

Mehekan.—A good explanation of this word is given by Hübschmann (*op. cit.* p. 194). It means the month sacred to the festival of Mihr or Mithra.

Areg looks like an Armenian word, meaning 'sun'; but it also may be a foreign Armenianized word.

Ahekan, according to Hübschmann (p. 95), corresponds to the Pahlavi word *Ādaragān*, 'das Monatsfest am Tage Ādar des Monats Ādar.' The form *Aheki* is also found, recalling the Armenian word *ahek* or *aheak*, which means 'left.'

Mareri, according to its form, may be either a nominative or a genitive singular. The etymologies proposed as yet do not seem satisfactory.

Margach is, in form, a genitive plural. It is an Armenian form of a Persian name, *Markezan* or *Markazan* (cf. Hübschmann, p. 506).

Hrotich is an Armenianized Persian word (cf. Hübschmann, p. 184 f.).

(*c*) *Days.*—These are practically the same in the ancient and the modern calendar:

Sunday = Miašabathi or Kiraki.
Monday = Erkoušabathi.
Tuesday = Erekhšabathi.
Wednesday = Chorekhšabathi.
Thursday = Hingšabathi.
Friday = Urbath.
Saturday = Šabath.

The ancient Armenians had no continuous era for counting indefinitely. They reckoned by the years of the kings, patriarchs, etc. But when they became Christians they had to fix the Easter feast; they therefore borrowed the computation of Easter from the Alexandrians, who were the best Christian mathematicians at that time. They had Andrew of Byzantium's Paschal canon of 200 years, which lasted down to the 6th century. Then they borrowed the quincentenary canon (532) of Æas of Alexandria.[1] It must be carefully borne in mind that, when we speak of the establishment of an era, we mean the establishment of a canon.

When was the Armenian era established? Historical data on the subject will be found discussed at length in Dulaurier's work (p. 52). This author has shown that the beginning of the Armenian era is 552—the year when the 1st of Nawasard fell on the 11th of July. Chronologists have often fixed their synchronisms by writing 551; but this is a mistake. In spite of the disagreement amongst historians, it appears to be proved that, in 552, Nerses, and not Moses, was catholicos (cf. Kalemkiar's app. ii. in his Armenian tr. [Vienna, 1897, p. 107 ff.] of Gelzer's 'Armenien' in *PRE*[3] ii. 63 ff.; and the anonymous list of catholicoi [ed. Mgr. Ormanian] in *Calendrier de l'hôpital arménien*, Constantinople, 1908, p. 172). It is clear to the present writer that Nerses did not establish the Armenian era; for we must not confuse the starting-point of an era with the date of its establishment. It was while Moses was catholicos that the Armenian era was established, entirely for a canonical, viz. a Paschal, purpose. The starting-point of this era was fixed at 552 because the 200 years' canon of Andrew of Byzantium was completed then, and for several years there had been great difficulty in fixing the Easter feast. But the era could not have been actually established in 552, for the quincentenary cycle was not yet known. The latter computation was made at Alexandria by Æas in 562; it was the cycle of 532 (19 × 28). The Armenians reckoned 562 the tenth year of their cycle, and 552 became the first year. They must have required some time to acquaint themselves with this system and to adopt it. The result was that, by the end of the 6th cent., they had established an era to fix the computation of Easter, this era being based on the quincentenary canon of Alexandria, and started with the year 552. The catholicos Nerses, therefore, had nothing to do with this question.

[1] See Dulaurier (p. 36) for a very accurate list of canons, and for full information on the establishment and adoption of the various canons.

There was still, however, a great difficulty to face, since the reckoning was by Armenian 'vague' years, whereas for a Paschal cycle a fixed year was a necessity. In the 7th cent., we are told, Anania of Shirak tried to remedy this defect, but his work has not yet been discovered. The catholicos Anastasius (661–667) had deputed Anania to study the fixed calendar, and for this purpose he convoked the bishops to a national council. Anastasius died, however, before the meeting, and the Armenian era remains 'vague' down to this day (Dulaurier, p. 183). Dulaurier (pp. 383–389) gives an excellent table, which may still be employed, showing when the 1st of Nawasard falls for each year of the Armenian 'vague' chronology.

2. Lesser Armenian eras.—It was the end of the 11th cent. before Armenia had a fixed calendar, and she owed it to John the Deacon. His work consisted in the substitution of the Julian for the old 'vague' system; he intercalated the bissextile day of the Roman calendar after the fifth additional day, in imitation of the Alexandrians, and counted five instead of six additional days every fourth year, besides making the fixed year begin on the 11th of August. The Feasts of the Saints were made stable, and Armenian Menology received a regular definite form. The correspondence between the Armenian and the Roman months became absolutely fixed. The 'little era' of John the Deacon had vogue especially in Upper Armenia, but it is never used in the chronicles, and obtained no acceptance with the generality of the nation (Dulaurier, pp. 111–115).

Whereas the 'vague' year is called the 'great era,' the lesser eras have fixed years. The beginning of the 'little era' of John the Deacon is 1084, *i.e.* just a quincentenary after the opening of the 'great' Armenian era. Here, again, care must be taken not to confuse the starting-point of this era with the date of its establishment. John the Deacon established his 'little era' ten years after its commencement. It began in 1084, because that was exactly the first year of the second quincentenary; then he added an intercalary day (*Awelikh*), and thus obtained complete correspondence with the Julian year. Every four years there came a leap-year. Now a fixed year was established; the feasts changed no longer. John the Deacon kept the names of the days and months as they were in the ancient system, and his era is met with quite frequently in documents of the Middle Ages.

One question still remains obscure: in 1084 the 1st of Nawasard fell on the 29th of February; John the Deacon took as the beginning of his year the 11th of August. This fact has not yet received a satisfactory explanation (cf. von Gutschmid, 'Das iranische Jahr,' in *Berichte über d. Verh. der sachs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.*, 1862, *passim*). In any case, John the Deacon established a purely ecclesiastical era, and brought it into agreement with the Julian era of the Martyrology.

After John the Deacon we have a third era, employed by the Armenians of Persia and the Indies—the 'little era' of Azaria, beginning with the year 1616 (1084+532). Like John the Deacon, Azaria employed the Julian year, with its intercalation every four years. He made a fixed year, but he added a day to the month of Nirhan, and so kept *Awelikh* unaltered. The year of Azaria began with the vernal equinox, *i.e.* 21st March, Julian = 2nd April, Gregorian. The names of the months in the calendar of Azaria are as follows:

	Julian.	Gregorian.
1. Šams . . .	21 March.	2 April.
2. Adam . . .	20 April.	2 May.
3. Šbath . . .	20 May.	1 June.
4. Naxay . . .	19 June.	1 July.
5. Lamar . . .	19 July.	31 July.
6. Nadar . . .	18 August.	30 August.
7. Thiray . . .	17 September.	29 September.
8. Damay . . .	17 October.	29 October.
9. Hamiray . . .	16 November.	28 November.
10. Aram . . .	16 December.	28 December.
11. Ovdan . . .	15 January.	27 January.
12. Nirhan . . .	14 February.	26 February.
Awelikh . . .	16 March.	28 March.

Dulaurier (p. 116) explains these names as follows:—*Šams*, 'the sun,' and *Lamar*, 'the moon,' are two Arabic words; *Thiray* is exactly the same as *Tir*, the 4th month in the Persian calendar; *Šbath* suggests the Hebrew שַׁבָּת (Dulaurier confuses this word with שְׁבָט, which was the 11th month, from the February new moon till the March new moon [Gesenius, *Heb. und aram. Handworterb.*[13], Leipzig, 1899]); *Hamiray* is the Arab. *Amir* or *Emir*; *Adam* is the name of the first man; *Aram*, that of the seventh descendant of Haik, the founder of the Armenian nation. The names of these months are, indeed, more or less comprehensible; but Dulaurier's explanations cannot be accepted. It must be remembered that the calendar of Azaria was employed by the Armenians of Persia and the Indies; the explanation of these names, then, must be sought in the direction of Persian and Hindustani.

From 1320 onwards (=760 of the Armenian era), the difference between the two eras was 550 years instead of 551. Nevertheless, to find the popular Christian year corresponding to a year of the Armenian era, it is necessary, as a rule, to continue adding 551. The reason for this is probably the fact that the fixed year of John the Deacon gained the ascendancy, so that the fixed year was used far oftener than the 'vague' year even by writers who employed the months of the latter [this theory will be developed by Galust Ter Mkrttschian in the preface to his edition of Agathangelos].

Although the 'vague' year of the Egyptians, Persians, and Armenians is the same (for the ancient Persians, cf. Tabari, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, tr. Nöldeke, Leyden, 1879, p. 436), there is a difference of five days between the Armenians and the Persians. The first day of the ancient Persian year fell on the 1st Awelikh of the Armenians, and not on 1st Nawasard. The Egyptian and Armenian computations, on the other hand, correspond exactly. An important question now arises. If, as is generally admitted on the evidence of the names of the months, the Armenians borrowed from the Persians, why did they not keep the same starting-point for their year? In the present writer's opinion, the Armenian computation was borrowed indirectly from the Egyptians, through the Aramæans of the South of Armenia; and then later, under Persian influence, the forms of the month-names changed. It was the Persians who, in borrowing from Egypt after its conquest by the Achæmenians, changed the method of computation for the beginning of the year. Von Gutschmid (*passim*) has tried to explain the cause and manner of this change; his explanation is ingenious but not convincing. Probably it was due to religious reasons.

The charts of the Rubenians, who ruled in Cilicia or Lesser Armenia, are dated by the Dionysian era of the Incarnation and by the Indiction, and occasionally, at the same time, by the Armenian era (Dulaurier, p. 122).

Galust Ter Mkrttschian, a monk of the monastery of Etchmiadzin, discovered a new Armenian era, the work of a certain Stephanos. In this era the months have the ancient names, and each has 30 days. It is probably a fixed era, and was used in Cilicia; the year began on 1st March (Julian). We have no further data. (This information is gathered from manuscript notes. It has not yet been published.)

There are other dates employed by the Armenians. On the walls of the cathedral of Ani and in certain manuscripts we find mentioned *thiw horomoch*, (pron. *horomots*), *i.e.* the 'Roman' or 'Byzantine era.' But it is not the well-known Byzantine era. This expression is explained by Brosset (*Collection des historiens armeniens*, St. Petersburg, 1874–76,

ii. 360), who makes this era begin in 248–249 (Julian)—the beginning of the second millennium from the foundation of Rome (751 + 249 = 1000).

There is another era called *thuakan Xosrovayin*, *i.e.* 'era of Khosrov,' but it has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

Mention should be made, finally, of a somewhat rare formula of the manuscripts, 'the era of the reign of the Lord,' in Armenia. This formula is found in an account of the Gospel of the Thargmanichkh, preserved among the Antonian Fathers at Ortakeuy (Constantinople), and would correspond to an era of Gregory the Illuminator, or of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity—301 of the Julian era (see Chamchean, *Hist. of Armenia* [in Armenian], Venice, 1784–86, iii. 2, 13; Karekin, *Catal. des anc. traductions armén.*, Venice, 1889, p. 606; Dashian, *Catal. der armen. Handschriften in der Mechitharisten Bibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna, 1895, p. 4, col. 2 of the Armenian text; *Survey of Armen. Palæography*, Vienna, 1898, p. 190 [in Armenian]). Dulaurier (p. 289 f.) also mentions a manuscript in the library of the patriarchal monastery of Etchmiadzin, which alludes to an era of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity, beginning with the year 304 (Julian), the time of Gregory the Illuminator's arrival at the patriarchal see.

3. The conversion of an Armenian into a Julian date.—The various chronologists who have turned their attention to the correspondence of Armenian dates with dates of other calendars, have invented systems more or less ingenious and more or less practical (which will be found in the works cited at end of art.). The following is a new method of converting an Armenian date into a Julian. Multiply the Armenian year by 365, add 191 and the number of the day reckoned from the commencement of the Armenian year, and call the result a. Divide a by 1461, calling the quotient b and the remainder c. Multiply b by 4, and add one of the numbers 0, 1, 2, 3, respectively, according as c is equal to or greater than the numbers 0, 365, 730, 1095, respectively, and call the result d. Add 551 to d, and the result is the Julian year in which the given Armenian date falls. Take from c one of the numbers 0, 365, 730, 1095, according as c is equal to or less than the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th of these numbers, and the result will be the place in the Julian year, already found, of the given Armenian date. The order 0 in a year means the last day of the preceding year. If the Armenian era is divisible by 4, it is necessary, finally, to add 1 to the Julian date.

Let us take two examples:

(1) Thomas Arcruni (10th cent.), *Hist. of Armenia* (tr. Brosset), p. 174, says: 'Ashot finished his days and died in the country of Vantosp, on Thursday, the 6th of the month of *Hoṛhi*, 323 by Armenian computation, and was conveyed to his brethren in the monastery of Surb-Khatsh, in the province of Agbbag':

$$323 \times 365 + 191 + 36 = 118122 = a$$
$$\frac{118122}{1461} = 80 = b \text{ and remainder} = 1242 = c$$
$$80 \times 4 = 320$$
$$320 + 3 = 323 = d$$
$$323 + 551 = 874$$
$$1242 - 1095 = 147 = \text{27th May.}$$

The Dominical Letter of the year 874 is *C*. The 1st of May is a Saturday, the 27th is a Thursday. Therefore, Thursday, the 6th Hoṛhi, 323 of the Armenian era = Thursday, 27th May, 874 of the Julian era.

(2) Stephen Orbelian (13th cent.), *Hist. of Siunia* (tr. Brosset), p. 134, says: 'In the year 344, Easter falling on the 4th of Nawasard, I, Ter Hovhannes, ordained Bishop of Siounie, successor of Ter Soghomon, began the building of this church':

$$344 \times 365 + 191 + 4 = 125755 = a$$
$$\frac{125755}{1461} = 86 = b \text{ and remainder} = 109 = c$$
$$86 \times 4 = 344$$
$$344 + 0 = 344 = d$$
$$344 + 551 = 895$$
$$109 - 0 = 109;\ 109 + 1 = 110 = \text{20th April.}$$

The Dominical Letter is *E*. The 1st of April is a Tuesday, the 20th is a Sunday. In the year 895, Easter fell on 20th April. Therefore, Sunday, the 4th of Nawasard, 344 of the Armenian era = Sunday, 20th April, 895 of the Julian era. (This is unpublished matter, following a manuscript note of Reverend Father Seraphin Abdullah, who will soon publish a complete, authoritative discussion of the Armenian era.)

Since the 'vague' Armenian year began on Thursday, 11th July 552, for the figures of the days of the week we count Thursday 1, Friday 2, etc., and Wednesday 7 or 0. To find the *1st of the Armenian year* or the 1st of Nawasard, we must divide the year by 7; the remainder is the day of the week of 1st Nawasard.

4. Peculiarities of the Armenian liturgical calendar.—The Armenian Church has not only the same feasts as other Christian Churches, but several peculiar to herself. While the other Churches celebrate their feasts on dates fixed by the civil calendar, with the exception of Easter and the feasts dependent thereon (movable feasts), the Armenian Church has only six fixed feasts: (1) the Theophany; (2) the Purification; (3) the Annunciation, formerly celebrated in the octave of the Nativity, on the fifth day; (4) the Nativity; (5) the Presentation; (6) the Conception. The Nativity of the Virgin was introduced among the Armenians in the 13th cent.; the Presentation and Conception are of a still later date (18th cent.). The Theophany was originally always celebrated on a Sunday; it was only in later times that it was fixed for the 6th of January.

The Armenian Church distributes the various feasts according to the days of the week. All the Sundays are consecrated to the Resurrection. Every Friday is sacred to the Crucifixion; fasting or very sparing diet is the rule on that day, and hymns of penitence are sung at service. A Dominical Feast may be held on a Friday; a Saint's Feast cannot take place either on a Sunday or on a Friday. Wednesdays, like Fridays, are given up to fasting and works of penitence; Wednesday, being considered the day on which the Annunciation took place, became the Feast of the Incarnation. The same rules, therefore, bind Friday and Wednesday; and no Saint's Feast can take place on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday.

The Feasts of the Saints then may be celebrated only on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday; and, even on these days secured to them, they have to give place to a Dominical Feast or a fast-day falling on the same date. The Feasts of Saints falling on a Monday, Tuesday, or Thursday may be changed into Dominical Feasts or into days of fasting; those falling on a Saturday cannot be changed except into a Dominical Feast. There are about 125 days in the year on which the Feasts of the Saints may be celebrated, and the Armenian Church has also thought fit to group the memorials of several saints on one day.

The Dominical Feasts comprise all those connected with the Incarnation, the feasts of the Virgin, of the Holy Cross, and of the Church. These feasts have their own special hymns. The Feasts of the Saints are more simple, only some of them having special hymns; for the others, hymns are borrowed from the services of the Apostles or prophets, etc. On fast-days the hymns, psalms, and spiritual songs have a penitential tone.

The Easter Feast has a variability of 35 days (from 22nd March to 25th April), and there is accordingly a period in the liturgical year whose variability is determined by that of Easter. This period is divided into two parts: the days before and the days after Easter. The Armenians count back ten weeks from Easter Sunday, and fix for the tenth Sunday before Easter the day of Aradjavor, the beginning of their Paschal period. The second part contains fourteen weeks, seven from Easter to Pentecost, and seven from Pentecost to the Transfiguration (= *Vardavar*, the Feast of

Roses). This Paschal period of 21 weeks may begin at any date between 11th January and 15th February, and end between 28th June and 1st August.

The following are the prescriptions of the Armenian Church for the celebration of the Assumption of the Virgin and the Exaltation of the Cross.

If 15th August and 14th September fall on a Sunday, these feasts are held on those days. If 15th August and 14th September do not fall on a Sunday, they are celebrated on the Sundays nearest the dates in question. The Feast of the Assumption may fall on any day from the 12th to the 18th of August, and is preceded by a week of fasting, beginning on the preceding Monday. The Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross may fall between the 11th and the 17th of September. The period of Advent begins on the nearest Sunday to 18th November, and lasts on to the Theophany (see Tondini de Quarenghi, *op. cit. infra*, *passim*).

LITERATURE.—Fréret, 'De l'année armén., ou Suite des observations sur l'année vague des Perses,' in *MAIBL* xix. [1753] pp. 85–114; E. Dulaurier, *Histoire, dogmes, traditions et liturgie de l'église armén. orientale*², Paris, 1857, and *Recherches sur la chronol. armén. technique et historique*, vol. i. 'Chronologie technique,' Paris, 1859; von Gutschmid, 'Über das iranische Jahr,' Leipzig, 1862, in *Berichte der sachsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, xiv. 1–9; Dashian, *Catal. der armen. Handschriften in der Mechitharisten Bibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna, 1895, *s.v.* 'Kalender'; Kiwleserean, Vartabed Babgen Dz., *Joghovourdin Tonatsoytse*, Constantinople, 1901 (in Armenian); Lalayan, 'The District of Borchala. . . . The saints, fasts, and festivals not mentioned in the calendar. Pilgrimages. Popular magic. Superstitions. Festivals' in *Azgagrakan Handes*, Tiflis, 1903, x. 112–268 (in Armenian); F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905; Tondini de Quarenghi, Barnabite, *Étude sur le calendr. liturg. de la nation armen., avec le calendr. armén. de* 1907, *d'après le 'Tonatzouytz' du catholicos Siméon d'Erivan* (1774), Rome, 1906 [from *Bessarione, Rivista di studi orientali*, xc.-xcii.]; L. H. Gray, 'On certain Persian and Armenian Month-Names as influenced by the Avesta calendar,' in *JAOS* xxviii. [1907] pt. 2, pp. 331–344; J. Marquart, 'Untersuchung zur Geschichte von Eran (ii.),' in *Philologus*, Supplementary vol. x., Leipzig, 1907, p. 198 f.; F. Macler, *Catal. des manuscrits armén. et géorg. de la Biblioth. nationale*, Paris, 1908, Nos. 250–256. The author is further indebted for oral information gained from Galust Ter Mkrttschian at Etchmiadzin, in September 1909; and from Seraphin Abdullah, Mechitharist at Venice, at Asnières (Seine), in November 1909.

FRÉDÉRIC MACLER.

CALENDAR (Babylonian).—It is coming to be more and more clearly recognized that the Babylonian festivals and the rites connected with them are related in the most intimate way with the calendar, which, again, is as old as civilization itself. As the ancient Egyptians had already fixed upon a year of 360 days, dividing it into three seasons of four months each, and as the actual source of this computation was Babylonia, it is clear that the cycle of 360, representing the earliest attempt to make an adjustment between the lunar year of 354 days and the solar year of 365¼ days, goes back to a very remote antiquity. 'Twelve are the months of the year; six *sosses* (*i.e.* $6 \times 60 = 360$) are the days of the measure of the year's beginning'—so runs the well-known and frequently cited passage in *WAI* iii. 52, 37, which reproduces an Assyr. copy of the early Bab. work on astrology known as *Enu-ma Bel*. The Egyptians and the Babylonians, in fact, differed only in their methods of *intercalation*, which the aberration from the true solar year soon rendered necessary: the Egyptians inserted the five so-called *epagomenæ* at the end of every year, while the Babylonians intercalated a whole month every fifth or sixth year, as required; or, in districts where the lunar year of 354 days prevailed—as, *e.g.*, the city of Ur—every second or third year. In reality, therefore, the Egyptians had a year of 365 days, retaining the older tradition of 360 days only by marking off the intercalary five as *epagomenæ* dedicated to special deities. Even this increment was in time found to be inadequate, the deficiency amounting to one day in four years, or, otherwise, to a month in 120 years, and a quarter of a year in 360; and accordingly we find, as far back as the period of the Old Empire, a further correction in the so-called Sothis or Sirius year (1461 common years = 1460 stellar years). We cannot say whether the Babylonians had recourse to any such astronomical method of adjustment, but it is possible that the 'year of the great red serpent' (mentioned but once, in a text dating from *c.* 2000 B.C., *Cun. Texts*, xxii. 48, line 5), with its train of over a dozen—originally perhaps nineteen—names of animals, may refer to an intercalary cycle recognized in the period of the kings of Nisin.

The earliest Bab. calendar known to us shows a remarkable combination of purely agricultural operations and religious festivals, the calendar of the husbandman being thus interwoven with that of the priest. This consists of the names of months occurring in the temple archives found at Telloh, and dating from the period anterior to Sargon (*i.e.* the time of the *patesis* Lugal-anda and Uru-ka-gi-na, *c.* 3000 B.C., or even earlier). H. de Genouillac (*Tablettes sumer. arch.* p. xx, note 3) has essayed to arrange the names as follows:

1. Month of the festival of the goddess *Ba'u* (subsequently Tishri, *i.e.* the beginning of autumn).
2. Month of the *Ab-ud-du* festival (Tebeth).
3. ,, the *Amar-ai-si-zid-da* festival (Shebat).
4. ,, the *Še-kin-kud-du* festival ('corn-reaping': Adar), with the variants *Gúr-dub-ba* and *Gúr-im-dú-a* (written *-gab-a*), likewise referring to the apportionment of the corn.
5. Month of *Še-illa* (lit. 'corn-lifting,' possibly 'winnowing': Nisan), with the variants '*Lu-ku-še-a-illa* of the god Nin-Girsu,' '*Lu-ku-še-a-illa* of the goddess Iš-khanna'[1], and *An-ta-sur-ra*.
6. Month of the festival *Še-ku* ('corn-eating') of the goddess Iš-khanna.
7. Month of the festival *Gud-du-bil-sar-a* of the goddess Iš-khanna (Iyyar).
8. Month of the festival of the god Bil-dár.
10. ,, the festival *Dim-kú* ('corn-eating') of Nin-Girsu.
11. ,, the festival of the corn-eating of Nin-Girsu.
12. ,, the festival *Dim-kú* of the goddess Iš-khanna.

To these, however, must be added a few names which have not been identified, viz.:

Month *Mal-lu-úr* (meaning unknown).
Month of the god *Lugal-uru-ki* ('king of the city'), or *Lugal-uru-bar-ra*.
Month *Ši-nam-um-ni-ba-duru-ba-a* (meaning unknown).

One of these three would, no doubt, supply the name of the missing ninth month.

Tablets of a date slightly later, *i.e.* the period of the earlier Sargon of Agade (Akkad), furnish us with the following series, side by side with which we place the closely related series found in tablets dating from the times of the kings of Ur:

	SARGON.		UR.
1 or 7.	Month of *Gan-maš*.	2.	Month of *Gan-maš*.
2 or 8.	,, *Gud-du-bil-sar-sar*.	3.	,, *Gud-du-bil-sar-sar*.
3 or 9.	Month of the god *Bil-dár*.	4.	Month of the festival of the god *Bil-dár*.
4 or 10.	Month of *Šu-numun* ('sowing').	5.	Month of *Šu-numun* (the later Tammûz).
5 or 11.	Month of *Še-dim-kú*.	6.	Month of *Dim-kú*.
6 or 12.	,, the god *Tur-zi* (Tammuz).	7.	,, the festival of the god *Tur-zi*.
	Ur = intercalary month.	8.	Month of the festival of the deified *Dungi*.
7 or 1.	Month of the festival of the goddess *Ba'u*.	9.	Month of the festival of the goddess *Ba'u*.
8 or 2.	Month of *Mu-šú-du*.[2]	10.	Month of *Mu-šú-du*.[3]
9 or 3.	,, *Mes-en-du-še-a-na*.		. . . .
10 or 4.	Month of the festival *Amar-a-si*.	11.	,, *Amar-a-si*.
11 or 5.	Month of *Še-še-kin-a*.	12.	,, *Še-kin-kud*[4] (the later Adar).
12 or 6.	,, the festival *Še-illa*.	1.	Month of *Še-illa*.

The comparison of these lists is most instructive. While the meaning of the Sumerian names is in many cases obscure, the fact that in the Sargon list the intercalary month is placed after Tammûz (the later Elûl) makes it clear that in this calendar

[1] The goddess whose name is formed by the ideogram *ab* (or *eš*) and the inscribed symbol *kha*; in the period of Hammurabi it occurs in the phonetic form *Iš-kha-ra*, and is commonly, though wrongly, transcribed *Nina*, as the goddess was also the deity of the later town Ninua.

[2] Written *Mu-šú-gab*.

[3] Written *Mu-šú-ul*.

[4] Side by side with this we also find a month *Dir-še-kin kud*, *i.e.* the later *We-Adar*, or 2nd Adar (intercalary).

the year began in autumn, and that, accordingly, the festival of the New Year was observed on the 1st of Tishrī, the month of 'the festival of Ba'u.' We see, moreover, that in course of time the month associated with the new festival of the deified king Dungi took the place of the intercalary month (the so-called second Elûl). A further modification, however, must have been introduced at the same time, as the new month of the 'Dungi-festival' lost its intercalary significance, while, coincidently, the New Year festival was transferred to the first day of *Še-illa*, as follows indirectly from the fact that a second *Še-kin-kud* now makes its appearance as an intercalary month, thus fixing, of course, the end of the year. This modification also explains why the month of *Mes-en-du-še-a-na* simply drops out, thus making *Amar-a-si* follow immediately upon *Mu-šu-dú*.

It is unfortunate that the inscriptions of Gudea, which we must refer to a period shortly before the rise of the dynasty of Ur, supply only two names of months, viz., the 'festival of Ba'u,' or 'New Year' (Statue G, iii. 5 f. = E, v. 1 f.), and 'temple-month,' following immediately thereafter; but with the help of the partially mutilated third series of the calendar K. 104 (*WAI* v. 43) we can so far restore the calendar of Gudea, thus:

1.	Festival of *Ba'u*	= Tishrī (Autumn).
2.	Temple-month	= Arakhsamna.
3.	(unknown)	= Kislev.
4.	,,	= Ṭebeth.
5.	*Sin-ga-zu* [1]	= Shebaṭ.
6.	*Me-e-ki-gal*	= Adar.
7.	(unknown)	= Nīsan (Spring).
8.	*Gud-bil-sar-sar*	= Īyyar.
9.	Festival of the goddess *Nin-DÁR* [2]	= Sīvan.
10.	*Shu-numun-na*	= Tammūz.
11.	Festival of [*Gu-de* ?]-*a*	= Āb.
12.	*Ki-sig* (?)-*Ba'u*	= Elûl.

The following list (in Radau, *Early Bab. Hist.* p. 299) also dates from the period of the dynasty of Ur:

1. Month of *Še-kin-kud* ('corn-reaping': the later Adar).
2. ,, *Maš-azag-kú* (cf. *Gan-maš*?).
3. ,, *Dun-da-kú* ('eating of the *Dunda* fruit').
4. ,, *Khu-si-bil-khu-kú* ('eating of the *Khu-si-bil* bird').
5. ,, *Ki-sig* (?)-*Nin-a-zu* ('mourning for Nin-a-zu').
6. ,, *Isin-Nin-a-zu* ('festival of the god Nin-a-zu').

(1) 7. ,, *A-ki-ti* ('new year').
(2) 8. ,, *Isin-Dungi* ('festival of Dungi').
(3) 9. ,, *Shú-III-shá* ('third month').
(4) 10. ,, *Isin-makh* ('sublime festival')
(5) 11. ,, *Isin-an-na* ('festival of ears' [?]).
(6) 12. ,, *Isin-Me-ki-gál*.

This series clearly bears a close relationship to that which we have re-constructed for Gudea's time. It certainly begins the year with the month of *Še-kin-kud* (beginning of spring), but it still calls the seventh month 'new year,' and also retains *Me-ki-gál* as the last month of the autumn half-year, precisely as does the list of Gudea; and, as it embraces a festival of Dungi, it cannot have been redacted before the deification of that monarch (in the thirty-seventh year of his reign).

Although the various series of months given above are drawn from documents discovered in the ruins of Telloh, and must accordingly have been in use in the kingdom of Sirgulla or Girsu in particular, yet in these lists, dating from the period anterior to Sargon till that of the kings of Ur, a considerable degree of diversity presents itself. Lists current in other districts would of course show a still greater diversity. Thus in Nippur, for instance, as is shown by the documents of the University of Pennsylvania about to be published by P. Engelbert Huber, there was, in the period of the kings of Ur, a different set of names in use, viz., the Sumerian designations recognized throughout Babylonia from the days of Ḫammurabi till the late Bab. period (and also in Assyria); which designations, however, were generally read as Semitic, and accordingly had at a later date simply the value of so-called ideograms. This Sumerian group current in Nippur at that early date is as follows (we give in a second column the usual Semitic renderings which subsequently came into use, and which, as is well known, were adopted by the Jews during the Exile, and are retained to this day in the Jewish calendar):

[1] Incorrectly transcribed from *Še-kin-kud* or from *Še-illa*?

[2] As V. Rawl. 43 gives the form *Nin-DÁR-na* (with the prolongation *-na*), the name of this god, who is mentioned in the inscriptions of Gudea as the consort of Iš-khanna, would probably be more accurately transcribed *Nin-gún-na*.

Bár, *Bár-bár-garra*, *Bár-zag-garra* ('New Year's month')	Nīsan.
Gud-si, *Gud-si-su*(*-ga*) ('direction of the ox')	Īyyar.
Shig-ga, *Shig-a-A-ga-se-ga* ('month of bricks')	Sīvan.
Shu-numun-a ('month of sowing, seed-month')	Tammūz.
Bil-bil-gar, *Bil-bi-gar* ('month of fire-making')	Āb.
Kin, *Kin-Ishtar* ('work, or mission of Ishtar')	Elûl.
Dul, *Dul-azagga* ('sacred hill')	Tishrī.
Gish-apin-dû-a, *Apin-dû-a* ('plough-tillage')	Marchesvan.
Gan-gan, *Gan-gan-ud-du* ('coming forth of the clouds' [?])	Kislev.
Ab-pa-ud-du, *Ab-ud-du* ('coming forth of the flood')	Ṭebeth.
Ash-a ('curse of water') or simply *Ash* ('curse')	Shebaṭ.
Še-kin-kud ('grain-harvest')	Adar.
(*Dirig-še-kin-kud*, *Še-kin-kud II-kam-ma* .	Intercalary Adar.) [1]

The names of the Sumerian list recur commonly in contracts and letters dating from the Ḫammurabi dynasty, and are thenceforward found in the following fixed forms:

Bár-zag-gar, *Gud-si-sá*, *Shig-a*, *Shu-numun-na*, *Bil-bil-gar*, *Kin-Ishtar*, *Dul-azag*, *Apin-dû-a* (or *Gish-apin-dû-a*), *Gan-gan-ud-du* (subsequently *Gan-gan-na* always, but *Gan-gan-ud-du* as late as the Kassite period), *Ab-ud-du*, *Ash-a* (subsequently *Ash-a-an* was common), *She-kin-kud*; [2] in the Assyr. and later Bab. period, however, the names were generally written in an abbreviated form, thus: *Bár* (or *Bár-azag*), *Gud*, *Shig*, *Shû*, *Bil*, etc.

From the period of the Ḫammurabi dynasty onwards, however, we note the important fact that, besides the Sumerian names enumerated above, their *Semitic* renderings are occasionally met with, but not always the same designations as in later times.

Thus we have *Arakh Rabûti* (month of the 'great' gods Anu and En-lil) for *Bár-zag-gar* (subsequently Nisan); *Arakh Ayari* for *Gud-si-sá* (= Īyyar); *Arakh She-wa-*[*num*], and probably also *Khumtu*, for *Shig-a* (= Sīvan); *Arakh Tur-zi* (= month of Tammūz) for *Shú-numun-na* (= Tammūz, or Du'uz); *Arakh Elunu* and *Arakh Eluli* for *Kin-Ishtar* (subsequently *Ululu* = Elûl); *Arakh Sibûti* (month of the Seven Stars or Pleiades) for *Še-kin-kud* (later Adaru); as also *Tiru*, *Kinûnu* ('brazier,' probably = Kislev), *Nabri*, *Sandûti* (with the variant *Shadûti*), *Mamiti* (= Ṭebeth [?]) and 'festival of Ramman' (= Shebaṭ)—designations not yet precisely identified.

The usual Semitic series of names (K. 8521) seems to have become permanently established in the days of the Kassite period, and in the Assyr. age. We give it here, together with the names of the corresponding month-deities (K. 2049 + 129 = *WAI* iv.[2] 33):

Nisannu	(Nīsan)	Anu and En-lil.
Airu	(Īyyar)	Ea as the 'lord of mankind.'
Simannu	(Sīvan)	Sin (moon-god).
Du'uzu	(Tammūz)	The 'hero' Nin-ib (= Tammūz, or the Sun of Spring).
Abu	(Āb)	Nin-gish-zidda (fire-god).
Ululu	(Elûl)	Ishtar (the planet Venus).

[1] Along with these, as the writer is privately informed by Pater E. Huber, occur names—singly, it is true—with which we are already acquainted from the lists given above, such as *A-ki-ti*, *Šu-esh-sha*, *Isin-makh*, *Isin-an-na*, *Isin-Me-ki-gál*, *Mash-azag-kú*, *Kul-da-kú* (cf. above *Dun-da-kú* or *Shil-da-kú*), *Isin-Nin-a-zu*, i.e. eight names, elsewhere specifically vouched for only in Radau's list, together with a few otherwise unknown designations, such as *Azag-shim*, *Sha-sir-a-she-de-a-sar*, *Mi-du-du* (or *Mi-ush-ush* [?]).

[2] We find, further, in this period a month called *Si-a-ga* (perhaps also *Isin-a-ga*), which should probably be identified with the *Shig-a-A-ga-se-ga* (hence a variant of *Shig* = *Sīvan*) of the Nippur list; also a month called *Shu-gar gi-na* (= Tiru [?]; cf. *Shu-gar-gi* = *turru*).

Tishritu	(Tishri)	Shamash, the 'hero.'
Arakh-samna	(Marchesvan)	Marduk (the planet Juppiter).
Kisilimu	(Kislev)	Nergal (the planet Saturn).
Ṭebitu	(Ṭebeth)	Papsukal (messenger of Anu and Ishtar).
Shabaṭu	(Shebaṭ)	Ramman (storm-god).
Addaru	(Adar)	Seven-god.
Intercalary Adar		Assur, father of the gods.[1]

The etymology of these Semitic names is much more obscure than that of the corresponding Sumerian designations, which are for the most part quite intelligible. *Nisan* seems originally to have meant 'intercalary month';[2] *Airu*, 'the month of blossom or sprouting'; *Addaru* is perhaps the 'dark' or 'gloomy' month, and *Kisilimu* probably comes from the name of the river-goddess *Ka-silim*; a definite origin can be assigned only to *Du'uzu* (=Tammûz) and *Arakh-samna*, 'month of the numeral eight.'

It is obvious that the basis of this official Bab. calendar, more especially of its Sumerian terminology, is formed by the conception of a mythical world-year, which also dimly appears in the list of ten patriarchs given by Berosus and the Book of Genesis (before the Deluge). The first two months, viz. that of the 'Divine throne of destiny' (*Bár-zag-gar*) and the Ox-month (*Gud-si-sá*), belong to the highest triad of gods, and also to the first man, as being the creation of Ea (cf. in Berosus, *Aloros* [=Aruru], who creates man; *Adapados*, the Divine mediator or λόγος; *Amelon=amêlu*, 'man'). Then follow seven months assigned severally to the planets, as also to the zodiacal signs from Gemini to Sagittarius, viz. *Sîvan*, 'brick-month,' or the month of the heavenly twins Sin and Nergal, and of the building of the first city (cf. Gn 4[17]); *Tammûz* (Cancer); *Āb* (month of the 'descent of fire,' in the period of the Assyr. king Sargon; cf. the Sumer. designation 'fire-month' and the name of the sixth Heb. patriarch *'I-yarad*, 'fire came down,' abbreviated *Yared*); *Elûl* (Ishtar, the Virgo of the zodiac); *Tishrî* (*Dul-azag*, the 'sacred mount,' *i.e.* the altar of incense formed like a terraced tower in the sky near Libra); *Arakh-samna* (Scorpio; as regards 'plough-month,' cf. the Sumer. *lam*, 'plough,' and *Lamech*, the name of the corresponding Heb. patriarch), and *Kislev* (the 'clouds' of which foreshadow the Deluge). Moreover, just as in Genesis the Deluge takes place in connexion with Noah, so the next two months in this calendar, viz. *Ṭebeth* and *Shebaṭ* (Sumer. 'coming of the flood' and 'curse of rain,' respectively, and, in the zodiac, Capricornus and Aquarius, the watery region of the sky), carry an unmistakable reference to the Deluge, while the future burning of the world is symbolized by the last month, *Adar* (Pisces, but in Bab. astronomy, also 'lighthouse' or Pharos).[3] These cosmological ideas must, therefore, have been stamped upon the calendar system not later than the age of the kings of Ur.

Besides the Semitic names of the months already specified, there must have been other Semitic systems of nomenclature, of which, unfortunately, only a few isolated examples have come down to us. Thus we find, as far back as the days of the Ur dynasty, a month called *Dapitam* (sometimes *Dabi*), which was perhaps identical with the Sumer. *Bil-lal* (=*dabâti*; possibly we have here the origin of the later Ṭebeth). From Mesopotamia, again, in the period of Hammurabi, comes the name *Biriz-zarru* (from *Birid-sarru*, 'hostile coldness' [?]). The Assyrians, too, were acquainted with the usual Semitic appellations, but also used names like *Khi-bur*, *Kusallu* (=Sivan), *Tamkhiru*, or *Tamṭiru* (?), the last of which would mean 'rain-month' (=Ṭebeth), *Pit-bâbi*, 'opening of the gate,' probably some religious ceremony (=Tammûz), *Mukhur-ilâni* (as early as Hadad-nirâri I.), and others found in the so-called Cappadocian tablets discussed by Goleschineff and Delitzsch. It is therefore interesting to note the list in V. Rawl. 43, which, though a mere fragment, originally contained three series of names, for the most part purely Semitic:

Sivan:	*Apinum*	*Shir'i-eburi*	*Kusalli.*
Tammûz:	*Apal*	*Pite-bâbi*	*Allanâti.*
Elûl:	*Zargâtum* (? ירעות)	....	[*T*]*irrâti.*
Tishri:	....	*Lalulê*	*Liki*[*tâ*]*ti.*
Shebaṭ:	*Ibtâzu*	*Sililiti*	....
Adar:	*Khul-dubba-uddu*[1]	*Isin-Me-ki-gál*	*Kardâti.*

The second group seems to have been current especially among the Semitic inhabitants of Elam; for, according to Scheil, *Mémoires*, x. 19, Semitic contract tablets from Elam of the early Babylonian age furnish the following important series:

Tishri:	the month of	*Lalubum* (=Tishri).
Arakh-samna:	,, ,,	*Eḳil-ili*, *epinu* ('the ploughing of the field of God').
Kislev:	,, ,,	*Sherkhum*, *epinu*.
Ṭebeth:	,, ,,	*Tamkhirum* (cf. the Assyrian month *Mukhurilâni*).
Shebaṭ:	,, ,,	*Zililitum.*[2]
Adar:	,, ,,	*Eḳil-ili-She-kin-kud* ('ear-harvest of the field of God'), and *Adarum*.
Nisan:	,, ,,	*Sherkhum-She-kin-kud-a.*
Iyyar:	,, ,,	*Khar-hubirum* (cf. *kharshû*, 'land-cultivation' [ ]).
Sîvan:	,, ,,	*Lakhkhum* (?).
Tammûz:	,, ,,	*Datium* (?).
Āb:	,, ,,	*Abum.*
Elûl:	,, ,,	*Elûli.*

A dislocation to the extent of one month, introduced into Elam probably at a later period, is indicated by an isolated reference in II. Rawl. 49, No. 1, col. 1, 2: 'the month *Bár-azag-gar* (Nisan) = the month *Gud* (Iyyar) in Elam.' Another Elamite name, *Ra-khal* ('sheep-month' [?]; cf. the name of the Elamite deity *Lakhurat-il = Rukhuratir*), is mentioned in Scheil, *op. cit.* ix. 32, as occurring in documents of the 6th and 7th cents. B.C., which elsewhere make use of the ordinary abbreviated Bab. ideograms. As every month but Tishri has been traced in these, Scheil is probably correct in supposing that *Ra-khal* was an Elamite name for it. It is also possible that the twelve Elamite gods enumerated by Ashurbanipal immediately after the seven deities worshipped by the kings, *i.e.* the planetary deities, were originally gods of the months. The twelve are as follows: Ragiba (cf. the Arab. spring-month *Rajab*), Sunugursara ('the great king'), Karsa, Kirsamas, Shudânu, Aipak-sina, Bilala, Paningirri (rather than Panintimri), Silagara, Nabsa, Nabirtu, and Kindakarbu. The list is a *mélange* of Semitic (Ragib, Shudânu, Bilala, Nabsa, Nabirtu) and native Elamite names.

We have thus seen that in Babylonia the nomenclature of the months varied according to period and locality, and that eventually that particular system which is first attested by documents from Nippur in the age of the kings of Ur superseded all the others. The two great divisions of the year began respectively in spring (previous to 3000 B.C., in the sign of Gemini; from

[1] The assigning of the intercalary month to the supreme deity of Assyria shows that the Assyr. calendar likewise is of Bab. origin.

[2] Cf. the Arab. *nasa'a*, 'to intercalate a month.' This derivation would suggest that at an earlier period the year began with Airu, the 'coronation-month' of the Assyrian kings; and, in point of fact, the inscriptions bear witness to a 'second Nisan,' *i.e.* an intercalary Nisan.

[3] To the constellation Pisces corresponds the 'great mountain' of Zec 4[7], which in Rev 8[8] is actually called ὄρος μέγα πυρὶ καιόμενον; quite close to it, in Aries, stands what in Zec 4[2] is called the *menôrah*, and in Rev 8[7] πῦρ. The 'mountain' which Bel climbs with shouts (*WAI* iv. 11, 41a) is depicted on the Bab. seal-cylinders in storey-form.

[1] This name is transmitted in Sumerian only; *Khul-dubba* is a frequently mentioned tool of worship.

[2] Inexact spelling of *Sililitum*; in the Gilgamesh epic (Song 6), *Silili* is the name applied to the mother of the horse that Ishtar loved, *i.e.* probably the astronomical Pegasus (*Sililitu* is therefore the *plur. majest.* for Pegasus).

3000 to 1000 B.C. in Taurus; from 1000 B.C. in Aries), and in autumn (Sagittarius, Scorpio, and Libra, for corresponding periods). At first the year itself might begin either in spring or in autumn, but in no long time there arose the recognition of a definite date for its commencement, viz. either in Nisan or in Tishrī, with a second Adar or second Elūl as intercalary, according to period and locality. It may well be the case that the practice of beginning the year with autumn was a Chaldæan one, thus covering Ur, Girsu, and the region east of the Tigris, and that the beginning with spring belonged to Babylonia proper—Nippur, Babylon, etc. While it was the custom under Ḥammurabi to intercalate a second Elūl, we find that under his successors the intercalation of a second Adar already prevailed; in the reign of Abeshua, in fact, we have one instance of an intercalary Nīsan, with which should be compared the hemerology in K. 2514 + 4101, as also the suggestion already made, that at one time the year began with Īyyar. Perhaps this was actually the early Assyr. practice.

Similarly it is probable that the observance of a lunar year of 354 days, with months of 30 and 29 days alternately, and with an intercalary month every 2nd or 3rd year, was of Chaldæan origin, whereas the year of 360 days may be hypothetically assigned to Babylonia (see above). As a matter of fact, the temple archives of Telloh, dating from the period of the kings of Ur, suggest in all probability an intercalary cycle of 19 years, the additional month being introduced in the third year four times successively, and in the second year three times successively. Thus, *e.g.*, the intercalary year synchronized with the 28th and 31st years of king Dungi, and likewise with his 42nd, 44th, and probably his 46th year; as also with the 3rd, 5th (7th), and 9th years of Gimil-Sin; so that during the intermediate reign of Bûr-Sin the intercalation would fall in his 3rd, 6th, and 9th years (cf. L. Messerschmidt's list in A. Jeremias, *Das Alter der bab. Astr.*[2], Leipzig, 1909, p. 88 f.).

In regard to the *week*, we find a similar contrast between the practice in Chaldæa, *i.e.* among the nomadic and West Semitic tribes, and that of the Bab. state religion, in which the worship, not of the moon, but of Shamash and Marduk, was the dominant factor. As has been ingeniously argued by Sayce — with the independent support of Winckler and Jensen—from early Assyr. contract tablets found in Cappadocia, the most ancient division of the month was into weeks of five days, the year accordingly having 72 weeks (which presupposes, moreover, a year of 360 instead of 354 days), as was also the case in ancient Egypt, where a week of ten days—originally, no doubt, a double-week of 2×5 days—was recognized (for other instances of the five-day week in Africa, Java, and Sumatra, see p. 64[a]). In the hemerologies of the library of Ashurbanipal, however, in which apparently every month consisted of 30 days,[1] we find entries from a Chaldæan calendar with months of 30 and 29 days, according to which new moon fell on the 1st day of the 1st month and of alternate months thereafter, while a penitential day of some kind was observed on the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the 1st month, and on the [5th, 12th, and] 19th of the 2nd month, and so on throughout the year; here, therefore, we have quite plainly a week of 7 days.[1] A like result follows from the division given in K. 170 (*Cun. Texts*, xxv. 50), viz., 1st day, new moon; 7th day, moon as a kidney, *i.e.* half-moon; 15th day, full moon (elsewhere *shabadtu*; Old Egyp. *smd-t*), and from the Creation epic, 5, 15 ff.[2]

According to this hemerology, the festivals observed every month—apart from the specifically Chaldæan festivals already named—were as follows:—

The *Nubattu*, or 'nuptial couch' of the god Marduk of Babylon and his consort *Ṣarpanit* (cf. Asurb. ix. 11), on the 3rd, 7th, and 16th days, and on the following days (the 4th, 8th, and 17th) the *Ab-ab* or *Eššešu* festival of the god Nebo.

On the 1st, 2nd, 13th, 15th and 16th, 18th and 19th, 20th and 21st and the 22nd days, sacrifices to the gods Shamash, Belit-matati ('mistress of lands'), Sin and Makh (*i.e.* Rûbatu, 'the exalted'), and to Sin and Makh only, on the 29th.

The *Se-gar* festival of En-lil and Nin-lil (cf. Asurb. i. 12) on the 12th, and the 'bright day,' the *Se-gar* festival of Sin and Shamash on the 20th.

The festival of Shamash and Ramman (summer sun and winter sun) on the 23rd.

The festival of En-egal ('lord of the palace,' *i.e.* probably, of the under world) and of Nin-egal ('mistress of the palace') on the 24th.

The festival of the goddess Gur as the consort of Nergal on the 27th; this was associated with the imminent disappearance of the waning (or so-called Nergal) moon, as was also the *Bubbulu* ('to be borne or washed away'; cf. Heb. *mabbûl*, 'the Flood') of Nergal on the 28th. Sacrifices to Ea, the god of the watery region of the heavens, and his consort Makh, were also made on the 26th and 28th.

That the majority of these festivals were of astral origin appears from their manifest connexion with the course of the moon; from the fact that most of the sacrifices had to be offered in the evening or by night; and, finally, from the explicit mention of the worship of the 'star of the waggon' on the 10th and 25th of the month.

The calendar in *WAI* v. 48 refers not to festivals, but to the performance or omission of certain actions; we are told, *e.g.*, that the 10th of Īyyar and the 27th of Tammūz are 'favourable for judgment' (or, 'for administering justice'), the 20th of Īyyar is a time for 'killing a goose,' the 21st for 'quarrels,' the 25th 'not to take a wife,' etc.

There were also festivals, however, which were observed not every month, but in some particular month, thus resembling the great festivals of modern times. Chief among these was the New Year festival (*Zag-mug* or *Akîtu*), which was celebrated with great pomp from the 1st to the 10th of Nīsan: on the 8th Marduk came forth in solemn procession from his temple of E-sag-illa, to the house of prayer or sacrifice situated outside the city in order to celebrate his marriage with Ṣarpanit, returning thereafter from the suburb of Shu-anna to Babylon on the 11th of Nīsan (cf. Nebuchadn. ii. 57). In Sippar the corresponding festival of Shamash was held on the 7th of Nīsan, and was repeated at the beginning of the second half-year, on the 7th of Tishrī.

On the 4th of Īyyar was celebrated the marriage-feast of Nebo and his consort Tashmit (K. 501 = Harper, *Letters*, No. 113, and cf. above the *Ab-ab* festival), and on the 10th of Īyyar there was in Sippar a festival of Shamash, with which the coronation festival in Assyria—the king being regarded as the incarnation of the sun-god (cf. 20, number of Shamash and ideogram for king)—was perhaps connected.

[1] The complete series consisted of fifteen tablets. Of these, Nos. 2 (II Nisan), 4 (Sivan), 8 (II Elūl), 10 (Marchesvan), 12 (Ṭebeth), 13 (Shebat) and 15 (II Adar) have survived, in full or in part; but only tablets 8 and 10 have been published (*WAI* iv.[2] 32, 33). From the variants furnished by Pinches we may infer that all the tablets contained approximately the same festivals. The name of the series was *Inbu* (the moon-god as 'fruit' that grows of itself (cf. *WAI* iv. 9. 22)) *bêl-arḫim* (*i.e.* as 'lord of the month').

[1] This required to be adjusted, however, by reckoning a week of ten days (from the 20th to the 29th) at the end of every second month.

[2] On the other hand, the week of five days is presupposed in *WAI* iii. 55, No. 3, lines 17–26; 1st–5th day, new moon; 6th–10th, kidney (half-moon); 11th–15th, full moon.

On the 17th of Sîvan—the month of the moon-god—the *Akîtu* festival was held in Ḫarran, the ancient lunar city of Mesopotamia; in Arbela, however, it fell on the 17th of Elûl, the month of the goddess Ishtar, who was greatly venerated in that city. A processional festival of the 'mistress of Babylon' was held there on the 25th of Sîvan (Ašurb. viii. 96–100).

On the 3rd of Tammûz the gods of Erech returned from a procession at Eridu—a ceremonial undoubtedly connected in some way with the 'death-mournings' (*ki-bad*) held in that month on account of the summer languishing of Tammûz, the god of spring and of vegetation (cf. Ezk 8[14]). In Âb, the month of the Sirius festival and of the zodiacal constellation Leo—the sacred beast of Ishtar—a great feast was celebrated in honour of that goddess (Ašurb. cylinder B. 5, 16), but it was presumably repeated in the following month, Elûl ('the corn-ears of Ishtar'), as we know to have been actually the case in Arbela (see above).

Corresponding to the festival of Shamash in Sippar on the 10th of Iyyar, a sacrificial feast in honour of the sun-god was also observed in that city in the month of Marchesvan. This, however, took place on the 15th of the month—the precise date, therefore, on which Jeroboam instituted the festival of the two golden calves in Bethel (1 K 12[32]), the calves being emblematic, at least in the first instance, of the waxing and waning moon, though the festival may have been intended simply to represent that of *Sukkôth* ('Booths'), with a postponement from the 15th of Tishri to the same day of the following month.

For the month of Kislev a special ephemeris in a late-Babylonian transcript has been preserved (Reisner, *Hymnen*, 1896, No. vii. p. 144). With certain days of this ninth or winter month, viz., the 4th and 7th, 8th, 10th, 12th and 13th, 15th and 16th, 22nd and 25th, and finally the 29th, this document associates certain temple-festivals in various cities; *e.g.* with the 4th, that of Marduk in E-Temen-an-ki (in Babylon), the Ishtar festival in Dûr-Kurigalzu, and that of the 'mistress of Ninâ' (in the district east of the Tigris); with the 15th that of Ash-kur in Sadirim. As the 29th is associated with the festival 'of the god Nergal' without indication of locality,—and therefore probably common to all Babylonia,—this function presumably represents the day of Nergal's death at the winter solstice (21st Dec.) or 'the mourning for the death of En-me-sharra.'

In the month of Shebat, as we learn from Asurb. ii. 134, the city of Kalakh observed the festival of Ninib, the chief deity of Nineveh, and there was a similar celebration in Elûl, the month of Ishtar. According to the list of month-gods in K. 2049 + 129 (*WAI* iv.[2] 33 a, at the foot), Shebat was dedicated to Papsukal, the messenger (*sukallu*) of Anu and Ishtar—in reality a representation of Tammûz as a youth (cf. Bab. *bâbu* = 'child'), and thus a deity allied in character to Ninib.

Finally, on the 15th of Adar a solemn sacrifice was offered to Shamash in the city of Sippar, as also on the 3rd of Elûl, the corresponding month of the other half-year. Whether the Jewish feast of Purim, which was likewise observed on the 15th of Adar, was in any way connected with this Shamash festival still remains a matter for investigation. The celebration of the Jewish festival lasted from the 13th to the 15th of Adar, while on the 13th of Iyyar the Assyr. eponyms entered upon office by pronouncing the words *pûru Asur Hadad agruru*, 'as I cast the lot of Asur and Hadad' (cf. the conjunction of Shamash and Hadad everywhere else; and with *garâru* cf. the Heb. *gôrāl*, 'lot,' probably an altered form of *gôrār*). In Est 3[7] the act of casting lots (פּוּר = גּוֹרָל) is manifestly associated with the accession and deposition (Nîsan to Adar) of Haman, the Persian grand vizier, *i.e.* the chief eponym: it would therefore seem that the name of the feast takes its origin from this event.

Had we a single complete calendar of the annual festivals observed in any of the more important centres of worship in Babylonia or Chaldæa, as, *e.g.*, Nippur or Babylon, or again, Ur or Eridu, we could, of course, give a more exact description of the various festivals. Even as it is, however, the astral origin of most of the functions is quite unmistakable. We have here, accordingly, a fresh corroboration of the fact that amongst the people of the ancient East there was no such thing as an agricultural festival without a religious basis. The two interests were combined from the first, even amongst nomads, but most completely, of course, amongst tillers of the soil.

In conclusion, something remains to be said with regard to the probable *origin* of the Babylonian—or more precisely, perhaps, the Chaldæan[1]—calendar. This problem is closely connected with that regarding the origin of the zodiac with its twelve divisions. The crux of the problem lies in the further question whether the Chaldæans had observed the phenomenon of precession, *i.e.* the advance of the equinoctial point by one zodiacal sign every 2160 (one-twelfth of 25920) years—a question undoubtedly to be answered in the affirmative. The list of monthly stars, with their relative degrees, given by Pinches in *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 573–5, shows clearly that the Babylonians, on the ground of early tradition, fixed the beginning of the zodiacal series at the eastern end of Gemini (cf. Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandl.*, 1901, p. 459), and that accordingly their calendar must have originated *c.* 5000 B.C. This is corroborated by the delineations carved upon boundary stones dating from the Kassite period, these being based upon an equatorial zodiac beginning with the twin dragons. The figure corresponding to the latter—two heads of panthers or lions upon one neck—also plays an important part on the seal-cylinders, and sometimes occurs in conjunction with the severed head of Adapa, the god of creation, of whose blood mankind was formed on the morning of creation (or at the beginning of the world). The actual beginning of the world, however, which is anterior to the creation of man, was dated as far back as the period of Cancer, *i.e.* about 7000 B.C.; and this ancient astrological tradition is also implied by the Egyptian zodiac found in Denderah (dating from the Roman imperial period, but of Chaldæan origin), which likewise begins with Cancer. For in Cancer were situated the two contiguous dragons, one—that with the head of a lion—representing Tiâmat, the other—with the vulture's head—Kingu, her consort. The dragon with the lion's head, as a symbol of the beginning of the world, is found upon ancient seal-cylinders almost as frequently as the twin-dragon with two heads upon one neck just alluded to.

The Taurus era (*c.* 3000–1000 B.C.), immediately succeeding that of Gemini, is indicated by a sketch frequently reproduced on seal-cylinders, that, namely, in which the hero Gilgameš waters the wild-ox at the streams flowing from the vase bearing the young shoot—the treelet of Tammûz; while the twin-heroes Gilgameš and En-ki-kak (Eabani?), who are quite as frequently depicted together, point rather to the previous era. The shoot of Gilgameš, *ildakku* (earlier *išdakku*,

[1] As Chaldæa, *i.e.* the district to the west of the Euphrates, and perhaps embracing Eastern Arabia, was the native soil of astrology, and thus, too, of the earliest knowledge of the stars, it is altogether likely that the 'Babylonian' calendar has its origin in the same region, and not in Babylonia proper, which lies between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Sumer. *giš-a-am*, i.e. 'tree of the water of the wild-ox'), the νάρθηξ of Prometheus, is not referred to in the surviving fragments of the epic, but it is mentioned in the ancient Sumerian hymn of Nergal (*Cun. Texts*, xv. 14, line 35). It is quite in keeping with this that we find Gilgameš (Orion) with his ship (Argo), the Bull, and the river Eridanus (cf. Eridu in Chaldæa?) in close proximity to one another among the stars.

The most ancient names of months so far identified, viz. those current in the period of Lugal-anda and the earlier Sargon, are not directly connected with the signs of the zodiac. The relation is of a more indirect kind, inasmuch as the festivals of the gods (including, in particular, Nin-Girsu = Ninib, Ish-khanna, the Scorpion-goddess, Bildár, and Ba'u, and also, even at that early date, Tur-zi = Tammūz) are of astral origin. Nevertheless, in the case of the Sumerian series, traceable from the age of the kings of Ur and current till the later Bab. period—a series which must at one time have begun with the ox-month (Gud-sidi = Iyyar; cf. above, the Assyr. coronation festival, and the ancient practice of intercalating a month after Nīsan instead of Adar)—the connexion with the zodiac is perfectly obvious. The reader should compare what has already been said (in dealing with the world-year) regarding the various names. The appellations Gud-sidi (Taurus), Brick-month (Gemini, and the building of the first city), the 'Ishtar month' Elūl, and the 'sacred hill' (the altar in the constellation Libra) are of themselves quite sufficient to place the matter beyond doubt.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned throughout the article, reference may be made to the following: F. Thureau-Dangin, 'Anciens noms de mois chaldéens,' in *JA* vii. 339–343 (cf. *RAssyr* iv. 83 f., v. 73); H. Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, 1900, pp. 287–307 ('The Names of the Months'), with the very full review by F. Thureau-Dangin in *ZA* xv. 409-412; C. H. W. Johns, 'The Amorite Calendar,' in *Expositor*, 7th ser. vol. i. (1906) pp. 123–132 (cf. also the present writer's *Grundriss der Geogr. u. Gesch. des alten Orients*, Munich, 1904, p. 221, note 1); H. Winckler, 'Himmel, Kalender, u. Mythus,' in *Altor. Forsch.* ii. (1900) 354–395, and 'Astronomisches-mythologisches,' *ib.* iii. (1901) 179–211; F. X. Kugler, 'Darlegungen u. Thesen über altbab. Chronologie,' in *ZA* xxii. (1908) 63–78; T. G. Pinches, *The Amherst Tablets*, London, 1908, Introd. iii. 'The Calendar' (pp. xix–xxiii).

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CALENDAR (Buddhist).—Buddhism has no general system of its own for measuring times and seasons. In the land of its birth the new religion was, in almost every particular, influenced by prevailing Brāhmanical thought and practice. In ancient India the months were lunar, and the calendar varied in different parts of the country. Every month, including the intercalary, or thirteenth, had its *māhātmya*, or 'excellence.' The Buddhist year was based upon the ancient Brāhmanical rule that every new-moon day (*darśa*), and every full-moon day (*paurṇamāsa*), should be set apart for religious observances. In later times the intermediate quarter-moon days were also held sacred. The number of fast days (*upavasatha*) was consequently increased in Buddhism to four every month, or one per week.

Another Hindu idea was incorporated into Buddhism in its observance of seasons. Hinduism celebrated the junction of six seasons, viz. spring, summer, the rains (*varṣa*), autumn, winter, and the season of dew and mist. Buddhism added to these others of its own, but now generally observes only three seasons—summer, the rains, and winter.

The festival of the New Year has been universally observed from earliest times. It celebrates the victory of light over darkness. In Buddhist countries it signifies the triumph of Buddhism over ignorance. The corresponding Hindu festival is called *Makara Saṅkrānti*. In India, this marks the termination of the inauspicious month Pauṣa, and the beginning of the sun's northern course (*uttarāyaṇa*) in the heavens.

Four eras are commonly current among Hindus in India, but none is of Buddhist origin. In Burma, however, the third, the religious era, dates from 543 B.C., the year in which Gautama Buddha is supposed to have entered *nirvāṇa*.

In China the Buddhists have arranged their calendar of festivals and fasts to suit the Chinese months, which are lunar. In the popular calendar there is no mention of anything astronomical. Cf. art. CALENDAR (Chinese).

In Ceylon each Buddhist monk is supposed to keep a calendar (*lita*), from which he learns the *awach-hāwa* (the length of the shadow, by which, according to rules laid down, varying with the time of year, the hour of the day may be known), the age of the moon, and the years that have elapsed since the death of Buddha.

In the Japanese calendar, as introduced from China, the year is divided into lunar months (see CALENDAR [Japanese]). In 1872 the Japanese Government decided to discontinue the system of lunar months and adopt the Gregorian calendar.

The Tibetan system of reckoning time is of mixed Western and Chinese origin. It is by the twelve year and sixty year cycles of Juppiter, which have been derived through India from the West, but with the substitution of some Chinese astrological terms for the Indian, the Tibetans having derived their chronological system mainly from India, with their Buddhism.

In all Buddhist lands the weekly fast is more or less strictly observed. The commemorative and other festivals, in the various countries, differ considerably, both in regard to the time of their observance and the manner in which they are celebrated.

See, further, FESTIVALS (Buddhist).

LITERATURE.—Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*[4], 1891, also *Buddhism*, 1889; A. M. B. Irwin, *The Burmese Calendar*, 1901; R. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, 1850; J. G. Scott, *The Burman*, 1882, 1896, also *Burma*, 1906; *Ceylon Almanac*, 1862; Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, 1880; William Bramsen, *Japanese Chronological Tables*, 1880; L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 1905.

J. H. BATESON.

CALENDAR (Celtic).—1. **Precedence of night.**—A certain knowledge of astronomy is ascribed to the Druids by Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 14: 'They discuss and impart to the youth many things regarding the stars and their motion, the extent of the universe and the earth') and Pomponius Mela (iii. 2), and some passages of Irish texts support their statements. But this knowledge probably did not surpass the primitive astronomy of barbaric races everywhere, sufficient to adjust roughly the lunar and solar years; and it was doubtless mingled with astrology (see DRUIDS). Our acquaintance with the old Celtic calendar depends mainly on a few classical references, on scattered notices in Irish and Welsh texts, and on the fragments of the calendar of Coligny. The Celtic year was a lunar year. This is attested by a passage in Pliny (*HN* xvi. 44) referring to the plucking of the mistletoe by the Druids. This is done 'ante omnia sexta luna, quae principia mensium annorumque his facit, et seculi post tricesimum annum, quia jam virium abunde habeat nec sit sui dimidia.' While it has been supposed from this passage that the Celts counted periods of time from the sixth day of the moon, there is reason to believe, as de Ricci points out (*RCel* xix. 26), that 'the phrase *quae . . . facit . . . tricesimum annum* is a general indication of the place of the moon in the Gaulish calendar, and that the subject of *facit* represented by *quae* is *luna* and not *sexta luna*.' Thus each month, year, and cycle of thirty

years would begin with a new moon, not on the sixth day of the moon (cf. Jullian, *Recherches sur la rel. gaul.*, Bordeaux, 1903, p. 63, where this view is also adopted). This custom of counting time by the moon is further attested by Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 18), who says that the Gauls 'define the divisions of every season, not by the number of days, but of nights; their birthdays and the beginning of months and years they observe in such an order that the day follows the night.' Many passages in Irish and Welsh texts show incidentally that this method of counting by nights prevailed; 'three nights' or 'nine nights' are frequently referred to, or a space of time is counted from such a night; or, when a certain number of days and nights is referred to, 'nights' precedes 'days.' Generally also when 'night' is used, it means a night and a day (cf. our 'se'nnight,' 'fortnight'). This is in accordance with Indo-European usage (see Schrader, *Reallex. der indoger. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 845 f.).

2. **The calendar of Coligny.**—A number of bronze fragments of a calendar were discovered, together with fragments of a statue of a god, at Coligny, near Lyons (the region formerly inhabited by the Sequani), in 1897. The calendar had probably been set up in a temple dedicated to the god. While some philologists have maintained that its language is Ligurian, it is generally believed to be Celtic, though its place in the Celtic group is not precisely fixed. The calendar is generally dated towards the second half of the 1st cent. A.D. The fragments as restored show that it had been engraved on a long bronze tablet, and that it covered at least a period of five years. There are in all sixteen columns, fourteen of which give vertically four months each, and two three months each; in all, sixty-two months. These two columns are headed by an intercalary month, which occupies double the space of an ordinary month. Each month is headed by its title, preceded in the case of the month called *Samon* by the word MID, and in other cases by the initial M. This word *mid* has been explained as meaning 'month' (*RCel* xix. 215, xxi. 23; cf. Ir. *mi*, Welsh *mis*, 'month'); but Loth contests this interpretation (*RCel* xxv. 130). To the title are added in the case of months of 30 days, MAT, and in the case of months of 29 days, ANM, except in the case of the month *Equos* of 30 days, which has ANM. Seven months have 30 days, and five 29 days. Each month has its days numbered from 1 to 15; then follows the word ATENOUX, and the remaining days are again numbered 1 to 14 or 15. When they are 14 in number the word DIVERTOMV or DIVORTOMV follows. Each number is followed by symbols, initial letters, or words, the significance of which, save in a few cases, has not been discovered, and is preceded by a small circular hole in which a peg may have been inserted to mark each day as it arrived. The names of the months as they occur in the calendar are:

Samon (30 days)	Giamon (29 days)
Duman or Dumannos (29 days)	Simivis (30 days)
Rivros (30 days)	Equos (30 days)
Anacan or Anacantlos (29 days)	Elembiv (29 days)
Ogron (30 days)	Edrini (30 days)
Cutios (30 days)	Cantlos (29 days)

The name of the intercalary month of 30 days is Ciallos.

Samon is the summer-month, from **samo-* (cf. O. Ir. *sam*, 'summer'); *Giamon*, the winter-month, from **gaiamo-* (cf. Old Welsh *gaem*, 'winter'); *Ogron*, 'cold' (cf. Welsh *oer* **ogro-s*, 'cold'); *Rivros*, the month of the god Rivos, the harvest-month, probably August. Rivos, according to Rhŷs, is the god whose statue was found along with the calendar. He is represented as Apollo, or perhaps as Augustus in the rôle of Apollo. Augustus, who had given his name to the month of August, was chosen to represent Rivos, the god whose name gave the month *Rivros* August (see Rhŷs, *Trans. 3rd Inter. Cong. Hist. Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, ii. 225 ff.).

The calendar is obviously lunar. The months are roughly lunar months; seven of 30 days each and five of 29 days each give a year of 355 days, instead of the usual lunar year of 354 days as with the Greeks. Loth (*RCel* xxv. 120) compares for this extra day the Irish, Welsh, and Breton phrase in contracts, promises, etc., 'a year and a day,' and states that the formula belongs to an epoch when the lunar year varied in duration from time to time by a day. While the popular current year of 354 days was retained, all chance of error in fulfilling the contract was avoided by prolonging the duration of the contract by a day; and it may have been religious and judicial scruples which led the Druids officially to augment the year by a day. We may compare Numa's Roman year (lunar) of 355 days, the number being decided because of the belief in the virtue of odd numbers. In the calendar of Coligny a month of 30 days is intercalated every two and a half years, in effect making each year a year of 367 days. This is evidently part of a system by which a given number of lunar years was made to synchronize with a given number of solar years.

De Ricci (*RCel* xix. 217, xxi. 25) finds the key to the system in Pliny's reference to a period of 30 years. In 30 lunar years, with 30 days intercalated every $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, there are 11,010 days, the difference between this and 30 solar years of 365·24 days (=10,957·20 days) being 52·80 days. De Ricci supposes (1) that every 15 years a month of 29 days was omitted, equivalent to 58 days in 30 years, thus reducing the difference to a fraction over 5 days; or (2) noting that the month Equos, of 30 days, has attached to it the letters ANM, reserved for months of 29 days, he supposes an error in the drawing up of the calendar. Altering Equos to a month of 29 days, and including the intercalary days (=366 days in the year), we obtain in the 30 years' cycle 10,980 days. In 30 solar years there are 10,957·20 days, which is nearly equivalent to 371 lunations of 29·53 days, viz. 10,955·63 days. If, then, a month of 30 days were omitted from the calendar every 30 years, this would give 10,950 days, increasing the error by 5·63 days. These, however, are problematical solutions, and it is unlikely that those who framed the calendar knew with mathematical exactitude the true duration of solar and lunar years. On the other hand, if they reckoned a solar year as consisting of 366 days, and if we assume the error in the month Equos, then the intercalated month of 30 days would give, in $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, 915 days—exactly the number of days contained in $2\frac{1}{2}$ solar years of 366 days. On such a system, if Equos were really a month of 30 days, the solar year may have been reckoned as containing 367 days, which would produce the same result.

The intercalary month of thirty days in $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, equivalent to twelve days in each year, has its days called by the name of the months in the calendar, beginning with Samon. Thus the twelve names are repeated two and a half times. Among the Germans and Hindus, as well as among the Celts, are found traces of twelve intercalary days or 'nights' in the year; and relics of the custom still exist in Brittany, where the first twelve days of January or the last six days of December and the first six of January are called *gourdeziou*, or 'supplementary days.' There is evidence also of their existence in Wales, where the twelve days added to the lunar year of 354 days were called *Dyddiau Dyddon*, 'days of days' (William ab Ithel, *Barddas*, Llandovery, 1862, p. 422 ff.), equivalent to the 'blank days' of the Welsh laws. We are thus, evidently, in presence of an old Indo-European method of accommodating the lunar year of 354 days to the solar year of 366 days (Loth, *RCel* xxiv. 310, xxv. 118). But in Brittany each of these days is regarded as prognosticating the character or quality of a month in the coming year. With this may be compared the fact that in Brahmanic belief the twelve days are 'an image of the coming year' (Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 391). De Ricci, therefore, surmises (*RCel* xxiv. 316) that this superstition was entertained by the framers of

the calendar, and that it is denoted by the fact that the days of the intercalary month bear the names of the thirty months which follow, and in the same order.

On one of the fragments which contains the month *Ciallos* that name is followed by *Sonnocingos* and a mutilated passage, which appears to refer to a 13th month and a year of 385 days, *i.e.* the lunar year of the calendar (355 days), plus a month of 30 days. *Sonnocingos*, according to Loth and Thurneysen, means 'course of the sun,' while Loth supposes *ciallos* to be connected with a root *ki*, 'to collect,' giving it the meaning of 'collection' or *résumé*—'an etymology confirmed by the fact that the intercalary month *collects* in effect the 12 intercalary days of 2 years, and the half of these 12 or 6 days of the first half of the third year' (*RCel* xxv. 119, cf. xxi. 14, 23).

A fragment of another calendar was discovered in 1802 in the Lake of Antre, near Moirans (Jura); on it the month *Ogron* appears to be mentioned (Villefosse, *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* xxvi. [1898] 256).

3. Division of the year.—Apart from counting by months or moons, the earliest division of time was probably by seasons rather than by years—summer and winter, and later also spring. The fourth season, autumn, was with the Aryans the last of the seasons to receive a distinctive name (Taylor, *Origin of the Aryans*, London, n.d., 164, 187; cf. also Schrader, *op. cit.* 366 f., 395–7). The adaptation of the lunar months to a course of the seasons finally issued in the attempts to synchronize lunar and solar time, but it is doubtful whether among the Celts generally the course of the year was divided by the equinoxes or solstices. Traces of the division by 2, 3, or 4 seasons are found in Celtic remains. Like the Teutons, they divided the year primarily into two parts. This is shown by the calendar of Coligny, since the intercalary month appears now before Samon, now before Giamon, each of them the first of six months. It appears also from Irish texts, which tell that 'the year was divided into two parts, *i.e.* the *Samradh*, from Beltine to Samfhuin, and the *Geimhredh*, from Samfhuin to Beltine' (cited in O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, Dublin, 1847, Introd. liii.). The year is also expressed by *dá se mis*, 'twice six months,' in the Irish laws, where also a division into two unequal parts is referred to—*Samh-fucht*, a summer period of five months, and *Gamh-fucht*, a winter period of seven months. But 'this division was evidently made to regulate the price of grazing lands' (O'Donovan, lv.). In Welsh texts two divisions also occur, the calends of May (*Calan Mei*, May 1st), and the calends of winter (*Calan Gayaf*, Nov. 1st) (*Ancient Laws of Wales*, ed. Owen, London, 1841, i. 396, 588). The year probably began with the winter half; this seems to have been the case in Ireland, where *Foghamhar* ('the harvest') is defined as the name given to the last month, and where the year commenced with *Samhain* (*Samfhuin*), the day of the feast of Tara, *i.e.* Nov. 1st; cf. the phrase 'from one feast of Tara to another' (O'Donovan, liv. f.; Loth, *RCel* xxv. 126). In the Isle of Man, the beginning of the year with *Samhain* is still commemorated by mummers, who, on its eve, go round singing, 'To-night is New Year's night, Hogunnau' (Kelly, *Eng. and Manx Dict.*, Douglas, 1866, *s.v.* 'Blein'). There was also a custom of reckoning years as winters, *e.g.* Kulhwch's horse is said in the *Mabinogion* to be four winters old (Rhŷs, *Celtic Heathendom*, London, 1888, p. 360). The calendar of Coligny affords no evidence as to whether *Giamon* or *Samon* began the year. But if *Rivros* is the harvest month, approximately August, and if *Ogron* means 'cold,' then *Samon* cannot be May, since that would make *Ogron*, a cold month = September. Probably, therefore, *Samon* is approximately June, and *Giamon* approximately December. Loth (*RCel*, xxv. 130) points out that the name *Mid Samon* is almost exactly equivalent to the Welsh, Breton, and Irish names for June (Ir. *mís mithemain* = *meḋ-ṡamain* = *medio-samoni-*, 'middle of summer'). In this case the twofold division of the year in the calendar differs from that followed in Ireland and Wales, though, if *Mid Samon* is 'middle of summer,' there is here a trace of the division which made summer begin with May.

A threefold division of the year may have obtained among the Celts at some period. In all Aryan languages there is no primitive name for autumn—the last of the four seasons to receive a name. For the Celts this appears from the fact that, out of the Celtic names for the four seasons, three only are Indo-European,—those of winter, spring, and summer,—while those for autumn have arisen during the Celtic epoch. Some passages in the Welsh laws may point to this threefold division (Loth, *RCel* xxv. 127 f.). Possibly, too, the triple Celtic *Matres*, goddesses of that fertility with which the course of the seasons was connected, may owe their number to a threefold division of the year.

The later fourfold division is shown clearly by the old Irish method of arranging the four seasons, arrived at by subdividing the two halves of the year:

A. Geimhredh (winter half)	1st quarter, *Geimhredh*, beginning with the festival of *Samhain*, Nov. 1st. 2nd quarter, *Earrach*, beginning Feb. 1st (sometimes called *Oimelc*).
B. Samhradh (summer half)	3rd quarter, *Samhradh*, beginning with the festival of *Beltane*, May 1st (called also *Cét-soman* or *Cét-samain*, 1st day of *Samono-s*; cf. Welsh *Cyntefyn*). 4th quarter, *Foghamhar*, beginning with the festival of *Lughnasadh*, Aug. 1st (sometimes called *Brontroghain*).

For the texts and for the old explanations of these names, see O'Donovan, lii. ff.

This fourfold division must have been general over the Celtic area, for traces of the great festivals, with which three of the divisions began, still survive in folk-custom or can otherwise be discovered. Thus survivals of *Samhain*, *Beltane*, and *Lughnasadh* are found in Brittany, Ireland, Wales, the Isle of Man, and the Scottish Highlands, while a festival in honour of the god Lug occurred in Gaul on Aug. 1st (see these fully discussed under FESTIVALS [Celtic]). Traces of a festival to open the spring are lacking. If such a festival existed, it is now completely effaced by St. Bridget's Day, Feb. 1st. The ritual of these festivals, in accordance with the Celtic rule that night preceded day, began on the evening before with the moon's rising (*RCel* iv. 189; Monnier, *Traditions comparées*, Paris, 1854, p. 222).

None of these festivals is connected with the times of equinox and solstice. This points to the fact that originally the Celtic year was independent of these, that 'it was more thermometric than astronomical, and the Lugnassad was, so to say, its summer solstice' (Rhŷs, 419; Lughnasadh comes midway between Beltane and Samhain in the summer half of the year). On the other hand, there is ample evidence in folk-custom over the whole Celtic area, as in general over Europe, of the ritual observance of Midsummer day, June 24th, and its eve, while this ritual is scarcely to be distinguished from that of Beltane. It has been argued that the ritual of an old pagan summer feast was transferred, under Christian influence, to that of St. John Baptist on Midsummer day, and tradition in Ireland alleges that the change from Beltane to this feast was made

by St. Patrick (O'Donovan, li.; cf. Bertrand, *Rel. des Gaulois*, Paris, 1897, p. 105; Hyde, *Lit. Hist. of Ireland*, London, 1899, p. 91; Keating, *Hist. of Ireland*, tr. O'Mahony, 1866, p. 300; Grimm, *Teut. Mythol.* ii. 624). But, in spite of the Christian elements in the Midsummer festival, which at all events denote a desire to bring it under Church influence, the pagan elements, even in folk-custom, are strongly marked, while the festival is so deeply rooted in an earlier paganism all over Europe that this theory of transference must be given up. Without much acquaintance with astronomy, men must have noted the period of the sun's longest course from very early times; and it would probably be observed ritually. Whether this ritual observance existed before that of Beltane, or whether the two feasts arose independently and entered into competition with each other, it is impossible to say. Perhaps Beltane was an early pastoral festival marking the beginning of summer, when the herds went out to pasture (in its ritual cattle were passed through the fire), and Midsummer was a more purely agricultural festival. And, since their ritual aspect and purpose are similar, they may have borrowed each from the other, thus representing different currents of early custom. Or they may be later fixed dates of an earlier movable summer festival. Practically we may now regard them as twin halves of such a festival (see FESTIVALS [Celtic]). The Celts may have observed in some fashion the solstices and equinoxes, as the survivals of Midsummer Day tend to show, and as may be suggested by such facts as that of the Helvetii appointing a day close to the March equinox for an assembly of forces, perhaps because this was a sacred day (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* i. 6). Some trace of this may also be found in the phrase 'from the middle of spring to the middle of autumn,' *i.e.*, according to the old computation, from mid-March to mid-September, in each case near the time of the equinoxes. (The phrase occurs in 'Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel,' *RCel* xxii. 167.)

The solar arrangement, however, did not affect the Samhain festival at the beginning of the Celtic year, or that of Lughnasadh. These remained, and still remain in folk-custom, constant. Probably very ancient village rituals for fertility, which may have been more or less liable to variation in the time of celebration, mark the origin of these greater periodic Celtic festivals. The latter were connected mainly with the anthropomorphic divinities of growth and with magical rites to induce fertility, and were apparently, in some cases, held at a stated centre in each large district. Where the Celts came under Roman influence, the observance of the Roman calendar tended to dislocate some of the festivals. Thus, in Gaul, much of the ritual of Samhain was transferred to the calends of January. Germanic influences may elsewhere have affected the Celtic calendar, since some of the Samhain ritual has passed over to Yule. The influence of the Christian calendar, with its list of feasts and saints' days, must also be taken into account. Not only did the introduction of the Roman calendar finally demolish the old Celtic method of computing time, but the Church attempted, with varying success, to hallow the older ritual by giving it a Christian colouring or by substituting holy days for the old festivals. Thus All Saints' and All Souls' Days occupy the place of Samhain; St. Bridget's Day occurs on Feb. 1st; St. John Baptist's Day at Midsummer; Lammas at Lughnasadh. Again, while some of the ritual of the old festivals still survives on their actual date in folk-custom, some of it now occurs on saints' days within the range of the pagan festival days. Specially is this the case with the Samhain ritual, some of which is found on St. Martin's Day (Martinmas) and on other saints' days in Nov. and Dec., while in Wales and the Isle of Man Lughnasadh rites occur on the first Sunday in August (see Rhŷs, 421 f.).

4. **Periods of years.** Certain periods of years seem to have been regarded by the Celts as significant, perhaps as sacred. In Irish and Welsh texts these periods are referred to as if they were well-marked divisions of time; or certain events, mythical or historical, are mentioned as occurring within them or are dated by them, showing that the mental outlook of the scribe, or of the folk among whom such traditional events were told, had been prepossessed by the influence of these periods. In the calendar of Coligny, 2½ years is clearly marked out as such a period, and the same period is mentioned in Irish texts, *e.g.* king Laegaire entered Leinster at the end of 2½ years (*RCel* xiii. 52). But the period of 3 years is much more usual. This is due, doubtless, to the sacred character of the number three among the Celts, as is evidenced by the three-headed gods and the number of triads, Divine, mythical, and customary, etc., in Celtic belief (cf. Rhŷs, Index, *s.v.* 'Three'; Usener, 'Dreiheit,' *Rhein. Mus. f. Phil.* lviii. [1903] 31). Note especially the three gods of Danu, the triple war-goddesses, triple Matres, the three cranes, three blemishes, three satires, the grouping of heroes by three, the triads of Welsh literature, etc. Wishes are made for three years; mythic kings reign for the same period; and—still more significant—the fair of Carman, celebrated at Lughnasadh, was held every three years (Windisch and Stokes, *Ir. Texte*, Leipzig, iv. [1900] 273; *RCel* xv. 312). In the Welsh *Mabinogion* and in the Welsh laws the same period occurs as a round measure of time (Loth, *Mab.*, Paris, 1889, i. 83, ii. 25, 30; *Anc. Laws*, i. 263, 488). Still more frequent both in Ireland and in Wales is the period of 7 years, which had evidently a well-marked and sacred significance, due, doubtless, to the fondness for the number itself. Thus mythic kings very frequently reign for that time; various events happen every 7 years, or occur at the end of 7 years, or continue during 7 years (Loth, *RCel* xxv. 138 ff., 147 ff.). The feast of Tara, held at Samhain, was celebrated every 7th (or perhaps every 3rd) year (O'Donovan, l.). Finally, the period of 30 years, referred to by Pliny, is mentioned as a round number of years in certain passages in Irish texts (Loth, *RCel* xxv. 140). In the absence of definite statements regarding such periods of years in the calendar of insular Celts, these references must be taken for what they are worth, but they seem at least to indicate the actual measurement of time by 3 and 7 years.

5. **The month.**—The oldest Indo-European name for periods of time was the 'month'; and there are traces, among the Teutons, Slavs, and other peoples, of a custom of grouping the months by two, considering them as brothers, as male and female, or as full and empty months, and using one name for two successive months qualified by 'great' and 'little,' etc. (Grimm, *op. cit.* ii. 788). Loth (*RCel* xxv. 124) considers that this usage may have been current among the Celts, since with some groups six of the twelve months have taken Latin names, as if originally each two months had but one name, while, occasionally, one month still bears popularly the name of the preceding month qualified by 'little.' Be this as it may, a primitive method of dividing the months into half-months by the light half and dark half of the moon is found among the Celts. In Celtic ritual the influence of a waxing or waning moon

was believed to be significant (see NATURE [Celtic]). Hence the lunar month was naturally divided into two parts, one before and one after full moon, in accordance with primitive usage. The calendar of Coligny divides the first 15 days from the second 15 (or 14), which are also numbered consecutively from 1 onwards, and between each half is placed in large letters the word ATENOUX, indicating the night of the full moon, 'great night,' or, as Thurneysen translates it, 'renewal' (*Ztschr. f. celt. Phil.*, Halle, 1899, ii. 523 ff.; cf. Mid. Ir. *athnughudh*), the period at which the month renewed itself. The same division occurs in Wales, where *pythewnos*, a fortnight, means 'a fifteen night,' and in Ireland, where *cóicthiges* had a similar meaning and where *teóra cóicthiges* meant 'three fifteens,' *i.e.* a month and a half (Loth, *RCel* xxv. 131; Rhŷs, 361).

6. The week.—Indo-European names for the week were late in being devised, and it is doubtful whether with the Celts, in spite of the sacredness of the number 7, a week of 7 days or nights existed before Christian influences were felt among them. Thus the Irish *seachtmain*, 'a week,' is due to Christian missionary teaching and is a corruption of Lat. *septimana* (cf. Gael. *seachduin*, Cornish *seithun*, Bret. *sizun*). The new week in Wales was, however, called by a native name, *wythnos*, 'eight nights,' in accordance with the custom of reckoning a period with the night on which it began and the night on which it ended. Thus *wythnos* would be equivalent to 7½ days, and it is possible that here the name of an earlier subdivision of the *pythewnos* has been used for the later week of 7 days. Native to the Celts are periods of 9 and of 3 nights and days. The number 9 is of frequent occurrence and evidently of sacred significance in Celtic texts, and a period of 9 nights, or of 9 nights and days, is found as a well-marked portion of time in Ireland, and is called by Rhŷs (*op. cit.* 360) 'the nine-night week.' In Irish its title is *nómad*, 'a space of 9 days' (Stokes, *RCel* xxii. 428); cf. *co cend nomaide*, 'until the end of a ninth,' *i.e.* of a 9-night week,—a phrase of frequent occurrence in the texts (cf. *RCel* xxii. 193),—while delays of 9 nights and periods of 9 nights are found in the Irish laws (Rhŷs, *op. cit.* 363; Loth, *RCel* xxv. 134; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Études sur le droit celt.*, Paris, 1895, i. 365, ii. 112). Equally in Welsh texts and laws the same period is found, *e.g.* delays of 9 days (*Anc. Laws*, i. 84, 94, 142, etc.), while both in Wales and Ireland the names for the 9-night week were sometimes applied popularly to the new week.

Rhŷs (*op. cit.* 368) supposes that the 9th night was held to contain all the others, 'as being the boundary or limit within which the week was comprised.' If this be so, in accordance with the old rule of counting the night with which a period ended as well as that with which it began, the period consisted of 9 nights and 8 days. Thus a 'day' must have intervened between each week, if each began with a night, unless, as is probable, the 9th night originally ended one week and began another, *i.e.* it was common to both. Later the period is one of 9 nights and 9 days. Rhŷs also finds mythical personifications of the 9-night week according to two methods, and he cites cases of 9 personifications of a more or less uniform character, or a single personification with the attribute of 9 attaching to it (*op. cit.* 366 ff.). These must be regarded as hypothetical. Probably the 9-night week was divided into halves called *noinden*, of 5 nights and 4 days (cf. the *cess noinden Ulad*, 'the Ulster men's sickness of a week,' explained as 5 nights and 4 days). If 2 *noinden* thus made up the 9-night week, the 5th night must have been reckoned to each half, ending one and beginning another, as the 9th night also ended one week and began another (cf. Rhŷs, 363, 368, 370).

The week of 9 days being found among many races, its origin has been sought in various ways. Some have seen in it a multiple of the sacred number 3 (cf. the numerous triads and enneads of beings in 'Da Derga's Hostel,' *RCel* xxii. *passim*); others have adopted Kant's view that, before the synodical month of 29½ days was adopted, the sidereal month of 27⅓ days, divided into three parts, originated the period of 9 days (Loth, *RCel* xxv. 135 f.); Rhŷs offers another but by no means convincing explanation (*op. cit.* 364).

If the sidereal month divided into three parts produced roughly a period of 9 days, this again divided by 3 gave a period of 3 days. In any case 3 was a sacred number with the Celts, and a period of 3 days and nights occurs frequently in Irish and Welsh texts. Thus a delay of 3 nights in judicial matters is frequent (D'Arbois de Jubainville, *op. cit. passim*), and 3 nights and days of fasting, of hospitality, of a sojourn, of a journey, of a truce, etc., are common (Loth, *RCel* xxv. 132 f.; 'Tain bo Fraich,' *ib.* xxiv. 132; 'Finn and the Man in the Tree,' *ib.* xxv. 347, etc.).

7. The day.—The old Celtic names of days have been replaced by others borrowed from other sources and due to Latin and Christian influences (see MacBain, *Etymol. Dict. of the Gaelic Language*, Inverness, 1896, p. 117 f.). As has been seen, the days during which the moon was waxing were with the Celts, as with other peoples, considered propitious for many undertakings, especially for ritual purposes. This is gathered mainly from later folk-survivals; but older evidence is found in the case of the mistletoe cut on the 6th day of the moon, and in the fact that the Celtiberians danced in honour of their god on the night of the full moon (Strabo, III. iv. 6). Some evidence of 'lucky' days is also derived from the Irish texts (cf. *e.g.* 'Songs of Buchet's House,' *RCel* xxv. 27). Certain days, or groups of days, as well as certain hours of the day or night, were doubtless considered lucky or unlucky, as popular survivals show. Midday and midnight, according to Lucan (*Pharsal.* iii. 404 ff.), were hours when the Divine guardian of the grove showed himself, and when the priest himself dreaded to approach it. Certain days were appropriated to greater or lesser festivals, *e.g. Samhain*, *Beltane*, *Lughnasadh*, on the first of the respective months, as well as to other periodic festivals, in some cases to divinities on their festal days—the communal sacrifice of the hunters of Galatia to their Artemis 'on the day of her birth' (Arrian, *Cyneg.* 33), the yearly sacrifices of the Irish to Cenn Cruaich (*RCel* xvi. 35), the periodic holocausts of the Gauls (Diod. Sic. v. 32). Reference may also be made to the meeting of the Druids of Gaul 'at a fixed time of the year' (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 13).

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J. A. MACCULLOCH.

CALENDAR (Chinese).—The Chinese calendar, which was practically copied by the Japanese, with the substitution of Japanese for Chinese names, is scarcely so ancient as is generally supposed. It is true that at an early period the Chinese became acquainted with a twelve-year cycle of Juppiter, depending on that planet's progress through the twelve signs of the zodiac; but this cycle had in China only astrological significance, whereas in India it became part of the calendrical system. It is equally true that the Chinese early endeavoured to formulate a lunisolar year, and there is evidence of a year of 360

days side by side with one of 366 days, the discrepancy between the latter and the purely lunar year of 354 days being adjusted by intercalation at intervals of three or five years. Chinese tradition ascribes to the Emperor Yao (24th cent. B.C.) the institution of an astronomical board for the regulation of the calendar, and this tribunal, which still issues the official calendar each year, was profoundly influenced by the science of the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century.

1. Era.—The Chinese have no initial point from which succeeding years are numbered. When recording dates, they usually give the name of the Emperor and the year of his reign (the first year of his reign being reckoned as beginning on the New Year's Day after his accession), as is the practice in England with regard to Acts of Parliament. Besides this, however, they also employ a sexagesimal cycle, beginning with 2637 B.C., for the years and days, and, to a limited extent, for the months. The basis of this cycle is the five elements, wood, fire, earth, metal, water (*mu, huo, t'u, kin, schui*), which, being divided into antitheses (active-passive, male-female, etc.), give the sub-cycle of the ten heavenly stems (*kan*): *kia* ('growing wood'), *yi* ('building wood'), *ping* ('natural fire'), *ting* ('artificial fire'), *wu* ('earth), *ki* ('earthen ware'), *keng* ('metal'), *sin* ('wrought metal'), *jin* ('running water'), *kuei* ('standing water'). The second sub-cycle is formed by the twelve earthly branches (*tschi*), each designated by the name of an animal. This duodenary cycle, which is also found in Tibet, among the Tai and Khmer, and, at least in part, in Egypt, Old Turkish inscriptions, and the Turfān fragments (Ginzel, *Chronologie*, i. 85 ff., 404, 411, 413, 501 f.; F. W. K. Müller, '"Persische" Kalenderausdrücke im chines. Tripitaka,' in *SBAW*, 1908, pp. 460–463), is as follows: *tsĕ* ('mouse'), *tscheu* ('ox'), *yin* ('tiger'), *mao* ('hare'), *schin* ('dragon'), *szĕ* ('snake'), *ngu* ('horse'), *wei* ('sheep'), *schin* ('monkey'), *yeu* ('cock'), *siü* ('dog'), *hai* ('swine'). The *kan* and *tschi* are grouped together, beginning with *kia-tsĕ*, and when the denary cycle has been repeated six times and the duodenary five times, the initial combination is repeated, and the cycle begins anew.

The year 1910 is the 47th year of the present cycle; and, as Chinese chronologers begin their cyclic reckoning with the year 2637 B.C., the present is the seventy-sixth cycle. But they have not adopted the system of numbering their cycles; and therefore a reader cannot tell to which cycle a date may belong, unless he be assisted by the context. In some historical works one finds both the cyclic number and the year of the reign given.

2. Year and month.—The Chinese year consists of twelve (synodic) lunar months, and is made to correspond with the solar year by the occasional insertion of an additional, or intercalary, month. The space of time covered by twelve of these lunar months being less than the solar year by 10 days 21 hours, in every nineteen years there are seven years of thirteen months. We shall now explain the rule under which the intercalary months are inserted. The length of a Chinese month is 29·53 mean solar days; and the time which the sun occupies in passing through one of the twelve signs of the zodiac averages 30·44 days. These two periods being of so nearly the same length, it happens in most cases that a Chinese month begins when the sun is in one sign of the zodiac, and terminates when it is in another sign. But, as the month is the shorter of the two periods, occasionally there must come a time when a month begins and ends when the sun still remains in the same sign. Every such month is adopted as an intercalary month; and by this simple plan there is provided exactly the right number of intercalary months to correct the divergence of the Chinese from the solar year. The intercalary month never occurs in the winter—not, as is generally supposed, because of some arbitrary rule, but because the sun (which moves faster in winter than in summer) is then travelling at more than its average rate of speed, and passes through a sign of the zodiac in less time than is occupied by a lunar month, so that at that season a month cannot possibly begin and end while the sun remains in the same sign.

At the present time the first month of the year is known in Chinese by a special name, *Tsching-yüe*, 'hallowed (or true) month'; but the remaining months are called the 'second month,' 'third month,' and so on. Anciently, however, the months were designated according to the characters of the *tschi*, which also corresponded to the twelve zodiacal signs (*kung*), although the latter were counted in reverse order. These old Chinese month-names were as follows: *Tsĕ-yüe, Tscheu-yüe, Yin-yüe, Mao-yüe, Schin-yüe, Szĕ-yüe, Ngu-yue, Wei-yüe, Schin-yue, Yeu-yue, Siu-yue, Hai-yüe*, their names being equivalent respectively to 'child,' 'bud,' 'plant-basket,' 'open door,' 'motion,' 'completion,' 'encounter,' 'laden trees,' 'ripeness,' 'jug,' 'destruction,' 'return to rest.'

An intercalary month takes its name from the month which precedes it. Thus, if it follows the fourth month, it is called the 'intercalary fourth month.' Every month begins with the first day of a new moon; and the new year begins with the first new moon after the sun enters Aquarius. New Year's day thus varies between 20th January and 19th February. As the length of a month is 29·53 days, it must consist sometimes of 29, sometimes of 30 days, the latter the more frequently.

It results from the above-described conditions that the equinoxes occur regularly in the second and eighth months, the solstices in the fifth and eleventh months.

The Chinese have no formal division of the month; but it is a common practice among them to speak of anything as happening in the first decade (1st to 10th day), middle decade (11th to 20th day), or last decade, of such a month, much as we say, 'first week in June,' etc.

The first month of the luni-solar year was originally *Yin-yue*, as ordered, according to tradition, by Tschuan-hiü (2513 B.C.). In the second dynasty (1766–1123 B.C.) the beginning of the year had retrograded a month, in the third (1122–255 B.C.) two months, and in the fourth (255–209 B.C.) three months, until the Emperor Wu-ti, in 104 B.C., in his reformation of the calendar, is said to have made the year once more begin with *Yin-yue*—a tradition which must not be taken too strictly.

3. Day.—As already noted, the Chinese divide their days into sexagesimal periods, their names being identical with those of the corresponding years:—*Kia-tsĕ, Yi-tscheu, Ping-yin, Ting-mao, Wu-schin, Ki-szĕ, Keng-ngu, Sin-wei, Jin-schin, Kuei-yeu, Kia-siü, Yi-hai, Ping-tsĕ, Ting-tscheu, Wu-yin, Ki-mao, Keng-schin, Sin-szĕ, Jin-ngu, Kuei-wei, Kia-schin, Yi-yeu, Ping-siü, Ting-hai, Wu-tsĕ, Ki-tscheu, Keng-yin, Sin-mao, Jin-schin, Kuei-szĕ, Kia-ngu, Yi-wei, Ping-schin, Ting-yeu, Wu-siü, Ki-hai, Keng-tsĕ, Sin-tscheu, Jin-yin, Kuei-mao, Kia-schin, Yi-szĕ, Ping-ngu, Ting-wei, Wu-schin, Ki-yeu, Keng-siü, Sin-hai, Jin-tsĕ, Kuei-tscheu, Kia-yin, Yi-mao, Ping-schin, Ting-szĕ, Wu-ngu, Ki-wei, Keng-schin, Sin-yeu, Jin-siü, Kuei-hai*. This cycle of days is found in the most ancient historical records, the dates of important events being recorded by mention of the cyclic day, as well as of the day of the month, month, and year of reign. These cycles, though not used for ordinary purposes, have been continued without interruption to the present time. Besides this the

Chinese have long possessed a cycle of 28 days, designated by the names of the 28 lunar mansions (*sieu, kung*): — *kio* ('horn'), *k'ang* ('neck'), *ti* ('fundament'), *fang* ('room'), *sin* ('heart'), *wei* ('tail'), *ki* ('dung-basket'), *teu* ('winnowing fan'), *nieu* ('cattle'), *nü* ('virgin'), *hiü* ('grave-mound'), *wei* ('house-ridge'), *schi* ('sacrificial hearth'), *pi* ('wall'), *kuei* ('sandal'), *leu* ('harvest woman'), *wei* ('field watchman'), *mao* ('setting sun'), *pi* ('net'), *tsui* ('mouth'), *ts'an* ('exalted'), *tsing* ('well'), *kuei* ('manes'), *lieu* ('pasture'), *sing* ('constellation'), *tschang* ('net'), *yi* ('wing'), *tschen* ('waggon'). The week of seven days, on the other hand, is unknown, except in commercial centres frequented by Europeans, where for Monday, Tuesday, etc., the names 'first day,' 'second day,' etc. (*Li pai yi, Li pai öl*, etc.), have been coined.

The day begins at midnight, and is divided into 12 *tschi* (see above, 1), each of which is subdivided into two parts, the former called *tsch'u* ('beginning') or *kiao* ('odd'), and the latter *tsching* ('even'). Each of these halves is subdivided into four *k'o*, or 'quarters' (*tsch'u-k'o*, 'beginning quarter,' *yi-k'o*, 'first quarter,' etc.); and a *k'o* falls into 15 *fen* ('minutes'), while European influence has introduced further divisions corresponding to 'seconds,' 'forenoon,' and 'afternoon.'

4. Other divisions.—An additional method of marking time is afforded by the 'Twenty-four Solar Terms,' which are divisions of a solar year, and quite independent of the official year with its twelve or thirteen lunar months. These Solar Terms commence alternately on the day of the sun's entry into a sign of the zodiac, and on the day of its reaching the 15th degree in the sign. Their length thus averages 15·22 days, though it varies between 14 and 16 days. The first term begins when the sun reaches the 15th degree in Aquarius, or approximately on the 5th of February. These 'Terms,' which are alternately odd (*tsie*) and even (*k'i*), have the following names:—*Li-tsch'un* ('beginning of spring'), *Yü-schui* ('rain-water'), *King-tschi* ('coming-forth of worms'), *Tsch'ün-fen* ('spring equinox'), *Ts'ing-ming* ('pure clearness'), *Ku-yü* ('seed rain'), *Li-hia* ('beginning of summer'), *Siao-man* ('little fertility'), *Mang-tschung* ('grain in granaries'), *Hia-tschi* ('turning of summer'), *Siao-schu* ('little heat'), *Ta-schu* ('great heat'), *Li-ts'ieu* ('beginning of autumn'), *Tsch'u-schu* ('boundary of heat'), *Pe-lu* ('white dew'), *Ts'ieu-fen* ('autumn equinox'), *Han-lu* ('cold dew'), *Schuang-kiang* ('fall of hoar-frost'), *Li-tung* ('beginning of winter'), *Siao-süe* ('little snow'), *Ta-süe* ('great snow'), *Tung-tschi* ('turning of winter'), *Siao-han* ('little cold'), *Ta-han* ('great cold'). These terms are marked in the almanac published annually by the Government; and agricultural operations, sowing, etc., are always regulated by them. Closely connected with them is the twelve days' cycle often called the 'cycle of choice,' whose twelve signs are associated with the 24 *tsie-k'i* just enumerated, inasmuch as the last day of a *k'i* and the first day of the following *tsie* come under the same sign. The names of the signs of this twelve days' cycle, which has some connexion with astrology, are as follows:—*kien* ('attain'), *tschu* ('exclude'), *man* ('full'), *p'ing* ('indifferent'), *ting* ('determinative'), *tschi* ('seize'), *p'o* ('break'), *wei* ('dangerous'), *tsch'ing* ('complete'), *scheu* ('conceive'), *k'ai* ('open'), *pi* ('close').

Mention should also be made of the three Chinese eras *tschang, pu*, and *ki*. The *tschang* is 19 luni-solar years, when the relation between the rise of the new moon and the beginning of the *k'i* again begins; the *pu* is a cycle of 72 years, when the difference between the tropical solar year and the lunar year is very nearly equal to the product of the sidereal and synodical time of revolution of the moon; and the *ki* is equal to 20 $pu = 1440$ years, and represents 261 sexagesimal cycles.

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CALENDAR (Christian).—The Christian calendar derived its name (in the languages of Western Europe), as it did its form, from the Roman pagan calendar (see CALENDAR [Roman]), which it gradually superseded. The germ of the Christian calendar is to be sought in the customary observance, in each local church, of the death-days of its martyrs and bishops. Lists of these were preserved in the diptychs of each church. References to such lists meet us in St. Cyprian's letters. Writing (*Ep.* 37) about recent martyrs, he gives direction that the day of their death should be noted in order that their commemorations might be celebrated among the memorials of martyrs. In another letter (*Ep.* 34) he mentions as a well-known custom the celebration of the anniversaries of the Passions of martyrs. Tertullian (*de Corona*, xiii.), reproving Christians for taking part in pagan commemorations, reminds them that they have their own registers and *fasti*. Sozomen (*HE* v. 3) testifies in regard to two neighbouring towns in Palestine, Gaza and Constantia, that, although they were united by Julian under one civil government, each retained the festivals of its martyrs and the commemorations of the priests who had presided over it. See, further, COMMEMORATION OF THE DEAD.

1. Calendar of Filocalus.—The earliest festival lists which have come down to us belong to the local church of Rome. They are contained in a compilation of chronological documents of the date A.D. 354—itself a re-publication of an edition of 336. The title-page is inscribed 'Furius Dionysius Filocalus titulavit.' The name of this calligrapher is found in two inscriptions in Rome, in one of which he describes himself as 'Damasi Papae cultor atque amator.' He appears to have been employed by Damasus in designing the lettering for the metrical epitaphs which that Pope wrote for the tombs of the martyrs. The compilation commences with a civil calendar giving the national pagan festivals, but marking the Christian week by the letters A–G, which are prefixed in regular sequence to the days, side by side with the nundinal letters A–H. This probably had become a feature of the State calendar since the observance of Sunday had been legally sanctioned by Constantine in 321. There is a list of consuls from B.C. 510 to A.D. 354, in connexion with which certain Christian events are noted, viz. the birth and the death of Christ, and the arrival in Rome of SS. Peter and Paul, and their martyrdom. Other civil documents are also given. Of special Christian interest are a table of the days of the occurrence of Easter from 312 to 411, a catalogue of Bishops of Rome from Peter to Liberius, and two lists entitled respectively 'Depositio episcoporum' and 'Depositio martyrum,' which note in calendar order the days of the burial of the Roman bishops and martyrs, with the place of their interment, where the memorial service was annually held. In these two lists, which we may assume were copied from official archives, we have the calendar of the Church of Rome, as concerned immovable feasts, of the year 354.

With very few exceptions all the entries appear in the Roman calendar of the present day.

An analysis of this primitive calendar yields the following results. The 'Depositio episcoporum' contains the names of twelve bishops from Lucius (254) to Julius (352). The last two, Marcus and Julius, are inserted at the end, out of calendar order, by the second editor. One bishop of the period, Marcellus, is omitted, and another, Xystus (Sixtus), is placed in the martyr list. In the 'Depositio martyrum' 52 names appear, of which several are frequently assigned to a single day—that, no doubt, on which they suffered together, as we know to have been the case with Perpetua and Felicitas. 24 days in all are observed—Christmas, which heads the list, and St. Peter's Chair, Feb. 22 ('VIII. Kal. Martias, Natale Petri de cathedra') being included. The only entries relating to foreigners are: 'Non. Martias [March 7] (depositio) Perpetuae et Felicitatis, Africae'; and 'XVIII. Kal. Octob. [Sept. 14] Cypriani, Africae, Romae celebratur in (coemeterio) Callisti.' There is no notice of martyrs who suffered before the 3rd century. The earliest mentioned are Perpetua and Felicitas (202). The oldest Romans are Callistus (222), Oct. 14, and Hippolytus and Pontianus (235), Aug. 13. We may therefore conclude that the practice of celebrating the anniversaries of the martyrs at their graves did not arise at Rome until the 3rd century. If the festival of any martyr of the 1st or 2nd cent. had become traditional, it would hardly have failed to find mention in the 'Depositio martyrum.' The entry 'Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense Tusco et Basso Cons.' [June 29] is not the anniversary of the martyrdom of these Apostles, but the commemoration of the translation of their remains in the year 258. The collection of Filocalus was preserved until recent times in two MSS of the 8th or 9th century. One of these has totally disappeared, but two 17th cent. copies remain, one at Brussels and the other at Rome. Of the second MS, two fragments only survive in the library of Berne, but a copy made from it when entire is in the Imperial library at Vienna. (Mommsen has published the civil calendar in *CIL* i. 334, the other documents in *Mon. Germ. Auct. Ant.* ix. 13 f. For a summary of the contents of the collection, see Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, i. 1892, p. vi. f., and see also Rossi-Duchesne, *Acta Sanct.*, Nov., tom. 2, pars i. p. xlviii. f.)

2. Gothic calendar.—A fragment of a list of martyrs, in the Gothic language, of the end of the 4th cent., has been published by Mai from an ancient palimpsest in the Ambrosian library at Milan (*Script. Vet.* v. 66), and by Migne (*PL* xviii. 878). It contains 38 days only,—from Oct. 23 to Nov. 30,—and in addition to national saints includes the Apostles Philip and Andrew, and the Emperor Constantine.

3. Calendar of Polemius Silvius.—A calendar of complete framework, *i.e.* with all the days of the year inserted, was drawn up by Polemius Silvius in 448—in an appendix he names the consuls of the following year—and addressed to Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons (d. 450). Silvius had before him another calendar, which, as he says in the preface, he set himself to simplify for the use of the unlearned. The calendar has a curious resemblance to a modern almanac. Historical dates are entered, as, *e.g.*, the day of the capture of Rome by the Gauls (Id. Feb.). The words 'Kalendæ' 'Nonæ,' 'Idus,' 'Epiphania' are explained by the author after a manner of his own. Weather indications are given. A few pagan festivals are recorded, evidently as legal or business dates. Christian commemorations are connected with 10 days only, and include Christmas, St. Stephen, Epiphany, St. Vincent (Jan. 22), the Passion (March 25), the Resurrection (March 27), St. Lawrence (Aug. 10), Hippolytus (Aug. 12), and the Depositio SS. Petri et Pauli, which is assigned to Feb. 22 instead of June 29. The Maccabees (Aug. 1)—the one OT commemoration in the West—appears here for the first time. This calendar is preserved in a single MS of the 12th cent. in the public library at Brussels (edited Boll. *Acta SS.*, June, vol. vii., Migne, *PL* xiii. 676, and Mommsen, *CIL* i. 335).

4. Calendar of Tours.—A list of the fasts and vigils in the diocese of Tours instituted by Bishop Perpetuus (461–490) finds a place in the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory, Bishop of Tours (x. 31). It mentions only the chief festivals, *i.e.* those preceded by a vigil. These are Christmas, Epiphany, the Resurrection on the fixed day March 27 (VI. Kal. April.—the only date given), as well as Easter and Ascension Day; also, among others, the Nativity and Passion of St. John Baptist,[1] St. Martin, St. Hilary, St. Peter's Chair (Natale S[ti] Petri episcopatus), and SS. Peter and Paul. The station days, *quarta et sexta feria*, from Quinquagesima to St. John Baptist's day, are appointed for observance amongst the fasts.

5. Calendar of Carthage. This calendar was first edited in 1682 by Mabillon in his *Vetera Analecta*, Paris, iii. 398. It was discovered by him in the monastery of Clugny, written on two parchment sheets, since lost, which formed the covering of a copy of St. Jerome's commentary on Isaiah. In this calendar, of the earlier Carthaginian bishops Cyprian (d. 258) alone is mentioned, being honoured as a martyr; eight bishops are commemorated as such, from Gratus who was present at the Council of Sardica (343) to Eugenius (d. 505). This latter date therefore marks the age of the final redaction of the calendar. From the names of the bishops, and that of St. Augustine (Aug. 29), we conclude that the calendar belonged to the Catholic Church and not to the Donatists. It begins on XIII. Kal. Maïas (19th April), and ends on XIV. Kal. Mart. (Feb. 16)—the nine weeks during which Lent occurs being omitted, either through compliance with the Eastern custom, attested by the Council of Laodicea (between 343 and 381), which discouraged festivals at that time, or simply owing to a defect in the MS. The heading is: 'Hic continentur dies nataliciorum martyrum et depositiones episcoporum quos ecclesia Cartagenis anniversaria celebrant.' Martyrs and bishops are not separated, as in the Roman calendar, but the distinction is maintained by the different descriptions—*natalicia* (birthdays, *i.e.* into the higher life) and *depositiones* (burials)—of their days in the heading. Moreover, in the list 'depositio' is prefixed to each bishop, except in the case of Cyprian (Sept. 14), who is classed among the martyrs. The number of days commemorated — 79 — shows a large increase when compared with the 12 and 24 of the Roman lists of a century and a half before. The calendar has also become wider in its scope: 18 foreign names appear in it, as compared with the 2 in the Roman. Among these we observe 9 Roman saints, 3 of whom are not found in Filocalus, though no doubt at this time they were commemorated also at Rome. And, as regards the African saints, they do not belong exclusively to Carthage, as the names in the Roman calendar are all Roman. Martyrs are included from the three ancient African provinces, viz. Africa proper, Numidia, and Mauretania. Festivals in honour of NT events and personages have multiplied. Christmas is now followed by its attendant feasts, St. Stephen (Dec. 26), St. John,[2] here coupled with his brother James (Dec. 27), and the Holy Infants (Dec. 28). With Christmas is also connected the day of St. John Baptist, *i.e.* his Nativity (VIII. Kal. Jul.–VIII. Kal. Jan. representing the six months' interval of Lk 1[36]). We find also Epiphany (Jan. 6), SS. Peter and Paul (June 29), St. Luke (Oct. 13), and St. Andrew (Nov. 29). The Maccabees (Aug. 1) has now gained a firm footing in the West (see Calendar of P. Silvius above, § 3).

6. Syrian calendar.—The calendars which have hitherto occupied us were mainly of a local character. We come now to a calendar which takes a wider range, being formed by the inclusion of the Saints' lists of several Churches.

In 1837 there was discovered by Dr. Henry Tattam in the monastery of St. Mary Deipara, on the Nitrian Lakes in

[1] In the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* the mass for St. John Baptist (*i.e.* his Nativity) is followed by a mass for his Passion (Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* 1748, 878, 9).

[2] The text has 'sancti Johannis *Baptistae*'—undoubtedly a copyist's error for *Apostoli*, as the Baptist is commemorated in the calendar on June 24.

Egypt, a codex containing—in addition to the *Clementine Recognitions*, Eusebius on the *Theophania*, and other works—an ancient calendar written in Syriac. Tattam acquired the MS for the British Museum, where it now lies. The calendar was first edited by W. Wright in the *Journ. of Sacred Lit.*, 1866, viii. 45 ff., with an Eng. tr. 423 ff., and subsequently by R. Graffin in the 2nd Nov. vol. of the *Acta Sanctorum*, lii., the names being turned into Greek by Duchesne. A note in the last page of the codex is to the effect that it was completed at Edessa in 411.

The calendar consists of two parts. Part I. is arranged according to the Roman months (to which Syriac titles are given), and contains the names of martyrs belonging to the Roman Empire. It begins on the day after Christmas (Dec. 26),[1] and ends on Nov. 24. Part II. contains a list of Persian martyrs, arranged in the order of their ecclesiastical standing as bishops, presbyters, and deacons. As no dates are given, it must be regarded as a historical record, not as a calendar of martyr-festivals.

The calendar proper (*i.e.* Part I.) is evidently compiled from the martyr-lists of the chief cities in the Eastern (trans-Adriatic) part of the Empire. Only one local Roman feast (Xystus) occurs in it, and one African (Perpetua and her companions). The place of honour is given to Nicomedia, which has been credited with by far the largest number (32) of entries. From this and other indications we may infer that the first editor had his home in Nicomedia, and wrote in Greek. The date of his work is not earlier than 362, as martyrs are recorded who are mentioned by Socrates and Sozomen as having suffered under Julian. Owing to careless editing, many saints are mentioned twice or even thrice. The names of distinguished martyrs had found place not only in their own but in other calendars, and when the lists were combined, in cases where the day of celebration differed, they were allowed to appear again and again. The compilation is made up of Arian calendars. In the list received from Alexandria, Athanasius is omitted, but Arius is included. 'At Alexandria, Areios the presbyter' is the entry opposite July 6. Lucian (of (Antioch), Jan. 7, and Eusebius (of Cæsarea), May 30, are also commemorated. Possibly also 'Eusebius,' Nov. 8, is the Arian bishop of Nicomedia. But in substance the Catholic and Arian calendars must have been much the same, as after the schism both parties, no doubt, retained the old lists, merely adding distinguished partisans. In 15 entries the words 'of the ancient martyrs' are added to the name. If, as seems likely, this means that the martyrs mentioned suffered before the persecution of Diocletian, it follows that by far the greater number of the names of this calendar date from that persecution. From Nicomedia the calendar in all probability came to Antioch, and there received the long list of martyrs, falling little short of the Nicomedian, credited to that city. Thence it was carried to Edessa, where it was translated into the Syriac vernacular, and again augmented by the addition of local saints. Here also the list of Persian martyrs was appended; and, as thus edited, the calendar in the MS of 411 has come down to us. In this calendar the only festivals other than Saints' days noted are Epiphany and Easter, the latter in connexion with the commemoration of All Martyrs, which is assigned to the following Friday. The only Apostles commemorated are SS. John and James (Dec. 27), and SS. Paul and Peter (Dec. 28). St. Stephen, who is also called an Apostle, appears on Dec. 26.

7. The Hieronymian Martyrology.—The tendency to combine local festival records in one list, which we observe in the Syrian calendar, finds its fullest development in the compilation which came to be popularly known as the Hieronymian Martyrology.[1] It comprises, as its chief elements, the calendars of Rome, Carthage, and Syria. The nucleus of the work is the Roman calendar, but of a later stage than that presented to us by Filocalus. As it appears in H.M., it shows a great increase in martyr festivals. The 22 days marked for observance in A.D. 354 have grown to some 150, and, instead of the one or two names then allotted to each day, groups—sometimes large groups—of names are almost invariably found. The calendar has, moreover, ceased to be merely urban and suburban. It includes all Middle Italy. Opposite 'Romæ' are placed festivals of places a considerable distance from the city, even as far off as Forum Sempronii, 174 miles away—the number of miles from Rome being here, as elsewhere, noted in the text. The list of Roman bishops, kept separate from that of the martyrs by the chronographer of 354, has been made a part of the general calendar, and has been continued (with the sole omission of Zosimus) to Boniface I., of whom both the consecration day (IV. Kal. Jan.) and the death day (II. Non. Sept.) are given. As the consecration day would be observed only during the lifetime of the bishop, it may be concluded that the Roman calendar was received into the work shortly after the death of Boniface (422). After Boniface only Popes of wide-spread fame appear—such as Leo the Great, Hilary, and Gregory the Great—attached to whose names often occurs a notice showing that they were exceptionally added: *e.g.* IV. Id. Sept. 'Hilarius per quem Victorius ordinem paschalem conscripsit.' With the Roman calendar were incorporated the calendars, in part or whole, of other Italian cities—which probably already formed two collections (of Upper and Lower Italy) before they came into the compiler's hands—and the calendar of Carthage. To the calendar of the West thus formed, a later editor added the Syrian festival list—that is, its first part, for of the second he seems wholly ignorant—and thus gave a kind of ecumenical character to the work. Like the Roman, the two other chief sources have been received into H.M. with augmentations, as compared, that is, with the independent forms known to us. The African list has been swollen by a number of martyrs who, it has been conjectured, suffered during the raid of Genseric, 428 (Achelis, *Die Mart.* pp. 103, 107). The Syrian calendar has been extended to 460, as the translation of the remains of St. Simeon Stylites, which took place in that year, is commemorated on Jan. 5. It is noteworthy that the editor, who evidently accepted the calendar as Catholic, has in all innocence taken over its Arian colouring, the commemoration of the two bishops Eusebius being retained, and even that of Arius himself, his name appearing in the corrupted forms Arthoci, Artotes, or Ari Thoti in different MSS.

The preface to H.M. takes the form of a letter addressed to St. Jerome by two bishops of North Italy, Chromatius of Aquileia and Heliodorus of Altinum, in which they beg him to send them from the archives of Cæsarea the famous festal calendar of Eusebius; and of his reply, stating that he was sending them this calendar in a curtailed form which included only the most notable martyrs, and with the names arranged according to the months and days of the year. It was through this fabulous association of the work with St. Jerome (d. 420) that the Martyrology received its name, and no doubt won in large measure the prominent position which it attained. The preface is first cited by Cassiodorus (*de Institutione Divin. litt.* xxxii., Migne, *PL* lxx. 1148) in 544. As H.M. must have been then in currency, its final compilation, *i.e.* that which united its Eastern with its Western elements, may be assigned to an earlier date (*c.* 530) in the 6th century. Towards the end of that cent. the knowledge of it had reached the East. In 598, Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, requested Gregory the Great to send him 'the deeds of the martyrs collected by Eusebius,'—a clear reference to the preface of H.M.,—and the Pope in his reply alludes plainly to the Martyrology. The compiler of H.M. was undoubtedly a native of North Italy. The additions which he made to his ancient materials are, as we have seen, mainly

[1] The omission of Christmas is remarkable. It probably stood at the commencement of the year in the original Greek text, and was struck out by the Syrian copyist, influenced by the usage of his own Church.

[1] Hereafter cited as H.M.

Italian, and the memorials of the northern cities seem best known to him. He has also selected North Italian bishops as correspondents with St. Jerome in the preface.

A work like H.M. would naturally receive augmentations from time to time. The most remarkable of these took place in Gaul. The numerous, almost daily, notices of Gallican saints, with other indications of Gallican use, point to this. Probably this expansion of H.M. occurred at Auxerre, which, although a comparatively insignificant town, furnishes more festivals than any other, and has all its bishops noticed but one. The last bishop whose name is recorded is Aunacharius, and, as his 'natale,' *i.e.* entrance upon office (Prid. Kal. Aug.), only—and not his death—is commemorated, we may assume that the recension was made during his lifetime or shortly after (*c.* 592). All existing MSS of H.M. are derived from this Gallican edition. The Martyrology contains more than 8000 names of saints, large groups being allotted to each day. On June 2 the names of 220 saints appear. It frequently happens that the same martyr is commemorated on different days, in connexion with different places. This was a natural result of an uncritical combination of several calendars, when no care was taken to avoid repetitions. Transcriptional errors abound, in many cases rendering the entries unmeaning. We find often, as in the instance given above, names divided, or two names fused into one. 'Milia' is sometimes changed into 'milites.' The names of cemeteries are regarded as names of martyrs. So great is the confusion, that de Buck, the first critical reviewer of H.M., gives as his verdict: 'Nullus forte in universa antiquitate horribilior liber' (Prœmium to *Index Hagiologicus ad Acta SS. Supplementum*, Oct.). And the latest editors, de Rossi and Duchesne, in despair of emending the text, have simply printed the three chief MSS in parallel columns (their edition is prefixed to *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., tom. ii., pars prior).

8. The later Martyrologies. —Martyrologies, called 'Menologies' by the Greeks, are distinguished from calendars in this, that they do not merely give the names and dates of saints, but add historical or legendary accounts of their martyrdoms. Occasionally in H.M. the entries of the deaths of martyrs are thus enlarged, but this feature became characteristic in the works which succeeded and were based upon it, and which are therefore properly termed Historical Martyrologies. The chief sources from which these accounts are derived are, in addition to H.M., the *Passions* and *Acts of the Martyrs*, the works of Eusebius, Rufinus, Jerome, Cyprian, Gregory the Great, the *Liber pontificalis*, etc.

The series of Historical Martyrologies commences with the *Martyrologium Romanum Parvum*,[1] composed at Rome about 700. It makes a rather sparing use of biographical matter, so that the *Passions* found in H.M. are often more diffuse. About the same time Bede drew up his Martyrology. He made large extracts from his authorities, and added several English and Frankish saints to the Roman list, and also, contrary to the Western usage, introduced some names from the OT, taking their dates from Greek Menologies. He left many days vacant, but these were filled up by later hands, so that it is impossible to decide how much of the Martyrology ascribed to Bede is actually his. Bede was followed by a line of successors, each of whom used the works of his predecessors, while availing himself of other materials. These subsequent writers were Florus of Lyons (*c.* 830); Wandelbert of Prum, who composed a metrical Martyrology (*c.* 848); Hrabanus Maurus (*c.* 850), whose work, in the opinion of Achelis, is independent of Bede; Ado, Bishop of Vienne (*c.* 870); Usuard, a monk of St. Germain-des-Prés, Paris (*c.* 875), whose book is practically an epitome of Ado's, and was the most used of all the Historical Martyrologies; and Notker Balbulus, a monk of St. Gall (*c.* 896). The *Martyrologium Romanum*, which was compiled by Baronius at the instance of Gregory XIII., is a revised and augmented edition of Usuard. It was prescribed for exclusive use in choir, at the canonical hours, by a Papal brief in 1584.

Achelis traces a twofold series of Martyrologies, starting from H.M.: a Roman-French line, viz. M.R.P., Ado, Usuard, and Baronius; and an Anglo Saxon-German line, viz. Bede, Florus, Wandelbert, Hrabanus Maurus, and Notker. Dom Quentin does not make this distinction. He regards Bede as the source of all the later Martyrologies, and places M.R.P. late in the series, after 848.

The forementioned Martyrologies were written in Latin. A Martyrology in Anglo Saxon, which is probably a translation made *c.* 850 from a Latin original of 750, has been edited by Herzfeld, London, 1900. Two others, in Irish, and including many Irish saints, have come down to us—the Martyrology of Oengus, of the date 804, composed in rhymed verse, and the Martyrology of Gorman, also metrical, written between 1166 and 1174 (both edited by Whitley Stokes for Henry Bradshaw Society, 1895 and 1905). The need for Historical Martyrologies arose from the practice of reading the *Passions of the Saints* during Divine Service. This custom is first mentioned by Aurelian, Bishop of Arles (545) (*Regula ad monachos*, Migne, *PL* lxviii. 396). It was the origin of the Lections subsequently inserted in the Breviary. The earlier practice was to read passages from Holy Scripture alone.

[1] Hereafter cited as M.R.P.

9. Later calendars.—We have seen that H.M. is essentially a collection of the calendars of local churches. Such calendars, in fact, could be in many cases reconstructed from the materials which it furnishes. But, apart from H.M. and the early calendars of which we have already treated, we do not meet with calendars proper until the 8th century. In the West, however, the lack of calendars is supplied by the liturgical books of the Roman and Gallican (*i.e.* non-Roman) rites, as in them provision is made for special Masses on Sundays and other days of observance, following the local festival lists. The books of the Greek Church do not help us here, as it has never been the Eastern custom to vary the Liturgy according to the day or season. In the Western Service-books the Sunday cycle appears for the first time, and thus an important feature is supplied, in which the early calendars and the Martyrologies, which, with rare exceptions, notice immovable feasts only, are lacking. At first the Saints' days were distributed through the whole year, but eventually, as their number continued to increase, they were placed together in a separate division of the Service-books, the *Proprium de sanctis*, apart from the cycle of Sunday services, the *Proprium de tempore*.

Belonging to the 7th cent., among books of the Gallican rite, we have the *Missale Gothicum*, which was apparently drawn up for the diocese of Autun; the Lectionary (*i.e.* book of Lections read in the Mass throughout the year) of Luxeuil, which probably represents the use of the church of Paris (Dom Morin, *Revue Bénédictine*, 1893, p. 438); and the Lectionary of Silos (ed. Morin, Bruges, 1893, under the title *Liber Comicus*),[1] which shows the festival list of the ancient ecclesiastical province of Toledo. To the 7th cent. also belongs the Gelasian Sacramentary, a Roman Service-book in use in France before the time of Charlemagne. The earlier Leonine Sacramentary, being a private collection of Masses, is an uncertain guide as to the calendar of its age.

Coming to the 8th cent., we have the Gregorian Sacramentary, containing the Roman liturgical services of the time, adapted for use in France (for the Roman Sacramentaries, see art. COLLECT). In it, with Alcuin's supplement, the Sunday cycle, as represented in the *Proprium de tempore* of the later missals, is almost complete. We have also the Calendar of Charlemagne (ed. Piper, Berlin, 1858)—a Roman calendar with many Frankish saints inserted. Of the same age is a Lectionary published by Fronteau in 1652, from a MS written in gold characters belonging to the Church of St. Geneviève, Paris. The East is represented in this century by Coptic calendars published by Selden (*de Synedriis*, iii. 15, London, 1650–55) from MSS which have since disappeared; and by the Menology of Constantinople, which gives a long list of the martyrs, confessors, and doctors of the Eastern Church, but only three martyrs of the West—Lawrence, Gervasius, and Protasius (ed. by Morcelli, Rome, 1788).

To the 9th cent. belongs the Sacramentary of Cologne, which contains a complete calendar—that of Rome, with the addition of the local saints of Cologne. The Sacramentary has been printed, but without the calendar, by Pamelius, *Liturgicon Eccles. Lat.*, tom. ii., Cologne, 1571. The 'Comes' of Ada at Trèves, with full festival list, is also of this cent. (ed. in *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 16–27); so is the marble calendar of Naples, which is remarkable as containing several Eastern features; *e.g.* OT personages are admitted, the Council of Ephesus is commemorated (Aug. 4), also Constantine (May 21), Theodosius (Nov. 10), and a few Bishops of Constantinople (ed. Mai, *Nova Coll. Script. Vet.*, Rome, 1821). Another calendar of the 9th cent. is incorporated in a treatise *de Computo*

[1] From 'Comes' = 'Lectionarius,' *i.e.* the book which is the 'companion' of the priest in Divine worship.

by an unknown author (Migne, *PL* cxxix. 1274). It seems to belong to the diocese of Sens. The Leofric Missal (ed. Warren, Oxford, 1883) contains the calendar of Glastonbury, *c.* 970. At foot of p. xliv. the editor gives a list of English calendars in MSS of 9th to 11th centuries. The Bosworth Psalter (ed. Gasquet and Bishop, London, 1908), gives the calendar of Canterbury (between 988 and 1023) practically as it stood before Archbishop Lanfranc substituted for it the calendar of Winchester, the capital.

When Missals and Breviaries took the place of the earlier Sacramentaries, Lectionaries, etc., they were generally provided with calendars. A great number of these, and also of separate calendars, have survived, and many have been published. See for specimens Hampson, *Medii ævi Kalendarium*, vol. i., London, 1841.

With the exception of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon documents already referred to, vernacular calendars are hardly met with until towards the close of the Middle Ages. A calendar in French, of the 13th cent., is preserved in the Library of Paris. Another in Norman French of the 14th cent. (Harl. MSS. Cod. 273) is included in Hampson's collection (see above). Calendars in German also appear for the first time in the 14th century. The mediæval calendars, like those prefixed to modern missals and breviaries, and to the Book of Common Prayer, are 'perpetual,' *i.e.* not for any special year, but containing only the invariable elements common to all years, tables being generally provided by which the movable feasts for any particular year may be ascertained. The first printed calendars imitate the MSS in their arrangement, and, like them, are perpetual. Weale (*Analecta liturgica*, vol. i., Lille and Bruges, 1889) gives calendars of the 15th and early 16th cent. belonging to several continental dioceses. Heitz (*Hundert Kalender-Inkunabeln*, Strassburg, 1905) has reproduced in facsimile 100 calendars printed for popular use in Germany in the 16th century. They consist of single broadsheets, are mainly written in German, and mostly contain only a few dates, ecclesiastical and civil. The first calendar for a definite year was printed in German and Latin by John Regiomontanus at Nuremberg in 1475. It is arranged for the years 1475, 1494, and 1513, as the first years of a nineteen-year cycle, and so designed that the dates for other years can be calculated from it.

10. **The Sunday cycle.**—(1) *Western.*—All Sundays in the year, like the movable festivals, depend upon the date of Easter, with the exception of those connected with Advent and Christmas, *i.e.* those which occur from Nov. 27 to Jan. 6, both inclusive. The Sunday cycle begins with Advent Sunday, which is always the nearest Sunday to the Feast of St. Andrew (Nov. 30), either before or after. Three more Sundays in Advent follow; then two after Christmas, in case Advent Sunday falls on a day from Nov. 28 to Dec. 1, otherwise only one. Next come Sundays after Epiphany—from one to six, according to the position of Easter; Septuagesima; Sexagesima; Quinquagesima; six Sundays in Lent—the two last being generally known as Passion Sunday and Palm Sunday; Easter Day; five Sundays after Easter; Sunday after Ascension; Whitsunday; Trinity Sunday; and lastly, Sundays after Trinity—from twenty-two to twenty-seven, according as Easter falls later or earlier. The reckoning of Sundays after Trinity is that of the Church of England, and the one that appears in most English almanacs. The Church of Rome and the Greek Church number the Sundays after Pentecost (Whitsunday).

(2) *Eastern.*—In the East, all the Sundays except those immediately before and after Christmas Day, Epiphany, and the Exaltation, depend upon Easter. According to the calendar of Constantinople, with which the Russian and Georgian practically agree, the cycle of Sunday observance begins with the Sunday which in the West immediately precedes Septuagesima; *i.e.* it starts with the season preparatory to Easter. The Sundays usually take their names from the Gospel of the day. The 1st Sunday is called the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee (Lk 18^{10-14}). Then follow in order: the Sunday of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15^{11-32}); Abstinence Sunday, *κυριακὴ τῆς ἀπόκρεω* (the Western Sexagesima)—so called because it is the last day on which flesh is eaten, though the fast does not begin until the following week; Cheese-eating Sunday, *κυριακὴ τῆς τυροφάγου* (Quinquagesima)—thus named because cheese and butter are allowed to be eaten until the end of the day; 1st Sunday of the Fast, or of Orthodoxy (1st Sunday in Lent)—commemorating the conclusion of the iconoclastic controversy; 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th Sundays of the Fast; Palm Sunday [Holy and Great Monday, Tuesday, etc.]; Easter Day (*κ. τοῦ Πάσχα*), sometimes called Bright (*Λάμπρα*) Sunday [Monday, Tuesday, etc., of the Renewal (*Διακαινήσιμος*)]; Antipascha, or Sunday of St. Thomas (Jn 20^{19-31}); Sunday of the Ointment-Bearers (Mk 15^{43}–16^{8}); Sunday of the Paralytic (Jn 5^{1-15}); Sunday of the Samaritan Woman (Jn 4^{5-42}); Sunday of the Blind Man (Jn 9^{1-38}) [Ascension Thursday]; Sunday of the 318 Fathers of Nicæa; Holy Pentecost; and All Saints' Sunday (Trinity Sunday). The Sundays that follow are numbered after Pentecost, or are styled the Sundays of St. Matthew. Next come Sunday before the Exaltation, *i.e.* of the Holy Cross (Sept. 14); and Sunday after the Exaltation. The Sundays onwards, up to that which corresponds with the Western 2nd Sunday in Advent, are numbered after Pentecost, or are styled Sundays of St. Luke. Then follow: Sunday of the Holy Forefathers; Sunday before the Nativity of Christ; Sunday after the Nativity; Sunday before the Lights, *i.e.* Epiphany; and Sunday after the Lights. The remaining Sundays, up to the Sunday of the Publican, are reckoned after Pentecost, or are called Sundays of St. Luke.

11. **The computation of Easter.**—The primitive Christians all agreed in celebrating Christ's death and resurrection at the season when they actually occurred, that is, at the time of the Jewish Passover. They also agreed that the Crucifixion took place on a Friday which coincided with the 14th day of the first Jewish (lunar) month Nisan, the day on which the Paschal lamb was slain. But a division of opinion prevailed as to the days or day on which the death and resurrection should be commemorated. The Christians of Rome and of the West, claiming the authority of St. Peter and St. Paul, with many Eastern Churches, attached most importance to the days of the week, Friday and Sunday, on which these events happened. If 14th Nisan did not fall upon a Friday, they celebrated the death of Christ on the Friday following it, and the resurrection on the Sunday that succeeded, continuing their fast until the latter date. On the other hand, the Christians of Asia (proconsular) and of some neighbouring provinces, who traced their tradition back to St. John and St. Philip, insisted upon the observance of the day of the month on which our Lord suffered, hence receiving the name of 'Quartodecimans.' They always celebrated Christ's death on 14th Nisan, irrespective of the day of the week, and, ending their fast at 3 p.m. (the hour when our Lord expired), then began their Paschal feast, thus commemorating the death and resurrection on the same day. It is noteworthy that 'Pascha,' which subsequently came to mean the day of the resurrection, was employed, when first used as a Christian term, to designate the day of the passion (Tertullian, *adv. Jud.* 10; *de Bapt.* 19). The distinction of *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*, Good Friday, from *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*, Easter Day, marks a transitional use of the word (Suicer, *Thes. eccl.* ii. 621 f., i. 304).

The first recorded occasion on which the two customs came into competition was the visit of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, to Anicetus, Bishop of Rome (*c.* 158). It was then judged fitting that each party should abide by its own usage. The controversy was renewed in 198 by a later Bishop of Rome, Victor. At his instance, apparently, several Councils were held in the East and West, which decided against the Quartodecimans. These refused to give up their traditional usage, and found a champion in Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, who wrote a vigorous letter to Victor in defence of their position. Victor excommunicated the Quartodecimans, and endeavoured, but without success, to induce other Churches to do the same. Finally, mainly through the mediation of Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, who, as a native of Asia and a Western bishop, was in touch with both parties, peace was restored, and the Asiatics were allowed to retain their usage until the Council of Nicæa (Eusebius, *HE* v. 23, 24).

As Christians made their Paschal anniversaries coincide in season with the Passover, so, for a long period, they were satisfied to accept the Jewish computation of the time of that festival, which should fall on the first full moon after the vernal equinox. But in the 3rd cent., owing to supposed errors in the Jewish calculation, which was based on a lunar cycle of 84 years, and also doubtless with the desire to be independent of the Jews, Christians began to frame lunar cycles for themselves. The earliest of such cycles extant is one drawn up at Rome by Hippolytus, about the year 222. This was a 16-year cycle, that is, it assumed that the new moons fell on the same days of the month at the end of every 16 years. So highly esteemed was Hippolytus for his work, that a statue of him, still in existence, was erected in Rome, with his cycle engraved on the sides. But the cycle proved faulty, and although emended in 243 by another calculator, the author of *de Pascha computus* (published as an appendix to St. Cyprian's works), it was not retained in use. In the beginning of the 4th cent. we find an 84-year cycle again employed at Rome (Ideler, ii. 238). At Antioch the computation according to the Jewish methods was maintained until the Council of Nicæa. It was at Alexandria that special study was given to the question, and from it ultimately came the ruling which found general acceptance. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, in a Festal Epistle (*c.* 250) published the earliest Greek Paschal canon on record. It was calculated on an 8-year cycle, and it specified that Easter should not be celebrated until after the vernal equinox (Eusebius, *HE* vii. 20). Subsequently (*c.* 277) Anatolius, a native of Alexandria and afterwards Bishop of Laodicea, took the momentous step of making Meton's cycle (see below) of 19 years the basis of a new Paschal canon (*ib.* vii. 32). This was adopted at Alexandria, with the important change that the vernal equinox, which, according to Anatolius, fell on March 19, was assigned to March 21.

It should here be stated, for the sake of clearness, that the need for the employment of cycles for fixing the date of Easter arises from the fact that the conditions for determining it involve both the solar and the lunar year. As Easter day must be a Sunday, and one subsequent to the vernal equinox, the solar year is involved. As, again, Easter day bears a certain relation to the age of the moon, the lunar month and year become a necessary element in the calculation. The Metonic cycle was that upon which the determination of Easter was finally based. Meton, an Athenian astronomer, discovered (*c.* 433 B.C.) that in 19 solar years there are almost exactly 235 lunar synodic months, so that after the completion of every cycle of 19 years the new moons, and therefore all other phases of the moon, recur in the same order and on the same days of the month as they did at the beginning of the cycle. An error in the Metonic cycle was pointed out and corrected by Callippus of Cyzicus in 340 B.C. Meton calculated that 19 solar years contained 6940 days. He therefore assumed that the length of the solar year was $365\frac{5}{19}$ days, that is $\frac{1}{76}$ longer than $365\frac{1}{4}$ days—a more approximate length, as was afterwards ascertained, and later on adopted in the Julian calendar. This excess would amount to a whole day in 76 years. The Metonic cycle, therefore, would be a day wrong at the end of that time, and should be corrected by dropping a day. This was done by a rule introduced by Callippus that every fourth cycle should consist of 6939 days instead of 6940. Some 200 years later a further correction was made by Hipparchus. He found that the Callippic year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days was about $\frac{1}{300}$ of a day too long, and therefore proposed to omit one day at the end of every 304th year.

The lack of uniformity as to the date of Easter caused many inconveniences, and exposed Christians to the derision of pagans (Epiphan. *Hær.* lxx. 14). In the West the 1st Council of Arles (314) attempted, but without success, to make the existing Roman use universal by decreeing 'ut Pascha Dominicum uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur' (Mansi, *Collect. Concil.* ii. 471). The Council of Nicæa (325), at the request of the Emperor Constantine, next took up the matter. Its deliberations, we know, resulted in the decision—involving the condemnation of the Quartodecimans—that Easter day should always be kept on a Sunday and never at the same time as the Jewish Passover (Socrates, *HE* i. 9; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 18), but what the Council further decreed on the subject is involved in doubt. St. Ambrose, in a letter written about 60 years afterwards, states that it resolved that the moon of the first month should be determined by the cycle of 19 years (Ambrose, *Oper.* ii. 880, *Epist.* 23). But in the extant records of the Council no trace of such a decree exists. The most probable solution of the difficulty is that the Council commissioned the Church of Alexandria, as most skilled in astronomical science, to frame a rule based on the 19-year cycle.[1] After the Council of Nicæa, the Paschal computation of Alexandria was generally accepted throughout the East, but the Roman Church retained its own rules of calculation; so that it frequently happened that Easter was celebrated on different days at Rome and Alexandria. At last, through the instrumentality of Dionysius, a Scythian and a Roman monk, the question was settled. The Alexandrian computation, as modified by him in 525, was adopted at Rome, and subsequently gained universal acceptance in West and East.

The countries which fell latest into line with the rest of the Church in the matter were the British Isles and Gaul. The British and Irish Christians had learnt to compute Easter according to the cycle of 84 years which had been in use at Rome in the beginning of the 4th cent., and they continued this practice unaffected by changes elsewhere. Not only was this cycle erroneous in its method, but it permitted the occurrence of Easter Sunday from 14th to 20th Nisan (Bede, *HE* ii. 2, 4, 19). As 16th Nisan is the earliest day on which Easter can fall, we may probably see here the result of a confusion between the earlier and the later meaning of *pascha*—that word, which in 300 meant Good Friday, had now come to mean Easter day. The bitter controversies on the Easter question which followed the arrival of the Roman St. Augustine in England were not settled until 747, when the Council of Cloveshoe decided in favour of the Roman usage. In Gaul a Paschal cycle of Victorius, Bishop of Aquitaine, drawn up at Rome in 457, which had been employed by Dionysius as the basis of his table, found such acceptance that it continued in use until the time of Charlemagne.

The conditions which were finally adopted for the determination of Easter are these: 1. It must be kept on a Sunday. 2. (*a*) This Sunday must be the next after the 14th day of the Paschal moon reckoned from the day of the new moon inclusive. (*b*) If the 14th day should happen to be Sunday, Easter must not be kept until the following Sunday. 3. The Paschal moon is the calendar moon whose 14th day falls on, or follows next after, the day of the vernal equinox. 4. The 21st March is to be taken as the invariable day of the vernal equinox. The object of the second rule is to prevent Easter from being kept either *before*

[1] Cyril of Alexandria ('Prologus paschalis,' ed. Patavius, *de Doctrina Temporum*, Paris, 1627, ii. Append. p. 881), claims for his Church such a synodical commission to calculate Easter, but does not mention the Council which conferred it.

the day of the Jewish Passover—which would put the Resurrection day before the day of the Passion; or *on* the Passover day—a coincidence which Christian prejudice regarded as intolerable. The following brief summary of these conditions is given in the chapter 'De anno et ejus partibus' prefixed to the Roman Missal and Breviary:

'Ex decreto sacri Concilii Nicaeni Pascha, ex quo reliqua Festa mobilia pendent, celebrari debet die Dominico, qui proxime succedit xiv Lunae primi mensis; is vero apud Hebraeos vocatur primus mensis, cujus xiv Luna vel cadit in diem verni aequinoctii, quod die 21 mensis Martii contingit, vel propius ipsum sequitur.'

It is important to bear in mind that, as stated in rule 3 above, the moon[1] by which Easter day is calculated is the calendar moon or moon of the lunar cycle, and not the actual moon of the heavens. The real motions of the sun and moon, being variable, have not been employed by the Church for the fixing of her festivals. Similarly the vernal equinox in rule 4 is not the true but the calendar equinox. The true equinox obviously cannot be fixed to a single day, because, in consequence of the intercalary day every fourth year, it must necessarily oscillate between two days (Clavius, v. §§ 12, 13).

The Dionysian Easter canon had been generally accepted throughout Christendom; but it suffered from two defects which in process of time compelled attention. (*a*) Taking for its basis the Julian calendar (see CALENDAR [Roman]), it assumed that the solar year consisted of exactly 365¼ days. But the solar year falls short of the Julian estimate by somewhat more than 11 minutes, and this error would accumulate to one day in about 128½ years. (*b*) It further assumed that 235 lunar months are exactly equal to 19 Julian years, whereas they are nearly 1½ hours shorter—a difference which would accumulate to one day in 308 years. Notice was directed to the matter at the beginning of the 13th cent. in the *Computus* of Conrad, and later on by an anonymous writer, generally supposed to be Vincentius of Beauvais. A treatise of Roger Bacon, 'De reformatione calendæ,' which was addressed by him to Pope Clement IV., is still in MS at Rome. In the East also, Isaac Argyrus, a Greek monk, contributed (1372) an essay on the subject (criticized in Petavius' *Uranologion*, Paris, 1630, lib. viii.). In the 15th century the matter was brought before the Council of Constance (1414) by Cardinal Peter D'Ailly and before that of Basel (1436) by Cardinal Cusanus. It was again mooted at the Lateran Council under Leo X. Finally, the Council of Trent delegated the revision of the calendar to the Pope, and Gregory XIII. carried it out in 1582. The Papal commission appointed for this purpose worked upon proposals made by Luigi Lilio, a Calabrian astronomer. The commission was presided over by a distinguished mathematician, Christopher Schlüssel, who is better known by his Latinized name Clavius. To him the reformed calendar is mainly due.[2] For these earlier suggestions about revision see the 'Procemium' to Clavius's work, and Ideler, ii. 300 ff.

At the time that the Gregorian revision was set on foot, the error arising from the undue length of the Julian year amounted to nearly 10 days. The true equinox, therefore, had receded nearly 10 days from the calendar equinox, March 21. The error also of the lunar cycle had grown to more than 4 days, so that what was accounted the 14th day of the moon was really the 18th day. Different methods were suggested for getting rid of this accumulation of errors. That which was adopted by Gregory's mathematicians was to drop 10 days at once out of the calendar, and thus to restore the equinox to March 21, the day on which it fell about the time of the Nicene Council. It was accordingly ordered in the Pope's Bull that the 4th October, the Feast of St. Francis, 1582, should be immediately followed by the 15th, 10 days being thus omitted from the calendar. As regarded the rectification of the lunar cycle, it was decreed that the new moon should be drawn back 3 days. Consequently in the first rectified year of the cycle, the first new moon was removed from Jan. 3 to Dec. 31 preceding. To prevent the recurrence of similar confusion, rules were made that 3 bissextile days should be omitted every 400 years, and that the new moon should be carried back 1 day 8 times in 25 centuries, beginning from 1800.

The Gregorian calendar, or 'New Style,' was almost immediately adopted by Roman Catholic nations. In Germany the Emperor Rudolf II. and the Roman Catholic States accepted it in 1583, but the Elector of Saxony and the Protestant States adhered to the Old Style, objecting to the New, not merely as coming from Rome, but because of certain defects which Scaliger and other authorities pointed out in its astronomical accuracy. This difference of calendar was productive of much dissension and inconvenience, especially in places where populations were mixed. In 1700, at the instance of Leibniz, the Protestant States agreed to omit 11 days from their calendar, and so far conformed to the Gregorian revision. But, instead of following the rule that Easter should depend on the 14th day of the calendar moon, they determined it by the true astronomical full moon. Thus it still happened that in some years Easter was kept on different days by the two parties, and much confusion resulted. At last, in 1775, on the proposal of Frederick the Great, the Corpus Evangelicorum resolved to accept frankly the Reformed Calendar, thus producing uniformity of practice in Germany. In England the change was made in 1752, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament passed the year before, which enacted that the day next following the 2nd September 1752 should be called and reckoned the 14th September, the 11 intermediate days of the common calendar being omitted; and that the centennial years 1800, 1900, etc., should be common years, with the exception of every 400th year, beginning with 2000, which should be regarded as leap-years; also that for the future Easter day and the movable feasts depending upon it should be celebrated according to new tables and rules which, with a new calendar, were annexed to the Act, and which were directed to be substituted for the existing calendar, etc., in the Book of Common Prayer. The new tables and rules were prepared by the then Astronomer Royal, Dr. Bradley. All Eastern Christians, including Greeks and Russians, with the exception of the Romanized Uniats, still adhere to the Old Style. At present their reckoning is 12 days behind that of the rest of the civilized world.

12. Calendar letters.—In the Julian (pagan) calendar, days of the year were arranged in successive groups of 8, called *nundinæ*, with the letters A–H attached to them. This suggested to Western Christians—for the plan was never adopted by the Easterns—the marking of the days of the week in the Christian calendar with the 7 letters A–G, repeated throughout the year. These 'calendar *or* ferial letters,' as they are called, were, as has been noticed above, introduced probably at the time when the Christian Sunday was legalized by Constantine. We have seen that they occur in the pagan calendar of Filocalus side by side with the *nundinæ*. The Sunday, or Dominical, letter of each year is that

[1] Church chronologers were in the habit of giving the name 'Full Moon' to the 14th day of the calendar moon (Ideler, ii. 198). In the definition of Easter in the Book of Common Prayer, 'Full Moon' is used in this sense.

[2] Clavius, in a work (*Romani Calend. explicatio*) published at Rome in 1603, gave an exhaustive account of the whole subject.

which stands opposite the first (and every successive) Sunday in the year; and, when it is known, the week day of any day in that year can be ascertained. The 29th Feb., which occurs only in leap year, has no letter in the regular sequence affixed to it; it takes the letter of March 1, which therefore occurs twice. This has the effect of changing the Sunday letter for the rest of the year. A leap-year, therefore, has two Sunday letters; the first applicable to January and February; the second, which in the order of the letters of the alphabet is always one behind the first, to March and the remaining months. The Roman Catholic calendar still follows the Julian in placing the intercalary day between the 23rd and 24th Feb., thus making two 24ths, as in the Julian calendar there were two VI. Kalend. Hence the change in the Sunday letter takes place in the Roman calendar after Feb. 24. The English Church calendar retained the ancient practice until 1662.

13. **Golden numbers and epacts.**—The designation 'golden numbers' was given in the Middle Ages to the numerals in the calendar which denoted the 19 years of the Metonic lunar cycle (see above), either as an expression of the great value attached to them or as having been rubricated. These numbers were formerly marked throughout the year in the first column of the calendar, being affixed to the days of the occurrence of the new moons in each year of the cycle. But since 1752 they indicate in the Prayer Book the days upon which the full moons of the respective years fall, and they are inserted in the calendar only from March 22 to April 18, the Paschal full moon limits. Easter day itself occurs at earliest on March 22, and at latest on April 25. In the Roman calendar, since the Gregorian reformation, 'epacts,' which represent the number of days of the moon's age at the beginning of each year in the 19-year cycle, have taken the place of the 'golden numbers' in the first column.

14. **Christian era.**—As the Christian calendar was based, as regards its form and divisions, on the official (Julian) calendar of the Roman Empire, so during the earlier centuries Christians employed the eras used by their pagan countrymen. About the year 532, Dionysius, whose part in framing the Easter canon has been mentioned, proposed that the epoch of the birth of Christ, which he assigned to Dec. 25 A.U.C. 753, should be adopted by Christians. This was called the Vulgar or Dionysian Era, and gradually gained almost general acceptance. Dionysius did not make the epoch commence on the day of the Nativity, Dec. 25, but on Jan. 1 in the following year A.U.C. 754. Thus A.D. 1 is not the year of the Nativity, but the first current year after it. It is well known that Dionysius was incorrect in his calculation, and that the birth of Christ should more probably be assigned to A.U.C. 749 or B.C. 4.

15. **Commencement of the year.**—The acceptance by the Church of the framework of the Julian calendar involved the placing of Jan. 1 at the beginning of the Christian calendar. But, besides this New Year's Day, to which the calendar bore witness, other beginnings of the year, of more purely ecclesiastical origin, have been observed in Christendom. The chief of these are the following: (1) March 1, kept in Merovingian France, among the Lombards, in the Republic of Venice, and for a long time in Russia; (2) Easter, observed chiefly in France, and hence called *Mos Gallicus*; (3) Sept. 1, according to the custom of the Greek and Russian Churches; (4) Christmas Day—the usage in England in Anglo-Saxon times, also in Scandinavia, Prussia, Hungary, Switzerland, etc., in early times; (5) March 25, the Annunciation B.V.M., used first in the North of Italy, whence it passed into France and Germany. It was adopted in England as a Church reckoning in the 12th cent.—superseding Jan. 1, which had been the beginning of the year since 1066—and in the 14th came into civil use. This continued to be the legal and ecclesiastical usage until the revision of the calendar in 1751. It was then enacted

'that the supputation according to which the year of our Lord beginneth on the 25th day of March shall not be made use of from and after the last day of December 1751; and that the 1st day of January next following . . . shall be reckoned . . . to be the first day of the year 1752.'

It should, however, be noted that, although in the successive editions of the English Prayer Book from 1559 to 1662 it is stated that the year of our Lord begins on March 25, yet the expression New Year's Day is applied, in the rubric following the collect for St. Stephen's day, to Jan. 1. It is also to be observed that from 1549 onwards the series of daily lessons are arranged in the calendar with reference to Jan. 1. Thus both usages, the legal-ecclesiastical and the calendar, are recognized. While this double commencement of the year prevailed, it was customary, in giving the date of an event between Jan. 1 and March 25, to write both years—the legal first, the calendar afterwards: thus 20 Feb. 1721-2. A somewhat similar practice came into use, and was kept up for many years, after the introduction of the New Style, namely, that of writing the two dates in the form of a fraction, the old above, and the new below the line, thus $\frac{18}{29}$ May 1760.

Yet another arrangement of the year is that connected with the cycle of church services. The Latin and English Churches in the West, and the Nestorian in the East, commence their ritual year on Advent Sunday, or, as the Nestorians name it, the first Sunday of the Annunciation. The Armenians begin theirs on Epiphany, Jan. 6. The Constantinopolitan rite, with the Russian and Georgian, makes, as we have seen, the starting-point of its round of movable festivals the Sunday of the Pharisee and Publican, which coincides with the Western Sunday before Septuagesima. See also FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Christian).

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CALENDAR (Egyptian). I. *INTRODUCTION*. The calendar is always one of the most important elements in a society, for it denotes civilization. It is especially so in Egypt, where it explains a large part of the religion, and gave rise to some of the mythology. It is not only the fundamental basis of worship, but it is probably the element which has had the greatest influence on

the evolution of religious ideas, and, consequently, on the organization of ethics. The Egyptian calendar is also one of those for which we have the richest collections of information and documents. It may therefore be considered from two points of view: (1) by examining it with regard to its absolute divisions, its improvements, and its application to chronology; or (2) by studying the conception which gave rise to it, its original characteristics, and the very large part it played in connexion with religion. In the present state of science, everything seems to have been said and written from the first point of view.

II. *Documents.*—These are particularly abundant, and, fortunately, they extend from Memphite times to the Roman period. We may note the following as real calendars in chronological order: (1) the Palermo Stone (Vth dynasty, copied partly from documents of great antiquity), (2) the Kahun Papyrus (XIIth dynasty), (3) portions of the calendar of Thothmes III. at Karnak (XVIIIth dynasty), (4) portions of the same king's calendar at Elephantine, (5) calendar of Medinet-Habu (XIXth dynasty), (6) calendar of Sallier Papyrus (XIXth dynasty, cf. British Museum Papyrus 10,174), (7) calendar of Edfu (Ptolemaic age), (8) that of Ombos (same period), (9) that of Denderah (Roman period), (10) that of Esnèh (same period), (11) that of the Leyden Papyrus (same period).

Further, the tombs and stelæ from the end of the IIIrd dynasty to the close of the classical period present thousands of *funerary calendars*, sometimes with long lists of dates, anniversaries, and commentaries. We have them also for all the historical periods, and scattered throughout all the provinces (cf. below, § IX.).

Lastly, in addition to calendars properly so called, we may mention: (1) the series of calendric anniversaries quoted in all the Books of the Dead (even the very earliest known specimens), on papyri, and on the inner sides of coffins, and evidently copied from pre-historic versions; (2) the innumerable references in the texts in general, from the famous Texts of the Pyramids to the papyri, as well as the inscriptions in the temples, the accounts of historians, the texts connected with local festivals, the references on stelæ, tombs, etc.—the whole from the Memphite to the Roman period (for the chief bibliography on these documents, see § XVIII. of lit. at end of art.).

There is good reason for believing that the 'ancient plaquettes' of the monuments of the earliest dynasties are fragments of a calendar of the Thinite and pre-Thinite epoch, and therefore the oldest in the world, and also that the vases of the Neggadeh period reproduce still older calendric indications. On this hypothesis, which has not yet been formulated, see below, § IX., in connexion with the notation of time on the Palermo Stone and on the 'plaquettes.'

III. *Divisions of time.*—Egypt was never acquainted with anything like an era, referring to a cosmogonic date, such as the Creation, to a noteworthy meteorological event, to an imaginary episode, or to a legendary or historical fact. With the exception of the stele of Sân, dated the 400th year of an ancient king, Egypt never had any idea of dating her annals except by the years of rule of the reigning Pharaoh (see below, § VI.). Nor did she try to imagine periods and cycles; all that modern science has from time to time thought to discover in this sphere regarding so-called divisions of time has always been disproved by a more careful study of the texts. The Sothic period and the Sothic half-period (see below) were not invented until the time of the Antonines. The supposed *Sadu* period does not at all correspond to a cycle of thirty years, but to royal jubilees with variable anniversaries, not based on the ordinary calendar (except under the Ptolemys = *triakontacteris*), but perhaps on facts of astrological character; the *hunti* (simple or double) has in modern times been translated sometimes by 'cycle of 60 (and 120) years,' sometimes by 'millions of years' (de Rougé, *Chrestomathie*, ii. 129)—which clearly shows the absence of ancient texts. As a matter of fact, the *hunti* forms part of the group of vague terms by means of which the language tried to express 'great length,' and which may be translated, more or less inexactly, 'many years,' 'innumerable years,' 'as long as the existence of the sun,' 'indefinite length of time' (but *not* 'infinite'), etc. The Egyptian did not even know the century, or the fraction of the century. The four year cycle of Brugsch is no longer taken seriously; Borchardt's hypothesis (*Verhandl. Orient. Congr.*, 1902, p. 329) of a *census* cycle of fourteen years, under the first Thebans, is ingenious but nothing more; and if Breasted has noted that the moon occupied the same place in the calendar every nineteen years, no text shows that the Egyptians turned this to account in order to form a calendric division. These modern attempts seem destined to the same failure as the hypothesis of the 'period of the Phœnix'—a rubric which no longer figures in Egyptological publications (cf. Naville, *Festival-hall*, p. 7). And the year (*ronpit*), with its divisions, remains positively the only certain measure by which Egypt reckoned time.

The year began—in theory at least—on 19th July, and the 365 days of which it was composed were divided into three seasons (*tetramenies*) of four months, each month containing thirty days. The five complementary or epagomenal (cf. below) days, placed at the end of the twelfth month, form a sort of distinct period, intercalated between the 'small year' (360 days) and the 'large year' (365 days). The uniform months (*abudu*) were divided into three periods of ten days.[1] They were known as that of the beginning (*hati*), that of the middle (*abi*), and that of the end (*pahu*)—and this at least as early as the Xth dynasty (cf. Daressy, *Décans*, etc.). The day itself (*haru*), divided into twelve hours (*uônuit*) of daytime and twelve of night, obeyed the demands of tripartite and quadripartite symmetry of the whole system by dividing its hours of day and hours of night into three periods (*tôri*) of four hours each. There is no ground for saying that the subdivisions of the hour into minutes (*at*) and seconds (*hàt*) were known in the Pharaonic period. Lepsius (*Chronol.*) has shown that they are far more probably the work of scholars of the Ptolemaic age. The division of the second into 'thirds' (*anit*) is a modern invention of Egyptologists who took the words 'twinkling of an eye' literally for the measurement of an exact space of time. But even in the latest times the Egyptians were not aware of the existence of such a fraction.

The division of the day into three parts, marked by sunrise, midday, and sunset, is uncertain. The fact, often mentioned, of offerings of resin, myrrh, and incense, made to the sun of Heliopolis at these three moments of the day, is reported by Plutarch (*de Isid.* 80). Probably this simply indicates a local sacerdotal custom, and not an absolute division of time.

The names of the three seasons, *shait*, *pirit*, and *shômu*, refer roughly to the appearances of the valley of the Nile during the year, and to the cycle of irrigation. The first alone corresponds more or less exactly to the four months of *inundation.* The second and third are of artificially symmetrical composition; the second (*pirit*) may resemble in some measure the four months of the *growing of the crops* in Upper Egypt (the end of November to the end of March). The third (*shômu*) is clearly artificial. It is usually translated 'season of harvest'—a reading which is simply inferred by deductive reasoning, for neither the word nor the

[1] Daressy recently contended (in *Annales du Service des ant. de l'Egypte*, 1909) that they were formerly divided into four weeks of seven days; but there is no sufficient evidence for this.

sign refers positively in Egyptian to any such concept as the primitive meaning, and it is by inference that the meanings 'harvest' and 'products of the soil' have come from the sign for the season. Originally it probably designated works of irrigation preceding the rising of the waters (cleansing of canals, etc.).

The *names of the months* do not seem to have been in use in the earliest times. At least the official inscriptions never mention them. They say: first, second, third, fourth month of such and such a season. It seems probable that, at an uncertain date, popular custom gave currency to the use of nomenclature denoting the months by the characteristic religious episode which was commemorated in them. Some of these are cited by the classical writers. The fact that they are exactly those which the Copts use for the corresponding months gives reason for thinking that the same thing is the case with those which they do not cite, and science has adopted the habit of giving the names of the twelve Coptic months to the Egyptian months. They are, for the first season, *Thot, Paophi, Athyr, Choïak*; for the second, *Tybi, Meshir, Phamenot, Pharmuti*; and for the third, *Pakhon, Payni, Epiphi, Mesorî*.

IV. *HISTORY*.—1. **From earliest known origins to the year 238 B.C.**—As it has just been described in its simplicity and relative perfection, the Egyptian calendar appears throughout the whole of its history. However far back we may trace it, we cannot reach the moment of a change in it—any more than we can show an authentic improvement during the series of centuries down to Ptolemy Euergetes I. It has been said that the year was at first a lunar one of 354 days, in which the dates were given by the days of the moon, and that there are clear traces of it, for example, in the manner of writing the month by the sign of the crescent, or in the fact that the reign of Osiris had lasted twenty-eight years, which, says Plutarch (*de Isid.* 42), corresponds with the days of the lunar month. This is extremely plausible, because almost all the calendars known in the world began in this way, and because the movement of the moon was the only noteworthy division perceptible to man in his early efforts. This is proved clearly enough by the etymology of the word 'month' in the principal Aryan languages—to speak only of the calendars of our races. But, so far as Egypt is concerned, it is a mere assumption, for there are no real traces of it, and it is not right to say, as many writers have done, that 'the lunar year preceded the solar year, in Egypt as in India.' It has also been contended that there was a year of 360 days, traces of which are preserved in the religion; *e.g.* in the fact, quoted by Diodorus (i. 22), of the 360 cups of milk on the tomb of Osiris at Philæ. This is confusing a demand for symmetry—which is really a mark of civilization—with initial gropings. The year of 360 days is a year of administration, and of sacerdotal accounting, which we find in use in the height of the historical period, parallel with that of 365 days, and which naturally was completed by the five epagomenal days (cf. the calendar of Medinet-Habu or the 'contracts of Syut'); hence the terms 'small' and 'large' year used to denote the temple year and the ordinary year respectively. The efforts of all races show, on the contrary, that even comparatively civilized peoples, like those of Benin or the Bavili, have never passed from the lunar year to the year of 360 days, with months of 30 days, but have, as a rule, compensated for the error between the number of lunar months (12 lunations = 354·367 days) and the apparent revolution of the solar year by introducing after the twelve lunar months a complementary month of some days, often qualified by the name 'season.' The most probable supposition, then, if we want a hypothetical history of the Egyptian calendar, is that the lunar year (or the 13 sidereal months) was originally followed by an epagomenal month. The use of the numeration by ten, and especially the need for practical symmetrical divisions, naturally led (but undoubtedly much later) to the creation of the month of 30 days, which, owing to its artificial character, corresponding neither to the sun nor to the moon, denotes a distinct step in advance. The fraction remaining to be harmonized was thus reduced to the five epagomenal days.

We find these epagomenal days in the very earliest mentions of the calendar. The first Egyptologists for a long time believed that the invention did not go further back than the XIIth dynasty. It is now proved that these five days over and above the year (*haru duait hiru ronpit*) existed not only under the Memphite Empire but long before, since mention is made of them in the Texts of the Pyramids (Pepi 2, line 751). This, to all appearance, carries them back to the pre-historic period, and it is quite incorrect to ascribe the 'invention of the year of 365 days' to the year 4241 (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, p. 40). That is merely the earliest date postulated by those scholars who believe in the Sothic period (cf. below), but there is nothing to prove that these epagomenal days are not as old as Egypt itself. The legend of their invention by Thoth playing chess with the moon was long believed to be of comparatively recent date, on account of the Greek form which Plutarch (*de Isid.* 12) gives to it. But the Leyden Papyrus (i. 346) has shown that the legend existed in its essential features in the time of the Thebans, and the Texts of the Pyramids have carried it back to the very beginnings of Egyptian mythology. These five days preserve a further sign of their extreme antiquity in their designation 'little month,' which brings them peculiarly near to the 'short month' of the Bavili and the 'supplementary month' of Benin, and which was kept until the time of the Coptic calendar.

These ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι were regarded under the Ptolemys as a complement of the year. The Leyden Papyrus presents a theory which is probably different. These days are really 'in addition to the year,' but religiously (and especially from the point of view of the dead, and of astrological influences on the living) they seem to be a sort of 'preface' to the new year. They form a period quite apart, which has its special calendar, its names (cf. Chabas, *Œuvres*, iv. 207), its horoscopes, its gods, and its spirits. If the whole is referred to the old tables of funerary calendars, the result seems to be that the 'year' ended with the last day of the twelfth month. The first of the epagomenal days, therefore, marked the 'opening of the year,' and the *beginning* of the year (*tep ronpit*) was the first day of the first month of the new year (cf. the five Mexican epagomenal days, which are called *nemontemi* = 'useless,' or 'unfit for work').

This calendar has justly been cited with admiration, and classed with those which mark most clearly the height reached by ancient civilizations; and Breasted (*Ancient Records*, p. 25) was right in pointing out the immense advance it was for humanity. It is sufficient to recall what were, down to a very late date, the best Hellenic calendars, and the testimony of Strabo (xvii.) on this point, or to think of what the Roman calendar was down to the end of the Republic. All the classical writers, from Herodotus onwards, were only performing an act of justice when they spoke of the Egyptian system in a tone of respect. If ancient Egypt knew nothing about the learned and manifold complications of the Indian cycles (length of

ancient Indian year = 13 sidereal months or 355·1823 days), the needs of absolute chronology may deplore the fact, but the historian can point out the superiority of this simple system, which harmonizes practical and symmetrical divisions so skilfully with real time. The whole world, from the time of the earliest civilizations, has proved the impossibility of adjusting to the course of the moon a notation of time suitable for human activity. And it was probably in this that the first superiority of the Egyptians consisted. If they did not know, as it seems, the famous period of 223 lunations recognized by the Babylonians, their 12 months of 30 days, followed by five days, were far superior to the lunar year of Chaldæa, with its very imperfect remedy supplied by the 'second month of *Adar*,' or the 'second *Elul*,' or the 'second *Nisan*,' added every six years; and far superior also to the 18 months of 20 days each of the Mexican calendar, with its five *nemontemi*. Undoubtedly, non-civilized races, like the Kikuyu, have also discovered the month of thirty days, but their double period of six months is what really accounts for this. If Egypt had kept to the lunar month, she would have experienced all the inconveniences of those peoples who have persisted in making use of it. The 'seasons,' to which it is customary to point as one of the merits of the Egyptian calendar, have been discovered in Africa by societies far less advanced. The 8 months' season and the 4 months' season of the Bavili correspond, as a matter of fact, to the 3 Egyptian *tetramenies*, and Benin possesses the 3 *tetramenies*. The great difference is that the Egyptians reduced the 'thirteenth month' to five days, by the adoption of the month of 30 days. At the same time Egypt made the very useful subdivision of the month into decades, instead of having recourse, like her sister nations of Africa, to the unsymmetrical week of 8 days, or to that of 4, or to the artifices of pastoral peoples like the Basutos. They might also, like ourselves, have absorbed the 365 days in their twelve months, by accepting the inconvenience of months of 31 days. Would any one dare to assert that their months, all symmetrical, are not better? And have we not heard it proposed in our day to place the five supplementary days apart at the end of the year, without the authors of these propositions having any idea that they were simply asking for a return to the calendar of the ancient Egyptians?

2. From Ptolemy Euergetes I. to the end of Egyptian civilization.—The system, nevertheless, presented two defects of very unequal importance: (1) the hours had only an approximate value, variable throughout the year; and (2) the year itself was shorter than the real solar year by 5 h. 48 m. 57 s. (length of the tropical year in 3000 B.C. = 365·24249916 days).

(1) The former of these faults proceeded from the basis on which the hour was introduced. The majority of African races had the same idea as the Egyptians: to divide the day into the same number of equal fractions as the year is divided into (excluding the 13th month). This was to obtain the division by twelve. It may be preserved, with a rough approximation, if the division is applied, as it is in the Upper Congo, to the space of time between one sunrise and another. In making special divisions for the day and for the night, the Egyptians encountered serious difficulties. As the first hour of the day began at dawn, and the twelfth ended with sunset, the length of each hour naturally varied according to the season. For a long time the Babylonians had the 12 equal fractions of the day, τὰ δυώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης (Herod. ii. 109)—undoubtedly owing to the regular divisions which the use of the πόλος had taught them to draw on the line described by the shadow of the pin of the sun-dial. It was not, however, until Asia had taught the Greeks the use of the two series of twelve similar hours, and the Ptolemys had come to Egypt, that this advance was realized. We saw above (p. 92[b]) that it was at this same time that the minutes were instituted, from the same Asiatic source.

(2) The second defect of the system was more serious. It had affected all calendars, including the Chaldæan, and still affects that of many systems in vogue at the present day. The quarter of a day, which the year of the Egyptian calendar neglected, in the long run produced errors which were manifestly intolerable, and it does not seem ever to have occurred to the Egyptians to adopt such a simple but clever correction as that of the Mexican *tonalpouhque* ('sun's examiners'), who added 13 complementary days after a cycle of 52 years. Authentic examples, taken from texts and cited by all Egyptologists, prove that the discrepancy might reach several months; and papyri have bequeathed to us complaints by the employees of the administration on the matter. The date of the low Nile in the inscription of Uni (VIth dynasty), the Ebers Papyrus under Amenhotep I. (XVIIIth dynasty), a date of the heliacal rising of Sothis under Thotmes III. (XVIIIth dynasty), and the date of the rising of the waters under Shabataka (XXVth dynasty) are four good examples of divergence between the calendar and the astronomical truth. The practical necessities of worship and of economic life could not put up with these discrepancies, which went so far beyond the limits of the reasonable. From time to time an administrative measure cut off, or added, the necessary number of days, and made the calendar year and the solar year start on the same day. Then things once more went on getting worse until the day when the too evident inconveniences made the government again have recourse to the forcible regularization of the two years, the real and the calendric. It had undoubtedly taken place shortly before the time of Herodotus, for he speaks (ii. 4) of the year of 365 days as a perfect instrument, agreeing with the seasons.

Nothing definite is known concerning these manipulations. Only it is probable that the further we descend in history the less frequent they were, because in the earliest times the direct observation of the sky and of Nature was more the basis of the calendar, and would thus speedily note the error. The increasing power exerted by what was *written*, as is always the case, must have resulted in a longer continued observance of the official calendar, in spite of the contradictions offered by the stars and the seasons; hence the paradoxical result that the discrepancies were more prolonged in proportion as the centuries of civilization increased in number. It is certain, in any case, that one of the largest discrepancies that we know is precisely the latest in date—that which existed at the time of the reform of the year 238 B.C. The heliacal rising of Sothis took place in that year on 1st Payni—an error of *ten months*.

This way of setting right the discrepancy by sudden leaps seemed intolerable to the astronomers, steeped in Asiatic science improved in Greece, who devoted their attention under the Ptolemys to the defects of the Egyptian year. Their calculations led them to the discovery that it was necessary to increase the duration of the year by about six hours. The easiest solution was to group these six hours in a supplementary day every four years, and, as a result, the world had the 'leap-year' introduced by the celebrated *Decree of Canopus* in the year IX, 17 Tybi of the reign of Ptolemy III. Euergetes I. (7th March 238). The fact that the definitely fixed year contained the mention of the appearance of the star Sothis, and that the heliacal rising of this star took place on the 19-20th of July, later on led the contemporaries of the Antonines to infer that the Egyptians had possessed, at least in the science of the temples, the knowledge of a perfect cycle in connexion with the

heliacal rising of this star. Noting the annual difference between the ancient calendric year of 365 days and the date of the appearance of Sothis exactly at sunrise, they were easily able to calculate that, after 1460 astronomical years, exact agreement would be re-established, so that these 1460 years were equal to 1461 years of 365 days. They imagined then that the priests had noticed the equation, and they therefore created the famous 'Sothic period,' which they affirmed had been known and used from the most ancient times by the national chronology. Egypt was thus supposed to have possessed two calendars—the one conforming to scientific truth, the other, in spite of all its inconveniences, used for administrative life, the two tallying exactly on one single day every 1460 years. Censorinus, who noted it in A.D. 239, attributed an indefinite antiquity to this period of Sothis, of which the only one that history has ever mentioned, and which ended, according to him, exactly 100 years previously (A.D. 139), was the last of a whole series. The statement of the author of the *de Die Natali*, taken up and commented on, represented from that time the view of official Egypt, which, in order not to stop half-way, imagined a Sothic half-period. 'Thy divine festival, Sothis, is celebrated every 730 years,' says the Philæ inscription.

The idea that the priests knew and employed the period of 1460 years led naturally to the inference that they were acquainted with, and employed, an exact Sothic year reserved for their use. The supposed use of a double year in Egypt and the idea of comparing the whole with the astronomical year have been further complicated, in modern science, by the use of a terminology (vague year, civil year, astronomical year, sacerdotal year, heliacal year, solar year, etc.) whose meanings vary according to the authors. The whole has been the subject of most difficult controversies from the time of Champollion down to the present day. It is strange to notice that the two initial data of the whole debate have been neglected—(1) Did the Egyptian word *pirit* mean 'heliacal rising,' or simply 're-appearance of the star on the horizon'? (2) Do the exact astronomical calculations adapt themselves to the argument? Nevertheless, it was not until 1909 that Legge (see literature at end of art.) raised these questions.

The reality of the Sothic period has given birth to infinite discussions for or against its existence (cf. the innumerable works on the subject in Egyptology). An incredible amount of patience, calculation, science, and ingenuity has been expended for a hundred years without the question having advanced one step, and the Egyptological School remains, to-day as formerly, divided into two equal camps. For the long and ingenious pleas of the ancient Fourier or of Wilkinson in favour of the Sothic period, too feeble to cope with the objections of a Krall, modern defenders have substituted more sound reasoning based on the monuments. But, in proportion as their scientific weapons were being improved, their opponents were striving after progress in the same direction. Neither the clever refutations of Maspero nor the objections, full of practical common sense, of Budge, were able to convince Borchardt, Mahler, or Sethe, any more than Birch long ago succeeded in persuading Rougé; and the latest works of Meyer or the vehement assertions of Breasted show that the Sothic period can always count on a number of determined and serious partisans. Each new discovery of an Egyptian document mentioning the heliacal 'rising' (?) of Sothis is therefore the signal for heated discussions for at least three or four years; cf. *e.g.* the bibliography on the subject which followed the publication, in 1898, of the Kahun calendar (XIIth dynasty). The intermediate opinion of Erman (holding to an exact agricultural year, and, up to a certain point, a sacerdotal one which agreed with the rising of the waters and the indications of Nature for practical life, while the year of 365 days remained in use on account of the value of its administrative symmetry) does not seem to have secured the support of either party. The refutation of Meyer by Torr (*Memphis and Mycenæ*), also quite recent, seemed to sum up the strongest practical objections which had been raised, with discussion based on the detail of the monuments and the nature of the above-mentioned astronomical facts. The attempt of F. A. Jones (*PSBA* xxx. [1908] 95) does not seem to be of any practical value. Lastly, Legge (*Recueil des Travaux*, xxxi. [1909]) was the first who thought of bringing the question on to scientific ground, which was what ought to have been done first. His strictly mathematical statements allow none of the proposed dates to hold good, and seem to give the *coup de grâce* to all attempts to draw chronological inferences from the system of Meyer.

A similar number of works, during almost a hundred years, not only shows the difficulty of the problem, but tells plainly of its importance. It does not consist in the question of the degree of science to which Egypt had reached, but in the application of the data to chronology, which the absence of every era and synchronism outside of Egypt renders extremely obscure when we go further back than the XVIIIth dynasty. The fact of finding at least six or seven references to the calendric date of the supposed heliacal rising of Sothis or of the height of the Nile at a given month, and the circumstance that these texts reach from the VIth to the XVIIIth dynasty, would give the key to the whole system, if it could be established that the calendar remained unchanged from the Ancient to the Modern Empire. A simple calculation would be sufficient to fix these guiding marks, and consequently to obtain from them the exact date, or very nearly so, of all the reigns or adjacent events. This is enough to show the value which all the historian partisans of the Sothic period may place upon the demonstration. The doubt which may legitimately be conceived does not arise from the degree of science which the system supposes. It does not imply any more patient observation than others known to less perfectly evolved civilizations; *e.g.* those which the fine works of Seler have brought to light for pre-Columban America (Venus-period, etc.). The objection derived from the inexhaustible patience implied in the Egyptians resigning themselves to see the two calendars in agreement only once in fifteen centuries is not absolutely decisive. The chief obstacle is found elsewhere: (1) in the complete absence of any formal mention of such a period in the classical texts; (2) in the actual contradiction presented by monuments like the Medinet-Habu calendar, or the significant silence of Herodotus on the divergences between the real year and the official computation of time; (3) in the technical objections of an exclusively astronomical kind, which have attracted too little attention throughout the whole controversy (secular shortening of the length of the solar year from equinox to equinox, confusion with the sidereal year [star to same star again], and omission of the problem of the anomalistic year [perihelion to perihelion]); and (4) in the evident impossibility of making use of indications of the supposed Sothic period without arriving at impossible chronologies (*e.g.* for the date of the XIIth dynasty, as Wiedemann has clearly shown [*OLZ* iii. 322]; or F. A. Jones's deduction that the Great Pyramid was built in 2170 B.C.). The series proposed by Breasted is itself subject to objections which in the end throw the whole matter into question again. See the conclusions of Jones, *PSBA* xxx. 5; Lefébure, *Act. Orient.* xiv.; Lieblein, *ZÄ* xliv. 101, and *Chronologie*; or the interminable unsettled discussions, during the years 1904 and 1905, of Meyer, Brix, Borchardt, Sethe, and Mahler in *ZÄ* xli. 26, 34, 38, *OLZ* viii. 6, *Untersuchungen*, iii. etc.); also the literature on the subject at end of article.

The magnificent reform of Ptolemy III. was very far from being accepted with the obedience which history manuals usually attribute to ancient Egypt. The old national year persisted in practice until the time when the edict of Augustus (A.D. 10) made the year of 365¼ days compulsory. The type was henceforth proposed to the classical world, and in its eyes Egypt was the country of high scientific culture to which it had to look for its models of reform. It is well known that it was the Egyptian Sosigenes of Alexandria (Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13) who definitely reformed the intolerable Roman calendar, and who, under Julius Cæsar (year 'of confusion'), at last gave the Mediterranean world a date derived from a calendar copied from the Egyptian model, with the necessary modifications for the seasons. We may therefore say that it is Egypt that has given us our calendar. The twelve minutes and twenty-nine seconds of deviation from the real time which it presents every year, and which make it necessary to drop out a day every 131 years (Gregorian year = 365·2425 days; solar year = 365·242918 days—in the year 1900), did not need to be taken account of until many centuries later. The Julian (properly speaking, Egyptian) calendar continues to be law in Russia and in the Oriental Christian world, which ignored the reform of Gregory XIII. (1582), as England itself did until 1752. Lastly, the Copts preserved not only the Julian year, but also the 1st of Thoth for the beginning of their year, which now falls on the 11th of September, after having started on the 29th of August in the year regulated by Euergetes.

V. *FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTER.*—If the Egyptian calendar is compared with other calendars,

not for its perfection but for the characteristics of its original elements, it reveals significant differences. The basis of its divisions, of its conspicuous dates, and of its festivals seems to be neither solar nor of a really agricultural nature.

Neither the solstices nor the equinoxes were used, as with so many other races, to mark the beginning, or the internal divisions, of the year; and the significant absence of myths or ceremonies referring to these phenomena (although Egypt was acquainted with them, as Brugsch noticed in his *Myth.* p. 671) is a decisive fact, which is corroborated by an examination of the Books of the Dead or the Texts of the Pyramids. The legend of Râ grown old is of late date. The statements of Plutarch referring to the feast of the autumnal equinox (22nd of Paophi) and of the winter solstice should not lead us astray any more than the 'little sun' or the 'infant sun,' which is assimilated with Socharis, and is the sun of the winter solstice. The whole thing, like the festival of the 30th of Epiphi, or that of the 'beginning of Summer,' belongs to Roman times. The interpretation of the sources in order to find out facts of this kind shows two elements combined in equal quantities: the influence of Græco-Roman civilization, and the final assimilation of ancient myth to the sun's courses (*e.g.* the winter solstice assimilated to the search for the parts of Osiris). The dates themselves, however, often show the recent entrance of these solar characteristics into the Egyptian calendar (*e.g.* the self-styled winter-solstitial character of the festival of Socharis, celebrated from the very beginning in the month of Choïak, necessarily supposes that month to have become the month of December, and consequently the 1st of Thoth carried back to the end of August, *i.e.* the accomplishment of the Ptolemaic reform).

This statement does not in any way contradict the high degree of Egyptian astronomical knowledge, or the position held in Egypt by the worship of all the primitive sun-gods, or the importance of the Râ-sun from proto-historic times to the historic period. But everything connected with its existence, its powers, its battles, the risks it ran, its birth, its zenith, its disappearance, and its travels over the world, had, from the time of the earliest theologies, been included in the daily cycle. The archaic texts or the compositions of the Theban age give sure evidence of it. It should also be noted that the prediction of eclipses was never attempted, and that this phenomenon was always to the Egyptian the unforeseen danger, and not the mythical theme which gives rise to symbolical allusions inserted in calendric cycles. The moon, with the sudden changes connected with it, had the same fate. Except the facts of the lunar month, there is nothing to be found resembling a cycle, or attempts to systematize eclipses. A sun whose whole existence is contained in a day, a moon with a longer and more varied life, the daily struggle between light and darkness, the fears of evil connected with this fact, the risks suddenly arising from the diminution at unforeseen times of the brightness of one or other of the two great luminaries—all these things are closely related to primitive religions, which the uncivilized races of the present day have not yet been able to get beyond. And the statement that these rudimentary data became solidified, *without evolving*, in the Egyptian religion of the historical period, shows of itself that, if the Egyptian calendar acquired its technical value and the superiority of its symbolical views or its moral character, it must have got them from other elements.

The absence of characteristics based on climatological or meteorological phenomena is no less remarkable. There are no anniversary dates, or seasons connected with states of the clouds, régime of the winds, or periods of cold or heat. Gods like those of the winds, who played important parts elsewhere (*e.g.* in Chaldæa and America), are unknown in the classical Egyptian calendar. And its divisions are not arranged according to anything resembling phases of germination, blossoming, or maturity of the natural or cultivated products of the earth, and, however far back we go, there is not a trace of a pastoral calendar, like that of Basutoland, for example. An exclusively agricultural country like Egypt should *prima facie* have based its calendar on the changes of the cultivation of the earth. But the latter did not play any direct part in it, except irrigation (see below). There is nothing to be found resembling the festivals of ploughing and sowing, and the panegyric of Min at Medinet-Habu is the only example where the harvest intervenes, *as a simple episode*, in a religious festival. We saw above (p. 92[b]) that the seasons of four months had above all a symmetrical character, but no real agricultural one. In the description of the seasons, it is stated that for the months neither agricultural denominations are to be found, nor legends, proverbs, adages, popular poems, nor any of the hundreds of significant facts which so clearly mark the months of uncivilized races throughout Africa in general. The festivals themselves might deceive by their titles when we hear of them only from Plutarch or Strabo, or through the brief allusion in a papyrus to a festival at which honey or lentils are eaten, where one inhales the perfume of the *honit* or the *tekhui* flowers, or to festivals of 'fishing' or 'ploughing.' When the monuments give the commentary on them, we see at once that the principle of the festival has no direct connexion with these references, or that our translations are veritable mistranslations. Honey, *e.g.*, is eaten at the 'feast of the valley,' and this originally refers to the annual exodus of the souls of the dead when the protecting gods come for them. The *honit* flowers are a simple episode in a group of funeral offerings, in a festival based on the *dénouements* of the Osirian drama. The so-called 'ploughing' means 'digging the ground,' and the texts show that the reference is to a nocturnal rite connected with the mysterious wars against the spirits of evil. The Memphite festival of 'fishing' is a fragment of the crowning ceremony, in which the king catches the fish, or the game of the moor, 'as Horus captured and destroyed the cursed,' etc. And the Ὕδρευσις of the Alexandrian calendars, if it is not a recent invention, must certainly have had an origin connected either with the Osirian cycle or with the warlike themes of pre-historic legends, before it assumed the peaceful character in apparent connexion with the seasons which it has according to the Græco-Roman classics. In short, if it is evident that a country like Egypt necessarily associated its rural and agricultural life with rejoicings and ceremonies of every kind, and if Egyptian literature occasionally shows that this was so, it is none the less certain that nothing of all this served as a formative element in the establishment of the calendar of the year, either for its divisions or for its anniversaries (but see Frazer, *Adonis*, 1907, p. 283 ff.).

These circumstances are quite easily justified by the conditions of the Egyptian portion of the Nile Valley. Being nearer the equator, the people here paid less attention than those in the north to the gradual diminution of the power of the sun's rays, to its sinking on the horizon, or to the difference (much less noticeable there) between the summer day and the winter day. The winter solstice was not noticed there as the signal of a deliverance, or spring as the awakening of Nature; hence an original suppression of calendric elements which increased in importance the further north one ranged. And, just as Egypt was ignorant of all the myths arising from the melting of ice or snow, so she did not know of the great annual events which are marked by the aspect of high mountains, or the successive verdure of the forest; her year and her mythology received none of these impressions, so strongly marked elsewhere that they are a part of our own intellectual equipment. At the same time she was safe from all those great meteorological phenomena which, further south, determine the divisions of the year. She had no

'rainy seasons,' 'periods of storms,' 'monsoons,' or prevailing winds sufficiently marked to characterize a complete portion of the year. Her gods, who inhabited neither the mountain peaks nor the rain nor the thunder clouds, had certainly to be situated very high among the stars, or very low on the same plane as human societies. In the end, soil or climatology, latitude or geography, all tended to leave Egyptian thought face to face with a single remarkable phenomenon, the only one of vital importance for her, viz. the fluctuations of that river on which all life depended in the fragment of the universe known to her. And, after all, it was with the study of its movements and the anticipation of them that everything had to be connected that had a bearing on the measuring of time.

The dates and festivals relating to inundation are well known to us. The 'reception of the Nile,' which denotes the opening of dikes and canals at the time of the rising of the waters, is indicated in a number of funerary calendars (cf. below), but no mention is made of the day of the month on which it was inserted. It was a movable festival, as it is in modern Muhammadan Egypt. Libanius (*Æthiopica*, xi.) has described the festivals of Silsileh, during which a wooden statue of the Nile-god was carried in procession. This was simply the form of the festivals of the 'opening of the canals' of Middle Egypt, adapted to local geography, and with a different name. The present-day Arab 'night of the tear-drop' is merely the modern transposition of the 'night of the tears of Isis,' the announcement of the first perceptible sign of the annual inundation (20th June). Lastly, the festivals of Socharis in the beginning of October are perhaps an adaptation, to Memphite funeral ideas, of the first sign of the retreat of the waters.

There are not many of them in all; if Libanius, Heliodorus, and the Egyptian inscriptions give us different names according to localities and times, these Nilotic festivals altogether number at most two or three: the first quivering of the rising waters, the time of opening the Egyptian fields for irrigation, and probably the time when the Nile begins to decrease. But the principal date was not there. It was the date of the exact moment when the height of the waters reached the level necessary for fertilizing the ground, after almost a month of rising (about the 20th of July in the classical age, but probably later in pre-historic times, before the disappearance of several of the upper cataracts of Nubia). It was a question of finding a sure index, somewhere in Nature, which would mark the fact that a new year had just become manifest to the Egyptians.

While intent on detecting in the sky some coincidence between the coming of the waters and the appearance of the stars, the Egyptians noticed (and undoubtedly long before the time to which we can go back by means of the monuments) a remarkable phenomenon. Sirius (one of the seven stars of the constellation *Canis Major*), which was invisible from the beginning of June, again appeared in the east, some minutes before sunrise, towards the middle of July. Its re-appearance coincided exactly with the time when the Nile entered the period of high water for Middle Egypt. In this unfailing coincidence there seemed to be the most manifest sign of an indissoluble connexion between the spring-tide of the river and the rebirth of the star. It was, therefore, the reappearance of Sirius that was adopted to mark the beginning of the new year: νομίζεται διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων νέον ἔτος εἶναι (*Decree of Canopus*). The brightness of the star in the firmament was like the resplendent signal which unerringly announced the re-commencement of the gifts of the river. It was called 'a second sun in the sky.' Sirius (Egyp. *Sopdu*; Hellenized form *Sothis*) saw his glory associated with that of the sun; for it was 'like a crown on the head'; it was regarded as 'taking its place in his divine barque' on this first day of the new year. 'To be able to shine in the sky like Sopdu at sunrise' was a wish formulated in the texts for the destiny of the dead. Such a place in the national conceptions sooner or later caused the assimilation of the Dog-star with the greatest female deities of Egypt. The star 'by whose rising the years are counted' was the living image of Bastit and Sokhit, successively, and, according to local theologies, became the dwelling place of Isis, the star of Isis (τὸ ἄστρον τὸ τῆς Ἴσιδος [*Dec. of Canopus*]), or that of Hathor, or, rather, Isis and Hathor themselves. The confusion with the great Hathor of Denderah explains the strange ceremony of this temple, when on the first day of the year the statue of the goddess was brought on to the terrace of the sanctuary, there to receive the first rays of the rising sun. This was in order to realize literally and in this world what was going on at the same time in heaven. Syut, Assuân, and the temple of Thebes guarded most carefully the 'Ship of the Rising Waters,' which so many of the inscriptions attest to have been one of those relics which the kings tried to embellish and restore. Deified and assimilated with Sirius-Hathor, it was led to the river with great pomp on the first day of the year, and the local god—sun or companion of the sun—travelled on the bank that day, as if in material evidence of the fact that the return of Sirius, that of the annual Nile, and the new year of the sun were three aspects of the same act. Nor did the Egyptians hesitate to see in the rising of the star the real cause of the inundation; it was to Sopdu-Sirius that 'the abundant waters which spread over all the earth' were due (cf. Brugsch, *Matériaux*, p. 27). Once more in the religious history of humanity the relation was declared between what is seen in the sky and what happens on this earth. The most important date of the calendar thus became connected with the general theory of astrology. And the admirable constancy of the phenomenon, by urging the Egyptians to increase their observation of the coincidences, must have helped them to deduce the remainder of the calendar from the whole.

VI. *STELLAR NATURE; RELIGIOUS CONSEQUENCES.*—If the appearance of Sopdu was a remarkable case of the influence of the stars on our world, it was not an isolated one. This is not the place to repeat what is said of astrology in general, or to trace in detail its natural foundation, based on experimental pseudo-verification (see art. STARS [Egyptian]). The manner in which coincidences and the foreseeing of the return of influences were established in Egypt could not have differed in any way from what had taken place in the astrologies of other peoples (cf. *e.g.* for the Chaldæans, the excellent résumé of Maspero, *Hist.* i. 777). To these re-commencements of the same events, always in agreement with certain aspects of the sky, which man promptly determined, the animistic tendency immediately added another element. To these stars and their movements, to their combinations and their journeys, it gave the life and the representations of beings who struggle and act in this world. Because they seemed to draw silhouettes of men or animals, to appear like new-born children, to unite, or to knock against each other, people began to speak of their births, marriages, and struggles. These representations, made up of assembled stars, a Cambodian or Mayan calendar may draw differently; but they express

the same idea as that of an Egyptian or a Chaldæan. They are as old as the observation of man. From these two combined notions, influences, and representations, issued the detailed description of the forces by which this world is governed every hour. From these facts, duly noted, with the moment of their arrival, the Egyptian calendar emerged complete, portioned out with certainty, for the whole length of that year of which the appearance of a star was the important moment.

A third element determined its principal characteristics. Just as in the case of primitive, and modern non-civilized, races in general, this earth presented the spectacle of a perpetual struggle between thousands of visible and invisible beings. It was inexplicable in its confusion, so that it was almost impossible to discover whether the gods and spirits were the friends or the enemies of man. Thrown into the conflict, man did his best to conciliate the former and drive back the latter. The Egyptian, like the others, had very early connected the gods and good spirits with the sun, and the evil spirits with the darkness. The system did not lead him any further than the others, either for religious history or for ethics. On the contrary, when he conceived the notion of associating the spectacle of the terrestrial struggle and its combatants with that of the apparent conflict of the celestial beings, and when he combined the whole with the astrological data of influences, he realized one of the most decided advances ever known in the history of religions. At the same time, not only were the events of the terrestrial universe the result of those which happened in the sky, but they were the clear image, capable of being read in good order, of all that seemed so confused in this world. Henceforward the Egyptian became gradually more skilled in classifying the latter, and also the beings who took part in it.

The indissoluble link created in religion between the stellar world and the earth is repeatedly attested, at every time of ritual, by magic or so-called religious texts. The Texts of the Pyramids are a mine of valuable information for the very earliest times. They speak of 'the disturbances which we see in the sky,' of stars 'which fight,' and of 'bow-bearers who go their rounds'; and the study of allusions of this kind, not yet attempted, gives a long list. 'If the sky speaks, the earth trembles,' 'When the doors of the sky open, the doors of the earth open,' etc., on the other hand, are well-known phrases, among many others, of the ritual of the classical epoch.

The connexion established between the two armies of combatants led first to the assimilation of the facts, and then to that of the beings who were their agents. The astrological coincidences had given an opportunity of arranging, as far as the celestial world was concerned, the powers which were regarded as good and those which had to be looked upon as evil. The good naturally attracted to themselves the Divine beings or 'spirits' of this world who had a tendency to be rather the allies of man, and the evil did the same in the case of his constant enemies; hence the fusion of the stars (1) with the innumerable spirits or genii of primitive beliefs, (2) with the classical gods who took part in the life of man. It would be out of place here to justify the mechanism of these assimilations. They sometimes arise from the apparent form of the figures of the sky, sometimes from combinations of the conflict which seemed to be going on in the sky, and sometimes from purely astrological coincidences. Not only were the characteristics and representations of the Divine world particularly specified, but so also was the history of the gods, which the daily struggle of the sun interpreted too summarily ever to draw a complete mythology from it. There was the creation of legendary episodes in the life of the gods. It was putting into stories the battles which the stars seemed to fight, or the influences which they brought to bear on this earth. Formerly these things took place in the sky and on our earth at the same time. Henceforward they re-commenced on high, and annually subjected the domain of man to the same conditions as those experienced in legendary history. The anniversaries of marriages, travels, and 'births' (*e.g.* the Palermo Stone) of the gods were henceforth placed at fixed times by these re-commencements which man could note and predict by consulting the book of the celestial vault. At the same time, Egypt assimilated to this history, written for the celestial regions, the whole mass, which was up to that time confused, of its traditional, historical possessions: traditions more or less pure, more or less synthetized by legend or allegory, of great actual events of early times (invasions, wars, national catastrophes, organizations of society, etc.), or pseudo-historical summaries of origins. All this became incorporated by assimilation in the annual history of the stars; all this fixed the days. Facts, precisely stated, were henceforth inscribed, and their anniversaries were fixed for the days when the sky, by its tables and its different parts, presented the same arrangement as it had had before, at the time of these events. The whole gave rise to a national history, in which the gods and their legends were connected with the calendar by an indissoluble bond, and in which all that was seen in the country of Egypt still bore the material trace of their actions. For each part of the valley the theologies found etymologies which explained, in alliteration, the names of towns, sanctuaries, or hills by one of the legendary acts of the life of the gods, at the same time as they fixed the date of each of his acts in the year (Brugsch's *Dict. géographique* contains several hundreds of remarkable examples [cf. *e.g.* pp. 101, 174, 198]). The tendency to see this world only as a dependence and a momentary aspect of perpetual re-commencements was so strong that it marked the historical facts themselves with this trait. If kings are supposed to re-commence their terrestrial life *ad infinitum* in heaven, with the gods with whom they have become identified, the opposite is none the less true. What Pharaoh does on this earth is merely the repetition of the legendary Divine actions. And even their real historical victories—at least up to a certain point—were regarded as re-commencements by the calendars in which their anniversaries were inserted (*e.g.* for Usertesen in the XIIth dynasty, Thothmes III. in the XVIIIth, etc.).

The Divine and historical legend, formed by these successive elements, gradually became a whole, so coherent and so closely connected with the calendar that the sky became a sort of index where people day by day read the annals of legendary Egypt. Each year the cycle was renewed with the return of the same influences. Pictographic reproduction and written notation of direct observations gave rise to books or pictures of them, the interpretation of which supplied both a date and a whole page of this history. For it was sufficient to *read* the positions of the stellar Divine beings to understand who they were, what they were doing at that precise moment, and what events had followed in the sky, of which the events of the present moment were the mere consequence.

We shall confine ourselves to noticing the Egyptian point of view of the matter. It may be said that Egypt came very near the possession of an astrological scripture, with all the imperfections and all the obstacles encountered by the civilizations which have attempted it, when they have reached the time for the application of scripture to economic and non-religious life. Egypt escaped this owing to causes which cannot be explained here. The point which must be noted by specialists is the interest which arose in establishing in what measure and up to what point other scriptures—notably in America—have

assumed similar characteristics, being at the same time astrological and mytho-historical; so that they possess a double value of great importance for modern science.

The result of such a system was to subject each moment of the calendric year to an influence of one or more of the Divine beings. Egypt made a detailed application of it. Naturally the months, the seasons, and the 'decades' had their protecting deities, and the general theory could not fail to extend the system to the days. Those gods who governed the months ended by giving them for the most part the names which have just been cited (although the lists of the monuments are far from agreeing; cf. Budge, *Gods*, ii. 293). The names of the gods governing the 360 days (cf. Brugsch, *Matériaux*, p. 47) have been regarded as an invention of late date, but always in ignorance of older documents. They are perhaps as old as the gods of the 'decades,' of which we now possess lists of the time of the Xth dynasty (cf. below). Theology could not fail to push the distribution of Divine protectors to its furthest limit, and charge a god or a spirit with each hour of the day (Budge, *Gods*, ii. 294, 302). In short, there is not a moment when special influence, denoted by name, is not being exercised, either on the whole of Nature or specially on each of the creatures of this world.

The consequences of this calendar had infinite applications. At first haltingly, then less awkwardly, theology realized in these infinite re-commencements the notion that time does not exist, since it is reversible. The perpetual renewal of the conflicts assumed, in a theoretical form which gradually became more dogmatically abstract, the problem, confronting primitive man, of the conflict, also infinite, which goes on in this world between good beings and harmful beings. In describing and organizing it, the calendar not only created astrology; it attracted the attention of man to what he could do on those vital dates when the battle returned to decisive moments. Everywhere, even where religion had succeeded in reading in the sky that events re-commence continually and endlessly on this earth, experience, nevertheless, showed that the κόσμος is unceasingly disturbed by the return of evil. The endless duration of the re-commencements of victorious good was therefore an endless duration *in fact*, but in no way guaranteed for the future. There was always doubt concerning the final success of the beneficent powers. This distress of mind was greater in the religions which were unable to rise to the calendar. But both classes attempted to evolve the manner in which man may intervene in order to contribute to the success of the good spirits. The less civilized knew no way of taking part in the conflict except at the times when they were surprised unawares by its spectacle in the sky (*e.g.* the numerous accounts of intervention at the moment of eclipses of the sun or of the moon). Elsewhere the conflicts are precisely stated at lunar dates, especially equinoctial or solstitial. In every case the intervention of man made use of the same resources—a mixture of mimetic and sympathetic magic. Images of dolls, of battles, of travels, of voyages were and are still made all over the world. The Eskimos, the Aleuts, the Columbians (cf. artt. ESKIMOS, ALEUTS, etc., in this encyclopædia, and see *GB*[2], for many examples), when intervening in favour of friendly gods, acted in the same way as in the case of the collective mimetic ceremonies for fishing or hunting. The Indians of California and the Polynesians carried about on certain dates a sun manufactured and conceived in the same way as the Râ-sun which Egyptian processions made to sail in a barque. But if the Egyptian concept has not a less humble origin, the perfection of the calendar has given us the opportunity of tracing the information much further back. Bound not to the agricultural world, but to the history of the heavens, the calendar multiplied the *foreseen* and *precise* occasions of human intervention. The pretended battles of the worshippers of the Egyptian gods, or the manufactured images, were similar to what the Banks Islanders, for example, were able to make in this order of ideas. But the details, shown in the sky, of the history of the gods supplied a multitude of remarkable details concerning what these worshippers could do. Festivals worthy of the name, processions, and real dramas followed. The imitation of the acts of the gods gave rise to the imitation of episodes in their life, and then to the imitation of their whole life. Symbolism and the progress of meditation, starting from this point, were able to lead to the obtaining of moral information from the esoteric sense (created, of course, afterwards) of the anniversaries of all the calendar. Thus a whole section of religious information is derived from those festivals of the Egyptian calendar which—a significant fact for their stellar origin—almost all have their starting-point in *night*. To this possibility of co-operating, exactly at the propitious moment, in the struggle for good, magic naturally brought its ordinary resources. Mimetic and sympathetic data, brought to perfection (costumes, statues, etc.), combined with the infinite power given by the knowledge of names (*q.v.*), and with the power of the voice, and of the chant in the incantation—in a word, with the complete arsenal common to humanity. In associating it with the science of the calendar, Egyptian religion was able to guarantee that, if the same gods (or their mimetic substitutes) repeated the same acts in the same places (or in their equivalents by 'geographical magic') and on the same days (fixed by the calendar), the order of the world was assured. And the worshippers who had contributed to them were sure to have acquired the most important merits in the eyes of the gods.

The consequences of such a system (which has necessarily been only very briefly stated) are evident:

(1) First there is the importance for each person of knowing the propitious moment for accomplishing an action or for abstaining from it, and of knowing the sum of the influences for each instant of life; hence the important rôle among the clergy which was played by 'the people of the hours,' or priests charged with controlling and fixing them. Hence also the position held in the life of the temple by those people of the *sâu* (the Ptolemaic φύλαι), who, month after month, took charge of the whole service. These men were not so often scholars as watchmen (*urshui*), sentinels entrusted with the defence of the Divine castle.

The question of the technical perfection of Egyptian astronomy will not be examined here (see art. STARS [Egyptian]). Cf. as examples of its material implements, the apparatus published by Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvi. 67, and the emblems connected with measurement of time belonging to the religious observatory of Heliopolis, in Naville's *Festival-hall*, pl. ix.

(2) There is the part played in the life of the Egyptian by participation, in all its forms, in the dramas and mysteries, which, throughout the whole calendric year, reproduced in the sanctuaries, and for the purpose explained above, the phases of the life of the national gods.

The whole was translated into three practical applications, as far as the religion of living beings is concerned. Two are of a passive kind, and the third is active. (*a*) The production in pictures of the calendric influences common to all or belonging specially to one individual. These are the stellar pictures, the *decani*, and the zodiacs. (*b*) The drawing up of the list of influences for each day

(calendars of lucky and unlucky days). (*c*) The organization of anniversary days, when man intervenes on behalf of his gods, and repels the evil gods. These are the festivals, the processions, and the mysteries. Intervention of the dead or for the dead will be examined separately.

VII. *PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS.*—**1. Astronomical charts, etc.**—The number of documents and of works cited below on this subject permits only of a résumé of the chief notions, keeping in view the present state of science and the points not yet treated.

(*a*) *Astronomical charts.*—Charts of the sky, properly so called, considered in their connexion with the influences of each of the stars or groups of stars, must have existed from the very earliest times. As a matter of fact, as no ceilings of the temple of the Middle Empire have been preserved, we do not know of them any further back than the beginning of the second Theban Empire (Ramesseum). But the Texts of the Pyramids contain clear allusions to ordinances of the stellar gods, in astronomical pictures. These important references have never been pointed out, any more than the question has been discussed whether chapters xviii. to xx. of the Book of the Dead are not descriptions (more or less mutilated) of ancient astronomical pictures belonging to the oldest temples. Those of the temples of Esnèh, Edfu, Denderah, and Kom-Ombo, although of Ptolemaic or Roman times, and permeated with non-Egyptian ideas, are, in the main part of their wording, drawn from national chronicles. The collection and general comparison of all those pictures are still awaiting a special publication.

(*b*) *Zodiac.*—Babylonian influences, transmitted by Greece, brought into Egypt the generalization of the use of signs of the zodiac, the most famous types of which—those of Esnèh and Denderah—have been the subjects of very numerous works, which are, however, already out of date, and disregarded by modern Egyptology. It seems to be admitted in a general way that the zodiacs were unknown in Egypt before the Græco-Roman period. Their elements, nevertheless, are found on the tomb of Seti I., and they figure on a certain number of sarcophagi of the Saite epoch, or previous to the Greek period (cf. British Museum, No. 6678). Lastly, there are real indications that the signs of the zodiac were known and used as early as the first Theban Empire, according to certain allusions in the funerary texts, which have not yet been carefully studied.

(*c*) *Decani.*—Besides the course of the five planets, the Egyptians had noticed the rise, culmination, and setting of the stars. Among the constellations they attached special importance to those which they saw at fixed times sinking towards the horizon, disappearing, and then imperceptibly taking their original place after this disappearance. The 36 decades of the 12 months were placed under the protection of a number corresponding to these constellations when situated on the horizon. Hephæstion (4th cent. A.D.) has given in Greek a list of their names, the comparison of which with the Egyptian monuments has established greater exactness. For a long time Egyptologists thought that their invention belonged to the Theban epoch. They were found at Abydos, at the Ramesseum, at the tomb of Seti I., in that of Rameses IV., then on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo, in the temples of Edfu, Esnèh, Denderah, etc. The discovery of sarcophagi with texts of the Middle Empire has led to their recovery, with extremely curious details, as early as the Xth dynasty at least (coffin of Masahiti, and fragments of coffins of Akhmim). It seems certain to the present writer that allusion is made to them in the pre-historic formulæ of the Texts of the Pyramids. Each of the three *decani* of the month presides in turn over the decade of the head (*tapi*) of the month, that of the heart (*abi*), and that of the hind portion (*pahu*). Their variants and variations, as well as the remnants of time when the *decani* combine with the influences of the planets, laid bare to astrological research a vast region for special studies (cf. Lit. below, § VII., Daressy's recent contribution, 1909).

(*d*) *Stellar tables.*—The rôle of the *decani* is quite distinct from the checkered stellar tables noticed in the royal tombs (especially Rameses VI. and Rameses IX.). Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, tr. Tirard, pp. 349–391) has explained their part very clearly, as well as the mechanism of the series of pictures, and the value of the legends. The positions of the stars, for a fixed time, and in connexion with the different parts of the body of an imaginary man supposed to contemplate them, are inscribed with respect to the configuration of the stars themselves. Unfortunately, the workmen who copied them have done so carelessly, and these tables are almost useless from the astronomical point of view. Nor is the religious nature of these strange documents very apparent. The opinion of Petrie (*PSBA* xxiv. 319), that they are simply horoscopic pictures referring to the nativity of the kings, is an ingenious way of reconciling the chronology based on the Sothic period with the contradictions presented in the tablets of the Royal Tombs; but no proof has been given of this explanation, which is too briefly stated.

2. Calendars of lucky and unlucky days.—Apart from the allusions in the religious or literary texts, the famous Sallier Papyrus and the Leyden Papyrus (i. 366) are the sources of the most valuable information. The methodical comparison with the similar tables of the Assyrians would be a fruitful study. Up to the present this has been too much neglected, most of the publications during the last fifty years limiting themselves to quoting and abridging the masterly work of Chabas, who is no longer at the height of present-day knowledge, either for translation or for commentary. The only advance made has been to point out, thanks to the Kahun Papyrus, that that sort of book existed as early as the XIIth dynasty. We have therefore another proof of the extreme antiquity of everything connected with the Egyptian calendar. It is necessary to call attention in a general way to the manner in which horoscopes are clearly connected, for each day of the calendar, with influences resulting from the chart of the sky on that day. The most striking proof lies in the importance—which till now has not been pointed out—of the division of the day into three parts, each of which is subjected to the influences which have control of the world at that moment. We may therefore have completely good days, completely bad days, or days partly good and partly bad.

The connexion is remarkable for the days on which one must not go out 'at nightfall,' or, on the contrary, 'as long as it is daylight,' or 'during the morning,' or 'at mid-day.' Each time the sign corresponding to this third of the day is marked as bad, the others remaining good.

The days are not simply good or bad, as we are usually informed. There are three degrees: the good, those which are prohibitive or purely bad, and those on which there is 'a struggle' in the world between good and evil. The facts of the celestial war by which these statements are justified are day by day put opposite this first diagnostic. Although they are deformed, as usual, by the unification caused by the Osirian legend absorbing all the old legends of the primitive gods, we can recognize the antiquity of all the facts mentioned. When events and dates are noticed, we find most

of these facts either in the temple calendars (see below) or in the pre-historic texts of the Books of the Dead. Such a work, carefully treated, may lead to the explanation of a day in connexion with some of the scenes or the mystic texts of the tombs and temples. It must be said that the popular character of collections of the type of the Sallier Papyrus has been exaggerated. It is rather the practical application which deserves such a qualifying character, although even this point is doubtful. In order to give the document its full value, we have first to make a table of its interdictions, and see to what mythological (*i.e.* stellar) facts they refer. The most frequent prohibitions are against leaving the house, going out at a certain time, travelling, sailing, undertaking a piece of work, or undertaking anything whatsoever. Speaking, singing, and sexual intercourse come next. Certain things or persons bring misfortune if they are looked at on a particular day. Prohibitions against killing or eating certain animals are equally numerous, as well as those against setting fire to or burning certain substances. The whole, at first strange and childish, may be justified in each case by the study of the astrological myths connected with corresponding episodes in the history of the gods.

The corresponding *fortunes* have to be divided into quite distinct classes. Some are *risks* from which people may escape by observing the calendar: drowning; dying from plague or fevers; losing one's life 'by encountering spirits'; being killed by a bull or a serpent into which these same spirits have entered; remaining ill for the rest of one's life; 'dying for ever' (*i.e.* with no second existence), etc. Others are inevitable *destinies*, which happen whatever is done by the person born on that day. Very seldom good (long life, riches), they usually predict death by animals, by contagion, from a wound, from the annual epidemics (fever?), by drowning, or by sudden indigestion (*sic*). The mildest of them foretold deafness or blindness. The case of the child born on a certain day, who will lose its hearing 'because that is the day on which the ears of Osiris were sealed,' shows sufficiently the kind of deductions made for each day from the examination of the corresponding mythological facts.

The whole, subsequently adapted to popular superstition, gave rise to the base applications of sorcery, and to that caricature of real astrology which has reached us from the Egyptians of the last centuries, and from the Roman world, which was infested with their ignorant juggleries. The 'on that day' (*am haru peu*) of the sorcerers' formulæ is simply a return to the notion of ancient magic—placing oneself in the calendric conditions of time and surroundings necessary to reproduce the rôle of the god or the spirit who is most influential at that moment. It is, as a matter of fact, being inspired with the universal notion applied even at the present day by a fetishist sorcerer of the Congo. If a separation was made in Egypt between the puerility of these horoscopes, or practices, and the really religious ceremony of the official cult, that separation did not exist at the beginning. It took place when the notion of the calendar allowed the priest to go further, and to put in place of simple mimetic magic the noble theory of re-commencements, with a commemorative character, and with participation on the part of the worshippers. Priesthoods which are still rudimentary, like those of the southern tribes of the Victoria Nyanza, show how processions and sacrifices may arise from primitive barbarism when the calendric observation is more or less formulated. The Egyptian race, being better placed by nature, arrived at real temple-calendars, with the immense reserve of religious and moral forces implied by their final adoption.

3. Temple calendars, festivals, ceremonies.—The really surprising number of calendar festivals had caused even the Greeks to marvel (cf. Herod. ii. 59), but it is sufficiently proved by the origin and the value of such ceremonies as have just been explained. It will be noticed that cults regulated by astronomy (especially in Mexico, where the innumerable series of festivals astounded the first conquerors) have always been remarkable for the number of festivals, and probably for the same reason as in Egypt.

On account of the numerous documents of every kind (cf. § I. above), we are still able, not only to recover a large number of these festivals, but also (although with serious difficulties in the present state of science) to form an exact and detailed idea of the ceremonies and the precise purpose which they had in view. Such an important subject cannot be treated fully in the present article (see art. FESTIVALS [Egyptian]). All that need be recalled for our present purpose is what has direct connexion with the calendar, *i.e.* with the notation of the dates of the religious year, the relation of the episodes mentioned to the ceremonies carried through on the chosen anniversaries, and the religious character which gradually evolved, through these festivals, from primitive astrology.

The great majority of these innumerable festivals have a double common character which has never been pointed out. They begin at night, and have a dramatic and warlike signification. Many, indeed, are entitled day-festivals; but in every case in which it is possible to get back to the sources, they are seen to be in reality the continuation of an original festival or rite which took place during the night—a fact which is most important for the astronomical nature of their origins (see above). As regards the inward essence of the chief ceremony, it is very seldom of a joyful character. Undoubtedly, as throughout the world, the course of centuries and popular fancies added comic episodes and burlesques to it, and the assembling of great crowds has frequently introduced noisy rejoicings (cf. Herod. ii. 48). The real foundation of the ceremony is a battle, and the official rejoicing, noted by the calendars, is not manifested until afterwards, as a consequence of the victory.

The different kinds of anniversary festivals may be divided into twelve chief classes: (1) births of the gods, (2) episodes in the life of Osiris, (3) circumnavigations and voyages of the gods, (4) wars of the gods, (5) cosmogonic anniversaries, (6) funerals of the gods, (7) births and anniversaries of the kings, (8) commemorations of foundations, (9) festivals of the sun, (10) festivals connected with the Nile and agriculture, (11) exclusively funerary festivals, and (12) *miscellanea*, or of doubtful meaning (planting of the willow, inscription of the *Ashdu* tree, erection of the obelisk, etc.). We must not be led astray by such a classification. It is absolutely artificial, optical (if one may say so), because it takes account only of external features resulting simply from the titles. In every case in which we can see the details from the monuments, it may be said that the act *par excellence* of the ceremony consists in a conflict, in which the priests and the worshippers play the different parts of a real warlike drama. (We omit the anniversaries of births, the travelling of the Amon family to Luxor and its sojourn in its houses of rest, the festivals of the opening of canals, and others of the same type.) But festivals of apparently simple rejoicing, like those perpetual journeys of the gods to visit each other (Hathor to Edfu, Horus to Denderah, Hathor to Fayyum, etc.), or of simple *exoduses* (*khâu*—ἐξοδεῖαι) of the gods round the temple, or on their sacred lake, might at first sight be classed among the series of peaceful rejoicings *par excellence*. Nevertheless, as soon as the evidence of a classic (*e.g.* Herodotus at Papremis [ii. 63 f.]) frees them from chance, or as soon as texts (as at Edfu) detail them minutely, the episode of the battle appears—all as is shown, *a priori*, in

the brief mentions of the calendar of the Palermo Stone (killing the hippopotamus, striking the Anu, binding the Barbarians, etc.). Everywhere the gods attack reptiles or crocodiles, and cleave them in two—the serpent Apopi, and the serpent Sebain, etc.; at Heliopolis, Bastit, the Divine cat, cuts off the head of the serpent; the people of Pu and Dapu rush at each other, like those of Papremis; the partisans of the gods are attacked by hostile gods, escorted by their followers. Monsters of wax, of clay, of wood, or of rope (like the serpent made of rope which Plutarch says was cut in pieces at the festivals of Osiris) are pierced with blows, lacerated, cut in fragments by the priests or worshippers. Râ 'gets rid of his enemies' at Illahun. Every year, at the same 'place of massacre,' Edfu celebrates the 'defeat of the opponents of Horus.' If the feasts of the month of Choïak (they come from Memphis and are the result of the gradual fusion of Osiris and Socharis) are taken from the calendar of Abydos, the legend of the 'good god' seems to be formed from a series of warlike anniversaries, older than the oldest history. His barques are attacked, and his enemies are overthrown and cut in pieces. On the road to Pagar and on the lake of Nadit, the train of the procession fight with each other continually. Who would have suspected this character of the Osirian festivals, with titles so unwarlike, if we had not happened to possess the evidence of a dozen inscriptions on the point? Without the frescoes of a Theban tomb (Tomb of Kheriuf), who would ever have known that an apparently peaceful date like the planting of the *Dadu* included pitched battles with sticks between the priests and the accessories? Would it ever have been suspected that at the Memphis festival of fishing, the officiant, when capturing the fish, was 'seizing the enemies'? Hundreds of other festivals are distributed throughout the year, and warn us that these dates of the ancient calendars of the Book of the Dead are speaking of real festivals when they mention 'the night on which the children of the rebellion were destroyed' (it is represented on the pre-historic 'palettes'), that on which 'the cursed are exterminated,' or on which 'the enemies of Nib er-Dzer are massacred.'

From the examples just given, we may be allowed to infer that these battles also characterized the exoduses of Anubis from Syut, of Hathor from Denderah, etc. This induction is singularly confirmed when suddenly, for a festival whose warlike character is not mentioned by a single Egyptian text, the witness of Herodotus or Plutarch shows us the representation of wars or of the slaying of monsters overcome in them. Actually, as in the Sallier Papyrus, there seems each day to have been a battle in this world. But these are fought in the temples of Egypt, now here and now there, at places fixed by legend. This is the point that must be remembered for the present study, the classification and origin of the festivals as well as their picturesque details being treated in another article (FESTIVALS [Egyptian]).

The connexion between the character of these festivals and the origin of the calendar is evident. The festivals, which are neither anniversaries nor commemorations, in our sense of the word, but re-commencements, give rise to the detail of repetition in this world of this drama of the sky, of which they are the representation. And the participation of spectators in the massacre of the evil gods, the insistence by the worshippers (especially at Abydos) on the active rôle they filled in these sacred dramas, when they 'helped their god,' show a fundamental agreement between the magical data and the calendric data as the basis of the Egyptian cult.

This character of the anniversaries of temple calendars explains also the dates when the gods travelled and visited each other. These are not simply neighbourly relations, or reminiscences of the alliances of the pre-historic tribes of the Nile Valley. Although the course of centuries gives a character of rejoicing and pilgrimage to these festivals, the real origin is the imitation of the martial acts of the mythological life of the gods, thus shown forth with great pomp. And we saw above how—at least for the most part—it was the reading of the sky that suggested the principal episodes in it.

Thus by natural consequence the unchanged character of the temple calendar from the beginning to the end of history is proved. The study of historical documents shows that, as they existed under the Memphites, so we find the festivals under the Roman dominion. The only work done by theology was to generalize for the whole of Egypt some festivals which originally were merely local. But Egyptology has accomplished thus only part of its task. The study of the pre-historic texts of the Books of the Dead and the Book of the Pyramids proves that the festivals and calendric dates of these collections appear again, with names hardly modified, in documents of the historic age, like the Palermo Stone or the stelæ of the ancient Empire, and that the whole fits into the lists of the classical calendar.

The chief importance of the anniversary date is sufficiently justified by what has already been said. (The exact dates of the principal festivals will be given in the article FESTIVALS [Egyptian].) The way of marking it in the classical epoch consists simply in the indication of the season, the month, and the day. A different method seems to have existed in Heliopolis. Its character is difficult to grasp. The present writer proposes simply as a hypothesis of his own to read as calendric dates the numbers marked in the celebrated Palermo Stone, which have always been interpreted as agrarian measurements or as the heights of the Nile. He thinks it possible to see in them notations of height taken with some very simple instrument, or more specially the height of the shadow of some arrangement like the Babylonian πόλος—perhaps even the height of an emblem like a sacred stone, the prototype of Banbonu of the Great Temple (cf. Naville, *Festival-hall*, pl. ix.). With the same restrictions he thinks that the pre-historic vases or Thinite tablets of Neggadeh and Abydos contain indications of beginning, culmination, and end of phenomena used to date the festivals represented on these tablets. The correct interpretation, however, is not yet forthcoming.

The development of the theory of the anniversary festival in the calendar seems therefore to have been briefly: (1) the idea of the influences of the stars; (2) the putting of their positions into living images in the form of beings, conflicts, travels, births, etc.; (3) the notation of corresponding myths; (4) the assimilation of the conflicts which take place on the earth with this mythology; (5) as a consequence, the assimilation of the gods or spirits of this world and their legends with the conflicts and acts of the inhabitants of the firmament; (6) the combination of the whole into a unique cycle, the dates of which are given by the appearance of the sky; (7) the artificial creation, in order to correspond with these dates, of pseudo-historical or purely legendary facts; (8) the invention of the great Osirian drama, incorporating the myths or the disconnected accounts of the local proto-history of the various parts of Egypt (if necessary, with the aid of alliterations or artificial etymologies); (9) the tendency to confuse Osiris with the Râ-sun, and to see in the legend of Osiris a symbolical figure of the struggle between the desert and the Nile; (10) the gods, combined in the latest epoch, induce symbolism, the concept of the struggle between darkness and light; and (11), as a last result, there is the struggle of moral light with the darkness of sin, the struggle between good and evil, with the defence and active obligations which it entails for the worshipper.

The living worshippers of the god are not the only persons who participate in these annals of the calendar. The dead also take part in them, and fight on their side. The explanation of the theory of death among the Egyptians will be found in art. STATE OF THE DEAD (Egyptian).

VIII. *Funerary calendar.*—1. **Festivals.**—The remarkable fixity of this calendar is attested by several thousands of monuments (not including the texts of the Book of the Dead type), from the Memphite *mastabas* to the titles of the tombs, or the stelæ of the latest epoch. From Memphis to the first cataract, every necropolis has supplied sufficient funerary calendars to draw up the inventory and to show the importance of its character. As far back as we can go at the present time (IVth dynasty), the work of unification for the whole of Egypt is completed (cf. *e.g.* the sarcophagus of Khufu-Anku). Two classes of dates and festivals appear: the first are common to all the provinces of Egypt; the second remain, throughout the course of history, local and peculiar to certain necropolises. The exegetic examination of those of the first class shows that they are the product of a list which combined festivals that were formerly peculiar to such and such a region. They began by belonging properly to the dead subjects of Socharis at Memphis, of Anubis at Syut, of Uap-Matonu at Abydos, of Hathor at Denderah, etc. The fact that as early as the IVth dynasty they are the common property of all the Egyptian dead, almost everywhere unified by the Osirian legend, is of sufficient significance to give an idea of the immense preparatory work that was necessary before the period known to us.

The chief list, identical at the beginning and at the end of history, gives: (1) the day of the year (1st Thoth), with the festival of lighting the new fire (the festival of 'lamps' of Herodotus, ii. 62), the 'service of the dead,' and the 'surrounding of the temple in procession,' a visit to the local god, in great pomp, at the dwelling-places of the dead (Beni-Hasan, Syut, Denderah, Thebes, Edfu, etc.); (2) the great festivals of the dead on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of Thoth (festival of lamentations, of the flame, and the *Uagait*); (3) the festivals of Socharis in the month of Choiak: sacred night, sacred morning, procession round the walls of the temple (originally round the sanctuary of the white wall at Memphis, then, later, in all the chapels of Socharis in Egypt). This is one of the most solemn moments in the life of the dead and in the calendar connected with it; in the Palermo Stone we find the feasts of Socharis mentioned in the whole historic series, sometimes with valuable details (cf. Revillout, *Revue Egyptol.* i. 43, with an incomplete bibliography, but full of important examples; cf. also the Kahun Papyrus of the XIIth dynasty and the very important text of the calendar of Nofir-hetep at Thebes [XVIIIth dynasty]); and (4) the festivals of the five epagomenal days. To the first group may be added the following calendric list, which is simply a table of funerary services to be offered to the dead, rather than festivals with processions or ceremonies of a mythical character: the beginning of each season, the beginning of the month, and the day of the half-month, the 4th, 5th, 6th, 17th (*sadzau*), and 30th of each month (see Munich, stele no. 3). There is no ground for asserting a relation between the monthly festivals and the moon, from the funerary point of view.

The indications of the stelæ enumerate afterwards a certain number of festivals already known to the non-funerary calendar: the rising of Sirius, the arrival of the Nile, the 'reception of the river,' the 'travels of the gods' from one town to another, visiting each other, etc.

Lastly, festivals probably common to the whole of Egypt are local in appearance, either because we have not enough documents, or because they bear different names according to the localities, although they are really identical (removal of sand, scattering of the sand, festivals 'of the mountain' or 'of the valley,' transferring of the statue to the temple). Thus at Thebes the 25th of Choiak is called *Nutirit.*

The festivals of Memphis (Exodus of Min, Assembly of Osiris Nib Dzoto), those of Beni-Hasan (great and small 'catching'), and those of Thebes (morning of Neheb-kau, festival of the two enchantresses, of the 'Assembly of Bailu,' of the 'hearing of speeches,' and of the 'opening of the chapel') are simple examples given here of the titles of local festivals. They have not yet been studied. It is probable that it will turn out that, under other names, they were celebrated throughout the whole of Egypt, and that their triple link will be found with mythology, with the corresponding formulæ in the Book of the Dead, and with the representations in the temples or the hypogæa. It seems to be already proved that these festivals, when they are mentioned, come from another part of Egypt—which presupposes a long preliminary work of fusion (cf. *e.g.* the Theban festival of Bailu, which is said to be consecrated 'to the souls of the dead of the Lord of Hermopolis').

The whole is accompanied, for the statues 'of millions of years' of deceased kings, by a complete special calendar. It is sufficient to state here that it consists chiefly of festivals of the clothing of statues, processions to the temples, and participation in the majority of the great festivals of the ordinary local calendar.

2. **Historical summary: probable formation.**—The fact that the calendar appears fully formed as early as the Memphites, and undergoes no essential change down to the end, admits only of a hypothetical explanation of the way in which it is formed: (1) by the examination of the peculiarities of the festivals; (2) by the direct or indirect mention of their origin; or, above all (3), by the archaic traces of a previous state of affairs in the Book of the Dead. The sarcophagi of the first Theban Empire are in this respect the next source of considerable discoveries. The most important at the present time are those of Babei, found by Petrie at Denderah (Cairo Museum), and those exhumed by Garstang at Beni-Hasan. As in the case of the festivals, we shall treat here only what is connected with the calendar, the rest of the funerary theory being more conveniently treated in the art. State of the Dead (Egyptian).

The faculty, which at first was restricted to those who had within them one or more Divine souls (*i.e.* to chiefs, sons and heirs of the gods), of reuniting with the gods of this earth and of sharing in the direct offering of worship, was extended to those who were capable of understanding the necessary magical prescriptions, and who had received the necessary talismans. They were then able 'to walk on good roads'—to return to this world. They could do so only once a year, when the local god at his festival came to look for them in the necropolis. They then accompanied him as worshippers (*amkhu*) or as companions (*shosu*), and, along with the living in the procession, participated in the whole drama of the festival, and then in the offering. The whole thing could take place only in the locality in which the famous mythological fact had formerly occurred, and at the time when the sky indicated the exact date when the fact should be renewed by the festival (typical examples at Syut, at Hermopolis for the festival of Bailu, at Thebes for the 'festival of the valley,' at Denderah, etc.). This festival took place in many provinces, at the time of the annual rising of the waters and at the New Year—the resurrection of all the things of the valley (*e.g.* Fayyum, Heracleopolis, Abydos, Denderah, Edfu, Assuân). But in other places it was at different dates (month of Choiak at Memphis, Pharmuti at Hermopolis, etc.). The continuance of the happiness of the dead was due to a triple series of continued actions, the benefit of which was evidently at first confined to the kings, but afterwards extended to ordinary men: (1) the introduction into the local calendar, with all its results, of the festivals of strange gods which fell on a different date, making the local

dead benefit thereby; (2) multiplying the circumstances in which each of these gods had the power of making the 'living soul' of the dead return to this earth; and (3) not restricting to a single place in Egypt the possibility of accomplishing the magical rite necessary for each day, but extending the benefit of it to all in the necropolises. This work in course of formation is seized on in texts like that of Babei, where the calendar already enumerates one hundred dates of festivals, in which, at a certain place, the dead person may take his share of such and such rejoicing of such and such a god (see also chs. xviii.–xx. of the Book of the Dead, which are very instructive on this point). The whole leads to the final possibility of communicating with the dead throughout the whole year. Then the long series of magical dates, which had become useless, was eliminated. There remains a unique calendar, general for Egypt, where the festivals simply mark the most outstanding remains of the ancient elements of formation. The final product is almost reduced to unity by the Osirian theme, which substitutes for the pre-historic *raisons d'être* of these dates explanations drawn from anniversaries of the life, death, and resurrection of Osiris. It is precisely this theological work, accomplished almost entirely in the time of the Memphites, which makes the discovery and real meaning of the original festivals so difficult. The search for these offers a large scientific reward to the person who will undertake it.

IX. *CONCLUSION.*—What has been said above may perhaps suffice to show that the calendar in Egypt played an important part in the degree of perfection reached by the evolution of religious thought in that country. If, as everything indicates, the material supplied by the gods and the concepts at the disposal of the ancient Egyptian cults was no better than that still employed by the groups of less civilized races of the rest of Africa, we must find out the reason why Egypt was able to profit more by it. And if, in a similar fashion, the organization of worship is one of the most important factors, it seems clear that the calendar, as it was instituted in that country, was one of the most powerful forces in ensuring this organization. The question leads to the search for the causes which favoured the perfecting of the calendar and gave it the form and the value which have been examined above (p. 97). The conditions of geographical and meteorological surroundings were perhaps not the only favourable elements in this first cause. They were certainly elements of the first rank.

Considering now not the causes but the consequences, we see that the calendar succeeded in identifying, dating, and, in definite mythologies, fixing, the limits of the apparent incoherence between the appearance of the perceptible world and its incessant struggles between good and evil. The intervention of man, foreseen and organized on certain fixed dates, arranged and defined relations with the gods, and multiplied the connexions with them, then the obligations towards them, at the same time as the rôle of the gods became more noble. It matters little that originally this human intervention was grossly magical; the essential fact was the possibility of man's helping the powers that were regarded as good to struggle against those regarded as evil. To define, in a gradually more elevated sense, the words 'good' and 'evil,' and to reach the duty of being morally a partisan of the good gods, was the long-protracted effort of thousands of years of Egyptian thought. The final notion of dualism, with its wholesome lesson of energy, existed in germ from the very day on which the year of the religious calendar definitely specified the rôle of each person, and the certain effects of the acts of man, in the ceaseless struggle in which he takes part.

It marked the race for ever with its stamp. Even after Egypt became Christian, it will be found that it kept this stamp and is distinguished by it from the rest of the peoples who believe in Christ. For the Copts, St. Michael and St. George on high *every day* conduct the celestial hosts to battle against the soldiers of Satan's armies. They seize them, beat them, hang them; but they do not destroy them, for 'their hour is not yet come.' In this way the Egyptians reconcile the new dogma and the ineradicable conception of the perpetual celestial battle, in which the worshipper, by his acts and prayers, comes to the assistance of his Protectors on high.

LITERATURE.—Roughly speaking, the bibliography of the Egyptian calendar exceeds a thousand publications, articles, etc., not including those dealing exclusively with astronomy, astrology, or pure chronology. A selection being necessary, there is given below a list which will be found to contain all the literature that is essential on the subject. Only a few items have been extracted from the long list of articles which have appeared in Egyptian periodicals, e.g. *ZÄ*, *OLZ*, *PSBA*, *RTAP*, and *Sphinx*. Such a bibliography, in view of the great variety of questions involved, would not be of much service if simply arranged alphabetically or even chronologically. A classification accordiog to the subject-matter has appeared advisable. We have included also a list of the *documents* properly so called, *i.e.* the list of ancient monuments published with or without translation or commentaries, but without a synthetic article on the calendar. A list of the chief ancient authors who wrote on the subject has also been added. The most important authorities have an asterisk prefixed.

I. *DIDACTIC TREATISES, ACCOMPANIED BY DOCUMENTS.*—Biot, *Année vague des Egyptiens*, Paris, 1853; Brugsch, **Nouvelles recherches sur la division de l'année des anciens Egyptiens*, Berlin, 1856, **Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du calendrier des anciens Egyptiens*, Leipzig, 1864, *Thesaurus*, pt. ii. 'Kalenderinschriften,' Leipzig, 1883; Chabas, *Mélanges*, Paris, 1862, 1873; Champollion, *Mém. sur les signes employés à la notation du temps*, Paris, 1831; Dümichen, **Altäg. Kalenderinschriften*, Leipzig, 1863–65; Faselius, *Altäg. Kalenderstudien*, Strassburg, 1873; Gumpach, *On the historical Antiquity of the People of Egypt, their Kalendar*, etc., London, 1863; Lepsius, **Chronologie der Aegypter*, Einleituog, Berlin, 1849; Letronne, *Nouvelles recherches sur le calendrier des anciens Egyptiens*, Paris, 1863.

II. *DIDACTIC RÉSUMÉS OF THE STATE OF THE QUESTION.*—Breasted, **Ancient Records*, Chicago, 1906–07, p. 26; Budge, **Book of Kings*, xliii–lix, London, 1908; Maspero, **Histoire*, Paris, 1894–99, i. 204–213 (with list of the most important literature down to 1893).

III. *POPULAR WORKS.*—Bénédite, *Egypte* (Guide), Paris, 1900, preface, p. 99; Breasted, *Hist. of Anc. Egyptians*, London, 1908; Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Collections of the British Museum*, London, 1899, p. 180, *Gods of the Egyptians*, London, 1903, i. 435, 488, 517, ii. 110; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, tr. Tirard, London, 1894, p. 350, *Egyp. Religion*, London, 1907, p. 217 ff.; Pierret, *Dict. d'archéol. égyp.*, Paris, 1875.

IV. *DIVISIONS OF THE YEAR, CYCLES, PHŒNIX AND 'HUNTI' PERIODS.*—Brugsch, *Nouvelles recherches* (see above), and *Rel. und Mythol.*, 1884, p. 671; Champollion, *Mémoire* (see above); Gardiner, *'Mesorê as the first month of the Egyptian Year,' in *ZÄ* xlii. 136; Griffitb, *'The Ancient Egyptian Year,' *PSBA* xiv. [1892] 260; Hincks, *On the Years and Cycles used by the Egyptians*, London, 1839, and *On the Various Years and Months in use among the Egyptians*, London, 1865; Mahler, *ZÄ*, 1890, p. 122; Martin, *Période égypt. du Phœnix*, 1864; Naville, **Festival-hall*, London, 1892, pp. 7, 21; Vincent, *Recherches sur l'année égyptienne*, Paris, 1865.

V. *ON THE SOTHIO PERIOD IN PARTICULAR.*—Borchardt, in *ZÄ* xxxvii. 80; Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, London, 1907; Fourier, *Recherches sur les sciences et le gouvernement de l'Egypte*, Paris, 1828; Krall, 'Studien,' in *SWAW* xcviii., Vienna, 1880; Lauth, *Aegypt. Tetraeteris*, Munich, 1878, *Sothis- oder Siriusperiode*, Munich, 1874; Lefébure, in *Revue Egyptol.* ix. 71; Legge, *'Is the "Pirit-Sopdou" a Heliacal Rising?' in *Recueil de Travaux*, 1909; Lesage, *Le Lever héliaque de Sothis le 16 Pharmouti*, Paris, 1860; Mahler, 'Die Apisperiode,' in *SWAW*, 1894, p. 832 ff., *'Sothis und Monddaten der alten Aegypter,' in *Actes du xiv^e Congr. Orient.* 1906; Martin, *Date historique d'un renouvellement de la période sothiaque*, Paris, 1869; Maspero, 'Notes au jour le jour,' in *PSBA* xiii. 303, and *Revue Critique*, 27th Nov. 1906; Oppolzer, *Länge des Siriusjahres und der Sothisperiode*, Vienna, 1884, *Sothisperiode und Siriusjahr*, Vienna, 1885; Rougé, in *Revue Archéol.* 1849; Sharpe, *On the Return of Phœnix and Sothic Period*, 1849; Torr, **Memphis and Mycenæ*, Cambridge, 1896, p. 57 ff.; Wiedemann, in **OLZ* iii. 322.

VI. *CALENDAR APPLIED TO CHRONOLOGY.*—Ginzel, *Handbuch der math. und techn. Chron.*, Leipzig, 1906, i. 226; Griffith, in *PSBA*, 1896, p. 99; F. A. Jones, *'The Ancient Year and Sothic Cycle,' *PSBA* xxx. 95; Lefébure, 'Principales consé-

quences de la période sothiaque,' in *Rev. Egypt.* viii.; Lieblein, **Chronologie*, Upsala, 1873, *PSBA* xxii. 352. and *ZÄ* xliv. 101; Mahler, **Die ägyp. Finsterniss der Bibel*, Vienna, 1885, *Chronol. Vergleichungstabellen*, vol. i. 'Aegypter,' Vienna, 1888, '*Études sur le calendrier égyp.* (tr. Moret, Bibl. Musée Guimet, vol. xxiv.); Meyer, 'Aegyp. Chronologie' (*Abhandl. Königl. Preuss. Akad.*), 1904, *'Nachtrage zur ägyp. Chronologie' (*Abhandl. Berlin. Akad.*), 1907; Reisner, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, i., Leipzig, 1907, p. 28; Sethe, *Beiträge* (*Untersuchungen*, iii.), 1905, p. 127. As has already been said, it is impossible to give the complete list of publications or articles on the points of detail of the calendar applied to chronology. We shall call attention merely to Brix, *ZÄ* xli. 26, 30; Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 80, xli. 34; Legge, *Report*, etc., *PSBA* xxi. 261; Meyer, *ZÄ* xli. 93; Lefébure, *Rev. Egyptol.* ix. 71, and *Actes du xive Congr. Orient.* i. 25; Lieblein, *ZÄ* xliv. 101, and *PSBA* xxii. 352; Mahler, *OLZ* iii. 202, v. 248, viii. 6, 473, 535, ix. 94, *ZÄ* xl. 78; Sethe, *ZÄ* xli. 35 (as examples of discussions, in a single period, on chronology in connexion with a particular fact).

VII. *ON THE DECANI IN PARTICULAR.*—Brugsch, **Thesaurus*, Leipzig, 1883-91, p. 131, *Aegyptologie*, Leipzig, 1889–90, p. 329; Daressy, *'Une ancienne liste de décans égyptiens,' *Annales*, iv. [1904] 260, *Statues de divinités*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 351, 'La semaine des Egyptiens,' *Annales*, x. [1909] 21; Goodwin, *Sur un horoscope grec contenant les noms de plusieurs décans*, London, 1865; Lepsius, **Chronologie*, Einleit., Leipzig, 1849, p. 68 ff.; Romieu, *Lettres à Lepsius sur un décan du ciel égyptien*, Paris, 1870.

VIII. *ASTRONOMICAL AND STELLAR TABLES.*—Bilfinger, **Die Sterntafeln in den ägyp. Konigsgrabern*, Leipzig, 1862; Biot, *Calendrier astronomique . . . trouvé à Thèbes*, Paris, 1852; Birch, *Astronomical Observations in the xvth Century B.C.*, London, 1864; Brugsch, **Aegyptologie*; Champollion, **Mémoires* (see above), *Lettres d'Egypte*, Paris, 1833, p. 230, *Notices*, Paris, 1844, ii. 547 ff.; Lepage-Renouf, **Calendar of astronomical Observations from Tombs of the XXth Dyn.*, London, 1874; Petrie, *PSBA* xxiv. 318 (*in fine*); Rougé, 'Mémoire sur quelques phénomènes célestes,' in *Rev. Archéol.* ix. [1852], 'Texte du document astron. et astrol. découvert par Champollion à Thèbes' (*Mém. Acad. Sciences*, xxiv. [1858] 455).

IX. *ON THE ZODIAC.*—Biot, *Mémoire sur le zodiaque de Dendérah*, Paris, 1844; Carteron, *Analyse des recherches de Letronne*, etc., Paris, 1843, *Description de l'Egypte*, 'Antiquités,' Paris, 1808–28, vol. iv. (zodiac of Denderah), p. 267; Champollion, *Lettre relative au zodiaque de Dendérah*, Paris, 1829; Henley, *Zodiaque de Dendérah*, Paris, 1852; Lauth, *Zodiaque de Dendérah*, Paris, 1865; Letronne, *Observations sur l'objet des représentations zodiacales*, etc., Paris, 1824, **Analyse critique des représentations zodiacales de Dendéra et d'Esné*, Paris, 1850; Max Müller, 'Figures zodiacales,' *OLZ* viii. [1903]; Mure, *Calendar and Zodiac of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1853; Saint Martin, *Notice sur le zodiaque de Dendérah*, Paris, 1822; Testa, **Sopra due Zodiaci scoperti nel Egitto*, Pisa, 1802.

X. *ON THE EPAGOMENAL DAYS IN PARTICULAR.*—Brugsch, *'Ueber die fünf Epagomenen,' in *ZDMG* vi. [1852]; Chabas, *'Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes,' App. (*Bibl. Egypt.* xii. 204) (Leyden Papyrus, i. 346).

XI. *STUDIES ON THE ANNIVERSARIES OF SPECIAL DATES.*—Breasted, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 126 (festival of Amon at Thebes); Brugsch, **Dict. Géographique*, Leipzig, 1877–80, *passim* (the most important series presented in alphabetical order, and more complete than the lists of his *Thesaurus*), **Drei Festkalender von Apollinopolis Magna*, Leipzig, 1877; Devéria, 'Noub, la déesse d'or des Egyptiens,' *Mémoires Soc. Antiquaires*, xxii., Paris, 1853 (for the *διάβασις* of Amon); Rougé, 'Mémoire sur quelques phénomènes,' etc., in *Rev. Archéol.* ix. [1852].

XII. *ON THE DAYS OF THE YEAR.*—Guissard, *Étude sur les jours égyp. du calendrier*, 1886; Loiseleur, *Jours egyptiens, leurs variations dans les calendriers du Moyen-âge*, 1872; Rougé, 'Mémoire,' etc. (see above).

XIII. *LUCKY AND UNLUCKY DAYS* (apart from citations or analyses in general works).—Chabas, 'Le Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes de l'année égyptienne' (*Bibl. Egyptol.* xii. 127–235); Griffith, **Hieratic Papyri from Kahun*, London, 1899, pl. xxv.; Goodwin (in Chabas, *Mélanges*); Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, Paris, 1886-89, i. 20; Oefele, *ZÄ* xli. 117.

XIV. *STUDIES ON THE CALENDARS OF THE VARIOUS TEMPLES.*—Dümichen, *Der grosse theban. Festkalender von Medinet-Habu*, Leipzig, 1881; Greene, *Fouilles à Thèbes*, 1855, iv.-vi. (Medinet-Habu); Brugsch, *Drei Festkalender*, Leipzig, 1877 (Edfu); Stern, *ZÄ*, 1873, p. 128; Bouriant, **Recueil*, xv. 184 (Kom-Ombo).

XV. *ON THE DECREE OF CANOPUS.*—Birch, *Bilingual Inscription at Sân*, London, 1868; Brugsch, **Thesaurus*, vi. 154; Budge, *The Stele of Canopus*, London, 1903; Chabas, *Mélanges*, ii., *ZÄ*, 1870, p. 108; Krall, **Demotische Lesestucke*, Vienna, 1903; Lepsius, **Bilingue Dekret von Kanopus*, Berlin, 1867; Martin, *Mémoires Acad. des inscr.* vii. pt. 1; Miller, *Journal des Savants*, 1883; Pierret, 'Glossaire égyptien-grec,' in *Études égyptologiques*, Paris, 1872; Reinisch-Roesler, *Zweisprachige Inschrift von Tanis*, Vienna, 1865; Revillout, **Chrestomathie démotique*, Paris, 1876–80, i. 87; Sethe, *Hierogl. Urkunden d. griech.-röm. Zeit*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 124–152.

XVI. *PTOLEMAIC CALENDAR.*—Birch, *On an Egyptian Calendar of Philipp Aridæus*, London, 1864; Robiou, *'Recherches sur le calendrier macédonien en Egypte' (*Mémoires Acad. Inscr.* ix. [1878]); Strack, 'Kalender im Ptolemaerreich' (*Rhein. Museum f. Phil.* liv. [1898] 12, 27); Vincent, *Mémoires sur le calendrier des Lagides*, Paris, 1854, *Recherches sur le calendrier des Lagides*, Paris, 1858.

XVII. *FUNERARY CALENDARS* (only studies with commentaries, specially on these calendars).—Bénédite, *Tombeau de Néferhotpou* (XVIIIth Dyn.), v. of *Mémoires de la Mission Arch. Fr. au Caire*, 1889–1900; Budge, *Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, 1909, p. 11 ff.; Petrie, **Denderah*, London, 1900, ch. viii. (coffin of Beb [VIth Dyn.]) 57 ff. (the chapter by Griffith) (XIth Dyn.?); Maspero, *'Les Fouilles de Petrie au Fayoum,' in *Journal des Savants*, 1900, p. 476 (XIIth Dyn.), 'Sur quelques textes,' etc., in *Bibl. Egyptol.*, *Études de Myth. et d'Arch. égyptiennes*, ii. 1893 (Xth Dyn.).

XVIII. *ANCIENT DOCUMENTS* (reproduced or written without systematic commentary. The classification is chronological. It does not include either the Texts of the Pyramids or the version of the Book of the Dead dating from the second Theban Empire).—(*a*) CALENDAR OF THE TEMPLE OF MEMPHIS (Palermo Stone).—Pellegrini, *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, new series, xx. 297. (*b*) FUNERARY MEMPHITE CALENDARS (as specimens only).—Budge, *Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, London, 1909; Mariette, *Mastabas*, Paris, 1881-87. (*c*) TEMPLE CALENDARS OF THE FIRST THEBAN EMPIRE.—Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun*, pl. xxv. p. 52. (*d*) FUNERARY CALENDARS OF THE FIRST THEBAN EMPIRE (as specimens only).—Griffith, *Beni-Hassan*, London, 1894, ii. 52 and pl. xii.; Garstang, *Burial Customs . . . at Beni-Hassan*, London, 1907, pl. x.; Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, Cairo, 1904. (*e*) ASTRONOMICAL AND STAR TABLES.—Belzoni, *Narrative*, London, 1821 (stellar tables); Biot, *Calendrier* (do.); Brugsch, *Monuments*, Leipzig, 1857, pl. xix. (*decani*); Champollion, *Monuments*, Paris, 1835, pl. ccxxviii. etc. (astron. and stellar tables, chart of sky, etc.); Guilmant, *Tombeau de Ramsès IX.*, Cairo, 1907 (*decani* and star lists); Lefébure, *Hypogées royaux de Thèbes*, Paris, 1886–89 (do.); Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii, cxxxvii, ccxxvii, ccxxviii, Berlin, 1849–60 (do.); Rosellini, *Mon. del Culto*, Pisa, 1842-44, pl. lxiv. (do.). (*f*) CALENDARS ON PAPYRUS OF THE SECOND THEBAN EMPIRE.—Birch, *Select Papyri* (Sallier Papyrus iv.), 1841–60, *Facsimile of an Egyptian Hieratic Papyrus* (Harris Papyrus), London, 1876; Leemans, *Papyrus hiératique du Musée de Leide*, pl. ii. iii. (Pap. i. 346, Epagomenal days), Leyden, 1855. (*g*) PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN TEMPLE CALENDARS.—Ahmed-Bey-Kemal, *Stèles ptolémaiques et romaines*, No. 22187, p. 182, pl. lix.-lxi. (Decree of Canopus), Cairo, 1904: Brugsch, *Thesaurus* (Pap. Roman epoch), Leipzig, 1884–91, *Matériaux*, p. xx (Calendar of Esnêh), Leipzig, 1864, *Description de l'Egypte: Antiquités*, iv. 21 (zodiac of Denderah); Morgan, *Komombos*, pl. 316 (Temple of Kom-Ombo), Cairo, 1907; Rochemonteix-Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou*, Paris, 1894, *passim*. (*h*) GENERAL DOCUMENTARY REPERTORIES: Brugsch, *Thesaurus* (see above), pt. 2; Dümichen, *Kalenderinschriften*, Leipzig, 1873.

XIX. *PRINCIPAL REFERENCES TO CLASSICAL AUTHORS.*—Clement, *Strom.* i. 21; Censorinus, *de Die Natali*, xviii. 10; Diodorus, i. 11, 36, 50; Hephaestion (for a first list of the *decani*); Herodotus, ii. 4, 42, 48, 59, 60, 62, 63, 88, 122, 171, etc.; Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12, 16, 18; Libanius, iii. 17; Pliny, xviii. 167; Porphyry, i. 24; Plutarch, *de Iside*, xi. 17; Solinus, iv. 31; Strabo, xvii. 1, 46.

GEORGE FOUCART.

CALENDAR (Greek).[1]—**1. The day** (*ἡμέρα*, later *νυχθήμερον*).—As in English, so in Greek, the word 'day' is ambiguous, and may mean the time between sunrise and sunset, or the time occupied by one complete revolution of the earth on its axis, or, on the ancient theory, of the sun around the earth.[2] The latter is the strict meaning of *ἡμέρα*—hence the later coinage, *νυχθήμερον*, to avoid ambiguity, though in popular speech the former meaning prevailed.[3] Hence, in official reckonings, a day is a day *and a night*. It began, like the Jewish day, at twilight; *e.g.*, by Greek reckoning, July 2 begins at twilight on July 1.[4]

Divisions.—Unger thinks—we have not been able to discover on what grounds—that the Bab. division of the day into 12 hours, by means of the gnomon and sun-dial, reached Greece as early as 550 B.C. or thereabouts. In common parlance, however, *ὥρα* did not mean 'hour,' but only 'season,' till much later. The ordinary way of measuring time was, if any accuracy was required, by the water-clock (*κλεψύδρα*), while the popular divisions of time were, for the day: *ἕως* (dawn, including morning twilight), *πρωΐ*, *μεσημβρία* (midday), and *δειλή* (late afternoon),[5] to which we may add *ἀγορὰ*

[1] Abbreviations: Ung. = Unger in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, 1892 ff.; Farn. = L. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 1896; Gem. = Geminos of Rhodes, Teubner ed.; Mom. = A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, Leipzig, 1898.

[2] There were counter-theories (see Plut. *De facie in orbe lunæ*, 923 A), but they found no favour, and were mere unsupported guesses.

[3] *e.g.* Aristoph. *Nub.* 2, *οὐδέποθ' ἡμέρα γενήσεται*; and the familiar Homeric *μέσον ἦμαρ*.

[4] *i.e.* 'civic' not astronomical twilight (see Ung.).

[5] Theophrastus, *De sig. temp.*

πλήθουσα, *i.e.* about mid-morning, and the Homeric βουλυτός, which, despite its name, indicating the end of the day's farm-work, does not seem to signify a very late hour; and, for the night: ἑσπέρα, ἀφαί (lamp-lighting), μέσαι νύκτες, ὄρθρος (the dark hour before the dawn), and cock-crow,[1] which was the labourer's hour of rising.[2] Such a division of time, though very rough, corresponded to objective natural phenomena, and to the routine of daily life, and did well enough for popular use.

2. The month (μήν).—It is a somewhat vexed question[3] whether the month or the year came first, *i.e.* whether the Greeks, of their own invention or by foreign (Babylonian?) influence, divided one year into 12 months, or whether they put 12 months together to form one year. Certain it is that both year and month, as well as the names of the seasons, occur in Homer, while Hesiod has a complete account of the reckoning of the month, and of lucky and unlucky days. The present writer's view is that both year and month, being natural divisions of time, are of native origin in Greece, and sprang up simultaneously. For, quite apart from the keen astronomical observation, aided perhaps by outside influences, which is so marked a feature of the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, the facts that it is about 30 days from one new moon to the next, and that 12 such moons bring us back to the season we started from, are common property, shared by such backward races as the N. Amer. Indians before the coming of the white man.

Divisions.—The 'moon' was divided not into quarters, but into thirds; μὴν ἱστάμενος (waxing), μεσῶν[4] (central), and φθίνων (waning). Hence the usual reckoning of the days, say of Boedromion at Athens, was (after the 1st) 2nd, 3rd, etc., ἱσταμένου; 11th, 12th, 3rd 'after the 10th' (ἐπὶ δέκα), '4th after the 10th,' etc.; 20th, and then, by a curious inversion, 10th, 9th, etc., of the wane, counting backwards, to the 29th (δευτέρα φθίνοντος); though a direct method of counting (δευτέρα μετ' εἰκάδας, . . . τριακάς) was also used. 'First tenth' and 'second tenth' were also used for 20th and 21st in Attica, while the 30th was ἔνη καὶ νέα (see below, 'Year').

Both the month and its divisions are connected with certain vague beliefs of a religious nature—or perhaps 'magical' would be a more accurate word to use. Just as with us superstitious people regard Friday as unlucky, so the Greeks[5] regarded both the 4th and the 24th as dangerous days for some enterprises; the 5th as utterly unlucky; the 16th as an unlucky birth- or marriage-day for a girl; the 14th as a good day to break in cattle, etc., and so on through the whole month; 'one day is like a step-mother, another like a mother.'[6] But especially—this is probably a belief of later origin—certain days are sacred to certain gods. Thus the 7th[7] is Apollo's birthday, the 4th is that of Hermes and of Herakles, and so with several other deities. The great festivals of the various deities were yearly, though often on the god's particular day of the month. Obviously the mere question of expense prevented a costly feast to Apollo or Zeus being celebrated monthly; but it is at least probable that the old monthly holy days were recognized to some extent in the regular temple-worship, just as every Sunday commemorates, by its position in the week, the Resurrection, although Easter Sunday occurs once only in the year.[8]

1 See Aristoph. *Nub., ad init.*
2 Lucian, *Gallus, ad init.*
3 See Ung., and contrast Mom. p. 3.
4 This term is very rare.
5 At least, Hesiod's compatriots; *Op. et Di.* 765 ff.
6 *ib.* 825.
7 *ib.* 770 ff., with Göttling's notes.
8 It must be remembered that, as the Greeks had no week, any superstitions or practices connected with days occurring oftener than once a year would naturally be monthly only.

3. The year (ἔτος, ἐνιαυτός).—Very early in the history of Greece, either by native observation or by imported science of a rudimentary kind, a smattering of practical astronomy became fairly widely diffused. Hesiod[1] indicates the beginning of the reaping-season (summer) and the ploughing-season (autumn) by the rising and setting of the Pleiades—a constellation which had attracted the attention of many primitive races[2]—and frequently makes similar observations. This, together with the observation of the equinoxes and the solstices,[3] provided them with the material for calculating a solar year. At the same time it led to endless confusion, for the lunar month was adhered to throughout: *i.e.*, whereas our (Julian) year is purely solar, and the new moon may or may not fall on the first day of any particular month, without in any way affecting our calculations of dates,[4] the Greek year was soli-lunar—almost a contradiction in terms, since the solar year is roughly $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and the lunar month about $29\frac{1}{2}$ days. This gives a lunar year of 354 days—a discrepancy which more exact calculations, such as the Greeks of the historical period could and did make, render still more apparent.[5] But the month, with its holy days, was a fixture. To a Greek, it would seem wholly unsatisfactory to celebrate Christmas on the 25th day of the last calendar month of the year; he would think it necessary to celebrate it, nominally at least, 5 days from the end of the last moon of the year. Similarly, a New Year's day which was not a day of new moon would seem an absurdity, even if it coincided exactly with a solstice or an equinox.

'It was,' says Gem., 'the endeavour of the ancients to conduct the months in accordance with the moon, but the year in accordance with the sun. For the direction given by laws and oracles, to "sacrifice according to the ancestral rites," was interpreted throughout Greece in those terms. Now, to conduct the year according to the sun means to offer the same sacrifices to the gods at the same seasons of the year, *e.g.* always to offer the spring sacrifice in spring; which is impossible, unless the solstices and the equinoxes fall always in the same months; while conducting the month in accordance with the moon means to name the days in accordance with her phases.'[6]

Hence, despite all difficulties, the soli-lunar year was adhered to persistently in Greece proper, and even in the Middle Ages we find Byzantine pedants speaking of it as if it were still in being. Thus Tsetzes, *Posthom.* 770 (13th cent.), gives the Attic month Hekatombaion the equivalent it would have had in his day if the Attic calendar had still remained in use. Apart from this trifling, which reminds one of Bélise begging the notary to 'dater par les mots d'ides et de calendes,' we have the evidence of Julian[7] that in the 4th cent. the Roman and Egyptian solar calendars were not in use among the Greeks.

The Greek year of 12 lunar months contained, as has been said, 354 days, the months having alternately 30 days (μὴν πλήρης) and 29 days (μὴν κοῖλος). The former was regarded as the normal number, hence the last day even of a 'hollow' month was generally called τριακάς, or 30th. In Athens, however, the name ἔνη καὶ νέα ('old and new') was frequently used to denote the day which belonged half to one month of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, and half to the next. This year, being $11\frac{1}{4}$ days too short,

1 *Op. et Di.* 383, 615.
2 Such as the Australian blacks (see Lang, *Custom and Myth*, London, 1885, 'Star-Myths').
3 The latter—ἡλίου τροπαί—are several times mentioned in Hesiod.
4 The movable date of Easter is an interesting survival of more ancient systems.
5 Gem. viii. 37 gives the lunar month as $29\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{33}$ days, or 29 days 12 hr. 48 min. 38 sec. nearly. The impossibility of adapting this period, for practical purposes, to the solar year is obvious. He is speaking, of course, of the 'synodic' month, from one σύνοδος, or true new moon, to the next.
6 Gem. viii. 6–10, somewhat abbreviated. The last sentence refers, as he goes on to explain, to such names as νουμηνία for the 1st of the month.
7 *Orat.* iv. 155b.

led at a very early date[1] to an attempt at reform. The years were arranged in groups of eight (ὀκταετηρίδες), containing 3 leap-years (3rd, 5th, and 8th), each of which had an extra month (μὴν ἐμβόλιμος) of 30 days. This gave a total of 2922 days; whereas the actual total of 99 lunar months is roughly 2923½ days. The next stage was to add 3 intercalary days in 2 *oktaeterides*. This in turn resulted in getting 30 days ahead of the solar year in 160 years. This was rectified by leaving out one intercalary month.

Thus, by correcting alternately for the sun and the moon, something like a reasonable system of reckoning was arrived at. Throughout Greek history we meet the *oktaeteris*, which, it would seem, they came to regard as a natural period of time, like the solar year itself. At any rate, various festivals are arranged in relation to it. Thus, the Olympian games were celebrated every four years (half an *oktaeteris*), and the Pythian at the same interval, always coming in the 3rd year of an Olympiad; the Nemean fell in the 1st and 3rd, and the Isthmian in the 2nd and 4th years of the Olympiads. From the Olympian games came the familiar system of reckoning, which enables us, from 776 B.C. onwards, to extract fairly exact dates from Greek chronological notices. The various cities, however, all had local methods of reckoning—Athens dating by its archons, Argos by the priestesses of the temple of Hera, and so on. Even the Olympiad was not exactly reckoned in Athens, but was fitted to the local calendar, by being made to begin on the 1st of Hekatombaion,[2] whereas it really began on the 18th. We mention these facts, a little out of their order, to indicate why the *oktaeteris* was so tenaciously adhered to in spite of its fundamental errors.

For it was fundamentally wrong, owing to the constitution of the year, which always consisted of alternate 'full' and 'hollow' months.[3] Averaging as they did 29½ days, they gave a lunar year of 354 days, the real length being about 354 days 8 hours; *i.e.*, the difference between 8 lunar and 8 solar years is not 90, but 87⅓ days, so that the 3 intercalary μῆνες πληρεῖς made the *oktaeteris* 2 days 16 hours too long. It would take some little time to notice this, as there was little exact science in Greece, but in the end it made itself felt—some of the festivals were clearly on the wrong days. Hence comes the bitter complaint of the Moon in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes:

> 'For,' say her messengers, the Clouds, 'she is abominably ill-treated, after all her kindnesses to you—real kindness, not just talk. . . . You calculate the days all wrong, you jumble them topsy-turvy, . . . when you ought to be sacrificing, you rack witnesses and try cases; and often, when we gods are keeping a fast, in memory of poor Memnon, or of Sarpedon, you pour out libations and laugh.'[4]

If the Moon had just cause to protest, the Sun got no better usage. The Athenian year was supposed to begin with the summer solstice; but, as its first month must begin with a new moon, it never did, unless the two events happened to coincide. So serious did the whole matter become, that we actually find in late inscriptions a double system of dating, κατ' ἔτος (in accordance with the civic year) and κατὰ θεόν (in accordance with the actual position of the heavenly bodies). The latter was the method used for dating the *prytanies*. The year, in trying to be both solar and lunar, succeeded in being neither.

[1] There are allusions to it in various myths, as that of Cadmus' 8-year penance (see Ung. for a full discussion). For a brief account of the ὀκταετηρίς, see Gem. vii. 27 ff. The inventor is said, however, to have been Cleostratus (latter half of 6th cent.); Athen. vii. 278.

[2] See below, 'Divisions of the year.'

[3] Intercalary days were not dated; they were named by the date of the preceding day, with the word ἐμβόλιμος added. Hence they could not make a 'hollow' month 'full.'

[4] *Nub.* 610 ff., with Blaydes' notes.

In order to give a clearer idea of what the Greek year was like, we append an outline calendar of the civic year at Athens. The first month (Hekatombaion) began nominally at sunset on the day of the summer solstice (end of June); actually, on the next new moon, which might be the middle of July:—

Hekatombaion, 30 days; Metageitnion, 29 days; Boedromion, 30 days; Pyanopsion, 29 days; Meimakterion, 30 days; Poseideon, 29 days. Then second Poseideon, 30 days (in leap-year only); Gamelion, 29 days; Anthesterion, 30 days; Elaphebolion, 29 days; Munychion, 30 days; Thargelion, 29 days; Shirophorion, 30 days. Next year, Hekatombaion, 29 days, and so on. In later times, Poseideon 'the second' was called Hadrianion, after the Emperor. Other States repeated the twelfth month in a leap-year; but it was always twelfth or sixth. This example shows clearly enough the continual inconveniences to which the fixed alternation of 'full' and 'hollow' months subjected the Greeks; for the average number of days in a year was frequently one too few or too many, owing to the clumsy device of the intercalary month; hence the necessity for intercalary days.

Athenian astronomers were not slow to perceive the practical and theoretical disadvantages of the *oktaeteris*, and one of them—Meton—brought forward, in the year 432 B.C., a reformed calendar which, with the later improvements of Callippus of Cyzicus (a contemporary of Aristotle) and Hipparchus of Nicæa (2nd cent. B.C.), is surpassed in accuracy only by the purely solar calendars. He arranged the years in cycles of 19, with 7 intercalary months, giving a total of 6940 days, and allotting 29 d. 12 h. 45 m. 57 s. to the average month, and $365\frac{5}{19}$ days to the average year—only 30 m. 10 s. too long. Callippus combined 4 of these cycles into one, and subtracted one day, securing an average year of 365¼ days, and an average month only 22¼ sec. longer than the actual lunar month. By a repetition of this process, Hipparchus, with a cycle of 304 years minus 1 day, attained almost absolute accuracy, but, it should be noted, still at the expense of anything like conformity with the sun; for, while the *average* year was accurate, any actual year was always 11¼ days too short, or else 18¾ days too long.[1]

But these cycles were merely theoretical; the *oktaeteris* was never, so far as we know, actually abandoned by any Greek State. Indeed, no State save Athens, for whose calendar it was calculated, could adopt Meton's cycle, and the evidence of Aristophanes (*loc. cit.*) and of late inscriptions as to double dating (see above) indicates that Athens did not. Diodorus, indeed,[2] says that 'most of the Greeks' accepted Meton's calendar; but this clearly refers only to individuals, for whose use, also, the almanacs (παραπήγματα) of which we occasionally hear[3] were constructed. The frequency of *pentaeteric*[4] feasts kept the *oktaeteris* in use. Hence, as has been already mentioned, the old imperfect calendar remained officially in use, getting farther and farther from the actual dates, until we find Macrobius equating Anthesterion (February, roughly speaking) with April.

Divisions of the year.—The Attic months have already been given. Other years, which began at the same time, were the Delian, whose months were Hekatombaion, Metageitnion, Buphonon,

[1] We omit small fractions; of course, 365¼ is a little more than the actual length of the solar year.

[2] xii. 36.

[3] *e.g.* Gem. xvii. 19.

[4] We should call them quadrennial. They came every four years, *i.e.* on the first and fifth of each period of five years, as the Greeks looked at it; hence twice in an *oktaeteris*. See, *e.g* [Aristotle], 'Αθ. Πολ. liv. 6, 7.

Apaturion, Aresion, Poseideon, Lenaion, Hieros, Galaxion, Artemision, Thargelion, and Panenos; and the Delphic (Apellaios, Bukatios, Boathoos, Heraios, Dadophorios, Poitropios, Amalios, Bysios, Theoxenios, Endyspoitropios, Herakleios, and Ilaios). Bœotia began its year at the winter solstice (January), but the order of the months is somewhat obscure. Achaia, Phocis, and Laconia began in October (autumn equinox)—the first two simply numbered their months; the Spartan calendar is not yet re-constructed. After the rise of Macedon, their year (Dios [October], Apellaios, Audynaios, Peritios, Dystros, Xandikos, Artemisios, Daisios, Panemos, Doos, Gorpiaios, and Hyperberetaios) came into use in Asia Minor; while the Ptolemys used the Egyptian solar calendar (see CALENDAR [Egyp.]), as did also some astronomers outside Egypt.

A glance at the names of the months will show that they gather around and are named after certain festivals. Thus Boedromion is 'the month of the Helpers' (βοηδρόμοι), *i.e.* the gods and heroes who give victory in battle. Accordingly, we find most of the Athenian anniversaries of victories celebrated in them (see art. FESTIVALS [Greek], 'Attic ecclesiastical calendar'). Apellaios is connected with the name of Apollo; Dios with Zeus; Lenaion with Dionysos Lenaios, 'god of the wild women'; Galaxios recalls the Athenian feast of Galaxia, held in honour of Cybele; and Hyperberetaios is 'month of the Hyperboreans,' those 'carriers round' of the sacred offerings to Apollo, whose name in ancient and modern times alike gave rise to so much false etymologizing till Ahrens' masterly explanation finally threw light on the mystery.[1]

The position of the feasts, and consequently of the months named after them, depended very largely on the season of the year; for, in the long run, nearly every Greek festival or fast has an agricultural origin.[2] By whatever name the Greek might call his months, and however he might calculate the year, he divided it, in early times, into summer (θέρος [ἄμητος], later ὡραία), and winter (χειμών); or into spring (ἔαρ), summer, autumn (φθινόπωρον), and winter.[3]

LITERATURE.—1. Ancient texts: Geminus Rhodius, ed. Manitius, with notes and Germ. tr., Leipzig, 1898; Hesiod, ed. Gottling, Gotha, 1843.

2. Modern works: Boeckh, *Über die vierjährigen Sonnenkreise*, Berlin, 1863; Aug. Mommsen, *Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1883; Ad. Schmidt, *Handbuch der gr. Chronologie*, Jena, 1888; Unger, 'Zeitrechnung der Griechen und Römer,' in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch* (Munich, 1892), vi. 711 f.

H. J. ROSE.

CALENDAR (Hebrew).—**I. Adaptations to meet astronomical difficulties.**—As with other peoples, the basis of the Hebrew calendar was astronomical. The year was, roughly speaking, the solar year; the month was a moon period or lunation; the week comprised very nearly a quarter of a lunation; and the day was, of course, the period of the earth's rotation on its axis. The chief difficulty arose, as in other cases, from the fact that these periods stood in no distinct ratio to each other. The true solar year was not an exact number of moons, weeks, or days. The lunation was not an exact number of either weeks or days. The week of 7 exact days, whatever its origin may have been, had become a purely conventional measure of time. As the solar year is nearly 365¼ days, and the 12 lunations over 354¼, the lunar year of 12 lunations was about 10¾ days short of the solar year. The difference was at a later period, at any rate, adjusted by the insertion, about every 3 years, of an intercalary month; and, finally, by adopting a regular cycle of years, the slight irregularities were kept within bounds (see CALENDAR [Jewish]). The 12th lunation was called Adar, the intercalary month *wĕ-Adar* ('and Adar'). Some such arrangement, though not so definitely systematized, must have been in vogue from early times. Similarly, as a lunation averages a little over 29½ days, the month must have averaged 29 and 30 days alternately, with the further occasional omission of a day.

It has sometimes been assumed that there was no system among the ancient Hebrews for determining the commencement and duration of each month, and that it was merely a question of observation, the month practically beginning when the new moon first became visible—that is, about 2 days after the real new moon, and that without any calculation of the number of days since the previous new moon. There are two very strong, if not absolutely fatal, objections to this view. (1) The Feast of the New Moon was evidently of very early and general obligation (see 1 S $20^{5.18}$, 2 K 4^{23}, Am 8^{5}, Is $1^{13.14}$). It was practically necessary that it should be known beforehand when it would occur. That this was in fact the case we know from 1 S $20^{5.18}$, where Jonathan and David act on the knowledge that the next day would be the New Moon feast. (2) The fact that, even in early times, the months were definitely distinguished and had their several names (see below, 2. A. (2)), points obviously in the same direction.

It may be further questioned whether there ever was among the early Hebrews any attempt to adapt the week of 7 days to the lunation. There is some ground for such a supposition, in the fact that in the most ancient Babylonian calendar every 7th day of the moon—the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th—was a *dies nefastus*, on which no public or official work could be done (Sayce, *Higher Crit.*, 1894, p. 74). The similar treatment of the 19th day has been ingeniously explained as due to the fact that it was 49 (=7×7) days after the previous new moon; but this would be true only for artificial months of 30 days. It would seem, then, that the old Babylonian month was practically a period of 4 weeks, with one or two intercalary days added at the end to make it agree with the lunation. As to whether this system was ever adopted by the Hebrews we have no direct evidence; but, were it so, its obvious inconvenience must sooner or later, as with the Babylonians, have caused the substitution of the regularly recurring conventional week of 7 days.

2. History of Hebrew calendar.—It is not unlikely that the Hebrew calendar varied considerably at different times, and possibly in different places. We can at any rate, with considerable probability, make a broad distinction between the systems prevailing before and after the Exile.

A. (1) *In pre-exilic times* the year, depending, as naturally it would with an agricultural people, on the yearly course of the crops, appears to have ended with the ingathering of the vintage, 'the end of the year, when thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field' (Ex 23^{16}). This is confirmed by the fact that the Sabbatical year (Ex $23^{10.11}$ [E], Lv $25^{1-7.18-22}$ [H]) and the year of jubile (Lv 25^{8-17} [H and P]) were natural agricultural years, sowing, pruning, reaping, and the vintage being mentioned in their order. As regards the last, the enactment that the trumpet was to be blown on the 10th day of the 7th month shows that the idea of the year beginning in the autumn survived into a time when it could be called the 7th month.

It has been contended that, while for religious purposes, depending as they did on the agricultural seasons, the year continued to begin with the autumn ploughing, the civil year, on the other hand, from about the beginning of the monarchy,

[1] See Farn. iv. 102.
[2] See FESTIVALS (Greek).
[3] See Hes. *Op. et Di.* 383 ff., with Göttling's note.

began in the spring. This view is based chiefly on the phrase, 'at the return of the year' (2 S 11^{1}, 1 K 20$^{22.\ 26}$), which is used with reference to the resumption of hostilities, and is followed in the first quotation by the curious remark, 'at the time when kings go forth.' But the first phrase, תְּשׁוּבַת הַשָּׁנָה, might mean 'at the turning-point,' *i.e.* the middle of the year—the idea being that the year moves forward to a certain point and then goes back; or what was intended may have been a year from the time of speaking (cf. Gn 18^{10}, where this is obviously the meaning of a somewhat similar phrase), and the words, 'at the time when kings go forth,' taken by themselves, merely state the obvious fact that military operations commence in the spring.

(2) During the same period the names of the months were probably adopted from the Canaanites. Two of the four pre-exilic names which occur in the OT have been found in Phœnician inscriptions—*Bul* thrice, and *Ethanim* twice (cf. *CIS* i. No. 86*a*). The four names are:

(*a*) *Ethanim* (1 K 8^{2}, where the editor, following later usage, calls it the 7th month). It is explained by *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* as 'month of steady flowings,' *i.e.* the month in which only perennial streams contain any water.

(*b*) *Bul* ('the eighth month' in 1 K 6^{38}), prob. = 'rain month.'

(*c*) *Abib* (Ex 13^{4} 23^{15} 34^{18} [JE], Dt 16^{1}), in P (*e.g.* Ex 12^{2}) the first month. The name, which means an 'ear of corn,' was no doubt derived from the fact that it was the beginning of the harvest (cf. Dt 16$^{1.\ 9}$).

(*d*) *Ziv* ('the second month' in 1 K 6$^{1.\ 37}$), 'splendour,' with reference, Gesenius supposes, to the beauty of the flowers; but it might be to the general beauty of Nature at this season, before vegetation has suffered from the summer drought.

There are, besides, in Phœnician inscriptions several other names of months which are not actually found, or at any rate with this significance, in OT, but were not improbably used by the early Hebrews. Thus we have *Marpeh*, *Pha'uloth*, *Mirzaḥ*, *Mapha'*, *Ḥir*, *Zebaḥ-shishim*. But we have no means of ascertaining definitely to what months these names belong. On the other hand, *Abib* and *Ziv* have not yet been found on any Phœnician inscription.

B. (1) *After the Exile* the religious year, at any rate, began about the vernal equinox, or, to be more exact, with the first lunation of which the full moon fell after the vernal equinox. This was at least the intention. But very probably, with the early arrangement of intercalary months, as certainly with the more systematic adoption of definite cycles at a later time, it sometimes happened that what was regarded as the first full moon either slightly preceded the equinox or was in reality the second after the equinox. The whole cycle of feasts, according to the laws of the Priestly Code, depended on this theory. The first lunation was what had been known as *Abib* (see above). The express provision that this was to be the first month of the year (Ex 12^{2} [P], cf. 13^{4} [J]) suggests what was at the time a new departure, but came to be regarded as an ancient tradition.

It is at least possible that, through Assyrian or Babylonian influence, the custom of reckoning the year from the spring for secular purposes had come into use a little before the Exile. That it was so reckoned in the record of Jehoiakim's treatment of Jeremiah's roll (Jer 36) is evident from the fact that there was a fire in the brazier in the 9th month (v.^{22}). But this by itself is not conclusive, because the record was probably taken from a biography of Jeremiah, which may well have been written in the time of the Exile, when the new custom had come in.

(2) As a rule, the months were now, for religious purposes, designated in the order of their occurrence as the first, second, third, etc. (Gn 7^{11} [P] 8^{4} [P], Lv 23$^{5ff.}$ [H], Hag 1^{1} 2^{1}, Zec 1$^{1.\ 7ff.}$). With this we may compare the similar designation of the months by their numbers, by the Society of Friends. As in the latter case, the object was probably to avoid names which had a heathen association.

For civil and historical purposes the Babylonian names of the months were now adopted. Of these, 7 only are mentioned in the OT and the Apocrypha, viz.:

Nisan (1st mo.), Neh 2^{1}, Est 3^{7}.
Sivan (3rd mo.), Est 8^{9}.
Elul (6th mo.), Neh 6^{15}, 1 Mac 14^{27}.
Kislev (9th mo.), Zec 7^{1}, Neh 1^{1}, 1 Mac 4^{52}, 2 Mac 1$^{9.\ 18}$ 10^{5}.
Tebeth (10th mo.), Est 2^{16}.
Shebaṭ (11th mo.), Zec 1^{7}, 1 Mac 16^{14}.
Adar (12th mo.), Ezr 6^{15}, Est 3$^{7.\ 13}$ 8^{12}, 1 Mac 7$^{43.\ 49}$, 2 Mac 15^{36}.

The other 5 months were: *Iyyar* (2nd mo.); *Tammûz* (4th mo.), cf. Ezk 8^{14}, where the name appears as that of a god; *Ab* (5th mo.); *Tishri* (7th mo.); *Marcheshvan* (8th mo.). It was probably not till after the destruction of the Temple by the Romans that the Babylonian names of the months were regularly employed in the religious calendar.

(3) Before the Exile, beyond the weekly festival of the Sabbath or the 7th day of the week, and the New Moon on the 1st day of the month, it is doubtful whether any sacred day or season was absolutely fixed (see FESTIVALS AND FASTS [Heb.]; cf. Dt 16 with Lv 23), unless we are to suppose that the regulations of Lv 23 [H] imply that some provisions of the kind were made at the close of the monarchy. From the Priestly Code, including H, we find that a definite religious calendar was certainly in use in the Second Temple. Thus we have, in addition to New Moons and Sabbaths, from the 14th to the 21st of the 1st month the Feasts of Passover and Unleavened Bread (Lv 23$^{5-8}$), including also the sheaf-offering on the 1st day of the week which fell within this period (Lv 23$^{10-14}$). Seven weeks after the latter, on another Sunday falling within the 3rd month, was the Feast of Weeks (Lv 23$^{15-21}$). In the 7th month were three important celebrations—the Feast of Trumpets on the 1st day (Lv 23$^{24.\ 25}$, Nu 29$^{1-6}$), the Great Day of Atonement on the 10th (Lv 16. 23$^{27-32}$), and the Feast of Booths, 15th–22nd (Lv 23$^{34-36.\ 39-43}$).

Certain other fasts, which had come to be observed during the Exile (Zec 7$^{3.\ 5}$ 8^{19}), commemorating, it is said, events connected with the siege and capture of Jerusalem, were no longer enacted by law. On the other hand, some feasts were afterwards added, viz. that of Dedication, which commemorated the re-dedication of the Temple after its defilement by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac 4^{59}). This lasted for 8 days from the 25th of the 9th month (Kislev). The Feast of Nicanor, on the 13th of the 12th month (Adar), was appointed to celebrate the victory of Judas over Nicanor (1 Mac 7^{49}). The Feast of Purim, on the 14th and 15th of the same month, wa , so it was said, appointed to commemorate the vengeance taken by the Jews on their enemies, as recorded in the Book of Esther (9$^{15-32}$; but see FESTIVALS AND FASTS [Heb.]).

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F. H. WOODS.

CALENDAR (Indo-Chinese).—I. *ANNAM* (Cochin-China, Annam, Tongking).—The peoples of French Indo-China, as a rule, use a calendar of Indian origin, although Chinese influence (see CALENDAR [Chinese]) is clearly seen in the calendar that is peculiar to the Annamese. There are three cycles employed by the Annamese to express their dates: the duodenary cycle, or cycle of the twelve animals (ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, goat, monkey, hen, dog, pig, rat), which is of Turkish origin;[1] the denary cycle, the ten 'trunks'[2] of which have the names of the five elements and the five cardinal points; the repetition of the first cycle five times, combined with six repetitions of the second, makes the great cycle of sixty years.

The year is a lunar one, and is composed of twelve months of 29 and 30 days alternately, making 354 days; to this they add a thirteenth intercalary month every three or four years arbitrarily. In a period of 19 years there are therefore seven years with thirteen months.

The first month of the year has always 29 days; in the Chinese astronomical year it begins on the 22nd of December; in the civil year, it always begins between the 20th of January and the 19th of February. The month has a regular division into three decades, but this division is being gradually superseded by the European division into weeks of seven days.

As a general practice, the Annamese name their months by successive numbers from one to twelve (first month, second month, etc.). But there is another system of names, which is employed only in the literary world: the first month is always designated by the number one (*chín nguyệt*, 'first month'); the second is the month of flowers (*hoa nguyệt*); the third, the month of peaches (*đào ng.*); the fourth, the month of plums (*mōi ng.*); the fifth, the month of cakes (*bồ ng.*); the sixth, the month of heat (*thử ng.*); the seventh, the month of melons (*qua ng.*); the eighth, the month of cinnamon (*quế ng.*); the ninth, the month of chrysanthemums (*cúc ng.*); the tenth, the month of rest (*nhàn ng.*); the eleventh, the month of the solstice (*gia ng.*); the twelfth, the month of offerings (*lạp ng.*).

The civil day begins at midnight, and contains 12 hours, each equal to two hours of our time. The last day of the month is called the 'day of darkness' (*hối nhật*)—an allusion to the waning of the moon. The Annamese night is often measured, according to the Chinese custom, by five watches: the first begins at 7 p.m., the second at 9 p.m., the third at 11 p.m., the fourth at 1 a.m., the fifth at 3 a.m.

The farmers' calendar in Annam, as in China, has, besides the four chief seasons, twenty-four smaller intermediary seasons.

An Annamese almanac indicates, in short, the current year in the great cycle and in the other two cycles; the full, incomplete, and intercalary (if there are such) months; the day of the month, with its order in the year; the name of the one of the five elements or of the twenty-eight constellations that corresponds to it; the accepted sign for lucky and unlucky days; the phases of the moon; eclipses of the sun and moon; the one of the twenty-four seasons of the year in which each month falls; the things that are permitted and forbidden on each day; and the days of civil observance. For some years now, the Chinese-Annamese almanac has also indicated the corresponding day in the European almanac.

Name of Year.			Translation.		Year of Cycle.		
					Era of Buddha.	Great Era.	Lesser Era.
Ćhnàm kŏṛ	*Ekasăk*	(Pāli, *ekasaka*)	Year of the Pig	1	31	21	1
,, *ćūt*	*Tōsăk*	(Skr. **do-saka*)	,, ,, Rat	2	32	22	2
,, *ćhlau*	*Trĕisăk*	(P. *tri-saka*)	,, ,, Ox	3	33	23	3
,, *khàl*	*Ćĕthvàsăk*	(S. **chatvār-saka*)	,, ,, Tiger	4	34	24	4
,, *thăs*	*Pañćasăk*	(P. *pañcha-saka*	,, ,, Hare	5	35	25	5
,, *rōṅ*	*Ćhasăk*	(P. *cha-saka*)	,, ,, Dragon	6	36	26	6
,, *msàñ*	*Sapsăk*	(S. *sap[ta]-saka*)	,, ,, Serpent	7	37	27	7
,, *momi*	*Atthasăk*	(P. *aṭṭha-saka*)	,, ,, Horse	8	38	28	8
,, *momē*	*Nŭpsăk*	(P. *nava-saka*)	,, ,, Goat	9	39	29	9
,, *vok*	*Samrĕtthisăk*	(*samṛddhi-saka*)[3]	,, ,, Monkey	10	40	30	10
Ćhnàm rokà	*Ekasăk*	...	Year of the Cock	1	41	31	11
,, *ćha*	*Tōsăk*	...	,, ,, Dog	2	42	32	12
,, *kŏr*	*Trĕisăk*	...	,, ,, Pig	3	43	33	13
,, *ćūt*	*Ćĕthvasăk*	...	,, ,, Rat	4	44	34	14
,, *ćhlau*	*Pañćasăk*	...	,, ,, Ox	5	45	35	15
,, *khàl*	*Ćhasăk*	...	,, ,, Tiger	6	46	36	16
,, *thăs*	*Sapsăk*	...	,, ,, Hare	7	47	37	17
,, *rōṅ*	*Atthasăk*	...	,, ,, Dragon	8	48	38	18
,, *msañ*	*Nŭpsăk*	...	,, ,, Serpent	9	49	39	19
,, *momi*	*Samrĕtthisăk*	...	,, ,, Horse	10	50	40	20

LITERATURE.—A+B (E. Souvignet), *Variétés tonkinoises* . . ., Hanoï, 1903, 'Calendrier impérial (Hoàng lich),' pp. 217-238; L. Cadière, 'Expressions populaires [annamites] pour désigner le temps,' in *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, ii. 367.

II. *CAMBODIA*.—In Cambodia there are in use three eras of Hindu origin, and three cycles that come from China.

1. Eras.—There is a religious era, or 'era of the Buddha' (Khmer *práḥ pŭt sakrăć*=Skr. *buddha-śakarāja*), dating from the death of the Buddha (543 B.C.), which is commonly used in religious writings; a political or 'great era' (Khmer *mahà sakrăć*= Skr. *mahāśakarāja*), still used in the editing of

[1] See Edouard Chavannes, 'Le Cycle turc des douze animaux,' in *T'oung-pao*, series ii. vol. vii. No. 1.

[2] In accordance with Chinese ideas, the denary cycle is regarded as having ten 'heavenly trunks,' the twelve 'earthly branches' of which form the duodenary cycle.

[3] Skr. *samṛddhi*='completion.'

royal annals, which is the Hindu era named after *śaka* and beginning A.D. 78; a civil or 'lesser era' (Khmer *čol sakrāč* = Pāli *chullasakarāja*), employed by the Khmers in everyday actions, transactions, and correspondence, which is of astronomical origin, and dates from A.D. 638.

2. Cycles.—The principal cycle is that of the twelve animals (see above, I.), with names as follows: *čūt*, 'rat'; *chlau*, 'ox'; *khāl*, 'tiger'; *thās*, 'hare'; *rōn*, 'dragon'; *msāñ*, 'serpent'; *momi*, 'horse'; *mome*, 'goat'; *vok*, 'monkey'; *rokā*, 'cock'; *čha*, 'dog'; *kŏr*, 'pig.' The names of these animals are not Khmer, but seem to belong to some dialect of the south of China. This cycle, repeated five times, is combined with a secondary cycle of ten years, the years in which are distinguished by means of ordinal numbers borrowed from Pāli. In other words, the series of the twelve animal-names (the principal cycle), repeated five times in succession in the same order, gives a period of sixty years, which is divided into six decades (secondary cycles). It is the same system as the one brought by China into Annam, except that the denary cycle is not named in the same way. The foregoing table gives an idea of the composition of the Cambodian cycle.

3. Year and months.—The Cambodians have a lunar year. It contains twelve months, of 29 and 30 days alternately, with the following Indian names: (1) *čět* (Skr. *chaitra*); (2) *pisāk* (Skr. *vaiśākha*); (3) *čes* (Skr. *jyeṣṭha*); (4) *āsāth* (Skr. *āṣāḍha*); (5) *srāp* (Skr. *śrāvaṇa*); (6) *photrabŏt* (Skr. *bhādrapada*); (7) *āsŏč* (Skr. *āśvayuja*); (8) *kātĕk* (Skr. *kārttika*); (9) *măkosĭr* (Skr. *mārga-śirṣa*); (10) *bŏs* (Skr. *pauṣa*); (11) *măkh* (Skr. *māgha*); (12) *phālkŭn* (Skr. *phālguna*).

The months are divided into two periods of fifteen days: the period of the waxing moon (clear fortnight), and the period of the waning moon (dark fortnight). The Buddhists of Cambodia keep the eighth and, more especially, the fifteenth day of each of these periods as holidays.

The year begins in *čět* (March–April); but although the New Year festivals are celebrated in this month, it is the custom not to begin the year until the month of *pisāk* (April–May), or sometimes even *măkosĭr* (Nov.–Dec.), in memory of the death of the Buddha. As the Cambodian year has only 354 days in all, an intercalary month is inserted every three or four years by the *horas*, or royal astrologers, by doubling the month of *āsāth* (June–July); hence there is a first and a second *āsāth* (*prathomosāth*, *tŭtiyāsāth* = Skr. *prathama°*-, *dvitīya-āṣāḍha*). A period of nineteen years thus contains seven years with thirteen months.

4. Days.—The names of the days are also of Indian origin: *thňai*[1] *ātit* (Skr. *āditya*), 'Sunday'; *t. čăn* (Skr. *chandra*), 'Monday'; *t. aṅkār* (Skr. *aṅgāraka*), 'Tuesday'; *t. pŭt* (Skr. *budha*), 'Wednesday'; *t. prahas* (Skr. *bṛhaspati*), 'Thursday'; *t. sŏk* (Skr. *śukra*), 'Friday'; *t. sau* (Skr. *śanaiśchara*), 'Saturday'; no day is a holiday in itself.

5. Hours.—The Cambodians divide the day into two parts of twelve hours each: the part from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. is day, and that from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. is night. In Cambodia, from 6 to 7 a.m. is 1 a.m., 7 to 8 a.m. is 2 a.m., 11 to 12 mid-day is 6 a.m., mid-day to 1 p.m. is 1 p.m., 1 to 2 p.m. is 2 p.m., 5 to 6 p.m. is 6 p.m. The hour is divided into *bāt*, each of which is equal to five minutes. The night is sometimes divided into four watches (*yām*; Skr. *yama*, 'watch') of three hours each: the first from sunset to 9 p.m., the second from 9 p.m. to midnight, the third from midnight to 3 a.m., and the fourth from 3 a.m. till day time, *i.e.* 6 a.m.

[1] *Thňai* = 'day.'

6. Seasons.—The Cambodians have three seasons (*rodov*, *khè*): (1) rainy season (*rodov phlieu*, *khè prăh vosā* [= Pāli *vassa*]); (2) cold season (*rodov roṅār*, *khè romho' i*); (3) dry or warm season (*rodov prăn*, *r. kdau*).

7. Almanac.—The name given to the almanac in Cambodia is *mahāsaṅkrān* (Skr. *mahāsaṃkrānti*, 'great transit'). The Skr. expression *saṃkrānti* is used to designate the passing of one sign of the zodiac into the next sign; as the 'great transit' is the one that marks the beginning of the new year, the derivation of the Cambodian expression is obvious.

'The *horas*, or royal astrologers, arrange the Cambodian calendar year by year. For each month it gives the relation of the days of the week to the 1st, 8th, and 15th days of the waxing moon (*ko't*), to the 1st and 8th days of the waning moon (*roč*), and to the last day of the month (*khe dāč*). It is followed by a public notice giving various information on the beginning of the year, and rules connected with the position of the different orders of the State, with the temperature, rain, harvests, rise of the river, prices of commodities, eclipses of the moon, and, lastly, fixing the initial day of the *vassa*, or retirement of the religious, during the rainy season.'

L. Finot (see Lit. below), from whom these details are borrowed, adds that the basis of the Cambodian almanac is Hindu, and that the very language it employs is a witness to the deep and persistent influence of Indian science.

LITERATURE.—G. Jeanneau, 'Notice sur le calendrier cambodgien,' in *Annuaire de la Cochinchine*, 1870; 'Un Almanach cambodgien,' tr. Ph. Hahn and L. Finot in *Revue Indo-Chinoise*, Hanoi, 1904, pp. 138-143; Moura, *Vocabulaire français-cambodgien et cambodgien-français*, Paris, 1878, pp. 15-17.

III. *CHAMPA.*—It is probable that in ancient times the Chams, like their neighbours the Khmers, had a calendar of Hindu origin, but they have lost it and have also completely forgotten the *śaka* era (A.D. 78) which their ancestors employed in inscriptions. Nowadays they simply use the Chinese-Annamese calendar for the needs of daily life, the only difference being that their year starts in April–May.

1. Cycles.—(1) *Sexagenary cycle.*—The Chams adopted the Chinese-Annamese sixty-year cycle.

(2) *Duodenary cycle.*—This is the cycle used for naming and calculating the years. The twelve year-names are borrowed from animals, but—a peculiarity which is worthy of remark—they are also the names employed in ordinary everyday language. The names of the twelve years are: (1) *tikuh*, 'rat'; (2) *kabav*, 'buffalo'; (3) *rimaun*, 'tiger'; (4) *tapaiy*, 'hare'; (5) *nāgarai*, 'dragon'; (6) *ulā anaih*, 'little serpent'; (7) *asaih*, 'horse'; (8) *pabaiy*, 'goat'; (9) *kra*, 'monkey'; (10) *mānuk*, 'hen'; (11) *asău*, 'dog'; (12) *pabwĕi*, 'pig.'

(3) *Eight-year cycle.*—There is another Cham calendar[1] based on the eight-year cycle, called *windu* by the Javanese, and probably introduced into Champa by Musalmān missionaries from Java. In Java, the Javanese-Musalmān civil year is lunar, and it originated from the Indian luni-solar year; hence it differed somewhat from the real Arabian lunar year. Efforts were made to bring these years back to correspondence, and the means employed was the *windu*, or cycle of eight years. We need not enter into details here, but it may be noticed that in Java the years of the *windu* have the following Malaysian names: *alip*, *'ehe*, *jim awal*, *je* or *dze*, *dāl*, *be*, *wāu*, *jīm ahir*, and are represented by the Arabic letters: *a*, *h*, *j*, *dh*, *d*, *b*, *w*, *j*. The Chams have the same names slightly modified: *aliah*, *hak*, *jimaval*, *ci*, *dal*, *bak*, *wau*, *jimahir*, and represent them by the same letters, though sometimes substituting *h* for *h*, and *z* for *dh* in their calendars and often putting the figures 1, 4, 6, etc., meaning 1st, 4th, 6th day, under the

[1] A phototypic reproduction of a perpetual Cham calendar will be found in the present writer's article, 'Les Chams musulmans de l'Indo-Chine,' in *Revue du monde musulman*, April 1907, No. 6, p. 175.

Arabic names of the days *ahad*, *arbā'*, *sabt*, etc., instead of writing out the days of the Cham week in full.

As the Chams combined their 12-year cycle with the *windu*, or 8-year cycle, the years in which are designated by letters, it follows that three 8-year series and two 12-year series two series was covered, in theory, by means of an embolismic year, and more simply by adopting the corrections of the Chinese-Annamese calendar.

Predictions based on coincidences of years and days, analogous to the *aṅgara-kasih*[1] of the Javanese, take place among the Chams. If, for instance, the cycles of the 'rat' and the 'pig' coincide in

TABLE of the Cham Duodenary Cycle.

Order.	Animal of Cycle.	Nature of Year.	Letter of 8-Year Cycle.	1st Day of Waxing Moon.		Seat of Year.[2]
1	Rat	full	a	*śuk*	'Friday'	forehead
		incomplete	d	*som*	'Monday'	eye
2	Buffalo	full	h	*aṅar*	'Tuesday'	eyebrow
		incomplete	b	*sanćar*	'Saturday'	ear
3	Tiger	full	j	*adit*	'Sunday'	mouth
		incomplete	w	*but*	'Wednesday'	nose
4	Hare	full	dh	*jip*	'Thursday'	liver
		incomplete	j²	*adit*	'Sunday'	mouth
5	Dragon	full	a	*śuk*	'Friday'	forehead
		incomplete	d	*som*	'Monday'	eye
6	Serpent	full	h	*aṅar*	'Tuesday'	eyebrow
		incomplete	b	*sanćar*	'Saturday'	ear
7	Horse	full	j	*adit*	'Sunday'	mouth
		incomplete	w	*but*	'Wednesday'	nose
8	Goat	full	dh	*jip*	'Thursday'	liver
		incomplete	j²	*adit*	'Sunday'	mouth
9	Monkey	full	a	*śuk*	'Friday'	forehead
		incomplete	d	*som*	'Monday'	eye
10	Cock	full	h	*aṅar*	'Tuesday'	eyebrow
		incomplete	b	*sanćar*	'Saturday'	ear
11	Dog	full	j	*adit*	'Sunday'	mouth
		incomplete	w	*but*	'Wednesday'	nose
12	Pig	full	dh	*jip*	'Thursday'	liver
		incomplete	j²	*adit*	'Sunday'	mouth

TABLE showing correspondence of Christian era, Musalmān era (Hijra), *śaka* era, eight-year cycle (*windu*), and twelve-year cycle.

Christian Era.	Hijra.	Śaka.	Eight-year Cycle.		Twelve-year Cycle.	
1900	1317–18	1822	4. *ćći*	dh	1. *tikuḥ*	'rat'
1901	1319	1823	5. *dal*	d	2. *kabav*	'buffalo'
1902	1320	1824	6. *bak*	b	3. *rimauṅ*	'tiger'
1903	1321	1825	7. *wau*	w	4. *tapaiy*	'hare'
1904	1322	1826	8. *jim ahir*	j²	5. *nògarai*	'dragon'
1905	1323	1827	1. *aliaḥ*	a	6. *ulā anaiḥ*	'serpent'
1906	1324	1828	2. *hak*	h	7. *asaiḥ*	'horse'
1907	1325	1829	3. *jim aval*	j	8. *pabaiy*	'goat'
1908	1326	1830	4. *ćći*	dh	9. *krā,*	'monkey'
1909	1327	1831	5. *dal*	d	10. *mònuk*	'hen'
1910	1328	1832	6. *bak*	b	11. *asău*	'dog'
1911	1329–30	1833	7. *wau*	w	12. *pabwći*	'pig'
1912	1331	1834	8. *jim ahir*	j²	1. *tikuḥ*	'rat'
1913	1332	1835	1. *aliaḥ*	a	2. *kabav*	'buffalo'
1914	1333	1836	2. *hak*	h	3. *rimauṅ*	'tiger'
1915	1334	1837	3. *jim aval*	j	4. *tapaiy*	'hare'
1916	1335	1838	4. *ćći*	dh	5. *nògarai*	'dragon
1917	1336	1839	5. *dal*	d	6. *ulā anaiḥ*	'serpent'
1918	1337	1840	6. *bak*	b	7. *asaiḥ*	'horse'
1919	1338	1841	7. *wau*	w	8. *pabaiy*	'goat'
1920	1339	1842	8. *jim ahir*	j²	9. *krā*	'monkey'

brought round a coincidence of the first two terms of the series, namely, *tikuḥ*, 'rat,' and *aliaḥ* (=*alif*), *a*.

The discrepancy that had arisen between the

[1] A coincidence regarded as of good augury in a month is that of *aṅgara* (Skr. *aṅgāraka*), 'Tuesday,' a day of the seven days' week, with *kliwon*, the last day of the Malayo-Polynesian week. The months with no *aṅgara-kasih* are unlucky.

[2] Referring to the body of Muhammad.

year and days, there will be a great number of births that year, and flocks and herds and rice in abundance: under the opposite conditions the year will be unlucky.

2. **Months.** The Cham year, whether full or incomplete, is divided into twelve lunar months; it begins in April-May. The first ten months are simply distinguished by numbers, while the last two have special names of Indian origin.

The Banī, or Musalman, Chams borrowed the names of their lunar months from the Arabs with slight alterations. The lunar months of both peoples, which have alternately 30 days (full month) and 29 days (incomplete month), are divided into two fortnights, according as the moon is waxing or waning—the second fortnight sometimes counting fifteen, sometimes fourteen days; but, owing to complications which are not easy to explain, the days of the months of the Brāhmanist Chams do not coincide with those of the Musalmān Chams. Official documents are dated according to the days of the Annamese month.

3. **Days.**—The Chams have our week. The names of the seven days correspond exactly to ours, are of Sanskrit origin, and are borrowed from the planets. The Musalmān Chams, especially in Cambodia, sometimes use the names of the days of the Arabian week with modifications.

(*a*) Week of the Brāhmanist Chams: 1. *adit* (Skr. *āditya*), 'Sunday'; 2. *som* (Skr. *soma*), 'Monday'; 3. *aṅar* (Skr. *aṅgāraka*), 'Tuesday'; 4. *but* (Skr. *budha*), 'Wednesday'; 5. *jip* (Skr. *jīva*), 'Thursday'; 6. *śuk* (Skr. *śukra*), 'Friday'; 7. *sanćar* (Skr. *śanaiśchara*), 'Saturday.'

(*b*) Week of the Musalmān Chams: 1. *āhat* (Arab. *al-aḥad*); 2. *òśsanai* (Arab. *āl-ithnain*); 3. *asalasak* (Arab. *ath-thalāsā'*); 4. *rośbaū* (Arab. *al-arbā'*); 5. *kemis* (Arab. *al-khamīs*); 6. *jumat* (Arab. *al-jūm'a*), 'day of Assembly'; 7. *sabat*, *śòttò* (Arab. *as-sabt*), 'Sabbath day.'

4. **Hours.**—The day is divided into twelve hours, each equal to two hours of our time. One text even says that a day and night contain eight hours (each). The hours are reckoned from the first cock-crow; those between sunset and sunrise are called 'night hours,' and correspond to the five watches of the night.

The hour again is divided into eight parts, each equal to our ¼ hour. The time is told by means of expressions like 'the cock crows' = 1 a.m.; 'the cock jumps to the ground' = 2 a.m.; 'the sun is risen' = 6 a.m.; 'the sun is a perch above the horizon' = 6.30 a.m., etc. The twelve hours of the day are also reckoned by giving each the name of one of the animals of the cycle—*tuk tikuh*, 'hour of the Rat'; *tuk kabav*, 'hour of the Buffalo'; *tuk rimauṅ*, 'hour of the Tiger,' etc.

5. **Mystical speculations of the Chams concerning the calendar.** According to the mystical speculations of the Musalmān Chams, which are adopted also by the Brahmanist Chams, each year of the cycle comes from a part of the body of Muhammad. The year of the Rat, *e.g.*, comes from the left ear, the year of the Buffalo from the left nostril, the year of the Tiger from the right ear, etc. Allah created the year of the Serpent first of all; among the months Ramadān was first, among the days *jumat*, 'Friday.' The first three days of lunation are presided over by the three favourite wives of Muhammad. The seven days of the week come from the seven parts of the Prophet's body; the first four Muhammadans—Ubakar (Abū Bakr), Umar ('Umar), Uthamön ('Uthmān), and Ali ('Alī)—are the angels of Allāh's glory and the four *imāms* of the cardinal points. The watches of the night or day are male or female. Of the hours of day the first comes from Allāh; the second from Muhammad; the third from Gabriel; the fourth from 'Alī; the fifth from Phwatimöh (Fāṭima); the sixth from Ḥasan; the seventh from Ḥusain; the eighth comes back to Allāh. The thirty days of the month come from the thirty teeth of Adam; the upper jaw is the origin of the fifteen days of the waxing moon, the lower jaw gives the fifteen days of the waning moon. Adam's other two teeth are the seats respectively of Lord Muhammad and Lord 'Alī, etc. The root of all these speculations must lie in Islām.

Months of Brāhmanist Chams.		Months of Musalmān Chams.	
1. *bulan sa*	First month.	1. *muharròm*	(Arab. *muḥarram*), Muḥarram.
2. *bulan duā*	Second month.	2. *sakphwòr*	(Arab. *ṣafar*), Safar.
3. *bulan klāu*	Third month.	3. *rabī ul awal*	(Arab. *rabī'u 'l-awwal*), Rabī' I.
4. *bulan pak*	Fourth month.	4. *rabī ul ahir*	(Arab. *rabī'u 'l-akhir*), Rabī' II.
5. *bulan limö*	Fifth month.	5. *jamòdi lula*	(Arab. *jumādā 'l-ūlā*), Jumādā I.
6. *bulan nam*	Sixth month.	6. *jamòdi ahir*	(Arab. *jumādā 'l-ukhrā*), Jumadā II.
7. *bulan tijuh*	Seventh month.	7. *rajap*	(Arab. *rajab*), Rajab.
8. *bulan dalapan*	Eighth month.	8. *saban*	(Arab. *sha'bān*), Sha'bān.
9. *bulan salapan*	Ninth month.	9. *ramòvan*	(Arab. *ramaḍān*), Ramadān.
10. *bulan sapluh*	Tenth month.	10. *śaphwòl, sakval*	(Arab. *shauwāl*), Shauwāl.
11. *bulan puaś*	Puaś (Skr. *pauṣa*).[1]	11. *dul kāidah*	(Arab. *dhū'l-qa'da*), Dhul-qa'da.
12. *bulan mak*	Mak (Skr. *māgha*).	12. *dul huji*	(Arab. *dhū'l-ḥijja*), Dhul-ḥijja.

LITERATURE.—E. Aymonier and A. Cabaton, *Dict. čam-français*, Paris, 1906, p. xxix ff.; A. Cabaton, *Nouvelles Recherches sur les Chams*, Paris, 1901, p. 93 ff., also 'Les Chams musulmans de l'Indo-Chine française,' in *Revue du monde musulman*, vol. ii., April 1907, No. 6; E. M. Durand, 'Notes sur les Chams,' in *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, July-Dec. 1907, p. 332 ff.

IV. *LAOS.*—The Laotians have a calendar very like that of the Siamese, which is also the calendar of the Khmers, and is of Indian origin (see above, II. [Cambodia], and CALENDAR [Siamese]).

1. **Eras.**—These are the same as among the Siamese and the Cambodians.[1]

2. **Cycles.**—The Laotians give to the animals of the duodenary cycle names very like those adopted by the Siamese, and not belonging to the everyday language. The names they use to denote the years of the denary cycle are ordinal numbers from Pāli.

3. **Years and months.**—The Laotian year is lunar, begins in December, and contains twelve months of 29 and 30 days alternately. In a series of three years, the first has 354 days, the second has 355 days, and the third is a compensating year with thirteen months = 384 days. It is the duty

[1] Cf. the Malaysian *būlan puwāsa* (= Skr. *upavāsa*), 'the month of fasting,' 'the fast of Ramadān'

[1] Laotian, which is a Tai dialect like Siamese, bears so close a resemblance to the latter that the art. CALENDAR (Siamese) may be referred to for the technical expressions.

of the *bonzes* to arrange the calendar so that the festivals shall fall at their proper seasons, and to determine how many days the intercalary month is to have. This is done without fixed rules, and according to the necessities of the case.

The months have no special names, but are merely numbered in order from one to twelve, as in Siam. The month is divided into two periods of fifteen days; the eighth, and especially the fifteenth, day of each period of the waxing or waning moon is a holiday; hence the growing custom in Laos of reckoning by weeks.

4. **Days.**—These are the same as among the Siamese and Cambodians: 1. *văn* (=day) *thit* (Siam. *văn athĭt*); 2. *văn čan* (Siam. *v. čăn*); 3. *văn khañ* (Siam. *v. ănkhan*); 4. *văn phut* (Siam. *v. phŭt*); 5. *văn păhat* (Siam. *v. pra:hăt*); 6. *văn suk* (Siam. *v. sŭk*); 7. *văn sau* (Siam. *v. săo*). *Văn thit* (Sunday) always appears four times every month; a day is sometimes added and sometimes omitted, in order to make the eighth and fifteenth days of the waxing or waning moon always fall on a Sunday.

5. **Hours.**—The Laotians, like the Khmers and Chams, reckon their hours by dividing the day into two parts of twelve hours each: from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. is day, and from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. is night. Mid-day corresponds to the end of the sixth hour of the day; midnight to the end of the sixth hour of the night. This is the Siamese system; formerly the day (from sunrise to sunset) was divided into eight *niam* of 1½ hours' length, and mid-day corresponded to the fifth *niam*. A *niam* was equal to ten *bat*, or about nine minutes of our time: a *bat* was equal to ten *nathi*, and a *nathi* almost equal to five and a half seconds of European time.

LITERATURE.—*Gouvernement général de l'Indo-Chine: Notice sur le Laos français*, published at the command of Paul Doumer, Governor-General of Indo-China, by the governing staff of Laos, under the direction of Lieut.-Col. Tournier, Resident Superior, Hanoï, 1900, pp. 186–188; Pionnier, 'Notes sur la chronologie et l'astrologie au Siam et au Laos,' *Anthropos*, iii. 489–507.

V. *NORTHERN TONGKING.*—There is a mass of little known ethnic groups, more numerous than important, ranged on the borders of Tongking and China, China and Laos, and Laos and Burma, which are classed together in French Indo-China under the administration of the military territories of Tongking and, in the case of a very small portion, under that of Northern Laos. These people seem reducible to a few ethnic groups: Tibeto-Burman, South Mongolian, and Indonesian. We may mention the Tais or Pou-Tais (divided generally into white, black, and red) and Nöa-Tais; the Pou-Ön, the Yun; the Man, the Mo, the Pa-Teng, the Kö-Lao, the Lolos, etc. They all use the Chinese or Laotian calendar more or less according to locality. Alongside of, and a degree below, these mixed peoples of the frontiers of Tongking are several semi-savage groups, possibly aboriginal, called by their neighbours of Annam, Cambodia, and Laos respectively *mọi*, *phnoṅ*, or *khā*, i.e. 'savages.' These peoples, who are slowly tending to disappear, are continually being driven back into the mountains and uncultivated parts of the country by the forward progress of the more civilized races surrounding them, and have scarcely begun to be the object of serious study. They have the various names of Bahnars, Sedangs, Jarais, Kalangs, Churus, Rongaos, Bolovens, Lovés, Samrés, Pors, Kuy Dek, etc. They do not seem to have a fixed calendar; all their computation of time is oral, empirical, and purely agricultural, based on the return of the principal seasons of rain and drought, and the sowings and harvests that bring round the return of certain rites. The year is lunar, the day is divided into several parts, according to the position of the sun or to the various occupations, and the time is told by means of such expressions as 'at the first, *or* second, cock-crow,' 'sunrise,' 'sunset,' 'when children go to bed,' 'after a first sleep,' 'the time of smoking a pipe,' 'the time of cooking rice,' etc.

LITERATURE.—E. Lunet de Lajonquière, *Ethnographie du Tonkin septentrional* . . ., Paris, 1906 (an important place is given in this volume to the partly unpublished works of Commandant Bonifacy); Bonifacy, 'Les Groupes ethniques du bassin de la Rivière Noire,' in *BSAP*, 5th July 1907, and 'Monographie des Máns, Dai-Ban, Côc ou Sừ'ng,' in *Rev. indochinoise*, 1908, Nos. 84–85; Dourisboure, *Dict. bahnar-français*, Hongkong, 1889.

A. CABATON.

CALENDAR (Japanese).—The Japanese have several ways of reckoning the days, months, years, and other periods. They have both solar and lunar time; Japanese, Chinese, and Occidental time; two national calendars, and several special periods; so that they have literally 'a time for everything,' and, in some cases, they are very particular to do a certain thing on 'time.' Of the two Japanese calendars, one reckons from the mythological founding of the Japanese Empire by Jimmu Tenno in 660 B.C., and is known as *kigen* (history-beginning); and the other is the system of special periods called *nengō*.

1. In the old style of reckoning, the years were named according to the twelve signs of the Chinese zodiac, taken in conjunction with the ten 'celestial stems' (*jikkan*), obtained by dividing into two parts each of the five elements (wood, fire, earth, metal, water). These elements are known in Japanese as *ki*, *hi*, *tsuchi*, *ka* (for *kane*), and *mizu*; and the subdivisions are called *e* (or *ye*) and *to*, of which the former is said to represent the active element and the latter the passive element. Rein's explanation is as follows: 'They [the Japanese] distinguish accordingly (with special Chinese signs) *ki-no-ye*, wood in general, and *ki-no-to*, worked wood; *hi-no-ye*, natural fire (of the sun, volcanoes), and *hi-no-to*, domestic fire; *tsuchi-no-ye*, raw earth, and *tsuchi-no-to*, manufactured earth; *ka-no-ye*, native metal, and *ka-no-to*, worked metal; *mizu-no-ye*, running water, and *mizu-no-to*, stagnant water.' This will all be made clear by reference to the table on p. 115.

2. The lunar year was divided into 12 months of 29 or 30 days each, and thus contained only 354 or 355 days; but this discrepancy from the solar year was made up by adding to certain years of every lunar cycle an intercalary month of varying length. An intercalated year contained 383 or 384 days. The months were named numerically, as follows:

Ichigatsu	First Moon
[or *Shōgatsu*	True Moon].
Nigatsu	Second Moon.
Sangatsu	Third Moon.
Shigatsu	Fourth Moon.
Gogatsu	Fifth Moon.
Rokugatsu	Sixth Moon.
Shichigatsu	Seventh Moon.
Hachigatsu	Eighth Moon.
Kugatsu	Ninth Moon.
Jūgatsu	Tenth Moon.
Jūichigatsu	Eleventh Moon.
Jūnigatsu	Twelfth Moon.

The months had also poetical, but no less practical, appellations, as follows:

1. *Mutsuki* (Social month), *Umutsuki* (Birth month), or *Tara-zuki* (Eldest-son month).
2. *Kisaragi* (Putting on new clothes).
3. *Yayoi* (Great growth).
4. *Uzuki* (Hare month), or *Mugi-aki* (Wheat harvest).
5. *Satsuki* (Early moon).
6. *Minazuki* (Waterless month [period of drought]).
7. *Fumizuki* (Rice-blooming month, or Composition month).
8. *Hatsuki* (Leafy month), or *Tsukimi-zuki* (Moon-viewing month).[1]
9. *Nagatsuki* (Long moon), or *Kikuzuki* (Chrysanthemum month).

[1] Or *Ina-agari-zuki* (Month when the rice comes up), or *Momijizuki* (Red-leaves month).

10. *Kannazuki* (Godless month),[1] or *Koharu* (Little Spring).[2]
11. *Shimotsuki* (Frost month), or *Yogetsu* (Sunny month).
12. *Shiwasu* (Finishing-up month), or *Gokugetsu* (Last moon).

The appropriateness of these names will be more evident if one bears in mind that the New Year of the lunar calendar begins from 3 to 6 weeks later than January 1.

3. The four seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter were recognized; and there were 24 periods[3] of 14 or 15 days each, which to a great extent indicated the weather, and which the farmer carefully followed in planning his labours. These were as follows, beginning in February, about the time of the beginning of the New Year (Old Cal.):

1. *Risshun* (Rise of Spring) 2. *Usui* (Rain Water)	February.
3. *Keichitsu* (Awakening of Insects) 4. *Shumbun* (Vernal Equinox)	March.
5. *Seimei* (Clear and Bright) 6. *Koku-u* (Cereal Rain)	April.
7. *Rikka* (Rise of Summer) 8. *Shōman* (Little Filling)	May.
9. *Bōshu* (Grain in Ear) 10. *Geshi* (Summer Solstice)	June.
11. *Shōsho* (Little Heat) 12. *Taisho* (Great Heat)	July.

SYNOPSIS OF THE SEXAGENARY CYCLE.

Names of the constellations in the Sinico-Japanese zodiac.	Wood.		Fire.		Earth.		Metal.		Water.		Names of our corresponding constellations.
	Ki-no.		*Hi-no.*		*Tsuchi-no.*		*Ka[ne]-no.*		*Mizu-no.*		
	e.	*to.*	*e.*	*to.*	*e.*	*to.*	*e.*	*to.*	*e.*	*to.*	
Rat (*ne[zumi]*)	1		13		25		37		49		Aries.
Ox (*ushi*)		2		14		26		38		50	Taurus.
Tiger (*tora*)	51		3		15		27		39		Gemini.
Hare (*u[sagi]*)		52		4		16		28		40	Cancer.
Dragon (*tatsu*)	41		53		5		17		29		Leo.
Serpent (*mi*) [*hebi*]		42		54		6		18		30	Virgo.
Horse (*uma*)	31		43		55		7		19		Libra.
Goat (*hitsuji*)		32		44		56		8		20	Scorpio.
Monkey (*saru*)	21		33		45		57		9		Sagittarius.
Cock (*tori*)		22		34		46		58		10	Capricornus.
Dog (*inu*)	11		23		35		47		59		Aquarius.
Boar (*i*) [*ui*]		12		24		36		48		60	Pisces.

13. *Rissha* (Rise of Autumn) 14. *Shosho* (Limit of Heat)	August.
15. *Hakuro* (White Dew) 16. *Shubun* (Autumnal Equinox)	September.
17. *Kanro* (Cold Dew) 18. *Sōkō* (Frost Fall)	October.
19. *Rittō* (Rise of Winter) 20. *Shōsetsu* (Little Snow)	November.
21. *Taisetsu* (Great Snow) 22. *Tōji* (Winter Solstice)	December.
23. *Shōkan* (Little Cold) 24. *Daikan* (Great Cold)	January.

4. In Old Japan the week was unknown; and it was not until the present era [Meiji] that the *ichi-roku*, or holidays on the 'ones' and 'sixes' of each month,[4] were introduced. This was speedily abandoned for the week system, with Sunday as an official holiday, and with names adapted from the Occidental names, as follows:

Nichiyōbi[1]	(Sun-day) = Sunday.
Getsuyōbi	(Moon-day) = Monday.
Kwayōbi	(Mars-day) = Tuesday.
Suiyōbi	(Mercury-day) = Wednesday.
Mokuyōbi	(Jupiter-day) = Thursday.
Kinyōbi	(Venus-day) = Friday.
Doyōbi	(Saturn-day) = Saturday.

There was, moreover, another division of the month more or less common even at the present day. By it each month is divided into three periods, called *jun*, of about ten days, known as *jōjun*, *chūjun*, and *gejun* (upper, middle, and lower decades).

5. The days of each month were named, not only in numerical order, but also according to the sexagenary tables mentioned above in connexion with the names of the years in 'a cycle of Cathay.' And the latter names were perhaps more important than the numerical ones, because, according to these special names, a day was judged to be either lucky or unlucky for particular events.

6. The hours were named both numerically and zoologically. The first plan was as follows:

Kokonotsu-doki (ninth hour)	11 p.m.–1 a.m. and 11 a.m.–1 p.m.
Yatsu-doki (eighth hour)	1–3 a.m. and p.m.
Nanatsu-doki (seventh hour)	3–5 a.m. and p.m.
Mutsu-doki (sixth hour)[2]	5–7 a.m. and p.m.
Itsutsu-doki (fifth hour)	7–9 a.m. and p.m.
Yotsu-doki (fourth hour)	9–11 a.m. and p.m.

With reference to this old-fashioned way of marking the hours, we quote further words of explanation from Chamberlain's *Things Japanese* (p. 470):

'Why, it will be asked, did they count the hours backwards? A case of Japanese topsy-turvydom, we suppose. But then why, as there were six hours, not count from six to one, instead of beginning at so arbitrary a number as nine? The reason is this: Three preliminary strokes were always struck, in order to warn people that the hour was about to be sounded. Hence, if the numbers one, two, and three had been used to denote any of the actual hours, confusion might have arisen between them and the preliminary strokes—a confusion analogous to that which, in our own still imperfect method of striking the hour, leaves us in doubt whether the single stroke we hear is half-past twelve, one o'clock, half-past one, or any other of the numerous half-hours.'

[1] The Shinto gods (*kami*), except Ebisu (god of wealth), who is deaf and does not hear the summons, were all supposed to leave the other parts of the country and to assemble in 'annual conference' in their ancestral home of Idzumo. And as the gods had thus neglected their usual business of watching over the people, it was not considered of any use to offer prayers or sacrifices, and that month was called *kami-naki-tsuki*, or *kami-na-zuki*, or *kanna-zuki*.

[2] Corresponding to 'Indian summer.'

[3] There were also 72 periods, more minute.

[4] 1st, 6th, 11th, 16th, 21st, 26th, 31st.

[1] These names are directly derived from the names of the planets.

[2] In reckoning the hours, a distinction was sometimes made between the morning and evening, as follows: *ake-mutsu* (6 a.m.) and *kure-mutsu* (6 p.m.).

We may add that this style of computation is based on multiples of 'nine' ($1 \times 9 = 9$, $2 \times 9 = 18$, $3 \times 9 = 27$, $4 \times 9 = 36$, $5 \times 9 = 45$, $6 \times 9 = 54$), and in each case the 'tail' figure of the product was chosen as the name of the hour (9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4).

The second plan, based upon the heavenly menagerie, was as follows:

1. Hour of the Rat,	11 p.m.–1 a.m.
2. ,, ,, ,, Ox,	1–3 a.m.
3. ,, ,, ,, Tiger,	3–5 a.m.
4. ,, ,, ,, Hare,	5–7 a.m.
5. ,, ,, ,, Dragon,	7–9 a.m.
6. ,, ,, ,, Serpent,	9–11 a.m.
7. ,, ,, ,, Horse,	11 a.m.–1 p.m.
8. ,, ,, ,, Goat,	1–3 p.m.
9. ,, ,, ,, Monkey,	3–5 p.m.
10. ,, ,, ,, Cock,	5–7 p.m.
11. ,, ,, ,, Dog,	7–9 p.m.
12. ,, ,, ,, Boar,	9–11 p.m.

By both of these systems, each 'hour' was 120 minutes in length; but it was also divided into *jōkoku* and *gekoku* (upper and lower *koku*), each of which was thus equivalent to 60 minutes.

There is also a division of the *night* into watches (*kō*), five in number, as follows:

Shokō, First Watch—Fifth Hour, 7–9 p.m.
Nikō, Second Watch—Fourth Hour, 9–11 p.m.
Sankō, Third Watch—Ninth Hour, 11 p.m.–1 a.m.
Shikō, Fourth Watch—Eighth Hour, 1–3 a.m.
Gokō, Fifth Watch—Seventh Hour, 3–5 a.m.

7. Festivals and holidays demand some attention in connexion with the calendar.

The *go-sekku*, or five festivals, were, and are, carefully observed, although their dates have been changed to fit the new solar calendar. They fell on the first[1] (or, as some say, seventh) day of the first month, the third day of the third month, the fifth day of the fifth month, the seventh day of the seventh month, and the ninth day of the ninth month. They have various names, of which the most general are those made from the names of the months, such as *Shōgatsu-no-Sekku* (First Moon's Festival), etc. But these names are not so commonly used as more specific ones, which describe more or less particularly the nature of the festival. For instance, the festival of the Third Month is well known as *Jōmi-no-Sekku* (the Girls' Festival), or *Hinamatsuri* (Dolls' Festival); that of the fifth month is the famous *Tango-no-Sekku* (the Boys' Festival), or *Nobori-no-Sekku* (Banner Festival); that of the seventh month is commonly called *Tanabata-no-Sekku* (Festival of the Star Vega); while that of the ninth month is called *Chōyō-no-Sekku* (Indian Summer Festival), or *Kiku-no-Sekku* (Chrysanthemum Festival). Moreover, the Girls' Festival is also called *Momo-no-Sekku* (Peach Festival), and the Boys' Festival is called *Shōbu-no-Sekku* (Sweet Flag Festival).[2]

The national holidays are as follows:

Shihōhai	January 1.
Genji-sai	January 3.
Kōmei Tennō Sai	January 30.
Kigen-setsu	February 11.
Shunki Kōrei Sai	(about) March 21.
Jimmu Tennō Sai	April 3.
Shūki Kōrei Sai	(about) September 24.
Kanname Sai	October 17.
Tenchō-setsu	November 3.
Niiname Sai	November 23.

Shihōhai means 'four-sides-worship,' *i.e.* from the four points of the compass, or from all sides. *Genji-sai* means 'first-beginning-festival.' *Tenchō-setsu* is the Emperor's birthday. *Kigen-setsu* was originally a festival in honour of the ascension of Jimmu, the first Emperor, to the throne, and was thus the anniversary of the establishment of the Old Empire; but it is now observed also as the celebration of the promulgation of the Constitution (Feb. 11, 1889), and is thus the anniversary of the establishment of the New Empire. The *Jimmu Tennō* Festival, on April 3, is the so-called anniversary of the death of the Emperor Jimmu. The *Kanname* Festival in October celebrates the offering of first-fruits to the ancestral deities, and the *Niiname* Festival in November celebrates the tasting of those first-fruits by the Emperor. The Spring and Autumn Festivals, in March and September, are adaptations of the Buddhist equinoctial festivals of the dead, *Higan*, and are especially observed for the worship of the Imperial ancestors. The Emperor Kōmei was the father of the present Emperor, Mutsu Hito, and reigned from 1847 to 1867. The 16th of January and July were and still are special holidays for servants and apprentices. The 17th of each month is a regular holiday for Tōkyō barbers.

[1] Originally so established in the reign of the Emperor Uda (A.D. 888–897).

[2] See also the present writer's *Japanese Floral Calendar*, and J. Conder's elaborate paper in *TASJ*, vol. xvii. pt. ii. pp. 1–96.

Another special occasion is that known as *Setsubun*, which directly marks the end of winter and indirectly the end of the year. Theoretically, the two should correspond, but they do so only once in a few years. And yet *Setsubun* is a kind of 'New Year's Eve' and is an important festival. It is the time when beans are scattered around in every house to scare away the devils, and the following formula is also supposed to be effective:

O-ni wa soto:[1] *Fuku wa uchi*,
'Out with the devils: In with good fortune.'

This is also the occasion when 'each person present eats one more [bean] than the number of the years of his age.' The food eaten then is known as *azukimeshi*, and consists of red beans mixed with rice. This was likewise eaten in olden times on the 1st, 15th, and 28th of each month, which were the 'three days' (*sanjitsu*) then regularly observed as holidays. For a fuller description of *Setsubun*, see Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, vol. ii. pp. 498–503; and for interesting notes on the New Year's Festival, see pp. 493–498 of the same volume.

8. A few words of explanation of the system of *nengō* may be interesting. Those eras do not regularly, but only occasionally, correspond with the reigns of the Emperors, because 'a new one was chosen whenever it was deemed necessary to commemorate an auspicious or ward off a malign event.' But hereafter the era will correspond with the reign of an Emperor. The names of some of these eras are quite famous, like the Elizabethan or the Victorian Era in English history. As the first era was a time of great reforms, it is known as the Taikwa Reformation; the Engi era, in the tenth century, is celebrated for important legislation; the Genroku era, in the seventeenth century, was 'a period of great activity in various arts'; and the Tempō era, of recent days, was 'the last brilliant period of feudalism before its fall.' This name was also given to the large 8-*rin* piece coined in that era. The Wadō era, in the fourteenth century, was so named on account of the discovery of copper; and the second era, Hakuchi, commemorates a 'white pheasant' presented to the Emperor. The present era is known as Meiji, which means 'enlightened rule.' The names of these periods are formed by the various combinations, more or less appropriate, of 68 Chinese words of good omen.

9. An explanation is necessary concerning the Japanese method of reckoning, which is 'inclusive.' Moreover, in the case of ages, the computation was made from New Year's Day, which thus became a kind of national birthday, as the birthday of the individual was not considered of sufficient importance. Thus a child born on the last day of a year would be considered two years old on the first day of the next year, because he had lived in both of these years. Therefore, in case of inquiring a person's age, it would be very important to know whether the reply gave 'Japanese years' or full years. Ignorance or forgetfulness of this

[1] But in shipping and express companies it is unlucky to repeat the first stanza, because *o-ni* may mean 'honourable freight,' or 'baggage.'

distinction has often led to mistakes, and quite serious ones, in the case of historical records, chronicles, and genealogical tables. The inclusive reckoning must also be carefully noted in such expressions as 'ten days ago,' 'ten days later,' 'for ten days,' etc., which may mean what Occidentals would express by 'eleven days.'

There is now, of course, considerable confusion between the old and the new calendars, of which the latter is official, but the former is popular and still observed in country districts. This confusion naturally leads to some ludicrous anachronisms. For instance, the 7th day of the 1st month (O.C.) was known as *Nanakusa* ('Seven Herbs'), because the people were wont to go out into the fields and gather seven certain kinds of vegetables for use on that day; but January 7 is too cold and too early. In some cases, however, the old day is retained, no matter whether it fits the new calendar or not.

LITERATURE.—Clement, 'Japanese Calendars,' in *TASJ*, vol. xxx. pt. 1 *; Bramsen and Clement, 'Jap. Chron. Tables,' *ib.* vol. xxxvii. suppl.; Rein, *Japan*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1881–86; Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*^{5}, London, 1905; Inouye, *Sketches of Tokyo Life*, Tokyo, 1897; Tamura, *Japanese Bride*, New York, 1893; Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*^{2}, New York, 1883, *Honda, the Samurai*, Boston, 1890; Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Boston, 1894, *Japanese Miscellany*, Boston, 1901, *Shadowings*, Boston, 1900; Mrs. Harris, *Log of a Japanese Journey*, Meadville, 1891, *Official History of the Empire of Japan*, Tokyo, 1893, *The Japanese Months*, Tokyo, 1898; Hachihama, *Superstitious Japan* (in Japanese), Tokyo; Clement, *Japanese Floral Calendar*, Chicago, 1905; J. Conder, *Flowers of Japan*, Tokyo, 1892, and *Floral Art of Japan*, London, 1900; Piggott, *Garden of Japan*, London, 1892; Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, i., Leipzig, 1906, pp. 450–498; Lanegg, *Midzuhogusa*, iii., Leipzig, 1880, pp. 269–286; Schram, *Kalendariographische und chronologische Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. xxvi–xxx, 239–276 (conversion tables).

ERNEST W. CLEMENT.

CALENDAR (Jewish). — I. **Historical.** — The Exile in Babylon had considerable effect upon the calendar used by the Jews, as upon so many other features of their religious life. It was during the Exile that they became acquainted with the names of the months which they retain to the present day, and to which a Bab. origin is actually assigned by the Talmud (Jerus. *Rōsh Hashshānā*, I. fol. 56*d*, l. 13 from bottom). Our earliest authority for these names is now the Assuan Papyri (ed. Sayce-Cowley, London, 1906), which make mention of the following months: Ab (Pap. F), Elul (A, H), Tishri (G), Kislev (B, C, D, E, J), and Shebaṭ (K). In the later discovered papyri edited by Sachau (Berlin, 1907) we find, further, Tammūz (*Document* i. l. 4. 19) and Marcheshvan (*ib.* l. 30; *ib.* ii. l. 28). Of the former group the post-exilic books of the Bible mention Elul, Kislev, and Shebaṭ, and in addition furnish the names Nisan (Neh 2^{1}, Est 3^{7}), Sivan (Est 8^{9}), Ṭebeth (2^{16}), and Adar (3^{13} etc.). But the older practice of distinguishing the months by numbers must have remained in force alongside of the new nomenclature, and accordingly we find such expressions as 'in the first month, which is the month Nisan' (Est 3^{7}), or simply 'in the first month' (3^{12}). This is the case likewise in 1 Mac., where we find τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐννάτου οὗτος ὁ μὴν χασέλευ (4^{52}), and also τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ πρώτου (9^{3}), etc. (cf. Schürer, *GJV*^{3} i. 32). A complete list of the twelve months—Iyyar being added to the foregoing names—is given in the so-called *Megillath Ta'ănith* ('Roll of Fasts'), which probably dates from the beginning of the 1st cent. A.D. (cf. Schürer, i. 745; *JE* viii. 427). The name of the 13th, or intercalary, month is first met with in the Mishna (*Mĕgillā*, i. 4; *Nĕdārim*, viii. 5), occurring there as אדר שני ('second Adar'). In the Mishna, too, the number of days in a lunar year is fixed at 354, and in a solar year at 364 (cf. esp. *Tosefta Nazir*, i. 3, ed. Zuckermandel, Pasewalk, 1880, p. 284, l. 5); but this would, of course, apply only to common years.

As regards the intercalary month, it has been maintained, especially by Mahler (cf. Schürer, i. 748, n. 2), that, as the Babylonians had an intercalary cycle of 19 years, this may well have been adopted by the Jews. But the investigations of Oppert (*ZDMG* li. 138) and Weissbach (*ib.* lv. 195) have shown the futility of the assumption.[1] The Assuan Papyri yield ample proof of the fact that at the time after the Exile no such fixed cycle was in use among the Jews, and this would appear to be true also of the Talmudic period.[2] An eight-year cycle (*oktaeteris*) is probably referred to in the Book of Enoch (74^{13-16}), and Sextus Julius Africanus (early 3rd cent.) says that both the Greeks and the Jews intercalate three extra months every eight years (cf. Poznański, *JQR* x. 156); but the statements are somewhat indefinite (Schürer, i. 751). Explicit mention of the nineteen-year cycle is first made in post-Talmudic writings (see below).

In two pseudepigrapha which date probably from Maccabaean times, viz. the Book of Enoch (*loc. cit.*) and the Book of Jubilees (ch. 6), it is assumed that the year consists of 364 days, *i.e.* 52 complete weeks.[3] In each case the reckoning is by solar years, but it is hardly likely that this method was in general use at that time. It is recorded by David b. Merwān al-Mikmāṣ (or al-Muḳammeṣ), a writer of the 9th cent., that the Sadducees observed months of 30 days, *i.e.* solar months (Poznański, *REJ*, vol. l. p. 19). This testimony, however, adds the disadvantage of obscurity to that of lateness. It finds no support in Talmudic sources.

Records dating from the closing years of the Second Temple inform us that the time of new-moon was fixed on the evidence of observers who declared that they had descried the crescent in the sky. This would imply that no one knew beforehand whether the month was to have 29 days (hence called 'defective,' חסר) or 30 days ('full,' מעובר or מלא; cf. Bornstein, *op. cit.* 26 ff.). The regulation of the month was probably at first in the hands of the priests,[4] and was afterwards committed to the Sanhedrin. Similarly, a leap-year was decided upon only when required, the main factor in the question being the state of the young crops, as it was desired that the Passover

* From which some of the material here used is taken by permission.

[1] Also the hypothesis that this cycle was observed in ancient Babylonia, as held by Winckler, Jeremias, and others, must be unequivocally rejected (cf. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Münster, 1907 ff., ii. 192; Ungnad, in *OLZ*, 1910, p. 66). Moreover, to judge from the data collected by Kugler (i. 212), the regular employment of a nineteen-year cycle cannot be attributed to the Babylonians till the Seljūk era, by which time the influence of Greece may well have been making itself felt (see also Schurer, i. 748).

[2] In reference to the calendar of the Assuan Papyri, see Schürer and Ginzel in *Th Lz* xxxii. (1907), nos. 1 and 3; Gutesman, *REJ* liii. (1907) 194; Bornstein, *The Chronological Data of the Assuan Papyri* [in Heb.], Warsaw, 1909; and Westberg, *Die bibl. Chronologie nach Flavius Josephus*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 103 ff. Belléli (*An independent Examination of the Assuan and Elephantine Aramaic Papyri*, London, 1909) assumes that the dates given in these papyri must in all respects harmonize with the cycle of either eight or nineteen years, and then, finding this to be so in neither case, he maintains that the papyri are spurious—a most preposterous conclusion. It is related in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 12*a*) that Aḳiba (first half of 2nd cent. A.D.) reckoned three successive years as intercalary—a fact which proves the non-existence of any intercalary cycle at that time. The same thing took place among the Karaites, who relinquished the method of computing the calendar for that of observing the moon (see below), as is attested by Levi b. Yefeth (beginning of 11th cent.; cited in Pinsker, *Liḳḳuṭe Ḳadmoniot*, Vienna, 1860, ii. 90).

[3] According to Epstein (*REJ* xxii. 11; *Eldad ha-Dani*, 1892, p. 156 ff.), the Book of Jubilees has a twofold determination of the year: the civil, with 12 months, eight of which had each 30 days, and four 31 days; and the religious, with 13 months of 28 days. But the theory has not yet been finally confirmed.

[4] See Zuckermann, *Materialien zur Entwick. der altjud. Zeitrechnung im Talmud* (Breslau, 1882), p. 7. This work contains a careful and exhaustive compilation of the data supplied by the Talmudic literature with reference to the method of determining both the ordinary and the intercalary month

should coincide with the earing of the corn (חרש האביב);[1] the intercalary month was therefore always an Adar. It was not till a later day that the position of the sun was also taken into account (תקופה, *tequfa*; cf. *Tosefta Sanh.* ii. 7). This procedure was continued after the destruction of the Temple, though we are informed that the Patriarch Gamaliel II. (*c.* 100 A.D.), when examining the first observers of the crescent moon, made use of drawings of the lunar phases (*Rōsh Hashshānā*, ii. 8). He is also said to have fixed the duration of the month at 29½ days, ⅔ of an hour, and 73 parts of an hour, but the last two terms are undoubtedly a late interpolation (cf. Schwarz, *Der jüd. Kalender*, Breslau, 1872, p. 20; Slonimski, *Yesōde ha-'Ibbūr*³, p. 34). In course of time less and less attention was paid to the evidence of observers, and various devices of computation were increasingly resorted to, though the Patriarch and his council still continued to fix the time of new moon in the traditional way. This constituted, in fact, one of the strongest elements of cohesion amongst the Jews of the Dispersion, and, as a special prerogative of Palestine, it was most jealously guarded. An attempt made by the Babylonian Jews to free themselves in this regard from the domination of Palestine proved altogether abortive (cf. the story about Ḥananya the nephew of Joshua b. Ḥananya [1st half of 2nd cent.] in the Jerus. *Nĕdārim*, viii. 13 fol. 40 *a*, l. 30, etc.; also Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i.² [Strassburg, 1903], 385).

At first the beginning of the month was announced to the various communities by fire-signals, but, as the Samaritans and Boethusæans would sometimes deceive the watchers by false signs, the tidings were afterwards conveyed by special messengers (*Rōsh Hashshānā*, ii. 2). As the messengers, however, could not always reach the communities outside Palestine in time to announce whether new moon would fall on the 30th or the 31st of the old, these outlying groups of Jews kept on the safe side by observing their festivals both on the day appointed by the Scriptures and on the following day, the latter thereby acquiring the name יום טוב שני של גליות ('Second feast-day of the Diaspora'). The Day of Atonement, however, was celebrated on the 10th of Tishri only, and thus formed an exception to the rule (but cf. Jerus. *Ḥallā*, i. 1, fol. 57*c*, l. 14).

In the period of the Amoraim, of whom some were resident in Palestine, and others in Babylonia (3rd–5th cent.), we hear with increasing frequency of calculations and regulations for the calendar. One of the most eminent workers in this field was Samuel, 'the astronomer' (first half of the 3rd cent.), who taught in Babylonia, and who, it appears, sought to systematize the calendar, but was unable to carry out his design (Schwarz, *op. cit.* p. 32, n. 1). He is said to have drawn up a calendar available for 60 years (*Ḥullin*, 95*a*), and was the first of his nation to maintain that the year consists of 365¼ days (*'Ērûbîn*, 56*a*), though he was still unaware of other essential principles of the calendar (*Rōsh Hashshānā*, 20*b*). One by one, however, these principles were adopted, though the general practice remained somewhat capricious in its adhesion thereto (see, *e.g.*, Zuckermann, *op. cit.* 46). One of the Palestinian Amoraim, Simon by name (*c.* 300 A.D.), speaks of 'calculators of the calendar' (אילין דמחשבין; Jerus. *Sukkā*, iv. 1, fol. 54*b*, l. 17; cf. Zuckermann, p. 61); while another, Huna b. Abin (middle of 4th cent.), enjoined that, in deciding upon an intercalary month, regard should be had exclusively to the position of the sun (*tequfa*; *Rōsh Hashshānā*, 21*a*), etc. Political occurrences and the constantly increasing despotism of Rome simply forced the Jews to devise a means of determining the times of new moons and feasts independently of eye-witnesses. It is even recorded that during the campaign of Gallus (from A.D. 351 onwards), who dealt very harshly with the communities in Palestine, an intercalary month was inserted after Ab instead of Adar (*Sanhedrin*, 12*a*; cf. Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, 1868–78, iv. note 31). It is also stated by Jose, an Amora who lived about this time, that the Feast of Purim (celebrated on 14th Adar) must never fall upon a Sabbath or a Monday, as in that case the Day of Atonement would fall upon a Friday or a Sunday—a contingency which on many grounds was forbidden (Jerus. *Mĕgillā*, i. 2, fol. 70*b*, l. 23). By that time, therefore, the sequence of months from Adar to Tishri must have been precisely laid down. Jose is also reported to have sent a fixed order of festivals to the communities of the Diaspora (Jerus. *'Ērûbîn*, iii. end fol. 24*c*, l. 24). These various items, however, form but the rudiments of a continuous calendar.

Such a continuous calendar, according to a tradition that goes back to Hai Gaon († 1038), was constructed by the Patriarch Hillel II. in A.D. 359 (or, according to another version, 500, though by this time the day of Patriarchs was past). But the tradition, which stands quite alone, is confronted with grave objections. Of these the following two are of special weight: (1) The supposed calendar is never referred to in the Talmud, which received its final redaction at the end of the 5th cent. A.D. Nothing whatever is said there about the length of the month or the nineteen-year cycle, or anything else of the kind. (2) It is psychologically improbable that the Patriarch would of his own initiative divest himself of his highest privilege, and likewise of his most powerful means of influence amongst the Jewish communities both in Palestine and beyond it. Moreover, from the early post-Talmudic age we have dates which cannot be reconciled with the regular calendar in use to-day.[1] In point of fact, everything goes to indicate that the calendar, like all other productions of the kind, passed through a developing series of forms, and that it assumed its final shape in the schools of the official representatives of Judaism (called Geonim) in Babylonia.[2] To the period of the Geonim, say the 7th and 8th cents., likewise belong two tractates relevant to the subject. One of these is entitled *Pirḳe de Rabbi Eliezer*, and contains almost all the elements of the modern calendar (caps. 6–8), but it shows so many instances of self-contradiction that we must assume the presence of various interpolations (cf. also Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*², 1892, p. 287 ff.). The other, *Baraitha de Samuel* (*ed. princeps*, Salonica, 1861), is wholly engaged with astronomy, and yields a single date, 776 (beginning of cap. v.; cf. below, and *JE* ii. 520), but says nothing at all about regulations for the calendar.

In the 7th and 8th cents., again, Judaism in the East was disturbed by the rise of various sects, many of which refused to recognize the existing calendar. One of its outstanding assailants was Anān b. David, the founder of Karaism (2nd half of 8th cent.), who abandoned the method of computation, as being repugnant to Scripture, and reinstated that of lunar observation (see art.

[1] Cf. the story told of Gamaliel I. (at a time, therefore, when the Temple was still in existence) in *Tosefta Sanhedrin*, ii. 6 (p. 417 f.).

[1] One such date is the year 506, and another the year 776; cf. Bornstein, מחלקת רב סעדיה גאון ובן מאיר (Warsaw, 1904), p. 18.

[2] The first to indicate Babylon as the birthplace of the Jewish calendar was Th. Reinach (*REJ* xviii. 90 ff.), but the grounds on which he builds are false. Conclusive proof of the view that the continuous calendar had its origin in Babylonia during the post-Talmudic period is furnished at the earliest by the proceedings of Ben Meir (see below), the inferences therefrom having been drawn by the present writer (*JQR* x. 152 ff.), and then elaborated by Bornstein in the treatise just cited.

KARAISM). It is said, however, that in taking this step 'Anān simply wished to make a concession to the predominant power of Islām, and thus ingratiate himself with the Khalif (cf. Poznański, *REJ* xliv. 167). He is also said to have maintained that the intercalary month might be inserted as legitimately after Shebat as after Adar (Ḳirḳisāni, *Kitab al-'anwār*, ed. Harkavy, p. 313, l. 7; al-Birūni, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig, 1876-78, p. 59 [Arab. text] = p. 69 [Eng. tr.]). One of 'Anan's successors, Benjamin al-Nahawendi (9th cent.), states that there are two kinds of months: religious or lunar months of 29 or 30 days, which serve to fix the dates of feasts and fasts, and civil or solar months of 30 days. In order to allow for the residual five days (he ignores the odd hours altogether), he proposes that a month be intercalated every six years, so that after a cycle of 42 years (7×6) the months will again begin on the same day (cf. Poznański, *REJ* l. 19). That the 1st of the month, or the feast-day, should always coincide with the same day of the week—as would be possible only if the year contained an integral number of weeks, or 364 days—was a desideratum also of the sect of Maghāriya ('cave-dwellers'), whose period remains unascertained, and the Okbarites, whose founder, Meswi al-Okbari, lived in the latter part of the 9th cent. (*REJ*, *loc. cit.*). Jehuda the Persian, another heretic of that age, affirms that the Jews had always reckoned by solar months (*ib.*). The importance attached to the recognition or repudiation of the then existing calendar may be gauged by the fact that the official circles of Judaism were free to intermarry with the Isawites,[1] who actually recognized Jesus and Muhammad as prophets, but not with the Karaites, the ground of distinction being simply that the former received the calendar while the latter did not (*JQR* x. 159).

Against all these sectaries and heretics a stand was made by the Gaon Saadya b. Joseph al-Fayyūmi (892–942). In order to safeguard the existing system of calendar, he broached the remarkable theory that it was of immemorial antiquity, and that months and festivals had always been determined by calculation. He maintained that observation of the moon was introduced only in the time of Antigonus of Socho (3rd cent. B.C.), as heretics had arisen who questioned the accuracy of the calculations, and that this step was taken simply to show that calculation and observation were in perfect accord (see *REJ* xliv. 176).[2] It was an easy matter for the Karaites to quash this theory by means of data from the Talmud (cf. Poznański, *JQR* x. 271; also *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon*, London, 1908, *passim*), and the majority of Rabbinical authorities had likewise to admit that Saadya's contentions were absurd.

The last great controversy regarding the validity of the now universally recognized calendar broke out in 921. In that year, Ben Meir, a character otherwise unknown, made his appearance in Palestine, claiming to be a descendant of the Patriarchs. He sought to restore the prerogative of the Holy Land in the fixing of new moons and festivals, the means to be employed, however, being no longer observation but calculation. He proceeded to modify one of the most important regulations of the calendar. It had been laid down that, if the conjunction of sun and moon which marks the beginning of Tishri took place after noon on a particular day, the statutory beginning of that month should be transferred to the day following, and that, if the latter happened to be Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday, on none of which Tishri could legally begin (see below), a delay of two days should be made. Now, Ben Meir professed to have a tradition to the effect that the month of Tishri is to begin on the day of conjunction, save only in the case where that event takes place 642 parts of an hour after midday—the hour comprising 1080 parts (see below). On this principle the variation in fixing the months and festivals might amount to one or even two days. A case in point occurred in the years 921–923, and a cleavage between the Palestinian and the Babylonian Jews was the result. This dispute is referred to by the Karaite Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ (end of 10th cent.; see Pinsker, *Likkute Kadmoniot*, ii. 36) and the Syrian Elia of Nisibis (*Frag. syr. u. arab. Historiker*, ed. Baethgen, Leipzig, 1884, p. 84), neither of whom, however, mentions Ben Meir by name. The Jewish exilarch of the day invoked the aid of the young but erudite Saadya al-Fayyūmi, who disputed the position of the innovator with complete success. The definite interval selected by Ben Meir, viz. 642 parts of an hour, is, no doubt, traceable to the fact that, while the Jewish calendar was based upon the meridian of Babylonia, Ben Meir and his predecessors reckoned from that of Palestine. Now, in Palestine the year began with Nisan; in Babylonia, with Tishri. But the particular new moon of Nisan which formed the starting-point of the Palestinian reckoning fell on a Wednesday at nine hours of the day and 642 parts of an hour. When this number was transferred to Babylonia the fractional part was dropped, and hence the variation introduced by Ben Meir.[1] In any case, the controversy shows that the Jewish calendar had its origin in Babylonia during the period of the Gaons; and this conclusion is abundantly confirmed by other facts, which will be further discussed below, in the systematic part. But even Ben Meir never ventured to propose a return to the method of lunar observation.

The sole adherents of the latter were the Karaites, who had reverted in all respects to the ancient practice of determining the time of new moon by observation, and intercalating a thirteenth month when required by the state of the crops, *i.e.* the ripening ears (*'Abīb*). One of the earliest of that sect, Daniel al-Ḳumisi, held, indeed, that all recourse to astronomical calculation was mere cloud-peering and star-gazing, quoting against it Dt 18[10] (Harkavy, *Studien u. Mitteilungen*, VIII. i. 189), and his example was followed by nearly all the Karaites. Only if the atmospherical conditions rendered observation impossible was it allowable to resort to approximative calculations (Heb. דקרבה, cf. Bornstein, *Chronological Data*, p. 38). Not till the 14th cent. did they accept the nineteen-year cycle, and even then only for regions far away from Palestine, such as Byzantium, the Crimea, Poland, etc. In Egypt, for instance, as late as the 17th cent., we still find the practice of intercalating a supplementary month as necessity required (cf. Gurland, *Ginze Israel*, Lyck, 1865, i. 5). But the Karaites, scattered as they were in various countries, fell into confusion in the matter, and celebrated the same festival on different days. They were thus compelled gradually to fall back upon the expedient of calculation, and to construct astronomical tables for the purpose. One of the first to draw up such tables was Elia Bashiatchi of Constantinople

[1] The founder of this sect, 'Abu 'Isā al-Isfahāni, arose *c.* 700 A.D., and adherents were still to be found in the 10th cent. (cf. Poznański, *JQR* xvi. 770).

[2] A second theory was advanced by Maimonides († 1204), viz. that the method of calculation was always known, but could be legally resorted to only if the method of observation were abandoned, *i.e.* if there should no longer be a Sanhedrin in Palestine (see Bornstein, *op. cit.* 151).

[1] The first to call attention to this matter was Bornstein in the monograph already cited. The strictures of Epstein (*Haggóren*, v., 1906, 118–142) are incompetent. Cf. also Joffe in the Heb. Encyc. *Osar Israel*, *s.v.* 'Ben Meir' (iii., New York, 1909, p. 100 ff.).

(† 1490), whose book was called *Adderet Eliyahu* (*ed. princeps*, Constantinople, 1531). A thorough-going reformer appeared in Isaac b. Salomo of Chufut-Kale, in the Crimea (1755–1826), who, in his *Or ha-Lebāna* (Zitomir, 1872), maintained that perpetually repeated observations were unnecessary. He takes as his starting-point the new moon of Tishri 1779, when the so-called limits of visibility, *i.e.* the sum of the elongation and the arc of vision (*arcus visionis*), amounted to 13° 7′, and makes this the minimal limit, so that the day for which that particular result is given by calculation is thereby constituted the beginning of the month. He lays it down as a necessary condition that the moon shall not set before the sun. His followers, however, have discarded even the latter provision, and, in fact, take into account only the elongation, whose minimal limit is fixed at a little over 4° (cf. Jehuda Kokizov,[1] *Binā la-'Ittīm*, ii., Odessa, 1879, p. 2 ff.). Among the Karaites of the present day, accordingly, the determination of new moons and festivals depends wholly on the interval between conjunction and sunset, thus approximating—in theory—very closely to the method of the Rabbanites. In practice, however, the difference in the dating of festivals may amount to one or even two days. Nor do the modern Karaites recognize the so-called *dehiyoth*, 'displacements' (see below).

2. System and principles.—The Jewish calendar now in use is based upon a luni-solar system. The months are lunar, but provision is made for a periodic adjustment with the solar year. This is effected by the device of intercalating a month seven times in a cycle of 19 years, viz. in the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th years (see below). As in all calendars of this type, the day commences with sunset, but the calendar day is reckoned from 6 p.m., and comprises 24 successive hours. The hour is divided into 1080 *halaqim*, 'parts,' the *heleq* being thus equal to 3⅓ seconds. This division is presupposed in works referring to the above-mentioned controversy between Ben Meir and Saadya (A.D. 921), but its origin is assigned to the sons of Issachar, who are said to have pursued the study of astronomy.[2] The number 1080 was fixed upon probably because it has many different sets of factors (Schwarz, *op. cit.* p. 48). Now, as the days of the week are distinguished in Hebrew not by names but by ordinal numbers, any definite point of time is commonly indicated by three numbers, specifying day, hour, and *heleq* respectively. Thus, *e.g.*, 3 d. 17 h. 480 p. (Heb. ג"י"ז ח"ף) signifies Tuesday, 11 h. 26′ 40″ a.m. In one particular instance, viz. the so-called *tequfa* of R. Adda—to be mentioned later—the *heleq* itself was divided into 76 *rega'im*.

The duration of the synodical month, *i.e.* the interval between one conjunction (*molad*) and the next, is 29 d. 12 h. 793 p. (כ"ט י"ב תשצ"ג)=29d. 12 h. 44′ 3″ 20‴. But, as the calendar month must have an integral number of days, it has either 30 days (never 31), and is then called 'full' (מלא or מעובר), or 29 (never 28), in which case it is called 'defective' (חסר). In the calendar now in use the months Nisan, Sivan, Ab, Tishri, and Shebat are always full, while Iyyar, Tammūz, Elul, Ṭebeth, and Adar are always defective. Marcheshvan and Kislev may be both full or both defective; or, again, Marcheshvan may be full and Kislev defective.[3]

In order to ascertain the exact time at which a year begins, it is necessary first of all to fix the conjunction which ushers in its first month, Tishri. This again involves the selection of a definite point from which the reckoning shall proceed. Now, as the world, according to a Talmudic tradition (*Rōsh Hashshānā*, 11*a*), was created in the month of Nisan, and as the recognized era is reckoned from that event, an attempt was made to calculate the date of the conjunction which began the first Nisan of history, the result thus arrived at being 4 d. 9 h. 642 p., *i.e.* Wednesday, 3 h. 35′ 40″ after midnight. The conjunction fixing the first Tishri could then be determined in two ways. One was to calculate half a year backwards from Nisan, giving the result 2 d. 5 h. 204 p. (בהר"ד); such was the practice in Palestine, and the formula thus found is that in general use. The other method was to calculate the date of the conjunction beginning the following Tishri, with the result 6 d. 14 h. (ו"יד)—the formula used in the Bab. schools (Bornstein, *Mahloket*, p. 112). The imaginary conjunction is called 'the *molad* of nothing' (*molad tohu*). Accordingly, if the conjunction of any particular month has been ascertained, it is an easy matter to fix that of the month following, as the date already known needs but to be supplemented by 29 d. 12 h. 793 p., or, as the four complete weeks may be eliminated without affecting the result, 1 d. 12 h. 793 p. (א"ב תשצ"ג), which gives what is called the 'character' of the month.

Now the year comprises 12 × 29 d. 12 h. 793 p., or 354 d. 8 h. 876 p., and a leap-year 13 × 29 d. 12 h. 793 p., or 383 d. 21 h. 589 p. But as the year, like the month, must have an integral number of days, an ordinary year has either 354 or 355 (but sometimes, as we shall see below, 353), and a leap-year 383 or 384 (sometimes also 385).[1] Hence, if the date of the conjunction of Tishri in any given year is known, we have simply to eliminate the complete weeks, *i.e.* 350—or 378—days, and then add, for a common year, 4 d. 8 h. 876 p. (ד' ח' תתע"ו), and, for a leap-year, 5 d. 21 h. 589 p. (ה' כ"א תקפ"ט). These two sets of numbers are called 'remainders' (יתרונות), and each forms the 'character' of its kind of year.

In order to fix the beginning of the year, *i.e.* the 1st of Tishri, the date of its conjunction must be calculated. But four possible cases may thus occur, the New Year being delayed by one or even two days. These four contingent delays (*dehiyoth*) are as follows:

1. The New Year cannot begin on a Sunday, or a Wednesday, or a Friday (לא אד"ו ראש). The last two days were excluded because otherwise the Day of Atonement (the 10th of Tishri) would fall on a Friday or a Sunday. As early as the Talmudic period, however, the Day of Atonement, for various ceremonial reasons, was not observed on the day immediately before or after the Sabbath (*Rōsh Hashshānā*, 20*a*). The Sunday, again, was excluded because otherwise the so-called Palm-day (*Hoshāna Rabba*, the 22nd of Tishri) would also fall upon a Sunday—a concurrence likewise prohibited on ritual grounds (*Ṣukkā*, 43*b*).[2] In such contingencies, therefore, the New Year is transferred to the following day.

2. Similarly, the New Year must begin a day later when the conjunction takes place after 12 o'clock noon, *i.e.* after 18 hours of the calendar day, the reason being that the crescent of the new moon is not visible on that evening. A conjunction of this character is called 'old *molad*,' and the rule bearing upon it is already given in the Talmud (*Rōsh Hashshānā*, 20*a*). But, if

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[1] A Karaite, still [1910] living (see Poznański, *Die karäische Literatur der letzten 30 Jahre*, Frankfort, 1910, p. 10).

[2] Cf., *e.g.*, the passage from the *Sefer 'Ibrônot* given in Schwarz, p. 21, n. 2. The tradition regarding the astronomical knowledge of the sons of Issachar was derived from 1 Ch 12[32]. Saadya Gaon appealed to the same verse as an evidence of the high antiquity of the continuous Jewish calendar, and was on this account assailed by the whole Karaite school (cf. Poznański, *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon*, p. 39).

[3] We cannot well say why these two months in particular should vary in this way. It may have seemed desirable, however, to regulate exactly the months from Nisan to Tishri inclusive, so that the dates of the festivals might be easily ascertained; the irregularities could then be confined to the two months which follow immediately after Tishri.

[1] The reason for placing the limit lower in the case of the common year, and higher in that of the leap-year, was probably that the numbers 353 and 385 respectively approximate more nearly to the actual duration than do the numbers 356 and 382.

[2] The reasons for which the variation was made were thus of a ritual character in every case, as Geiger (*Jüd. Ztschr.* vi. 141 ff.) has rightly recognized. The attempts that have been made (so already Maimonides; cf. Schwarz, p. 54 ff.) to give an astronomical explanation of the variation must be regarded as too artificial.

the following day be a Sunday, a Wednesday, or a Friday, the New Year is delayed by two days.

3. If in any year following upon a common year the conjunction of Tishri takes place at or after 3 d. 9 h. 204 p. (ג' ט' ר"ד), the New Year cannot begin on that day or on the following day—Wednesday (by 1)—and in that case is delayed till Thursday. For, if 3 d. 9 h. 204 p. be added to the 'remainder' of a common year, *i.e.* 4 d. 8 h. 876 p., the result is 7 d. 18 h. As the Tishri of the following year, however, must not begin on Saturday (by 2) or Sunday (by 1), it would have to be delayed till Monday. But in that case the current year would have 356 days, which exceeds the statutory limit.

4. If the conjunction of Tishri in any year following upon a leap-year takes place at or after 2 d. 15 h. 589 p. (ב' ט"ו תקפ"ט), the New Year must be transferred to the Tuesday. For, if from these figures, or rather from 7 d. + 2 d. 15 h. 589 p., *i.e.* 9 d. 15 h. 589 p., the 'character' of a leap-year, viz. 5 d. 21 h. 589 p., be subtracted, the result is 3 d. 18 h. The Tishri of the previous year must, therefore, have begun on a Thursday, as Tuesday is excluded by (2), and Wednesday by (1). But if the current year were made to begin on Monday, the previous (embolismic) year would have only 382 days, which falls short of the lower statutory limit.

The duration of any particular year, *i.e.* the number of days in it, may accordingly be determined as follows: Calculate the date of the conjunction of Tishri, and also of the Tishri in the year following, allow for the 4 *dehiyoth*, and observe whether the year—if an ordinary year—has 353, 354, or 355 days, or, again—if a leap-year—whether it has 383, 384, or 385 days. If the number be 353 (or 383), the months of Marcheshvan and Kislev are both defective, and the year itself is in that case also called a 'defective' one (חסרה, abbreviated ח). If it has 354 (or 384) days, Marcheshvan is defective and Kislev full, the year being then designated as 'regular' (כסדרה, abbr. כ). Finally, if the number be 355 (or 385), Marcheshvan and Kislev are both full, and such a year is called 'complete' (שלמה, abbr. ש). Hence, as the first days of all the other months are determined on antecedent grounds, the complete sequence of festivals and seasons is now known. It is also usual to specify the day of the week on which the Passover begins, and the symbol employed is combined with symbols for New Year's Day and the length of the year in order to indicate the *qebia'* of the year. Thus, for example, the *qebia'* בחג signifies that New Year begins on Monday (ב = 2nd day of week), that the year is defective (ח = חסרה, *i.e.* Marcheshvan and Kislev with 29 days each), and that the Passover begins on Tuesday (ג = 3rd day of week). It may be shown without difficulty that there can be only 14 types of yearly calendars, 7 for common years, and 7 for leap-years.[1]

For common years: בחג, זחא, גכה, הכז, בשה, השא, זשג.

For leap-years: בחה, החא, זחג, גכז, בשז, השג, זשה.

But the *qebia'* of a year can also be determined without calculating when the ensuing Tishri shall begin. All that is necessary is to take cognizance of the extreme 'limits' (גבולים) within which the conjunction of Tishri must fall. It must then be noted whether the year is a leap-year (Group I.) or a common year; and if the latter, whether it immediately precedes (Group II.) or immediately follows (Group III.) a leap-year, or, finally, occurs between two leap-years. The various items have been set forth in a table, as given below.

The use of this table may be explained by an example. The *qebia'* בח denotes a year which begins on a Monday (ב) and has 353 days (ח = חסרה, 'defective'). The earlier limit is 7 d. 18 h., for, if the conjunction takes place after 12 o'clock noon on Saturday, the New Year cannot begin on Saturday (*dehiya* 2) or Sunday (*dehiya* 1), but must be delayed till Monday. If the year under consideration be a common year, as, *e.g.*, in Groups II.–IV., the following year will begin after 353 days, *i.e.* on a Thursday. But this, again, is permissible only if the conjunction of the corresponding Tishri takes place at or before 5 d. 17 h. 1079 p. Now, if we subtract from this formula the 'remainder' of a common year, or 4 d. 8 h. 876 p., the result is 1 d. 9 h. 203 p. But if this 'limit' be exceeded, *i.e.* if the difference amount to 1 d. 9 h. 204 p. or more, the conjunction of the following Tishri will take place at 5 d. 18 h. In that case, however, the following year will not begin before Saturday (by *dehiyoth* 1 and 2), *i.e.* after 355 days, and the year under consideration would then be 'complete' (ש). Its *qebia'* would thus be no longer בח, but בש. Hence the 'limits' for בח in a common year are, on one side, 7 d. 18 h., and, on the other, 1 d. 9 h. 204 p.

The term *tequfa* ('course of the sun') signifies the moment at which the sun arrives at the equinoctial or solstitial point, or, in other words, the mean beginning of one of the four seasons. Thus we have *tequfat Nisan* (beginning of spring), *tequfat Tammūz* (beginning of summer), *tequfat Tishri* (beginning of autumn), and *tequfat Ṭebeth* (beginning of winter). The interval between two *tequfoth* was fixed in the 3rd cent. A.D. by the Amora Samuel (see above) at 91 d. 7½ h., the starting-point of the enumeration being made to coincide with the beginning of Nisan, and the first *tequfa* of the series fixed exactly at 4 d. 0 h. (Tuesday, 6 o'clock p.m.), 7 d. 9 h. 642 p. (ז' ט' תרמ"ב) before the conjunction of the new moon of Nisan. This interval is precisely one quarter of the Julian year. The first *tequfa*, however, moves forward every successive year by 7½ h. × 4 = 1 d. 6 h., which in 28 years amounts to 1 d. 6 h. × 28 = 5 weeks, so that, after a period of 28 years, the first *tequfa* falls on the same day of the week and at the same instant of time as before. This period was therefore called the 'solar cycle' (*maḥzōr ḥamma*) or the 'great cycle' (*maḥzōr gādōl*). Now, according to Samuel, the length of the solar year is 4 × 91 d. 7½ h., or 365¼ days. But it was observed that this did not quite agree with the astronomical facts, and accordingly we find still another *tequfa*, named after Rabbi Adda, which gives 365 d. 5 h. 997 p. 48 rg. (*ḥeleq* = 76 *rega'im*), or 365 d. 5 h. 55′ 25·44″, as the length of the year, and places the first *tequfat Nisan* only 9 h. 642 p. (ט' תרמ"ב) before the conjunction. This corresponds very closely with the Ptolemaic year, in which the odd seconds are given sometimes as 10, sometimes as 12. But although the figures of the Rabbi Adda are nearer to the facts than those of Samuel, yet they too

QEBI'OTH.

Group.	Year of Cycle.	בח	בש	גכ	הכ	הש	זח	זש
I.	3. 6. 8. 11. 14. 17. 19	7 d. 18 h.	1 d. 20 h. 491 p.	2 d. 18 h.	3 d. 18 h.	4 d. 11 h. 695 p.	5 d. 18 h.	6 d. 20 h. 491 p.
II.	2. 5. 10. 13. 16	7 d. 18 h.	1 d. 9 h. 204 p.	2 d. 18 h.	3 d. 9 h. 204 p.	5 d. 9 h. 204 p.	5 d. 18 h.	6 d. 9 h. 204 p.
III.	1. 4. 9. 12. 15	7 d. 18 h.	1 d. 9 h. 204 p.	2 d. 15 h. 589 p.	3 d. 9 h. 204 p.	5 d. 9 h. 204 p.	5 d. 18 h.	6 d. 0 h. 408 p.
IV.	7. 18	7 d. 18 h.	1 d. 9 h. 204 p.	2 d. 15 h. 589 p.	3 d. 9 h. 204 p.	5 d. 9 h. 204 p.	5 d. 18 h.	6 d. 9 h. 204 p.

[1] See the detailed proof in Schwarz, p. 62 ff.

[1] These limits were at a very early date grouped in the so-called 'four gates' (*Arba'ah She'arim*), corresponding to the four days of the week—Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday—on which alone the New Year could begin. So far as we know, the earliest writer to apply the method was Saadya Gaon; cf. Poznański, *REJ* xl. 87, and Bornstein, *Maḥloḳet*, p. 99.

show an error, as the precise length of the year is only 365 d. 5 h. 48′ 48″.

The earliest known reference to the '*tequfa* of R. Adda' under that designation is made by Isaac b. Baruch Albalia of Cordova (A.D. 1035–1094; cf. Abraham b. Ḥiya's *Sefer ha-'Ibbûr*, iii. 4), but the period it indicates is already referred to by al-Bīrūni (Arab. text, p. 183 = Eng. tr. p. 163). He states that, when the Jews wish to determine the year *precisely* (اذا دققوا), they reckon its length as 365 d. $5\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{7}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{4}$ h., which corresponds exactly with the *tequfa* of R. Adda. But this *tequfa* must go still further back, as it agrees with a date (776) mentioned in the *Baraitha* of Samuel (see above).[1] Moreover, the intercalary system in common use among the Jews, of which we shall treat presently, could never have been framed except on the basis of R. Adda's—not Samuel's—*tequfa*.[2] In all probability, therefore, its duration was calculated about the 8th cent. A.D., *i.e.* at the period in which the Jews in the East began to study astronomy, and became acquainted with the Almagest.[3]

As already indicated, the Jewish year is a composite arrangement. Its months are lunar, but from time to time an extra month is intercalated in order to effect an adjustment with the solar year. This was done even before the establishment of the continuous calendar. It was regarded as a matter of special importance that the month of Nisan should not begin before its *tequfa* (beginning of spring), and a second Adar was intercalated as required; but at that time nothing was as yet known of a regular and periodic intercalation, recurring according to definite rules. Such an arrangement was in all probability first introduced along with the continuous calendar itself, when the Metonic cycle was adopted. It had been observed that 235 lunar months are equal to 19 solar years. But, as 235 ÷ 19 gives the quotient 12, with 7 as remainder, an additional month, a second Adar, was intercalated 7 times in the period of 19 years, which was called the 'little cycle' (*maḥzōr qāṭān*). But while, according to the majority of scholars, the leap-years of both the Metonic and the Callippic system are the 2nd, 5th, 8th, 10th, 13th, 16th, and 18th years of the cycle (cf. *JQR* x. 161), in the Jewish calendar they are the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th (as in the Heb. formula גו"ח אדז"ט). The most probable explanation of the Jewish order is that the position of the heavenly bodies at the time when the intercalary system was instituted did not require the supplementary month till the 3rd year of the cycle, then the 6th, 8th, etc.; and, as has been said, exact astronomical calculations show that this sequence is in harmony with the *tequfa* of R. Adda. We have also information to the effect that there were other intercalary systems in operation, viz. בה"ז יגו"ח (2. 5. 7. 10. 13. 16. 18), אדו"ט בה"ז (1. 4. 6. 9. 12. 15. 17), and גה"ח אדו"ט (3. 5. 8. 11. 14. 16. 19). But all these are in reality forms of the normal sequence, the variation depending simply on the particular year of the cycle with which the intercalation begins. Thus, if the figures of the first formula be increased by 1, those of the second by 2, and those of the third by 3, the result in each case is the ordinary formula.[1] Hence we ought to speak, not of different intercalary series, but of different mnemonic formulæ.

The length of the year as fixed by the *tequfa* of Samuel (= the Julian year of 365¼ days) is not an exact measure of the 19-year cycle, as in that period it shows an aggregate excess of 1 h. 485 p. But even the *tequfa* of R. Adda, which was adapted to this cycle, does not fully agree with the facts, as the exact duration of the year is 365 d. 5 h. 48′ 48″, not 365 d. 5 h. 55′ 25·44″. Thus, while 235 lunar months are equivalent to 235 × 29 d. 12 h. 793 p. = 6939 d. 16 h. 595 p. = 6939 d. 16 h. 33′ 3⅓″, 19 (true) solar years amount only to 6939 d. 14 h. 27′ 12″, the former quantity being in excess by 2 h. 5′ 5⅓″. In 1000 years the cumulative error is 4·6 days, and in 2000 more than 9 days. But this discrepancy was simply left out of account.

The 'remainder' of a common year, as already stated, is 4 d. 8 h. 876 p., and that of a leap-year 5 d. 21 h. 589 p. But in the cycle of 19 years (12 common and 7 leap-years) the conjunction of the *molad* of Tishri moves forward by 2 d. 16 h. 595 p. (ב' י"ו תקצ"ה), and in 13 such cycles (13 × 2 d. 16 h. 595 p. =) 34 d. 23 h. 175 p., or by discarding the complement of full weeks, 6 d. 23 h. 175 p., which falls short of an additional week by only 905 p. Ignoring the odd parts (such fractions having in many cases no influence upon the determination of the months), we have thus a cycle of (13 × 19 =) 247 years, after which the *qebi'oth* of the years might recur. But they can never recur exactly, as it sometimes happens that even a single part (*ḥeleq*) alters the *qebia'*; thus, *e.g.*, 17 h. 1079 p. + 1 p. is a so-called 'old *molad*.'[2] An exact repetition of *qebi'oth* would ensue, in fact, only after 36288 19-year cycles, or 689472 years—a period of no practical use. A perpetual Jewish calendar that would be serviceable in any real sense is thus out of the question.

A partial approximation to such a calendar, however, is furnished by the so-called 'Table of the 61 beginnings' (לוח בעל ס"א ראשים),[3] which exhibits the *qebi'oth* of a complete 19-year cycle. As we saw above, there are 7 varieties of *qebi'oth*, and, therefore, in a cycle (7 × 19 =) 133. But in actual practice it is found that 72 of these combinations

[1] It is here stated, at the beginning of Section V., that 'sun and moon and years of release and *tequfoth* were readjusted' in A.M. 4536, and that *tequfat Tishri* (of A.M. 4537) took place on Tuesday, towards the end of the day, and 2 hrs. before the conjunction of the month of Tishri, which occurred at the beginning of Wednesday (= Tuesday, 6 p.m.). This was the 17th of September, A.D. 776. The *tequfa* of Samuel, however, fell 6 d. 11 h. later, *i.e.* on the 24th of Sept. 3 a.m. Now, if we calculate the *tequfat Nisan* of the Creation by the measurement of R. Adda, we get 4 d. 13 h., which differs from his *tequfa* by 13 h. only. This has been duly emphasized by Bornstein (*Maḥloḳet*, p. 22).

[2] As the Feast of the Passover could not take place before the beginning of the *tequfat Nisan* (beginning of spring), *i.e.* the 26th of March, then, according to Samuel's *tequfa*, an intercalary month would already be required at the end of one year, and thereafter at successive intervals of 3, 3, 2, 3, 3, 3 years. This intercalary sequence would not be the ordinary one (גו"ח אדו"ט, see below), but בה"ח יגו"ט. A similar system is found among the Samaritans, who, in fixing the Passover, take account only of the *tequfa*, and had thus, during the 16th cent., the intercalary sequence בה"ז יגו"ח.

[3] The earliest known Jewish astronomer, Mashallah, lived in the reign of the Khalif al-Manṣūr (A.D. 754–775; cf. Steinschneider, *Die arab. Literatur d. Juden*, 1902, p. 15). Here, therefore, we find a corroboration of our theory that the constant calendar of modern Judaism is of relatively late date. The calculation of conjunctions, for instance, cannot have been finally established even as late as A.D. 776, for, according to the *Baraitha* of Samuel, the conjunction of Tishri in that year took place at 4 d. 0 h.; while, according to the modern reckoning, it did not occur till 4 d. 3 h. 363 p. This fact is of great importance in the history of the Jewish calendar (cf. Bornstein, *loc. cit.*).

[1] Such apparently dissimilar intercalary series are given by Joshua b. 'Alan (9th or 10th cent.; see the bibliography at the end), al-Bīrūnī (ed. Sachau, p. 55 [text], p. 64 [tr.]), Hai Gaon († 1038) in Abraham b. Ḥiya, p. 97, and Isaac Israeli (in an ancient *Baraitha* in *Yesôd Olâm*, iv. 2). Al-Bīrūnī says that the first two series were in use among the Jews of Palestine (اهل الشام: not of Syria, as Sachau translates), while the third was the universally received order, and emanated from the Jews of Babylonia (اهل البابل: not Babylonians, as rendered by Sachau). Cf. also *JQR* x. 107 ff.

[2] The above computation is said to have been made by the Gaon Naḥshon b. Ṣadoq (last quarter of 9th cent.), who, it is also stated, instituted a corresponding cycle, called *'Iggul*. This *'Iggul* is first mentioned by Abraham b. Ezra († 1067) (cf. *Shene ha-Meoroth*, ed. Steinschneider, Berlin, 1847, p. 1), though without the name of its originator. This is given for the first time by Joseph b. Shemtob b. Jeshu'a of Turkey, who published the *'Iggul* in his *Sheêrith Josef*, a work on the calendar, composed in 1489 and issued at Salonica in 1521 (cf. Steinschneider, *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1894, p. 102, where mention is made also of the Lat. tr. of the *'Iggul* by Seb. Münster).

[3] First mentioned by Isaac b. Joseph Israeli in his *Yesôd Olâm* (composed 1310), iv. 10.

recur, so that there remain only (133 − 72 =) 61 possible forms, which are duly calculated and set forth in tables (cf. *e.g.* Schwarz, p. 79).

There exist also formulæ and tables for synchronizing Jewish dates with the Julian and the Gregorian calendar, with which devices, however, we cannot deal here, and must simply refer to the books and tables cited at the end of this article. A formula for assimilating Jewish dates with the Muhammadan reckoning has recently been devised by A. Frankel (*Ztschr. f. mathem. u. naturwissensch. Unterricht*, 1908, pp. 598–605; *MGWJ*, 1909, pp. 736–743).

3. Eras.—After the return from the Exile the Jews reckoned by the years of the Persian kings. This is the practice in the newly discovered papyri of Elephantine (ed. Cowley-Sayce, and also Sachau), and in the post-exilic books of the Bible (*e.g.* Hag 1[1], Zec 1[1,7], Dn 9[1], Ezr 1[1] etc.). Subsequently they made use of the era of the Seljûks, or the so-called 'contracts-era' (*minyan shetaroth*), which began in the autumn of 312 B.C., and is first cited in 1 Mac. (cf. *e.g.* 1[10]). This era was in use among the Jews in the East till the 16th cent., and is still observed by them in Yemen (cf. Saphir's 'Travels,' *Eben Sappir*, i. 62*b*). During the period of independence under the Maccabees, dates were indicated by the year of the reigning prince, and a national epoch was found in the year when Judæa gained its freedom under Simon (1 Mac 13[42]; cf. Schürer, i.[3] 242), *i.e.* 170 ær. Sel. = 143–142 B.C. After the Jews lost their independence and their national rulers, they probably reckoned by the years of the Roman governor or consul. The Book of Jubilees fixes its dates by jubilee periods of 49 years divided into 7 year-weeks of 7 years each, but it is unlikely that this method was ever followed in practical life. The Talmud, however, may possibly allude to such an era in *Sanhedrin*, 97*b* (cf. Isr. Lévi, *REJ* i. 110).

After the destruction of the second Temple, dates were reckoned from that event (*Le-ḥorban ha-bayit*; cf. *Seder Olam*, cap. 30, *Abôdâ Zârâ*, 9–10), as also, especially in documents, by the years of the reigning Emperor, or perhaps of the eponyms (see Bornstein, *Maḥloḳet*, p. 65); both methods were in vogue in Palestine, and the former also in Southern Italy (Ascoli, *Iscrizioni inedite*, nos. 24–33). In Babylonia, on the other hand, and generally throughout the Diaspora in the East, the Jews continued to use the era of the Seljûks, which, as said above, is still observed in some districts. In the Talmud, moreover, in the tractates just cited, the era of the Creation (*Li-bri'ath 'olâm*; in a later epoch it is called *Li-yeṣira*) is mentioned, but it was not used in ancient times, except, at most, in learned works (*e.g.* the *Baraitha* of Samuel), nor do we know when it was adopted. Rühl's conjecture (in *Deutsche Ztschr. fur Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1898, p. 185; referred to in *JE*, *s.v.* 'Era'), that the introduction of this era was coincident with the change from the 8-year to the 19-year cycle, which is said to have taken place between A.D. 222 and 276, conflicts with the view advanced here regarding the gradual development and relatively late establishment of the continuous calendar among the Jews, and, what is more, it is at variance with historical facts, as nothing is known of this method of dating even in Talmudic times (cf. Harkavy, *Altjüd. Denkmaler aus d. Krim*, p. 161). In Europe it is first met with in epitaphs in the catacombs of Venosa, dating from 822 and 827 (Ascoli, *op. cit.*, nos. 25, 31); thereafter we find it used by Sabbataj Donnolo, also of Southern Italy, in the year 925 (cf. his *Commento sul Libro della Creazione*, ed. Castelli, p. 3); likewise in a document, of date 1034, from Kairwan (*JQR* xvi. 576). The beginning of this era coincides with the year 3760 B.C., but its accuracy was questioned in the 16th cent. by Azaria de Rossi in his *Meor Enayim* (*ed. princ.*, Mantua, 1574). The well-known Karaite Firkowitch professes to have discovered another mundane era in epitaphs from the Crimea; this begins 151 years before the ordinary Jewish era, *i.e.* in 3911 B.C., but is undoubtedly spurious (cf. Harkavy, *op. cit.* 152). An era reckoned from the captivity of Samaria, which is assumed to have begun in 596 B.C. (*Le-galuthenu*), and found in similar epitaphs, which are said to date from the years A.D. 6, 30, 55, 89, and 369 (Firkowitch, *Abne Zikkaron*, nos. 1–4 and 25), is likewise a fabrication, as is conclusively shown by Harkavy (p. 144 ff.). In recent times the Zionists also have adopted the era of *Le-galuthenu*; but in this case the term denotes the destruction of the second Temple, which they assign to A.D. 70.

LITERATURE.—A complete catalogue of works upon the Jewish calendar will be found in the relative passages of Steinschneider, 'Die Mathematik bei d. Juden' (*Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1893–1901; *Abhandl. zur Gesch. d. Mathematik*, ix. 473–483; *MGWJ*, 1905–1907). The oldest surviving treatise is that of Joshua b. 'Alan (9th or 10th cent.), preserved in a work (ed. Harkavy, in *Haggôren*, iv. 75–79; cf. Poznański, *Ztschr. f. hebr. Bibliog.* vii. 130–131) of Ben Mashiaḥ, a Karaite (1st half of 10th cent.). The calendar was dealt with in Saadya Gaon's lost Arab. work, *Kitâb al-'ibbûr*; see, most recently, Poznański, *loc. cit.* xii. 122, no. 27, and Marx, *REJ* lviii. 299. The first complete and systematic account that has come down to us is that given in al-Bîrûnî's *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (ed. Sachau, Leipzig, 1878; Eng. tr., London, 1879), chs. vii. xiv. The earliest Jewish writer on the subject in Europe was Ḥasan ha-Dayyan of Cordova (fl. 972); three works on the calendar are attributed to him, but survive only in a few quotations. The treatise of Isaac b. Baruch ibn Albalia of Cordova (1035–1094) is also lost, but fairly large quotations therefrom are found in the work of Abraham b. Ḥiya of Barcelona (beginning of 12th cent.), whose *Sefer ha-'Ibbûr* (ed. Filipowski, London, 1851) is one of the most important on the subject. A short treatise bearing the same name was composed by Abraham ibn Ezra (1092–1167; ed. Halberstam, Lyck, 1874); Moses Maimonides (1135–1204), at the age of 23, wrote a small monograph entitled *Ma'amâr ha-'Ibbûr* (*ed. princ.* 1489; Germ. by Dunner, *Die älteste astronom. Schrift d. Maimonides*, Wurzburg, 1902), which, however, is of little value; but the relative section of his *Religious Code* (*Hilchoth Qiddush ha-Ḥodesh*; Germ. trs. and edd. by Hildesheimer [1881], Mahler [1889], Baneth [1898–1903]) is of eminent value. A work dealing with principles, *Yesôd Olâm*, was written in 1310 by Isaac b. Joseph Israeli in Toledo (*ed. princ.*, Berlin, 1777; critical ed., Berlin, 1846–48; the section dealing with the literary history [apart], ed. Weikert, Rome, 1901). The *She'erith Josef* (Salonica, 1521, 1568) of Joseph b. Shemṭob b. Jeshu'a, written in 1489, has already been mentioned. The following also deserve notice: Seb. Münster, *Kalendarium Heb.* (Basel, 1537), which contains an anonymous Heb. work upon the calendar with Munster's Lat. tr.; Issachar ibn Sausan, *Tiḳḳun Issachar* (*ed. princ.*, Constantinople, 1564); Eliezer b. Jacob Belin, *'Ibronoth* (Lublin, 1614–15), and Scaliger, *de Emendatione Temporum* (3rd [best] ed. 1629).

The following works, from the 19th cent. and later, are worthy of note: Ideler, *Handb. d. math. u. techn. Chronologie*, i. (Berlin, 1825) pp. 477–583; L. M. Lewisohn, *Gesch. u. System d. jüd. Kalenderwesens* (Leipzig, 1856); Slonimski, *Yesôde ha-'Ibbûr* (*ed. princ.*, Warsaw, 1853, 3rd [last] ed., Warsaw, 1889); A. Schwarz, *Der jud. Kalender historisch u. astronomisch untersucht* (Breslau, 1872); J. Lurie, *Matematitcheskaja teorja jewrejskaho kalendarja* ('Mathematical Theory of the Jewish Calendar,' in Russian, Mohilev, 1887; cf. Bornstein in the *Hakkerem*, i. 317–336); S. B. Burnaby, *Elements of the Jewish and the Muhammadan Calendars* (London, 1901), pp. 1–364; Schürer, *GJV* i.[3] (Leipzig, 1901) 745–760; C. Adler and M. Friedländer, art. 'Calendar,' in *JE* (iii. [1902] pp. 498–508); A. Kistner, *Der Kalender d. Juden* (Carlsruhe, 1905).

Tables for synchronizing Jewish dates with the Christian era, and for other purposes, as also calendars for prolonged periods, have been framed by the following: Isidore Loeb, *Tables du Calendrier juif depuis l'ère chrétienne jusqu' au xxx^e siècle* (Paris, 1886), which likewise gives the older literature; Sossnitz, *'Idân Olamîm* (Warsaw, 1888); E. Mahler, *Chronol. Vergleichungstabellen*, etc., Heft ii. (Vienna, 1889) pp. 69–140; M. Simon, *200-jahriger Kalender zur Umwandlung des jud. Datums*, etc. (for A.D. 1781–2000, Berlin, 1889), and *12[illegible] jahriger Parallel-Kalender d. jud. u. christl. Zeitrechnung* (for 800–1996, Berlin, 1895); B. Zuckermann, *Anleitung u. Tabellen z. Vergleichung jud. u. christl. Zeitangaben* (Breslau, 1893); E. Jusué, *Tablas de reduccion del computo hebraico al christiano y vice-versa* (Madrid, 1904); Schram, *Kalendariographische u. chronologische Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1908), etc.

Special questions relating to the calendar and its history are dealt with by the following (names in alphabetical order): Azaria de Rossi (†1584) in *Maṣref la-Kesef* (ed. Filipowski, London, 1854); L. Bendavid, *Zur Berechnung u. Gesch. d. jud. Kalenders* (Berlin, 1817), refutation by M. Kornick, *Dabar be-'itto* (Breslau, 1817); A. Epstein, *Miḳadmoniyoth ha-Yehûdim* (i. [Vienna, 1887] 1–22, cf. Bornstein in *Hakkerem*, i. 290–317); A. Geiger in *Jüd. Ztschr.* vi. 141–151; B. Goldberg, *Note sur*

le calendrier juif (Paris, 1883); D. Oppenheim, in *MGWJ* v. 412–419; H. M. Pineles, *Darka shel Tora* (Vienna, 1861, pp. 211–262); Th. Reinach, in *REJ* xviii. 90–94; A. Schwarz, in *MGWJ* xxxii. 375–383; M. Steinschneider, in *Hayyôna* (ed. S. Sachs, i. [Berlin, 1851] pp. 17–35), and in Brann's *Jüd. Volkskalender* (1895–96); B. Zuckermann in *MGWJ* v. 182–186, etc.

SAMUEL POZNAŃSKI.

CALENDAR (Mexican and Mayan).—The ancient Mexicans and Mayas, as well as the Zapotecs, who inhabited the tract of country lying between these peoples, represented the same general type of civilization, and used a calendar essentially the same in character. We are more conversant with this calendar than with any other of their institutions; and, especially in regard to the Mexican and Mayan hieroglyphics, where it plays a commanding part as a medium of divination, it forms in reality the basis of all our knowledge. For its reconstruction we are indebted mainly to the researches of E. Seler and E. Förstemann, but we possess as yet no conclusive answers to the following vital questions: (1) To what shall we trace the *tonalamatl* (Mex. 'book of days') of 260 days, which, in conjunction with the solar year of 365 days, forms the foundation of the calendar? (2) Was provision made for intercalations in the solar year? (3) How are the dates of the Dresden Mayan MS[1] and the Mayan monuments to be adjusted to our own chronology?

1. The tonalamatl, one of the two main constituents of the calendar, consists of 260 days, reckoned by means of 20 distinct symbols of days in combination with the numbers 1 to 13. The peculiar nature of the arrangement may be learned from the accompanying table, as found in the Mexican Codex Borgia[2] and the related hieroglyphics. (For the sake of convenience the order of sequence is given here as from left to right and downwards, instead of from right to left and upwards, as in the original. The Roman numbers represent the several day-symbols.)

TABLE I.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V
XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII
XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV
XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III
XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV
IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I
XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	0	10	11	12	13
IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II
XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX

This arrangement of five superincumbent ranks of day-symbols also preponderates in the Mayan hieroglyphics, but there the *tonalamatls* are not transcribed in full, and begin with any of the 52 columns.

The names of the day-symbols are represented in the hieroglyphics by pictures, and have come down to us in the following sequence:—

MEXICAN.		MAYAN (YUCATAN).	
I. Cipactli	crocodile (?).	Imix	female breast (?).
II. Eecatl	wind.	Ik	wind.
III. Calli	house.	Akbal	night.
IV. Cuetzpalin	lizard.	Kan	copious (?).
V. Coatl	serpent.	Chicchan	biting snake.
VI. Miquiztli	death.	Cimi	death.
VII. Maçatl	stag.	Manik	that which hurries along.
VIII. Tochtli	rabbit.	Lamat	?
IX. Atl	water.	Muluc	that which is heaped up.
X. Itzcuintli	dog.	Oc	?
XI. Oçomatli	monkey.	Chuen	monkey.
XII. Malinalli	a herb.	Eb	row of teeth.
XIII. Acatl	reed.	Been	worn out.
XIV. Ocelotl	jaguar.	Ix	?
XV. Quauhtli	eagle.	Men	maker.
XVI. Cozcaquauhtli	great hawk (sarcorhamphus papa).	Cib	perfumery.
XVII. Olin	motion.	Caban	what is exuded (?).
XVIII. Tecpatl	flint.	E'tznab (E'tz)	hard (?)
XIX. Quiauitl	rain.	Cauac	storm.
XX. Xochitl	flower.	Ahau	king, sun.

Were we to compare the names and symbols current in Mexico with those of the other Mayan dialects, the correspondence in meaning, so far recognizable from the above lists, would be rendered clearer still.

This period of 260 days is most probably to be explained as the equivalent of nine lunar revolutions, especially as the days of the *tonalamatl* are conjoined—often continuously—with representations of nine gods, the so-called 'Lords of the night,' who may thus be regarded as the original deities of the nine lunar months; nine revolutions of the moon, however, may well represent the approximate duration of pregnancy.[1] Then, as the numerical system of these peoples was based upon 20, the number of days in a *tonalamatl* may be represented as thirteen twenties. This explanation seems more probable than any other that has been advanced. (1) The factor 13 has been derived from the period during which the moon was actually observed to wax or wane; but this would not yield a continuous reckoning, as it ignores the interlude of invisibility at new moon. (2) The number 260 has been explained as indicating the period of visibility of the planet Venus as an evening star. The actual period of visibility, however, whether as a morning or as an evening star, amounts only to some 243 days. (3) The *tonalamatl* has been derived from the fifty-two-year cycle, since $52 \times 365 = 20 \times 13 \times 73$. But to regard it as the subdivision of a longer period fails to do justice to its primordial character, as it forms the basis of the calculation of the solar year, and must therefore have been in force before the latter.

2. The solar year.—There was no serial enumeration of *tonalamatl* periods, and it was impossible to distinguish one *tonalamatl* from another, as the continuous representation of dates by means of cipher and symbol resulted simply in an exact repetition after every 260th day. Nor were the solar years of 365 days (Mex. *tonalpoualli*, 'numbering of days') enumerated from any particular starting-point. Nevertheless, in a prolonged succession of *tonalamatls* it came about that, during a period of 52 solar years (Mex. *xippoualli*, 'numbering of years'), a particular day of the *tonalamatl*, discriminated by a particular combination of cipher and symbol, coincided with the beginning of the year, thus rendering it possible to distinguish one year from another. As the *tonalamatl* contained $13 \times 20 = 260$ days, and the year had $18 \times 20 + 5 = 28 \times 13 + 1 = 365$

[1] ed. Forstemann (2nd ed. 1892).
[2] ed. Duc de Loubat, fol. 1 f.

[1] Zelia Nuttall, 'The Periodical Adjustments of the Ancient Mexican Calendar,' *American Anthropologist*, vi. 495, 500.

days, any given entry in the former moved forward upon the annual reckoning by five symbols and one cipher. Only 4 of the 20 symbols, therefore, coincided with New Year's Days, while the ciphers could vary 13 times; whence it follows that the *tonalamatl* provided distinctive combinations for the first days of $4 \times 13 = 52$ successive years. But the New Year's Days fell, not, as might be expected, on the days indicated by the *tonalamatl* symbols I (Cipactli), VI (Miquiztli), XI (Ocomatli), and XVI (Cozcaquauhtli), but upon XIII (Acatl), XVIII (Tecpatl), III (Calli), and VIII (Tochtli), and thus the fifty-two-year cycle may be represented as follows:

1	XIII	XVIII	III	VIII
2	XVIII	III	VIII	XIII
3	III	VIII	XIII	XVIII
4	VIII	XIII	XVIII	III
5	XIII	XVIII	III	VIII
6	XVIII	III	VIII	XIII
7	III	VIII	XIII	XVIII
8	VIII	XIII	XVIII	III
9	XIII	XVIII	III	VIII
10	XVIII	III	VIII	XIII
11	III	VIII	XIII	XVIII
12	VIII	XIII	XVIII	III
13	XIII	XVIII	III	VIII

Similarly, in the Dresden Mayan MS and the Mayan monuments the years begin in regular order with days XIII (Been), XVIII (E'tznab), III (Akbal), and VIII (Lamat), while in historical times, according to tradition, the years were reckoned in the order: IV (Kan), IX (Muluc), XIV (Ix), and XIX (Cauac).[1]

As the *tonalamatl* datings, however, were simply repeated after 260 days, and could not therefore definitely fix a particular day even *within* the year, the system was supplemented by a division of the year into 18 twenties, with 5 residual days. We give here the usual enumeration of these periods of twenty days, but it should be stated that the Mexican and the Mayan lists did not synchronize:

Mexican.	Mayan (Yucatan).
1. Atl caualo or Quauitl eua.	1. Pop.
2. Tlacaxipeualiztli.	2. Uo.
3. Toçoztontli.	3. Zip.
4. Ueitoçoztli.	4. Zo'tz.
5. Toxcatl.	5. Tzec.
6. Etzalqualiztli.	6. Xul.
7. Tecuilhuitontli.	7. Yaxkin.
8. Ueitecuilhuitl.	8. Mol.
9. Miccailhuitontli, or Tlaxochimaco.	9. Ch'en.
10. Ucimiccailhuitl, or Xocouetzi.	10. Yax.
11. Ochpaniztli.	11. Zac.
12. Teotl eco.	12. Ceb.
13. Tepeilhuitl.	13. Mac.
14. Quecholli.	14. Kankin.
15. Panquetzaliztli.	15. Muan.
16. Atemoztli.	16. Pax.
17. Tititl.	17. Kayab.
18. Izcalli.	18. Cumku.

These 18 'months' (Mayan, *uinal*) are followed by the five residual days (Mex. *nemontemi*, 'supernumerary'; May. *xma kaba kin*, 'days without name') at the end of the year.

At the time of the conquest, according to Sahagun, the beginning of the first (Mexican) month, Atl caualo, coincided approximately with that of our February,[2] and this would harmonize with the succession of Nature-festivals assigned to the several months, and necessarily associated with the seasons of the year. The first (Mayan) month, Pop, began about the middle of our July.[3] But, as no intercalations were made—so far as known—for relatively short periods, the reckoning fell behind by one day in four years. This being duly allowed for, the statement that the Mayan year began with the 1st of Pop has been authenticated and found correct, while the earlier notices of Atl caualo as the first month of the Mexican year do not accord with our calculations. According to these, in fact, the Mexican year began with the 1st of Toxcatl,[1] *i.e.* at the beginning of May, when the sun in his northern journey passed through the zenith, and was revived by the sacrifice of his human counterpart. But if we may argue from the fact that there was among the Mayas a festival covering the five residuary days at the close of the year, that people likewise must at some earlier period have begun their year with other months, viz. Yaxkin and Pax—two dates, that is, in force at the same time, and separated from each other by 180 days.[2] Allowance having been made for the neglected intercalary days, the beginning of the Mexican year—the 1st of Toxcatl—synchronizes with our reckoning as follows:

Year 1 Acatl. ......4th May 1519-1520.
Year 2 Tecpatl......3rd May 1520-1521.
Year 3 Calli.. ..... . 3rd May 1521-1522,
etc.[3]

Although, as has already been said, there is nothing to show that the calendar was adjusted by means of intercalary days, the statements of the early writers having proved to be altogether illusory, yet, as the sequence of the Nature-festivals must have corresponded with that of the months, it is absolutely certain that the discrepancy was compensated for in some way. As yet, however, the hieroglyphics have yielded no quite incontrovertible evidence to show that the Mexicans gave any theoretical recognition to the difficulty.[4] This also holds good of the *katun*-periods of the Mayas, with which we are now to deal, and in connexion with which we shall discuss the problem of synchronism in fuller detail.

3. The Katun-periods of the Mayas.—The Mexican calendar was quite inadequate for any term beyond 52 years, as after that period the characterization of dates began simply to recur, and there was no successive enumeration of the 52-year cycles. The Mayas, however, had a supplementary reckoning by means of *katun* (periods of 20×360 days), the subdivision of 360 days being called a *tun* ('stone'). These periods were designated according to the days on which they severally began, and, while this first day always coincided with the same one of the 20 day-symbols, viz. *Ahau*, its numerical coefficient increased by 11 in every successive *katun*, as $\frac{20 \times 360}{13} = 553 + 11$. It was therefore possible to discriminate 13 such periods by prefixed numerals as follows: 13 (Ahau), 11, 9, 7, 5, 3, 1, 12, 10, 8, 6, 4, and 2. Chronological references that pass beyond the resultant cycle (*c.* 13×20 years) do not merit serious regard. The calculations of Seler,[5] which are based upon the identity of 2 Ix, 1 Pop with 14th July 1543, yield the following synchronism:

Katun.	Year.	First Day of Katun.	Date of the Julian Calendar.
8 Ahau	11 Ix	7 Ch'en	29th January 1436
6 Ahau	5 Ix	7 Zo'tz	15th October 1455
4 Ahau	11 Muluc	12 Kayab	3rd July 1475
2 Ahau	5 Muluc	12 Ceh	19th March 1495
13 Ahau	12 Muluc	12 Yaxkin	5th December 1514
11 Ahau	6 Muluc	12 Uo	22nd August 1534
9 Ahau	12 Kan	17 Muan	9th May 1554
7 Ahau	6 Kan	17 Yax	24th January 1574
5 Ahau	13 Kan	17 Tzec	16th October 1593

[1] Landa, *Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan*, ed. Brasseur de Bourbourg (1864), p. 206.

[2] Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, ed. Bustamente (Mexico, 1829), i. 50.

[3] Landa, *op. cit.* p. 276.

[1] Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, i. 177 f. [2] *ib.* i. 703.

[3] Cf. the table given by de Jonghe, 'Der altmexicanische Kalender,' in *ZE* (1906) p. 512.

[4] Seler (iii. 199 f.) has made an attempt to prove intercalations in the hieroglyphics.

[5] *Op. cit.* i. 583 f.

In the Dresden MS and upon the monuments—especially the stelæ of Copan (Honduras), Quirigua (Guatemala), and Palenque (Chiapas)—eras of still longer duration are referred to by simple enumeration of the days that had elapsed from a certain mythical date indicated by the expression 4 Ahau, 8 Cumcu. But as the terminating date that is to be fixed is likewise specified by the day of the *tonalamatl* and the year, it is plain that the sum of the simply enumerated days will represent the period lying between the termini. Here the figures carry us beyond a total of $9 \times 20 \times 20 \times 360$ days, *i.e.* more than 9×20 *katuns*, or 9 cycles, or 3550 $\times 365 + 250$ days. But the dates of the monuments themselves all fall within the following or 10th cycle, and are all embraced within a span of little more than 350 years, or—if we also take into account the most extreme dates in the Leyden nephrite plinth (from the frontier of Honduras and Guatemala), which belong to the 9th cycle, and in the stele fragments from Sacchaná (Guatemala)—560 years. Unfortunately, however, this chronology cannot be brought into relation with our own, for the simple reason that, as already noted, in Yucatan during historical times the years were designated by a different series of day-symbols.

4. The Venus-period.—Both in Mexican and in Mayan MSS the periodic time of the planet Venus is indicated by means of the *tonalamatl* symbols and the dates of the month respectively. Leaves 46–50 of the Mayan MSS in Dresden exhibit 5 such revolutions of 584 days each, which, corresponding approximately to the sum of the two periods of visibility and the intermediate intervals, are severally divided into stages of 90, 250, 8, and 236 days.[1] In the Codex Borgia, foll. 53–4, however, there is noted, along with other Venus-periods, one of $5 \times 13 = 65$ revolutions.[2] Now 5 revolutions amount to $5 \times 584 = 8 \times 365$ days; and 65 revolutions to $65 \times 584 = 2 \times 52 \times 365$ days, *i.e.* twice the Mexican cycle of 52 years. Then, as $\frac{584}{20} = 29 + 4$, and $\frac{584}{13} = 44 + 12$, the symbol and cipher of the *tonalamatl* move forward upon each successive revolution of Venus by 4 and 12 days respectively, so that the first day of each revolution will recurrently coincide with only 5 of the 20 day-symbols, thus:

THE 65 VENUS-PERIODS.

1	I	XIII	V	XVII	IX
13	V	XVII	IX	I	XIII
12	IX	I	XIII	V	XVII
11	XIII	V	XVII	IX	I
10	XVII	IX	I	XIII	V
9	I	XIII	V	XVII	IX
8	V	XVII	IX	I	XIII
7	IX	I	XIII	V	XVII
6	XIII	V	XVII	IX	I
5	XVII	IX	I	XIII	V
4	I	XIII	V	XVII	IX
3	V	XVII	IX	I	XIII
2	IX	I	XIII	V	XVII

The Venus-period, however, was not used for determining dates.

LITERATURE.—E. Förstemann, *Erläuterungen zur Mayahandschrift der kgl. offentl. Bibl. zu Dresden* (1886), also *Zur Entzifferung der Mayahandschriften*, i.–v. (Dresden, 1887–95); E. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Berlin), i. (1902) pp. 162, 417, 507, 577, 588, 600, 618, 668, 712, 792, iii. (1908) p. 199; Cyrus Thomas, 'The Maya Year,' *18 Bull. BE* (1894), and 'Mayan Calendar Systems,' *19* and *22 RBEW* (1900, 1903); Zelia Nuttall, 'The Periodical Adjustments of the Ancient Mexican Calendar,' in *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1904) 486; Goodman, *The Archaic Maya Inscriptions* (1897), in Maudsley, *Biologia Centrali-Americana*, viii.; de Jonghe, 'Der altmexicanische Kalender,' in *ZE* xxxviii. (Berlin, 1906) p. 485; Brinton, *Native Cal. of Cent. Amer. and Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1893).

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[1] Förstemann, *Erläuterungen zur Mayahandschrift der kgl. öffentl. Bibl. zu Dresden* (1886), p. 652.

[2] Given also in the allied Codex Vaticanus, No. 3773, foll. 80–84.

CALENDAR (Muslim).—Although the era of Islām begins with the 15th (16th) of July A.D. 622 (Buḫāri, iv. 248 f.), the lunar year, peculiar to the Muslims, was not established till the year A.H. 10. When Muhammad in that year (A.D. 631) made his last pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥijjat-al-wadā'*), and in a solemn address (*ḫutba*) enlightened his following of believers concerning the essentials of Islām, he arranged, among other matters, that the year should consist of 12 lunar months of 29 (28, 30) days each, and that intercalation (*nasī'*) was to be forbidden (Qur'ān, ix. 36 ff.; Ibn Hishām, p. 968; Vakidi-Wellhausen, p. 431; Buḫāri, ii. 212, 9 f.). Four months, Dhū-l-qa'da, Dhū-l-ḥijja, Muḥarram, and Rajab, were to be inviolable (*ḥurum*), *i.e.* were not to be disturbed by internecine warfare (Qur'ān, ix. 36; Buḫāri, vi. 224, 3 f.). It is evident from this arrangement alone that the Arabs, or, more accurately, the Meccans, had had a more or less perfect solar year. This assumption finds support also in the names of the months, which in part indicate clearly certain definite seasons of the year—a situation, in the case of a changeable lunar year, evidently out of the question. If we take the etymology of the names together with historical, literary, and climatic data, we shall have the following arrangement of the pre-Islāmic year:

The two *Jumādā* months indicate the real winter, from about the middle of Dec. till the middle of Feb. Then the two *Rabī'* months, which signify etymologically the *grazing* season, must indicate the time of year when the herbage of the desert and the steppes, springing up after the autumn rains, affords the herds of the nomads a glorious relief from the summer's discomforts; *i.e.* from the middle of Oct. to the middle of Dec. In agreement with this, the month *Ṣafar* (Sept.-Oct.) is the transition from the height of summer to autumn. The preceding month, with which the year begins, reveals its character in its name *al-Muḥarram*; it is the *sacred* month, in pre-Islāmic times sacred perhaps on account of the harvest and the vintage, with which the Hebrews (Ex 23[16] 34[22]) also connected a festival. Instead of *Muḥarram-Ṣafar*, one may also say 'the two Ṣafars'; so that for the first half of the year we have not 6 months, but 3 double months. Proceeding from *Jumādā*, the etymologically obscure months *Rajab*, *Sha'bān*, and *Shauwāl* must include, respectively, Feb.-March, March-Apr., and May-June. *Ramaḍān*, suggesting *heat*, indicates the coming of the warmth of summer (April-May). The month *Rajab* was, before Islām, and has remained in Islām, a holy month. Perhaps the original reason for this is that it designated the springtime and the firstborn. Ewald and W. Robertson Smith were right in seeing in it a parallel to the Hebrew *pesaḥ*; *Rajab* and *Sha'bān* together are called also *ar-Rajabāni*. The names of the two last months, *Dhū-l-qa'da* and *Dhū-l-ḥijja*, indicate the time of rest and of pilgrimage. The Islāmic festival of sacrifices is celebrated in the latter month (cf. FESTIVALS [Muslim]). The pagan festival that lies at the basis of it had probably some solar significance. This is indicated by the Islāmic name (*aḍḥā*, etc.), which in itself has nothing to do with the sacrificial animal, and also by the part which the *Shaiṭān* plays in it, for *shaiṭān* meant originally the heat of the sun ($\sqrt{}$*shyṭ*), though in Islām it became identified with Satan. It is important to note that the Arabs, like the Hebrews, began their year in autumn and always celebrated spring and autumn festivals.

Besides the above-mentioned names of months, there have come down to us also some archaic ones which have a local significance; cf. Lane's *Lex.*, 1863–89, iv. 1612b, *s.v.* 'Shahr'; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, ii. 495 (following Golius). In Islām such names of months as are not distinguished by I or II usually received pious epithets, as: *al-Muḥarram al-ḥarām*;

Safar al-ḥair, 'the bringer of good,' euphemistically, because it was held to be the month of ill-luck; *Rajab al-fard*, 'the isolated,' because it stood apart from the other holy months, or *R. al-aṣamm*, 'the deaf,' because it heard no clash of arms (?); *Sha'ban al-mu'aẓẓam* or *ash-sharif*; *Shauwal al-mukarram*. The names used in the Maghrib (western North Africa) differ from those elsewhere, in that the months there are named after the Islamic festivals: 'Ashūrā = Muḥarram; Shāye' 'Ashura = Safar; al-Mulud = Rabi' I; Shāye' al-M. = R. II; 'Id al-Fiṭr = Shauwal; Bain al-a'yād (between the Festivals) = Dhū-l-qa'da; al-'Id al-Kabir = Dhu-l-hijja. It is noteworthy that the custom of reckoning three double months in the first half of the year (see above) has been there preserved.

The Arabs adopted the week (cf. FESTIVALS [Muslim]) from the Jews and Christians. Besides archaic names for the days of the week, they generally use the designations that are current in the Christian Church (F. Rühl, *Chronologie*, p. 58); *i.e.* from Monday to Thursday = days II–V; Sunday = I; Friday is called *al-jum'a*, 'the meeting' (for worship); Saturday = *as-sabt*, the Sabbath.

Moreover, the Arabs had and still have more general designations for the seasons, based on the constellations, rain, and temperature. But these names change according to the country and the climate (cf. Lane's *Lex.* iii. 1254, *s.v.* 'Zaman'; A. Socin, *Dīwān*, 1900, i. 291).

If what has been said above makes it quite certain that the Arabs once knew a solar year, it is just as indubitable that they originally and locally followed the lunar reckoning down to the time of Islām. The old Hebrew custom, as well as the traces of moon-worship among all the Semites, makes this quite probable. Especially may be cited the ritual expressions *hallala, ahalla* (Heb. *hillēl*, 'to praise' [God]), which is explained by *hilāl*, 'new moon,' 'crescent.' Moreover, Muhammad could not have ventured to establish an institution of such weighty consequences if he had not found a popular basis for it. There has been much speculation as to the reasons why this step was taken by him. These can hardly have been other than religious. As we have seen, the heathen festivals were connected with the solar year. Further, the nomadic Arabs observed the stars closely, and explained natural phenomena by their influence. Through a radical separation from these conditions, Muhammad wished to draw the believers away from Nature to his God (Allāh) as the creator, causer, and preserver of all things (*Lisān al-'Arab*, i. 172, *s.v.* 'Nau'). While the Christian Church did not succeed in doing away with the 1st of January as the beginning of the year, which day it condemned as 'antiquus error,' Muhammad accomplished this, although with disastrous consequences. So patent are the evils of a purely lunar year whose length varies (cf. FESTIVALS [Muslim]), owing to primitive methods of observation and determination of the new moon, that efforts to correct them have never ceased from the beginning to the present day.

Apart from the determination of the times of prayer, there lies in this the main cause why astronomy so flourished among the Muslim peoples. The festivals, which have thus been detached from their natural bases, run now through all the seasons of the year; and in about 33 solar years the Arabic year returns to its starting-point. The era was formed by Friday (Thursday) the 16th (15th) of July, 622 A.D., *i.e.* the 1st of Muḥarram of the year in which Muhammad finished his *Hijra* (emigration) from Mecca to Medina. Of this beginning Ideler says: 'The 15th is to be accepted when it is a matter of astronomical observations, but the 16th when it is a matter of bringing about an agreement between the cyclic reckoning, the appearance of the moon, and the popular Arabian calendar.' A new month begins when two trustworthy Muslims have observed (*ar-ru'ya*) the crescent moon (*hilāl*) in open field or on mountains and notify this to the authorities, the Ḥakim or the Qāḍī. The day is reckoned from one sunset (*maghrib*) to another. The days of the month are counted either consecutively or in the same way as in the mediæval *consuetudo Bononiensis*, which took its origin in upper Italy in the 8th cent. A.D. and spread from there to France and Germany (cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, *s.v.* 'Mensis'; Rühl, *Chronologie*, p. 75 f.; Wright, *Arab. Gram.*³, 1875, ii. § 111; Caspari, *Arab. Gram.*⁵, 1887, § 476).

As a remedy for the vague duration of the purely popular lunar year of the Muslims, the astronomers have established a cyclic year, which has been adopted also by historians. The months are reckoned alternately as 30 and 29 days. The ordinary year contains 354 days. The intercalation, which in pre-Islamic times was attended to by the Fuqaim, a clan of Kinana, is now carried out in the following fashion: In a cycle of 30 years, the years 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16 (15), 18, 21, 24, 26, 29 add a day to their last month. Such a year is called *sana kabīsa*, but the common year *sana basīṭa*. As in this case scholars, so also many enlightened rulers of Islām, endeavoured, in the face of the prohibition of the Prophet, to substitute for the purely lunar year a solar year that would meet better the needs of the peasantry, the collecting of taxes, and the administration of the State. In this connexion may be mentioned the efforts of the Fāṭimid al-'Azīz, about 366 A.H., whose reform lasted until 501; further, the efforts of the 'Abbāsid Khalif aṭ-Ṭā'i' (ruling 363–381 A.H.), whose reform continued even under the Ottomans; of the Seljūq Malik Shāh, about 471 A.H., who reformed the old Persian calendar with the help of the well-known poet 'Omar Ḫayyām and other astronomers; several attempts under the Īl-Ḫāns, the Persian Mongols, and the partial reform by the Ottoman Government in the 19th century. In Egypt, at present, the Gregorian calendar is used for non-religious purposes. Frequent use is also made of the Coptic calendar in Egypt, and of the old Greek calendar in Syria. Among the Berbers of the Maghrib the Julian names of the months have remained in use down to the present day.

Since the 18th cent. efforts have been made to prepare for scholarly purposes a concordance of the Islamic and European chronologies. It was after an attempt in *L'Art de vérifier les dates* (1821–44) that Ideler first fixed astronomically the relation between the two systems. The tables published by Wüstenfeld in 1854, and the numerous reprints of them, make a knowledge of Islāmic lunar dates accessible now to all. The Genevan physicist and numismatist Fr. Soret has laid down a very handy formula for converting the one date into the other (*Lettres sur la numismatique musulmane*, 1864, p. 34 ff.): Given the year of the Hijra (A), if we wish to know the Christian year (X) the formula is $A - \frac{3A}{100} + 622 = X$.

LITERATURE.—On the old Arabic calendar and the Islāmic reform of it: Caussin de Perceval, 'Memoire sur le Calendrier arabe avant l'islamisme,' *JA*, 1843, i. 312–379; Mahmud Efendi (al-Falaki), 'Sur le Cal. arab.,' *JA*, 1858, i. 109–192; A. Sprenger, 'Über den Kalender der Araber vor Mohammed,' *ZDMG* xiii. (1852), 134–175; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*² (1897), p. 94 ff., cf. *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, 1899, iii.

On the conversion of dates: F. Wüstenfeld, *Vergleichungstabellen der Muham. u. Christl. Zeitrechnung*, 1854; a continuation (1300–1500 A.H.) by Ed. Mahler, 1887; *Catal. of Orient. Coins in the Brit. Mus.* ix. 391–405; Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, 1889 ff.; R. Schram, *Kalendar. und chronol. Tafeln*, 1908, pp. 283–319; E. Jusué, *Tablas de Reduccion del Computo Musulman al Christiano*, Madrid, 1903; A. M. Laredo, *Rapports entre les dates du cal. musulman et celles des calendriers julien et grégorien*, Tanger, 1887 (to 1500 A.H.).

On the Ottoman reform: Ghazi Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha, *Islaḥ et-teqwim* (Arabic and Turkish), Cairo, 1307 (1890) [tr. *Réforme du Calendrier par O(sman) N(ouri)*, Leyden, 1903].

General: Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, Berlin, 1825, 1826, ii. 471–512: 'The Arabs'; Fr. Rühl, *Chronologie*, Berlin, 1897, § 38; al Bīrūnī's *Chronologie orient. Völker*, ed. (in Arabic) E. Sachau, 1878 [tr. London, 1879].

K. VOLLERS.

CALENDAR (Persian).—The ancient Iranian calendar falls into two distinct categories—the Old Persian and the Avesta—which differ from each other in important respects, although the former system, dating, at least, from the period of the Achæmenians (*q.v.*), shows certain tendencies which were later fully developed in the Avesta reckoning of time.

1. The Old Persian calendar was divided into twelve **months**, but the names of only nine of these are known, and their exact sequence is a matter of doubt. The Old Persian inscription of Darius at Behistūn records the names as follows: Garmapada ('footstep of heat'), Thūravāhara ('mighty spring'), Thāigarci ('garlic-gatherer' [?]), Bāgayādi ('homage to the deities'), Adukani ('digging of the canals'), Āthriyādiya ('worship of the fire'), Anāmaka ('nameless'), and Viyakhna ('ice-free' [?], 'assembly-month' [?]), to which the New Elamitic version (iii. 43) adds Markazanash (Old Persian **Margazana*, 'brood of birds'). It is clear, from a comparison of the Old Persian and Babylonian versions of the Behistūn inscriptions, that Thūravāhara 30 corresponded to Īyyar (April–May) 30, Thāigarci 9 to Sīvan (May–June) 9, Āthriyādiya 26 to Kislev (November–December) 26, Anāmaka 27 to Ṭebeth (December–January) 27, and Viyakhna 14, 22 to Adar (February–March) 14, 22. Several divergent orders of the Old Persian months have been proposed, particularly by Rawlinson, Oppert, Unger, Justi, and Prašek (and King and Thompson), whose sequences are thus tabulated by Ginzel, *Hdbch. d. mathemat. und techn. Chronologie*, i. (Leipzig, 1906) 276:—

BABYLONIAN.	OLD PERSIAN				
	RAWLINSON.	OPPERT.	UNGER.	JUSTI.	PRAŠEK.
Nīsan	Bāgayādi	Garmapada	Thūravāhara	Thūravāhara	......
Īyyar	Thūravāhara	Thūravāhara	Thāigarci	Thāigarci	Thūravāhara
Sīvan	Thāigarci	Thāigarci	Adukani	Adukani	Thāigarci
Tammūz	Adukani	......	Margazana	......	Garmapada
Āb	Garmapada	......	Garmapada	Garmapada	......
Elūl	......	......	......	......	......
Tishrī	......	Bāgayādi	Bāgayādi	Bāgayādi	Bāgayādi
Marcheshvan	Margazana	Adukani	......	......	Adukani
Kislev	Āthriyādiya	Āthriyādiya	Āthriyādiya	Āthriyādiya	Āthriyādiya
Ṭebeth	Anāmaka	Anāmaka	Anāmaka	Anāmaka	Anāmaka
Shebaṭ	......	Margazana	......	Margazana	Margazana
Adar	Viyakhna	Viyakhna	Viyakhna	Viyakhna	Viyakhna

Of all these series, Oppert's seems the most probable to the present writer, who has abandoned the view expressed by him in Geiger-Kuhn's *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. (Strassburg, 1904) 677.

The date at which the **year** began is as uncertain as the order of the months. Oppert suggests that it commenced with Bāgayādi (September–October), which is admitted by all to have corresponded with the Babylonian Tishri. This would, of course, correspond with the beginning of the Hebrew civil year (cf. Ex 23^{16} 34^{22}), and might receive a certain degree of support from the name of the month, 'homage to the deities.' It seems far more probable, however, that the year actually began with Garmapada (or, according to Justi, with Thūravāhara), corresponding to Nisan (March–April). This would make the commencement of the old Persian year harmonize with both the Avesta and the Babylonian systems, as well as with the Hebrew sacred year (cf. Ex 12^{18}).

The days of the month were numbered, instead of named, as in the Avesta calendar, except that the last day of the month was termed *jiyamna*, 'diminishing,' 'ending.' There were, apparently, thirty days in each month, as in the Avesta and the early Babylonian calendars. The year contained 365 days, as is shown by the only reference in any classical author to the Iranian calendar: 'Magos trecenti et sexaginta quinque iuvenes sequebantur puniceis amiculis velati, diebus totius anni pares numero: quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies descriptus est annus' (Quintus Curtius, III. iii. 10). Nothing is known of any method of intercalation employed in the Old Persian calendar.

2. The Avesta calendar is much better known than the Old Persian, although the Avesta writings themselves contain no formal list of months. *Āfrīngān* iii. 7–11, it is true, gives the names of five months and five days, and both the *Sīrōzas* give the names of the thirty days of the month; but the most reliable source for the month-list is the Pahlavi literature, which is supplemented to a certain extent by Perso-Arabic writers and a few Byzantine chronologists. Thus *Būndahišn* xxv. 20 (tr. West, *SBE* v. 97) states that 'the auspicious month Fravartīn, the month Artavahišt, and the month Horvadat are spring; the month Tīr, the month Amerōdat, and the month Šatvairō are summer; the month Mitrō, the month Āvān, and the month Ātarō are autumn; the month Dīn, the month Vohūman, and the month Spendarmat are winter.' The days of the month were named as follows: Aūharmazd, Vohūman, Artavahišt, Šatvairō, Spendarmat, Horvadat, Amerōdat, Dīn pa Ātarō, Ātarō, Āvān, Xūršet, Māh, Tīr, Gōš, Dīn pa Mitrō, Mitrō, Srōš, Rašnū, Fravartīn, Vāhrām, Rām, Vāt, Dīn pa Dīn, Dīn, Art, Āštāt, Āsmān, Zamyāt, Māraspend, and Anīrān (cf. *Būndahišn* xxvii. 24; *Shāyast lā-Shāyast* xxii.–xxiii.; and the *Mādigān-ī Sī-rōz*, tr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, in Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, London, 1884, i. 134–144). This order, both of months and of days, receives abundant confirmation from the Arabic al-Bīrūnī (*Chronol. of Ancient Nations*, tr. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 52 f.), Mas'ūdī (*Prairies d'or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861–1877, iii. 413 f.), Ulugh Beg (*Epochae celebriores*, ed. Gravius, London, 1650, pp. 23–26, 101 f.), and al-Farghani (*Elementa Astronomica*, ed. Golius, Amsterdam, 1669, p. 4), as well as from the Greek Isaac Argyrus and Theodorus Meliteniotes (Gray, *Byzant. Ztschr.* xi. 470), and from a MS said by Burton (*Λείψανα veteris linguae Persicae*, Lübeck, 1720, p. 6; cf. Lagarde, *Gesam. Abhandl.*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 229–232) to have been used by him at Lambeth, although all trace of it is now lost.

The problem of the origin of the names of the Avesta months is a difficult one. Kuka (*K. R. Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 54–73) and Gray (*AJSL* xx. 194–201) have sought explanations from divergent points of view, the former maintaining that the Avesta year originally began with Dīn, which was primarily the first month of spring (falling gradually behind because of the lack of a system of intercalation, until, by the time of the composition of the *Būndahišn*, Fravartīn had become the commencement of spring); and the latter holding to the *Būndahišn*, and endeavouring to trace a borrowing from the Babylonian system on the part of the Iranians. While the arguments of Kuka have certain points in their favour, his fundamental assumption is doubtful. The entire evidence at our disposal makes Fravartīn (March–April) the first month of the

year, and the parallels with the Babylonian calendar, which Kuka practically overlooks, are too striking to be ignored. For a full elaboration of the position here taken, reference may be made to the study of Gray noted above, in which the name of the month Fravarṭin is interpreted as referring to the ghosts of the righteous dead; Arṭavahišt as the re-vivification of the earth after its death in winter (cf. *Dīnkarṭ* VII. xxx. 14, VIII. xxxvii. 14, IX. xxx. 14); Horvadaṭ as the vernal rains preparing for the coming harvest; Tīr as the month of the rising of the dog-star; Amerōdaṭ as the vegetation of harvest time; Šatvairō as the month either of new ploughing, or, more probably, of building; Mitrō as the sun month (cf. Shamash as the guardian of Tishri, the seventh Babylonian month); Āvān as the rains of autumn; Ātarō as the fire which protects against the cold winter; Dīn possibly in defiance of Ahriman, who created winter; Vohûman as the first-born of Dīn = Ormazd; and Spendarmaṭ as a fertility-deity of early spring. (For the naive etymologies of a Parsi *rivayat*, see Unvala, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, p. 202 f.)

3. In each Avesta month, followed by the Armenian system, there were thirty **days**, each named as noted above, and preserving, for the first seven days, the regular order of Ormazd and the Amshaspands, which was violated in the series of month-names, perhaps for the reasons just noted. The fact that the first, eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-third days of each month are named in honour of Ormazd has led some to suppose that the Avesta recognizes a sort of **week**. Of this there is no evidence whatever. It has been shown, however, by Nadershah (*Cama Memorial Volume*, pp. 246–249) that this order of names of the days rests upon *Yasna* xvi. 3–6, and that it comprises four groups, containing respectively the Amshaspands, the seven planets, moral objects, and religious objects, each headed by the supreme god Ormazd, the entire group primarily representing the twenty-seven lunar mansions (cf. Ginzel, *op. cit.* pp. 70–77). To the end of the year, which thus comprised 360 days, were added five Gāthā-days, each sacred to one of the five great divisions of the Gāthās: Ahunavaiti, Uštavaiti, Spenta Mainyu, Vohu Xšathra, and Vahištōišti (cf. al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.* pp. 53–54, 383; Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 287). To allow for the quarter-day thus lost each year, a month was intercalated every 120 years.

4. The Avesta **year** was primarily divided into a summer (*ham*) of seven months and a winter (*zayan*, *zyam*) of five (gloss to *Vendīdād* i. 3; *Būndahišn* xxv. 7). Spring and autumn seem not to be recognized in the Avesta. In later times, however, the year was divided into spring (*vahār*), summer (*hāmīn*), autumn (*pātīz*), and winter (*zamistān*), each of three months (*Būndahišn*, xxv. 20). The Avesta itself, on the other hand, has a division of the year into six unequal parts, called *gāhanbārs*, which, though later interpreted as celebrating the six periods of creation (*Būndahišn*, xxv. 1), were doubtless originally popular festivals.

The *gāhanbārs* were as follows: *maiδyōizaremaya*, 'mid-spring' (corresponding theoretically to May 1–5), *maiδyōišema*, 'mid-summer' (June 31–July 4), *paitišhahya*, 'grain-bringing' (Sept. 12–16), *ayāθrima*, 'home-coming' (Oct. 12–16), *maiδyāirya*, 'mid-year' (Dec. 31–Jan. 4), and *hamaspaθmaēdaya*, of uncertain meaning (Mar. 15–20): slightly varying days are given by others, depending on the day taken as the first of the year—March 8 or 15 (as by Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterb.*, Strassburg, 1904, coll. 1118 f., 838, 160, 1117, 1776, and Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 285). The *gāhanbārs* accordingly fell at varying intervals, so that *maiδyōizaremaya-maiδyōišema* = 45 days, *maiδyōišema-paitišhahya* = 60 days, *paitišhahya-ayāθrima* = 75 days, *ayāθrima-maiδyāirya* = 30 days, *maiδyāirya-hamaspaθmaēdaya* = 80 days, and *hamaspaθmaēdaya-maiδyōizaremaya* = 75 days. Perhaps the best explanation of the *gāhanbārs* is that of Cama (*Actes du vi. Congr. Internat. des Orientalistes*, iii. 583–592), who combines the twofold division of the year into a winter of five months and a summer of seven, and four seasons of three months each. The first, second, and fifth *gāhanbārs*, according to Cama, fell in mid-seasons, *i.e.* in the middle of the spring of three months, the summer of seven months, and the winter of five months: while the third, fourth, and sixth *gāhanbārs* fell at the ends of seasons, *i.e.* at the end of the spring of three months, the summer of seven months, and the winter of three months. It may also be noted in passing that attempts have been made, as by Nadershah (*op. cit.* pp. 267–270), to establish a double year, one (*sareô*) commencing with the vernal equinox and the other (*yār*) with the autumnal equinox. This, however, is extremely doubtful.

5. The **day** was divided into five parts, called *gāhs*. These were *hāvani*, 'time of preparation of the haoma' (dawn to noon), *rapiθwina* (noon to 3 p.m.), *uzayeirina*, 'afternoon' (3 p.m. to twilight), *aiwisrūθrima aibigaya*, of uncertain meaning (twilight to midnight), and *ušahina*, 'dawn' (midnight to dawn). In winter, however, *rapiθwina* was omitted, and *hāvani* was extended from dawn to the middle of the afternoon. The **night**, in like manner, was divided into four parts, which were also included in the *gāhs*. These were (*Frāhang-ī-ōīm*, ed. Reichelt, Vienna, 1900, p. 36; Jamaspji and Haug, *An Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*, Stuttgart, 1867, pp. 42, 76–77) *hū frāšmōdāiti*, 'sunset' (sunset to darkness), *erezaurvaēsa*, 'turning of darkness' (darkness to midnight), *ušām sūrām*, 'holy dawn' (midnight to grey dawn), and *raocanhām fragati*, 'coming forth of light' (grey dawn to sunrise).

6. The Avesta year, as here outlined, is the ideal one. In the course of time the dates gradually fell behind, both in the normal method of reckoning, and as a result of the neglect of intercalation in consequence of the troublous times which followed the downfall of the Sasanians on the death of Yazdagird (A.D. 651). In the very earliest period, according to al-Bīrūnī (*op. cit.* 13), the Persian year contained but 360 days, one month being intercalated every six years, and two months every 120 years.

According to Persian tradition, moreover, the entire system of intercalation dates from the period of Zoroaster (*ib.* p. 55; *Cama Memorial Volume*, p. 235 f.). Seventy years before the death of Yazdagird, two months were again intercalated, despite the five epagomenal days of each year, one as the necessary proceeding, and the second 'with regard to the future, that no other intercalation might be needed for a long period' (*ib.* p. 38; cf. pp. 12, 54). The position of the intercalated month varied. Shah Khulji, quoted by Hyde (*Historia religionis veterum Persarum*, Oxford, 1700, p. 203 ff.), states that the first month intercalated was put after Fravartīn, the second after Arṭavahišt, and so on, until after the lapse of 1440 years the intercalated month should normally come again after Fravartīn. By the time of Shah Khulji, Ulugh Beg (*Epochæ cel.* p. 23), Kutb-ad-dīn (*ap.* Hyde, p. 205), and al-Bīrūnī (*op. cit.* 53), the five epagomenal days, and, by implication, the intercalated month, came after Āvān. No attempt was made to correct the confusion of the Persian year until the reign of the Seljūk sultan Jalāl-ad-dīn Malik Shāh (A.D. 1073–1092), who re-established the old system firmly, taking as the first of Fravartīn, the New Year, March 15, 1079, and placing the epagomenal days in their original position at the end of Fravartīn. This reformed era, known as the 'era of Jalāl-ad-dīn,' still remains in force among the Zoroastrians. There is, however, a sectarian division among the Parsis of India (although not among the Zoroastrians of

Persia), since, after the Persians lost their independence, they failed, for some reason, to make the proper intercalation, whereas those Zoroastrians who sought refuge in India had, according to tradition, made this intercalation while still in Khorasan. The Shahinshai sect, which claims that intercalation is allowable, is, therefore, one month ahead of the Kadmis, who regard intercalation as merely political in origin, not religious. This difference is of importance as affecting the religious festivals, each sect denying the validity of the feasts of the other. The divergency was formerly the cause of bitter dissensions, which are now, happily, appeased (see Karaka, *Hist. of the Parsis*, i. 105–117).

7. The reduction of dates of the 'era of Jalāl-ad-dīn' to those of the Christian era is somewhat involved, and varies by a day, unless the precise name of the day of the original calendar be given. If tables (noted in the Bibliography) be not at hand, the following method may be used (see Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 302 ff.). Multiply the *expired* year of the 'era of Jalāl-ad-dīn' (not the one of which the date is given) by 365·242535. Add to the product the sum of days of the *unexpired* year plus 393812 (the sum of days from 1st Jan. A.D. 1 to 15th March A.D. 1079, the beginning of the 'era of Jalāl-ad-dīn'). Divide the sum by 1461 (the days in a four-year cycle, A.D.). Multiply the quotient by four, and add the remainder, reduced from days to years, months, and days of the Christian era. The result will be the corresponding date A.D. Conversely, to reduce dates A.D. to the 'era of Jalāl-ad-dīn' (usually termed A.Y., *i.e.* Anno Yazdagirdis), divide the *expired* year A.D. by four, and multiply the quotient by 1461. Add to the product the number of days in the *unexpired* year A.D., and subtract from this sum 393812. Divide the remainder by 365·242535, the quotient being the years A.Y. Reduce the remainder to months and days A.Y., and the result will be the corresponding date A.Y. which is desired.

8. Mention may be made in passing of two documents giving exact equivalents for dates A.Y. and A.D. The first of these is an anonymous Byzantine author (ed. Scaliger, *Canones isagogicae*, Paris, 1658, p. 314 f.; Petau, *de Doctrina Temporum*, Paris, 1703, ii. 213; Gray, *Byzant. Ztschr.* xi. 471 f., and *Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian Studies in Honour of . . . Sānjana*, Bombay, 1904, p. 174 f.), who states that in A.D. 1443 (= A.Y. 812) Tīr 17 corresponded to March 11, Mitrō 20 to June 12, Dīn 24 to Sept. 14, and Fravarṭīn 18 to Dec. 12. The other text is an Oriental chronicle-table for A.D. 1687 (*Ephemerides Persarum per totum annum*, ed. Beck, Augsburg, 1695), which shows that in that year Fravarṭīn 1 of the Old Avesta calendar = Mitrō 22 of the 'era of Jalāl-ad-dīn' = Sept. 28, etc., thus indicating that between A.D. 1443 and 1687 the calendar had fallen behind two months.

9. The influence of the Iranian calendar was far-reaching. Not only were the Cappadocian month-names borrowed *in toto* from the Avesta-Pahlavi system (Benfey and Stern, *Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alten Völker*, Berlin, 1836, pp. 76–120; Lagarde, *op. cit.* pp. 258–264), but many of the names of the months in the Armenian (given by Dulaurier, *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne*, Paris, 1859, pp. 10–14), Chorasmian, and Sogdian (al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.* pp. 56 f., 82 f.; cf. *SBAW*, 1907, p. 465) menologies were taken from the Zoroastrian calendar, while sporadic borrowings may be traced in the month-names of Albania (given by Dulaurier, p. 167, Azaria of Julfa [early 17th cent.], *op. cit.* p. 115 ff.), Seistan (al-Bīrūnī, p. 52 f.), Bukhārīk (Bokhara [?]; al-Bīrūnī, p. 82 f.), and Qubā (a large city of Farghana, near Shash; *ib.* p. 82 f.). Those month-names of these various calendars which seem to show Zoroastrian influence (the Old Persian system here plays no part, unless Marquart, *Philologus*, lv. 235, be right in explaining the Armenian name of the eleventh month, Margac, as a loan-word from the Old Persian *Margazana*), are as follows, summarized from Gray, 'On Certain Persian and Armenian Month-Names as influenced by the Avesta Calendar,' in *JAOS* xxviii. [1907] 331–344:

1. Fravarṭīn = Chorasmian Nāusārjī (this, like the four following names, representing the Avesta **nava-sareδa*, 'new year'), Sogdian-Bukhārīk Nūsard, Armenian Navasard, Albanian Navasardus, while the Seistanian Kavāδ may represent the Avesta hero Kavāta, the legendary founder of the Kayanian dynasty, whose home was in Seistan (*Yasht* xix. 65 ff.; cf. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, p. 411; Azaria of Julfa's Šams is borrowed from the Arabic *šams*, 'sun'). 2. Arṭavahišt = Chorasmian Ardūšt (the Sogdian Fadī Nūsard may be for Avesta **paiti-navasareδa*, 'after the new year'). 3. Horvadaṭ = Chorasmian Harudāδ (the Sogdian Nīsan and Azaria of Julfa's Šbat' are loan-names from the Hebrew calendar). 4. Tīr = Chorasmian Jīrī, Seistanian Tīrkyānūa (uncertain vocalization), Armenian Trē (if the Albanian Yilē be connected with Albanian *ul*, *ūl*, 'star' [cf. Meyer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1891, p. 460], it may possibly be a reminiscence of the Zoroastrian name of this month). 6. Amerōdaṭ = Chorasmian Hamdād (Azaria of Julfa's Gamar is the Arabic *qamar*, 'moon'). 6. Šatvairō = Chorasmian Axšarīrvarī (the vocalization, except for the *matres lectionis*, uncertain, as in many of these names). 7. Mitrō = Qubān Mihr, Armenian Mihekan (Azaria of Julfa, probably through retrogression of the calendar, has T'ir = Tīr), Chorasmian Fīγ (Turfān Baγ(a)kānj) = Baγa, 'god,' *i.e.* Mithra. 8. Āvān = Sogdian Abānj. 9. Āṭarō = Chorasmian Arū (read, with some of the variants, Adū), Armenian Ahekan (Lagarde, p. 9; Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1897, i. 95; Azaria of Julfa has Hamir = Arabic *amīr*, while the Sogdian Fūγ (Turfān Būγīj) represents a dialectic development of the Avesta *baγa*, 'god'). 10. Dīn (Avesta *daθušō* '[month] of the Creator') = Chorasmian Rīmažd (the Sogdian Masāfūγ, 'great god,' is clearly a reminiscence of the Avesta name of the month, while Azaria of Julfa's Aram is the eponymous hero of Armenia, and the Bukhārīk Sīvan the Hebrew Sīvan, calendrical retrogression again playing a part). 11. Vohūman = Chorasmian Ašman (cf. al-Bīrūnī, p. 384; the Seistanian Karsn—uncertain vocalization—may represent the Karsna of *Yasht* xiii. 106, 108, who may, perhaps, be the eponymous hero of the Qāren dynasty which played an important part in the Arsacid and Sasanian periods [Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, ii. 686, note 212]). 12. Spendarmaṭ = Chorasmian Asbandārmajī (the Armenian Hrotic̣ is a loan-name from the Pahlavi **fravarṭakān*, 'the [five epagomenal days] dedicated to the Fravashis,' Hübschmann, p. 184 f.; Lagarde, p. 163).

The correspondences in the names of the days between the Zoroastrian and the Chorasmian and Sogdian calendars are as follows: 1. Aūharmazd = Chorasmian Rīmažd, Sogdian Xarmažd. 3. Arṭavahišt = Chorasmian Ardūšt, Sogdian Ardāxūšt. 4. Šatvairō = Chorasmian Axšarīvarī, Sogdian Xastšūr. 6. Spendarmaṭ = Chorasmian Asbandārmajī, Sogdian Shandārmaδ. 6. Horvadaṭ = Chorasmian Harūdāδ, Sogdian Radad (?). 7. Amerōdaṭ = Chorasmian Hamdāδ, Sogdian Mardad. 8, 15, 23. Dīn = Chorasmian Daδū, Sogdian Dast. 9. Āṭarō = Chorasmian Arū (read Adū), Sogdian Ataš. 11. Xūršēṭ = Chorasmian Axīr, Sogdian Xvīr. 12. Māh = Chorasmian Māh, Sogdian Māx. 13. Tīr = Chorasmian Jīzī, Sogdian Tiś. 14. Gōš = Chorasmian Tūšt, Sogdian Tuš. 17. Srōš = Chorasmian Asrūf (read Asrūš (?)]), Sogdian Sruš. 18. Rašnū = Chorasmian Rašn, Sogdian Rasn. 19. Fravarṭīn = Sogdian Frūδ. 21. Rām = Chorasmian Rām, Sogdian Rāmn. 22. Vāṭ = Chorasmian and Sogdian Vāδ. 24. Dīn = Chorasmian Dīnī, Sogdian Dīn. 25. Arṭ = Chorasmian Arjūxī (cf. Nöldeke, *SWAW* cxvi. 418, note 4), Sogdian Arδx. 26. Āštāṭ = Chorasmian Aštāδ, Sogdian Astāδ. 27. Āsmān = Chorasmian Asmān, Sogdian Samn. 28. Zamyāṭ = Sogdian Rāmjīd (read Zāmjīd). 29. Māraspānd = Chorasmian Marasband.

The Sogdians likewise gave special names to each of the five epagomenal days (al-Bīrūnī, p. 67), and the Chorasmians had names for the six *gāhanbārs* (*ib.* p. 225, cf. p. 425 f.), while the Armenians, it has been suggested (Dulaurier, p. 13), also did so originally; but the exact meanings of the appellations, even when compared with their corresponding terms in the Zoroastrian calendar, are uncertain. According to al-Bīrūnī, moreover, both these nations, like the Armenians and Albanians (Dulaurier, pp. 115 ff., 167), placed the epagomenal days at the end of the year, as in the early Avesta calendar, instead of violating this custom, as in the middle period of the Avesta system. The Chorasmians had, in addition, a series of eras, first from the commencement of their colonization of the country, 980 years before Alexander the Great; then from the coming of Siyavush ben Kai Kaus to Chorasmia, ninety-two years later; and, finally, according to the reigns of sovereigns.

The Avestan custom of naming the days of the month also existed among the Armenians (Alishan, *Ancient Faith of the Armenians* [in Armenian], Venice, 1895, p. 143 f.). Although the majority of these names are Christian or geographical, Zoroastrian influence is evident in at least five: Mihr, the eighth day (corresponding to the seventh month and the sixteenth day of each month in the Zoroastrian calendar); Aramazd, the fifteenth day (corresponding to the first day of each month in the Zoroastrian calendar); Anahit, the nineteenth day (corresponding to the Iranian goddess Anāhita); Npat, the twenty-sixth day (corresponding to the Indo-Iranian water-deity Apām Napāt, but confused with the Armenian mountain called Npat); and Vahagn, the twenty-seventh day (corresponding to the twentieth day of each month in the Zoroastrian calendar) [cf. above, vol. i. p. 802]. Six of the Iranian names here considered were even borrowed, through their Sogdian forms, as planet names in Chinese (*SBAW*, 1907, p. 459), these being, in Can-

tonese pronunciation: Mit (Sogdian Mir, 'Mithra'), Mok (Sogdian Max, 'Mah'), Wẹn-hon (Sogdian Wunxān, 'Bahram'), Tit (Sogdian Tīr, 'Tir'), Wun-mut-si (Sogdian Wurmažd, 'Ormazd'), and Na-k'it (Sogdian Nahi, 'Anāhita').

It should also be noted that an attempt was made by Yazdagird III. to give both the months and days of the Zoroastrian year entirely different names, but his innovations soon met the oblivion they richly merited (Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum*, pp. 195–200).

10. In conclusion, the comparative table given below[1] may serve to elucidate the mutual correspondences of the ideal Babylonian, Old Persian, Avesta, and Julian months.

LITERATURE.—The principal literature on the Iranian calendar, together with the chief references to the original texts, is given by **Gray**, 'Der iranische Kalender,' in Geiger-Kuhn, *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. 675–678, Strassburg, 1904. Older works of importance, there overlooked, and later treatises are **Ulugh Beg**, *Epochae celebriores*, ed. Gravius, London, 1650, *Ephemerides Persarum per totum annum*, ed. Beck, Augsburg, 1695; **Usener**, *Ad historiam astronomiae symbola*, Bonn, 1867 (valuable for Byzantine texts on the Persian calendar); **Gray**, 'Zu den byzant. Angaben uber den altiran. Kalender,' in *Byzant. Ztschr.* xi. 468–472, 'Medieval Greek References to the Avestan Calendar,' in *Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian Studies in Honour of . . . Sānjana*, Bombay, 1904, pp. 167–175, 'The Origin of the Names of the Avesta Months,' in *AJSL* xx. 194–201, 'On Certain Persian and Armenian Month-Names as influenced by the Avesta Calendar,' in *JAOS* xxviii. 331–344; six studies in the *K. R. Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900: **Bharucha**, 'Pāzend and English Versions of a Chapter of the Pahlavi Dinkard, relating to the Solar and Luni-Solar Years in the Zoroastrian Religion,' pp. 12–28; **Kuka**, 'An Enquiry into the order of the Parsi Mooths and the Basis of their Nomenclature,' pp. 54–73; **Karkaria**, 'The Parsi and the French Revolutionary Calendars,' pp. 146–153; **Unwala**, 'Two Persian Passages about the Kabiseh (Intercalation),' pp. 235–238; **Desai**, 'The Persian Year,' p. 241 ff.; and **Nadershah**, 'The Zoroastrian Months and Years with their Divisions in the Avestaic Age,' pp. 244–273; two studies in the *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1908, by **Unvala**, 'A Few Parsee Festivals (Jashans) according to an Old Parsee Manuscript,' p. 201 ff., and **K. R. Cama**, 'The Zoroastrian Calendar,' p. 230 ff.; **Marquart**, *Philologus*, lv. 234 ff., and Supplementband, x. [1907] 198–215; **F. W. K. Müller**, 'Die "persischen" Kalenderausdrücke im chinesischen Tripiṭaka,' *SBAW*, 1907, pp. 458–465; **Inostrancev**, *Sasanidskie Etyudy*, St. Petersburg, 1909, pp. 82–109; **Ginzel**, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1906, i. 275–309. Comparative chronological tables of the Persian and Christian eras are given in the edition of Ulugh Beg noted above, and in **Schram**, *DWAW*, mathematische Klasse, xlv. 328–331, Vienna, 1882, and *Kalendariographische und chronologische Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. xxi–xxiii, 159, 173–181.

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CALENDAR (Polynesian).—The calendrical development of the islands of the Pacific was considerably higher than that of Africa, with which, however, it offers more than one analogue. In the western portion much influence has been exercised by higher civilizations. This is especially clear in Java, where the Muhammadan lunar year of 354 days is reckoned according to the Indian *śaka* era (beginning with A.D. 78): the month, with Muhammadan names, is divided, in Indian fashion, into a 'light' and a 'dark' half; seven days of the week bear two sets of names, one being Muhammadan and the other Indian; and one of the two systems of intercalation is Arabic, while the other is Turkish (for details, see Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1906, i. 414–418).

A cycle of 210 days is formed by 30 seven-day weeks, each of which is ruled by an ancient Javanese deity and has its own name: *Sinto, Landĕp, Wukir, Kurantil, Tolu, Grumbreg, Warigo, Wariga-gung, Julung-wangi, Sungsang, Galungan, Kuningan, Lankir, Mondhosio, Julung-pujat, Pahang, Kuruwelut, Marakeh, Tunbir, Madhan-kungan, Maktal, Wuye, Manahil, Prang-bakat, Bolo, Wugu, Wayang, Kulawu, Dhukut*, and *Watu-gunung*; and this cycle (*wuku*) is divided, for purposes of divination, into periods of 10, 9, 8, 6, 4, 3, 2, and 1 days. Side by side with the *wuku* is the *pasar*, or market-week, of 5 days—*Pahing* (or *Pa*), *Pon, Wagē, Kaliwon*, and *Legi* (or *Manis*)—which finds a parallel in the Yoruba week (see above, p. 64[a]), and which is also observed by the non-Muhammadan Lampong of Sumatra. The days of the *pasar* are combined with the seven-day week of the *wuku* (*Buddha-Kaliwon, Respati-Manis, . . . Buddha-Pahing, Respati-Pon*, etc.), so that, after the thirty-fifth combination, the initial point (*Buddha-Kaliwon*, etc.) is again reached. Six of these periods coincide with a *wuku*, and twelve give the *wuku* year of 420 days, an astrological year.

Besides this lunar year, the Javanese have the solar year, which is divided into 12 *mangsas* (Skr. *māṃsa*, 'time' [a meaning found only in the native lexicographers, not in Skr. literature]), which vary in length: *Kasa* (41 days), *Karo* (23 days), *Katiga* (24 days), *Kapat* (25 days), *Kalima* (27 days), *Kanem* (43 days), *Kapitu* (43 days), *Kawolu* (26 days), *Kasanga* (25 days), *Kasadasa* (24 days), *Desta* (23 days), *Sada* (41 days), this year of 365 days being that determined, after much previous irregularity in reckoning, by Sultan Paku Buwana VII. and beginning 22 June 1855. Every 4 years *Kawolu* is given an extra day for intercalation; and it is this solar year which is the one indigenous to Java. The native Javanese day has only general divisions into early dawn, dawn, sunrise, forenoon, etc., but the five Muhammadan hours of prayer and the Indian astrological divisions are also kept.

The lunar year is observed by the inhabitants of the Tennger range in S.E. Java. This has 12 months (alternately 29 and 30 days in length), or 354 days, but in each last year of its five-year cycle a month of 30 days is intercalated. This *windu*, or cycle, accordingly has 1800 days, thus corresponding almost precisely to the Indian *yuga*, which consists of 5 years or 1830 days. In other respects the usual Javanese system is closely followed; and the same statement holds good of the neighbouring island of Bali, except that here intercalation is more irregularly performed, normally taking place at the expiration of 64 months, of which 30 have 29 days, while 34 have 30, this total of 1890 days corresponding to 9 Javanese *wukus* of 210 days each, and also to 5 Indian years of 378 days each (on this Indian year, cf. Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 322). It is especially noteworthy that both in the Balinese and in the Javanese *mangsas* the first ten names, already listed, are based on the Javanese ordinals, while the last two (*Desta* or *Yesta*, and *Sada, Sodha*, or *Aśada*) are borrowed from the Skr. month-names *Jyeṣṭha* and *Āṣādha* (approximately May–June and June–July).

[1]

BABYLONIAN.	OLD PERSIAN.	AVESTA.	JULIAN.
Nisan	Garmapada	Fravartīn	March–April
Iyyar	Thūravāhara	Artavahist	April–May
Sivan	Thāigarci	Horvadat	May–June
Tammūz	......	Tīr	June–July
Āb	......	Amerōdat	July–August
Elūl	......	Šatvairō	August–September
Tishrī	Bagayādi	Mitrō	September–October
Marcheshvan	Adukani	Āvān	October–November
Kislev	Athriyādiya	Ātarō	November–December
Tebeth	Anāmaka	Din	December–January
Shebaṭ	Margazana	Vohūman	January–February
Adar	Viyakhna	Spendarmat	February–March

This may imply that the Bali-Javanese year originally had only 10 months (cf. Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 425)—a curious phenomenon which is recorded for the Gilbert Islands by Hale (*U.S. Exploring Expedition, Ethnography and Philology*, Philadelphia, 1846, p. 105 f.), and is seen also among the Maori and possibly in the Caroline Islands, although, as Gerland (*Anthrop. der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1860–77, vi. 72 f.) well urges, all these cases of alleged ten-month years may be based on error. At the same time, one involuntarily thinks of the Roman tradition that previous to Numa, who added Jan. and Feb., the year consisted of only ten months (cf. Plutarch, *Vita Numæ*, xviii. f., and see below, p. 134[a]).

With diminishing influence from Hinduism and Muhammadanism goes a decrease in the calendrical skill of the Malayo-Polynesian and allied peoples. This comes out clearly in the case of the Sumatran Lampong and Achinese (the latter having an elaborate system of synchronizing the lunar year with the season by *kenongs* evidently borrowed from the Indian *nakṣatra* year [see Ginzel, *Hdb. d. math. u. tech. Chron.* pp. 428–430]), as contrasted with the pagan Battak, even though the latter show, in their names of the days of the month, reminiscences of the Indian names of the seven-day week (cf. the list given by Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 427). Yet these Battak, though they reckon their months from new moon to new moon, have no real era, but compute extra-annually by *remis* of from 9 to 12 years, while they do not even have a fixed period for the beginning of each year. The Battak year is essentially a terrestrial one, as contrasted with the lunar, solar, or luni-solar year, being determined by terrestrial phenomena such as the monsoons, the growth of vegetation, etc., though observations are also made of the Pleiades, Orion, Scorpio, and Venus. None of the Sumatran peoples are acquainted with the hour; the day receives, as already noted for Java, only general subdivisions for early afternoon, late afternoon, sunset, midnight, etc.

In Melanesia the system of reckoning time is most primitive. The standard of measure is, of course, the moon, but there is no indigenous concept of the year; *tau* or *niulu*, commonly used for 'year,' properly connoting only 'season' (as the '*tau* of the yam,' the banana having no *tau*, since it is in fruit throughout the year).

'It is impossible to fit the native succession of moons into a solar year; months have their names from what is done and what happens when the moon appears and while it lasts; the same moon has different names' (Codrington, *Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 349). For example, the moons of the year on Mota, of the Banks Islands group, may be given as follows: *Magoto qaro* ('fresh grass,' corresponding to April), *Magoto rango* ('withered grass'), *Nago rara* ('face of winter,' the *rara*, or erythrina, flowering in the cold season), *Tur rara* ('fullness of winter'), *Kere rara* ('end of winter'), *Un rig* or *Un gogona* ('little or bitter palolo,' a few of these annelids appearing at this full moon), *Un lava* ('great palolo,' the annelid appearing on the reef in immense numbers on one night at full moon, this serving in part as the beginning of a new year, especially as the yam is harvested during this moon), *Un werei* ('rump of the palolo'), *Vule wotgoro* ('moon of shooting up' [of the reeds into flower]), *Vusiaru* (when the wind beats the casuarina trees on the cliffs), *Tetemavuru* (when the hard winds detach fragments from the seeded reeds), and *Lamasag noronoro* ('rattling of dry reeds').

In the Caroline Islands a phenomenon is found, which is, in a sense, characteristic of the Pacific calendar, and which outside this region occurs only in the Armenian and Persian systems (see above, pp. 70, 128)—the naming of the days of each month or moon. In Ponape, for example, the names of the 27 days of the moon are as follows (Christian, *Caroline Islands*, London, 1899, p. 387 f.): *Ir, Lel-eti, Chanok, Chanok-en-komóni, Chanok-en-komána, Epenok-omur, Epenok-omoa, Chau-pot-mur, Chau-pot-moa, Arichau, Chutak-ran, Eü, Aralok, At, Arre, Echil, Apang, Alim, Aon, Eich, Aual, Malatuatu, Takai-en-pai, Aro-puki, Olo-pua, Olo-mal*, and *Mat* (similar lists for Lamotrek, the Mortlock Islands, Yap, and Uleai are given by Christian, *op. cit.* pp. 392–395). In Ponape, moreover, as elsewhere in the Carolines, the month is divided into 3 parts: *Rot* ('darkness,' 13 days), *Mach* ('new moon,' 9 days), and *Pul* ('waning moon,' 5 days). The number of months in the Caroline year is 12 (in Lamotrek, for example, *Sarabol, Aramaus, Tumur, Mai-rik, Mai-lap, Seuta, Lahk, Kū, Ul, Alliel, Mán*, and *Ich*); and Freycinet's record of only 10 (*Voyage autour du monde*, Paris, 1827–29, ii. 105)—*Tungur, Mol, Mahelap, Sota, La, Kuhu, Halimatu, Margar, Hiolikol*, and *Mal*—was probably based, as he himself suspected, on erroneous information, especially as each *maram* ('moon,' 'month') possessed but 30 days. In the Ladrones the same explorer (*op. cit.* p. 380) found 13 lunar months (*pulan*) in the year (*sakkan*): *Tumeguini, Maino, Umotaraf, Lumuhu, Magmamao, Mananaf, Semo, Tenhos, Lumamlam, Fagualu, Sumongsugn, Umadjanggan*, and *Umagahaf*; and in the same group Chamisso ('Bemerkungen auf einer Entdeckungsreise,' *Gesammelte Werke*, Cotta ed. iv. 285) found time reckoned by days and moons, but in the Carolines by nights and moons.

Throughout Polynesia time was reckoned by the moon, from 28 to 30 nights forming the month, of which there were, as occasion required, 12 or 13 in the year. This year (or, rather, annual season, for the concept 'year' was scarcely known in its strict sense in Polynesia) began at various periods corresponding to our May, June, March, late December, etc., while the names of the months varied from island to island, and even within the same island (cf. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*[2], London, 1832–36, i. 86–89; for further details, with abundant references to older literature, see Gerland, *op. cit.* p. 71 ff.).

In Tahiti, where the year (*tàoo*) began about March, the months (*marama, malama*) bore, according to Forster (*Observations made during a Voyage round the World*, London, 1778, p. 504 f.), the following names (cf. the slightly divergent list in Hale, *op. cit.* p. 169 f., where lists for Samoa and Hawaii are also recorded): *O-porore-o-mòoa, O-porore-o-moòree, Moorehà, Oohee-eiya, Hooree-àma, Tàowa, Hooree-erre-èrre, O-te-àree, O-te-taì, Warehoo, Wæahou, Pipìrree*, and *A-oo-noonoo*. Each month had 29 days, all with individual names, special names also being borne by each of the six divisions of the day and the six of the night. In Lakemba, in the Fiji group, the 11 months recorded by Hale (*op. cit.* p. 68)—*Sesē-ni-ngasáu-lailai* ('little reed-flower,' corresponding to Feb.), *Sesē-ni-ngasáu-levu* ('great reed-flower'), *Vulai-mbotambota* ('moon of scattering' [the fallen leaves]), *Vulai-kelikeli* ('moon of digging'), *Kawakatangāre, Kawawakā-lailai, Kawawakā-levu* (these three referring to the growth of the yam), *Mbalolo-lailai* ('little palolo' [for the allusion, cf. preceding col.]), *Mbalolo-levu* ('great palolo'), *Nunga-lailai* ('little nunga' [a sort of fish]), and *Nunga-levu* ('great nunga')—recall by their grouping the seasonal nomenclature of the oldest Indian months—*Śukra* ('bright'), *Śuci* ('burning'); *Nabhas* ('cloud'), *Nabhasya* ('cloudy'); *Tapas* ('warmth'), *Tapasya* ('warm'); etc. (Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 316). In Rotuma Island, belonging to Fiji, we find a 'monsoon year' of 6 moons, the months being repeated semi-annually on account of the regular blowing of westerly and easterly winds: *Ōipapa* (March, September), *Taftáfi, Hāua, Kasépi, Fōson-hāu*, and *Aθapuána* (Hale, *op. cit.* p. 169).

With this may perhaps be compared the Nicobarese custom of reckoning by the south-west monsoon (*sho-hong*, May–Oct.) and the north-east monsoon (*fūl*, Nov.–April), two *shom-en-yuh*, or monsoon half years, making approximately a solar year. At the same time, the *kāhēs* (new moons) are named consecutively throughout the year, not re-

peated semi-annually as in Rotuma (see, further, Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 431 f.). In the Society Islands the year (*matahiti*) was similarly divided into half-years according to the position of the Pleiades: *Matarii i nia* ('Pleiades above' [the horizon]), and *Matarii i raro* ('Pleiades below' [the horizon]). Here again the nights of each lunar month, which were, as necessity required, 12 or 13 in number, and had 30 days each, were named individually, while various seasons (as *Tetau*, 'autumn'; *Te-tau-miti-rati*, 'time of high sea'; and *Te-tau-poai*, 'season of drought and scarcity') were also recognized. Ellis (*loc. cit.*) further states that, while the Society Islanders were unacquainted with hours or weeks, they 'marked the progress of the day with sufficient accuracy, by noticing the position of the sun in the firmament, the appearance of the atmosphere, and the ebbing and flowing of the tide.' In like fashion the Hawaiians began their year when the Pleiades rise at sunset. During five months, beginning with *Kaelo* (Jan.), war might be waged, but peace was enjoined during the remainder of the year. Similarly in Tahiti, according to Wilkes (*Narrative of U.S. Exploring Expedition*, Philadelphia, 1850, iv. 42 f.), the first three months were for war; during the fourth the *opelu* was tabu, and in the fifth it was caught; the two moons following were for taxing; the eighth was devoted to prayers, games, and merriment; the ninth contained the annual feast for the payment of taxes; in the tenth the idols were carried about, and taxes were demanded; the eleventh was for the offerings to the dead and the catching of the *boneta*; and the twelfth for the fishing of the same fish. Elsewhere each month had analogous divisions. Thus, in Hawaii,

'during each month there were four tabu periods of two nights and one day each, dedicated severally to each of the four great gods. All their religious rites, as well as their fishing, planting, etc., were regulated by the moon' (Alexander, *Brief Hist. of the Hawaiian People*, New York, 1891, p. 49 f.).

In New Zealand the year also began with the rising of the Pleiades. According to Maori tradition, this year (*tau*, lit. 'season') originally contained only ten months, until Whare-patari, a magician, taught the people better (cf. the curiously parallel tradition of Numa, above, p. 132[a]), after which they had the customary Polynesian number of 12 or 13: *Te-tahi* (June), *Te-rua*, *Te-toru*, *Te-wha*, *Te-rima*, *Te-ono*, *Te-whitu*, *Te-waru*, *Te-iwa*, *Te-ngahuru*, *Te-ngahuru-tahi*, *Te-ngahuru-rua*, and *Te-ngahuru-tahi-aralua* (Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*[2], London, 1856, pp. 219–222). These months had the following names for their days (Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dict.*, Wellington, 1891, p. 666, where similar lists are given for Hawaii, Tahiti, Rarotonga, and the Marquesas): *Whiro* (from *whiri*, 'twist,' 'plait,' because on this first night the moon looks like a twisted thread), *Tirea* (cf. *tirau*, 'peg,' 'stick'), *Hoata* ('long spear'), *One*, *Okoa* (cf. *oko*, 'wooden bowl or other open vessel' [?]), *Tamatea-kai-ariki*, *Tamatea-ananga*, *Tamatea-aio*, *Tamatea-whakapau*, *Huna*, *Ari-roa*, *Mawharu*, *Maurea*, *Atua-whakahaehae*, *Turu*, *Rakau-nui*, *Rakau-matohi*, *Takirau*, *Oika*, *Korekore*, *Korekore-turua*, *Korekore-piri-ki-Tangaroa*, *Tangaroa-a-mua*, *Tangaroa-a-roto*, *Tangaroa-a-kiokio*, *O-Tane* (sacred to Tane), *O-Rongo-nui* (sacred to Rongo), *Mauri*, *O-Mutu*, and *Mutuwhenua* (cf. *mutu*, 'brought to an end').

In Australia, as one would expect, the lowest degree of calendrical development in the Pacific region is found. Here, in the words of Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 25 f.,

'time is counted by "sleeps" or "moons," or phases of the moon, for which they have definite terms: longer periods they reckon by means of seasons, having names for summer and winter. They have further definite words expressing particular times, such as morning before sunrise (*ingwunthagwuntha*), . . . day after to-morrow (*ingwunthairpina*), . . . in a long time (*ingwuntha arbarmaninga*).'

The citation of additional data from the remainder of the Pacific world would scarcely add new principles to the Polynesian calendar, which may be described, from the evidence already presented, as a system of lunar months (or 'moons'), 12 or 13 to what we should call a year (a concept developed only imperfectly, if at all, by the peoples under consideration), usually named according to the natural phenomena, the occupations, or the religious festivals connected with them, and—in many places subdivided into two or three periods of unequal length—having from 28 to 30 days, only roughly divided into parts (anything corresponding to the hour being quite unknown), but normally named each with a special designation—the latter being, in fact, the most striking superficial characteristic of this entire system of the reckoning of time.

LITERATURE.—Abundant references, in addition to those mentioned in the art., may be found in Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropol. der Naturvolker*, Leipzig, 1860–77, v. a, 125, b, 86, vi. 71–74, 613–615, 763 f.; Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathemat. und techn. Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1906, i. 414–432, 449.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

CALENDAR (Roman).—The ordering of time at Rome was always a matter of religious importance, and, as we may conjecture with confidence, was also from the first in the hands of religious authorities. The reason of this is to be found in the nature of Roman religious ideas. In the life of the *gens* and family on the land, before the city-State came into being, each agricultural operation had a religious side, since the *numen* or *numina* concerned with it had to be propitiated at the right time in order that they might be of service to the husbandman or might abstain from injuring him. The proper times for agricultural operations and the rites concerned with them were learnt only from the nature of the season, and from the motions of the heavenly bodies, without (as we must suppose) any systematic arrangement of them in an *annus*, or ring of the solar year. When city life began, it was naturally found necessary to have a more exact measure of this *annus* and the religious events included in it. Agriculture was still the economic basis of the life of the people; and in keeping up the agricultural religious rites within the city it was convenient, if not absolutely necessary, to fix them to particular days. This was, beyond doubt, the origin of the earliest calendar of which we know anything. In this all religious festivals are permanently fixed in date (*feriæ stativæ*); only a very few, which did not concern the State as a whole, but certain component parts of it, *e.g.* the *pagi* (Paganalia, Compitalia), and the *lustratio* of the *ager Romanus*, which had to be celebrated on the land itself, remained unfixed (*feriæ conceptivæ*).

The process of fixation is entirely lost to us. It was part of that transition from rural to city life of which we have no record, and of which archæology as yet hardly affords us a glimpse. When we begin to know anything about the Roman city-State, it is already a well-developed organization, provided with a calendar based mainly on the needs of the old agricultural life, but showing distinct signs of military and legal activity. The year, or *annus*, to which this calendar applied was probably a lunar year; its length (354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes) nearly coincides with a lunar year of 12 months. It was itself divided into 12 months, of which March, May, July, and October had 31 days, and the rest 29, except February, which had 28. All the months had thus an odd number of days, except the last, which was mainly devoted to the care or cult of the dead, following here the world-wide superstition, especially pre-

valent in Italy, that odd numbers are lucky, even numbers unlucky. This principle held good in the calendar throughout Roman history, and all religious festivals (with two exceptions, which can be accounted for) were fixed on days of odd number.

There was, indeed, a tradition, mentioned by Censorinus (*de Die Natali*, ch. xx.), and attested, according to him, by Varro and other writers (see also Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 27 ff.; Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 123; Plutarch, *Vita Num.* xviii. f.), of a year of ten months, called the year of Romulus, which began with March and ended with December, the period between December and March being left undivided. Of such a ten-month year there are traces in Roman life, but they are not concerned so much with religion as with legal matters, such as the payment of debts and the calculation of interest. Mommsen's conjecture may be regarded as still holding the field, that it was adopted at a later period for purposes of business, to avoid the confusion which would arise, as we shall see directly, from the varying length of successive years, caused by intercalation (see his *Röm. Chronol.* p. 48 ff.). We may at any rate leave it out of account in this article. We may be fairly sure that it was not this year, but that mentioned above, ascribed by the Romans to Numa (Censorinus, xx. 4), which was the frame in which the religious festivals were fixed.

The year of 12 months = about 354⅓ days must inevitably soon have called for modification. Being 11 days short of the solar year, it must before long have got out of harmony with the seasons, thus causing discrepancy between them and the dates of the religious festivals which marked agricultural operations. Such discrepancy would cause *religio*, or scruple and anxiety about the right relations between the citizens and the *numina* on whom they were dependent. The necessary adjustment was probably one of the earliest difficulties which called into existence the body of experts in religious law, who throughout Roman history had charge of the calendar, viz. the *pontifices*, and who were doubtless originally advisers of the *rex* in matters of this kind (see ROMAN RELIGION [Second Period]). Some knowledge was necessary of the methods of adjusting the solar principle to a lunar year, and it probably came from Greece (see above, p. 106 f.). There may have been a succession of such adjustments, the last of them dating from the Decemvirate, 450 B.C. (Macrob. i. 13, 21); but the Roman year, as we know it in historical times (which lasted till the revision of the calendar by Julius Cæsar), was based on a cycle of four years, of which the first had 355 days, the second 377 (obtained by an intercalation of 22 days after 23rd February [Terminalia]), the third 355, and the fourth 378. The whole number of days in the cycle was 1465, or about one day too many in each year; and the work of intercalation and occasional adjustment fell again to the *pontifices*, who, as is well known, neglected or misunderstood it, so that in the time of the late Republic the calendar was constantly out of harmony with the seasons, and all relation was lost between religion and agricultural operations.

The final adjustment was, therefore, a somewhat violent one: Cæsar and his astronomer Sosigenes extended the year 46 B.C. to 445 days, and started afresh on 1st Jan. 45 with a cycle of four years of 365 days each, to the last of which an extra day was added after the Terminalia. This cycle produced the solar year under which we still live, needing only an occasional adjustment. It brought no change in the dates of the religious festivals. Ten days were added to the old normal year of 355 days, but they were all placed at the end of months, viz. two at the end of January, August, and December; and one at the end of April, June, September, and November, so that the festivals remained, as might have been expected from Roman conservatism, even under Cæsar as dictator and pontifex maximus, exactly in the same positions which they had always occupied.

All the surviving fragments of the Roman calendar date from 31 B.C. or later, and thus represent it as revised by Cæsar (see art. ROMAN RELIGION). After that revision the official year began with the month of January, and in fact, since 153 B.C., the consuls had entered on office on the first day of that month. But it is certain that the old religious year began with March, which marks the season when all living things, man included, break into fresh activity, and which bears the name of the deity who represented at once the agricultural and the military activity of the community. The names of the second and third, and probably of the fourth month—Aprilis, Maius, Junius (mensis)—indicate the processes of Nature, viz. opening, increasing, and maturing. After this the months are named according to their order, Quinctilis (July) being the fifth after March, and so on to December. The interval between December and March was occupied by two months, Januarius and Februarius, the first of which seems to be named after the ancient deity of entrances and beginnings, Janus, perhaps indicating the natural opening of the *annus* after the winter solstice; the second takes its name from the word *februum*, an instrument of purification (see Paulus, 85, ed. Müller; Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 19; Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 13), apparently because the festivals of the month, *e.g.* the Parentalia and Lupercalia, called for the use of such instruments. Like the Lent of the Christian calendar, this was the period in which the living were made ready for the civil and religious work of the coming year, and in which the yearly duties to the dead were performed.

The internal arrangement of each month had originally been based on the phases of the moon, and this system was maintained, for convenience of reckoning, long after all relations between these phases and the calendar had been lost. The two chief points in a lunar month are the first appearance of the moon's crescent (*Kalendæ*), and the full moon (*Idus*); between the two is the point when the moon reaches the first quarter, which is an uncertain one. It originally was the duty of the *rex*, afterwards of the *pontifices*, as soon as the new moon was discerned, to let it be known whether the first quarter was to be reckoned for the fifth or the seventh day after the Kalends (Varro, *Ling. Lat.* vi. 27), and whether the Ides were to be on the 13th or the 15th day of the month. The Ides were always on the eighth day after the first quarter, which was called *Nonæ*, according to the Roman method of counting a period so as to include both the day on which it began and that on which it ended (*Nonæ* is thus the ninth day before the Ides). All Kalends were sacred to Juno, whose connexion with the moon is beyond question (Wissowa, *Rel. und Kult. der Römer*, p. 116).

Owing to the uncertainty about the date of the Nones, there were no other religious festivals in the interval between Kalends and Nones, with the exception of the obscure Poplifugia on 5th July, nor were the Nones sacred to any particular deity. But the Ides were sacred to Juppiter as the supreme deity of the light of heaven, for on that day the two great heavenly bodies supplied continuous light during the twenty-four hours. On the Nones the *rex*, and, in the Republican period, his successor in certain religious duties, the *rex sacrorum*, announced the dates of the festivals of the month. These festivals are fully dealt with, and their religious significance explained, in art. ROMAN RELIGION. Here it will suffice to note that, like the Kalends, Nones, and Ides, they are all, with one or two exceptions which admit of a possible explanation, fixed on

days of odd number, *i.e.*, as noted above, on lucky days. This superstition is in many instances discernible also in their position with regard to each other. Where a festival occupies more than one day in a month, an interval of one or three days elapses between each celebration, making the whole number three or five. Thus Carmentalia occur on 11th and 15th Jan.; Lemuria on 9th, 11th, and 13th May; Lucaria on 19th and 21st July. In August and December we find traces of an arrangement by which different festivals, which seem to have some connexion with each other, are arranged on this principle; *e.g.* in August six festivals, all concerned in some way with the fruits of the earth and the harvest, occur on 17th, 19th, 21st, 23rd, 25th, and 27th. It has recently been suggested that *e.g.* these are arranged round one central festival, the Volcanalia on Aug. 23, which gives some kind of colouring to the rest (see von Domaszewski in *ARW* x. [1907] p. 333 ff.); and that, where this principle does not hold, we may see traces of an older system unaffected by the superstition. But, on the whole, there do not seem to be sufficient grounds for this ingenious conjecture.

A principle of greater importance for the life of the Roman people is that whereby the days of each month were divided, so to speak, between the human and the divine inhabitants of the city. In the ancient so-called calendar of Numa, distinguishable by the large capitals in which it is reproduced in the surviving calendars of the Julian era (see ROMAN RELIGION [First Period]), a letter is prefixed to each day in each month. Where this is the letter N (or NP, of which the meaning is practically the same, though its origin is uncertain [Wissowa, *op. cit.* 371]), it means that the day is made over to the gods (*nefastus dies*), and that to perform civil business on it would be a violation of *fas*, i.e. of that which is allowable under the *ius divinum*. The letters F and C, on the other hand, i.e. *fastus* and *comitialis*, indicate that such performance will be *fas*, i.e. religiously permissible. Of the 355 days of the original Roman normal year, 109 belonged to the Divine, 235 to the human, inhabitants of the city; the remaining 11 were divided between the two. Of these 11, 8 are marked EN, i.e. *endotercisus*, or 'cut into two parts'; the morning and evening being *fastus*, while the interval between the slaying of the victim and the placing of the entrails on the altar (*porrectio*) was *nefastus* (Varro, vi. 31; Macrob. i. 16. 3; and the note in the *Fasti Prænestini* for 10th Jan., believed to be the work of Verrius Flaccus). The letters Q.R.C.F. (*quando rex comitiavit fas*) occur on 24th March and 24th May, and also indicate a division of the day into sacred and profane (Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 63). So, too, does the Q.St. D.F. (*quando stercus delatum fas*) of 15th June; for the explanation of this expression see Varro, vi. 32 (Fowler, *op. cit.* p. 146 ff.).

This brief account will have been sufficient to show that, as was said at the beginning of this article, the Roman calendar was based on the religious ideas of the Roman people, and mainly on the root-idea of the essential difference between the sacred and the profane, or that which legally belonged to the gods and that which belonged to man. For this reason it was in fact a part, and originally the most important part, of the *ius divinum*, or religious law, which was itself a part of the law of the State (*ius civile*); and the word by which it was known, *Fasti* (*anni Romani*), i.e. *dies fasti*, indicates that its main object was to set apart the days sacred to the deities from the days on which the citizens might go about their legal or other business. For this reason, too, the control of it was in the hands of a priestly authority, viz. the *pontifices*, after the abolition of the kingship; and for some two hundred years after that event it remained matter of their knowledge only, until the publication of the *Fasti* by the curule ædile Cn. Flavius in 304 B.C. (Livy, ix. 46). As the collegium of *pontifices* was, during this period, filled up by co-optation, it is easy to see how powerful a political influence that priestly authority must have exercised. The publication of the *Fasti* was in fact a most important step in the emancipation of the Romans from what threatened to become at one time a hierarchical oligarchy. Even after the publication, the fact that the *pontifices* had the charge of the rectification of the calendar by intercalation gave them the means of interfering unduly in political matters; and it was not until the period of the Empire, when, from 12 B.C. onwards, the Emperor was always pontifex maximus, that the calendar finally ceased to be an instrument of aristocratic intrigue and corruption.

LITERATURE.—Apart from the ancient authorities quoted above, of which the most important is Censorinus, *de Die Natali*, ch. xx., and the fragments of the calendar of the Julian era, collected with a commentary by Mommsen in vol. i. of *CIL*², p. 297 ff., the following works may be mentioned as necessary for the study of the subject: Th. Mommsen, *Röm. Chronol. bis auf Cæsar*, Berlin, 1859; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Les Pontifes*, Paris, 1871, pp. 113 ff., 227 ff.; J. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* (ed. Wissowa, Leipzig, 1885), p. 281 ff.; H. Matzat, *Röm. Chronol.*, Berlin, 1883–84. Succinct accounts will be found also in Smith, *Dict. of Gr.-Rom. Ant.*³, London, 1890, vol. i. p. 340 ff.; and in the Introd. to the *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, London, 1899, by W. Warde Fowler. The introduction to H. Peter's edition of the *Fasti* of Ovid (Leipzig, 1874) also contains a useful account. On all points connected with the religious aspect of the calendar, reference should be made to G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, which appeared in 1902, *i.e.* later than any of the works mentioned above.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

CALENDAR (Siamese).—As a result of the constant intercourse between Cambodia and Siam, and of their having the same religion and civilization, the Siamese calendar is almost exactly the same as that of the Khmers (see CALENDAR [Indo-Chinese], II.). As in Cambodia, so in Siam three eras of Hindu origin are used, along with three cycles of Chinese provenance.

1. **Eras.**—The three eras usually employed by the Siamese are the following: (1) the religious era, or the era of the Buddha (*phŭtthăsăkkărăt* = Skr. *buddhaśakarāja*),[1] which begins at full moon, May 543 B.C.; (2) the great era (*mahăsăkkărăt* = Skr. *mahāśakarāja*); this is the Hindu *śaka* era, established in A.D. 78, which used often to be employed in official and historical documents; (3) the lesser era (*chŭlăsăkkărăt* = Pāli *chullasakarāja*), beginning with the year 638 B.C., and whose exact commencement has been fixed by the astronomer Dominic Cassini. This is the civil era, which has not yet been supplanted in everyday usage by the new era (see below, §7).

In addition to these three eras, only two of which—the religious and the lesser—are in current use, the present king, wishing to give his country a calendar in agreement with the European calendar, introduced a new era, on 1st April 1889, called *răttănăkōsinsŏk*, or *rătănă kosinthără* (or *kōsin săkărăt*) (Skr. *ratnakośendraśakarāja*), 'era of Indra's casket of pearls.' It begins at the time when the capital of Siam, formerly established at Ayuthia, was transferred to Bangkok, *i.e.* 1st April 1781.

We may mention, in passing, two eras that are met with in the astrological writings of the Brahmans. The one, called *ŏn ya:na:sŏnti*, begins in 643 B.C., *i.e.* 100 years before the religious era; the other, called *xa:nathĭp*, starts 86 years before the same era, *i.e.* in 629 B.C.

2. **Cycles.**—These are the same as in Cambodia.

[1] This era is also called *phŭtthăsătsănăkan*, 'era of the religion of the Buddha.'

The following are the names of the animals of the duodenary cycle (the Siamese do not, any more than the Khmers, give them native names): *xuĕt*, 'rat'; *xălu*, 'ox'; *khar*, 'tiger'; *tho*, 'hare'; *ma:rōng*, 'great dragon' or 'dragon'; *ma:sĕng*, 'little dragon' or 'serpent'; *ma:mia*, 'mare' or 'horse'; *ma:mĕ*, 'goat'; *vŏk*, 'monkey'; *ra:ka*, 'cock'; *cho*, 'dog'; *kŭn*, 'pig.'[1] These words bear a very close resemblance to those used by the Khmers to denote the twelve animals of the cycle, and probably they have the same linguistic origin.

As happens among the Chinese, Annamese, and Cambodians, the duodenary cycle is combined five times with the denary cycle. These two cycles, called minor cycles, when counted concurrently and repeated as often as is necessary—in such a way that the last year of the denary cycle coincides with the last year of the duodenary, a coincidence which occurs at the end of 60 years—form the major cycle.

The years of the denary cycle are denoted by ordinal numbers borrowed from Pāli: *ĕkasŏk* (P. *ekasaka*), 1st year; *thôsŏk* (Skr. **dosaka*), 2nd year; *trisŏk* (P. *trisaka*), 3rd year; *chăttŭsŏk* (P. *chatusaka*), 4th year; *bĕnchasŏk* (P. *pañchasaka*), 5th year; *xósŏk* (P. *chhasaka*), 6th year; *săttasŏk* (P. *sattasaka*), 7th year; *ătthasŏk* (P. *aṭṭhasaka*), 8th year; *nă:vasŏk* (P. *navasaka*), 9th year; *sămrĭtthĭsŏk* (Skr. *samṛddhiśaka*), year of completion, last year.

3. Year and months.—The Siamese year is lunar; the months have twenty-nine and thirty days (or rather 'nights') alternately, and are generally denoted by ordinal numbers: *du'en nŭ'ng*, 'first month'; *d. song*, 'second month'; *d. sám*, 'third month,' etc. They have also Indian names: (1) *chĭtra:màt* (Skr. *chaitra*; P. *chitto* [Siam. *màt* = Skr. *māsa*, 'month']); (2) *vĭsákha:màt* (Skr. *vaiśākha*; P. *vesākho*); (3) *xètha:màt* (Skr. *jyeṣṭha*; P. *jeṭṭho*); (4) *asátha:màt* (Skr. *āṣāḍha*; P. *āsāḷho*); (5) *savăna:màt* (Skr. *śrāvaṇa*; P. *sāvaṇo*); (6) *phŏthraba:màt* (Skr. *bhādrapada*; P. *poṭṭhapādo*); (7) *asŭxa:màt* (Skr. *āśvayuj*; P. *assayujo*); (8) *katĭka:màt* (Skr. *kārttika*; P. *kattiko*); (9) *mĭkhosĭra:màt* (Skr. *mārgaśīrṣa*; P. *māgasiro*); (10) *busoja:màt* (Skr. *pauṣa*; P. *phusso*); (11) *makha:màt* (Skr. and P. *māgha*); (12) *phokhŭna:màt* (Skr. *phālguna*; P. *phagguno*).

The months with 29 days (odd: 1st, 3rd, 5th, etc.) are called *du'en khât*, 'defective months'; those with 30 days (even: 2nd, 4th, 6th, etc.) have the name of *d. thuèn*, 'complete months.'

Each month is divided into two fortnights: the clear fortnight, or fortnight of the waxing moon (*khàng khŭ'n*, 'waxing moon'), from new moon to full moon; and the dark fortnight (*khàng rĕm*, 'waning moon'), from full to new moon. In official and exact writings, these fortnights are often divided into *sŭk pòkos* (Pāli *pakāso*, 'light,' 'lustre'), 'bright half'; and *kala pòkos*, 'dark half,' as also takes place in India.

As regards the practice of beginning the year in *Vĭsákha* (April–May), of adding an intercalary month every two or three years so that seven intercalary months are introduced in a period of 19 years, and of increasing by a supplementary day the month preceding the commencement of the *vasso*, or Buddhist retreat, *i.e.* towards July, everything takes place exactly as in Cambodia. The intercalary year, which is called *pi a:thĭka:màt* (Skr. *adhikamāsa*, 'intercalary month'), has 384 days or 13 months; it makes the agreement of the lunar and solar years possible by bringing the rotation of the seasons into regularity.

[1] Several official documents employ Pāli names for these animals: *mūsiko, usabho, vyaggho, saso, nāgo, sappo, asso, eḷako, makkaṭo, kukuṭo, soṇo, sūkaro.*

4. Days.—In Siam, as in Cambodia, the names given to the days are Indian in origin: *văn athĭt* (Siam. *văn*, 'day'; Skr. *āditya*), 'Sunday'; *văn chăn* (Skr. *chandra*), 'Monday'; *văn ăngkhan* (Skr. *aṅgāraka*), 'Tuesday'; *văn phŭt* (Skr. *budha*), 'Wednesday'; *văn pră:hăt* (Skr. *bṛhaspati*), 'Thursday'; *văn sŭk* (Skr. *śukra*), 'Friday'; *văn sâo* (Skr. *śanaiśchara*), 'Saturday.'

5. Hours.—The hours (*nalĭka* = Skr. *nāḍikā*) are divided into hours of day (*mông*) and hours of night (*thŭm*). The hour is subdivided into 10 *bât*, the *bât* into 6 (formerly 4) *nathi* (Skr. *nāḍikā*, '60th part of the sidereal day,' or Indian hour), the *nathi* into 60 *vĭnathi* (Skr. *vināḍī*, '$\frac{1}{60}$ *nāḍikā*'), or 15 *phexanathi*. But this old method of measuring hours is giving way more and more to the European system of the hour equal to 60 *mĭnĭt* (Eng. 'minute'); the word *bât*, besides, has now got the current meaning of 'quarter of an hour, 15 minutes.' The day-hours are from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.; the night-hours, from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., form four watches, or *jam* (cf. Khmer *yām*), each of three hours' duration.

6. Seasons.—There are three seasons (*ra:du*, *rŭdu* = Skr. *ṛtu*): (1) *ra:du ron*, the warm season, from March to the middle of May; (2) *ra:du fŏn*, the rainy season, from May to the end of October; (3) *ra:du náo*, the cold season, from November to February. In the literature we find also the following names for these seasons: (1) *khĭmhănta:ra:du* (P. *gimhāna*, 'warm season'); (2) *va:sănta:ra:du* (P. *vasanto*, 'spring'); (3) *hĕmanta:ra:du* (P. *hemanto*, 'cold season').

7. The new era.—As we have seen, the new era, or *răttănakŏsĭnsŏk*, in use in Siam is based on the European era. The names of the months are taken from the signs of the zodiac. The list is as follows: (1) *mesajŏn* (Skr. *meṣa*, 'Aries'), April; (2) *phrŭtsaphakŏm* (Skr. *vṛṣa*, 'Taurus'), May; (3) *mĭthŭnajŏn* (Skr. *mithuna*, 'Gemini'), June; (4) *kărăkădakhŏm* (Skr. *karka*, 'Cancer'), July; (5) *sĭnghakhŏm* (Skr. *siṃha*, 'Leo'), August; (6) *kănjajŏn* (Skr. *kanyā*, 'Virgo'), September; (7) *tŭlakhŏm* (Skr. *tulā*, 'Libra'), October; (8) *pru'tchĭkajŏn* (Skr. *vṛśchika*, 'Scorpio'), November; (9) *thănvakhŏm* (Skr. *dhanu*, 'Sagittarius'), December; (10) *măkărakhŏm* (Skr. *makara*, 'Capricornus'), January; (11) *kŭmphaphăn* (Skr. *kumbha*, 'Aquarius'), February; (12) *mĭnakhŏm* (Skr. *mīna*, 'Pisces'), March.[1] This solar, or rather stellar, year begins in April, and, as in Cambodia, the passing of one sign of the zodiac into the next that marks the beginning of the new year is called *mahásóngkránt* (= Skr. *mahāsaṃkrānti*, 'great passage').

LITERATURE.—S. de La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam*, Paris, 1691, vol. ii. pp. 74–80, 142; J. B. Pallegoix, *Dict. siamois-français-anglais*, revised by J. L. Vey, Bangkok, 1896, pp. 24 ff., 47 ff.; F. J. Wershoven, *Lehr- und Lesebuch der siam. Sprache*, Vienna, 1892; *Elements of Siamese Grammar*, with appendixes by O. Frankfurter, Bangkok, 1900; Ed. Lorgeou, *Grammaire siamoise*, Paris, 1902, p. 153 ff. F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1906, i. 409–413.

ANTOINE CABATON.

CALENDAR (Slavic).—Of all the Indo-Germanic calendars, that of the Balto-Slavs was unquestionably the least developed. Yet, for this very reason, it possesses a peculiar interest, for it is well known that the pagan Balto-Slavs preserved in many respects the most primitive conditions of Indo-Germanic times (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, *passim*). If we seek for analogical, though of course entirely independent, parallels outside the Indo-Germanic region, we may perhaps find them among some of the Polynesian peoples (cf. CALENDAR [Polynesian]), while within the

[1] The terminations *khŏm* (Skr. *gama*, 'going'), *jŏn* (Skr. *yāna*, 'going'), *phăn* (Skr. *bandha*, 'binding'), mean 'to enter into conjunction.'

Indo-Germanic race much may be gleaned from the Teutonic calendar (*q.v.*).

1. There appears to be no record of anything like an **era** among the Balto-Slavs, or any system of enumerating by a series of years. Nevertheless, the **year** and the **seasons** were well known. The year was named *godŭ* (lit. 'time' [cf. Miklosich, *Etymolog. Wörterb. der slav. Sprachen*, Vienna, 1886, p. 64 f.; Berneker, *Slaw. etymolog. Wörterb.*, Heidelberg, 1908 ff., pp. 316–318) among the Slavs, and *metas* (lit. 'time' [cf. Old Pruss. *mettan*, 'year,' Albanian *mot*, 'year,' 'weather,' Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 390]) among the Lithuanians. At least four seasons have distinct names.[1]

Spring bears the name *vesna* in O. Church Slav. (cognate with Skr. *vasanta*, Gr. *ἔαρ*, 'spring,' Lith. *vasarà*, 'summer,' Skr. *vas*, 'shine,' etc. [see Schrader, pp. 258, 394]), and also, as in Slovenian, Czech, and Polish, the name *yar* (cognate with Eng. *year* [Miklosich, p. 100; Schrader, pp. 258, 395]). Summer was *lěto* (connected probably with Lith. *lytùs*, Lett. *lītus*, 'rain,' or possibly with Anglo-Sax. *Liđa*, 'June-July' [cf. CALENDAR (Teutonic); and see Schrader, p. 782; Miklosich, p. 167]) in O. Church Slav., *vasarà* in Lith., and *dagis* (cf. Lith. *dàgas*, 'harvest,' Skr. *nidāgha*, 'heat,' 'summer,' *dah*, 'burn,' Goth. *dags*, 'day' [Schrader, pp. 782, 845]) in O. Prussian. Autumn was *yesenĭ* in O. Church Slav., *assanis* in O. Pruss. (both cognate with Goth. *asans*, 'summer,' O.H. Germ. *aran*, 'harvest'), and *rudŭ* (cognate with Lith. *rùdas*, 'reddish-brown' [because of the colour of the leaves]) in Lith. (Schrader, p. 367). Winter was *zima* in O. Church Slav., *žiemà* in Lith., *sima* in Lett., and *semo* in O. Pruss. (all cognate with Skr. *hemantá*, Gr. *χειμών*, Irish *gam*, 'winter' [Schrader, p. 958]); and a special name for the season immediately preceding winter is implied in the Czech word *podzimí* and the Sloven. *prědzima*, 'pre-winter' (Schrader, p. 367).

2. It is in their names for the **months** (O. Church Slav. *měsęci*, 'moon,' 'month,' Lith. *mėnesis*, *mėnu*, 'moon,' 'month' [other Balto-Slavic words are given by Miklosich, p. 195], all cognate with the Indo-Germ. term for 'moon') that the Balto-Slavs display a wealth of nomenclature that is paralleled only by such primitive calendars as the Teutonic and Polynesian. To this subject a most valuable study has been contributed by Miklosich, in his 'Slavonische Monatsnamen' (*DWAW* xvii. [1868]), in which he makes a sixfold classification, though only the first four classes concern us here, the month-names based on religious feasts being without exception of Christian origin among the Balto-Slavs, and those derived from numerical sequence (such as Goth. *Fruma Jiuleis*, 'November' [lit. 'first Yule-month']) not being represented in the Balto-Slavic calendar. The remaining four groups are: from plants, from animals, from natural phenomena, and from the operations of agriculture. These month-names, however, did not apply to months in the strict sense of the term until after the Roman period. Originally they denoted merely general seasons of the year, as is obvious both from their meanings and from the fact that the same name is given by different Balto-Slavic peoples to different months, sometimes separated by a considerable interval of time.

The length of the Balto-Slavic month is quite uncertain; though perhaps there is some survival of primitive conditions in the practice of the modern Huzuls, who in many places reckon 30 days to all their months except the last (March), which has 33, their year thus having 363 days (Kaluzniacki, *Archiv fur slav. Philologie*, xxvii. 271). But among large numbers of the Balto-Slavic peoples calendrical reckoning is still in a most backward state; and the writer is informed by Mr. Hermann Rosenthal, Chief of the Russian Department of the New York Public Library, that he has seen in northern Russia the walls of a peasant's hut covered with notches made to indicate the passage of the days.

Some idea of the richness of Balto-Slavic nomenclature for the months may perhaps be gained from the following selection from the study of Miklosich just mentioned, the arrangement here being in the ordinary sequence of the Julian calendar, instead of according to etymological derivation, as in Miklosich.

January: O. Church Slav. *Prosinicĭ*, Sloven. *Prosinec*, Croat. *Prosinac* ('time of increasing day-light'); Sloven. *Sečen*, Serb. *Syečani* ('[wood-]cutting time'); Sloven. *Zimac*, Lett. *Zēmas mēnesis* ('winter month'); Czech *Hruden* ('clod month'), or *Leden* ('ice time').

February: O. Church Slav. *Sěčenu*, Bulg. *Sečka*, Croat. *Sičen* ('[wood-]cutting time'); Little Russ. *L'utyi*, Pol. *Luty*, Huz. *Lutyi* ('rigid [with cold]'); Czech *Únor*, *Ounor* ('melting or breaking up [of ice]'); Russ. *Bokogrěi* ('side-warming' [the cattle leaving their stalls to warm themselves in the open air]); Lith. *Kovĭnis* ('month of jackdaws').

March: O. Church Slav. *Suchyi*, Sloven. *Sušec*, Croat. *Sušac* ('dry month' [when land can be ploughed]); O. Church Slav. *Lŭzuyek*, Bulg. *Lazu*, Serb. *Ozuyak* ('treacherous'); Lith. *Karvelĭnis mĕnu*, Lett. *Baloschu mēnesis* ('dove month' [when the doves go from the woods to the fields]); Sloven. *Brězen*, Little Russ. *Berezozol* ('month of the birch tree').

April: O. Church Slav. *Brězinŭ*, Little Russ. *Berezen*, Huz. *Berezeni* ('month of the birch tree'); O. Church Slav. *Berezozolŭ* ('shedding birch sap'); Lith. *Sùltekis* ('flowing of birch sap'); Lett. *Sulu mēnesis* ('month of birch sap'); Croat. *Cvitani* ('flower month'); Czech *Duben* ('oak month'); Serb. *Travanī* ('grass month'); Lith. *Geguzĭnis* ('cuckoo month').

May: O. Church Slav. *Travĭnĭ*, Little Russ. *Traveń*, Huz. *Traveni*, Czech *Tráven* ('grass month'); Sloven. *Cvĕten* ('flower month'), *Sviban* ('cornel month'), and *Žoltopušnik* ('yellow month'); dialectic Russ. *Murŭ* ('grass month'); Upper Sorb. *Rozovc* ('rose bloom'); Ruthen. *Yareć* ('spring month'); Lith. *Berzelis* ('birch month'); Lett. *Sēyu mēnesis* ('seed month').

June: O. Church Slav. *Izokŭ* ('grasshopper time'); Sloven. *Prašnik*, Upper Sorb. *Smaznik*, Lith. *Pūdimo menu*, Lett. *Papu-s mēnesis* ('fallow month'); Sloven. *Bobor cvĕt* ('bean bloom'), *Klasen* ('ear month'), *Mlěčen* ('milk month'); Sloven. *Lipan*, Serb. *Lipani* ('linden month'); Sloven. *Rozen cvĕt*, Czech *Ruzen* ('rose bloom'); Bulg. *Crŭvenik*, Little Russ. *Cerven* ('time for gathering the *Coccus polonicus*' [for the preparation of a red dye]); Bulg. *Sěnokos* ('hay month'); Serb. *Svibinĭ* ('cornel month') and *Črěšnyarŭ* ('cherry month'); Lith. *Sēyĭnis* ('seed month'); Lett. *Zēdu mēnesis* ('month of flowers').

July: O. Church Slav. *Srupĭnŭ*, Sloven. *Srpen*, Serb. *Srpani* ('sickle time'); O. Church Slav. *Črŭvĭnŭ* ('time for gathering the *Coccus polonicus*'); Russ. *Sĕnozornik*, Lett. *Sēnu mēnesis* ('hay month'); Serb. *Žar*, Bulg. *Gorešnikul* ('hot month'); Lower Sorb. *Žňoiski* ('harvest month'); Serb. *Lipštak*, Little Russ. *Lypeć*, *Lypeń*, Lith. *Lĕpos mĕnu*, Lett. *Lēpu mēnesis* ('linden month').

August: O. Church Slav. *Zarevŭ* ('beginning of bellowing' [of stags, etc.]); Russ. *Zorničnikŭ*, Croat. *Zrilivoća* ('ripening'); Little Russ. *Serpeń*, Czech *Srpen* ('sickle time'); Sloven. *Kolovoz* ('time for going with waggons'); Upper Sorb. *Žńeńc*, Lower Sorb. *Yacmański*, Lith. *Piūmenė*, Lett. *Labbibas mēnesis* ('harvest month'); Little Russ. *Kyren* ('fly month'); Lith. *Rugpiutė*, Lett. *Rudzu mēnesis* ('rye month'); Lith. *Degĕsis* ('hot month'); Lett. *Suńu mēnesis* ('dog month').

September: O. Church Slav. *Vrěsinĭ*, Little Russ. *Veresń*, Pol. *Wrzesień*, Czech *Vresen*, Lett. *Silu menesis* ('heather month'); O. Church Slav. *Ryuyinŭ*, Serb. *Ruyan*, Czech *Zari*, Lith. *Ruyis* ('rutting month'); Russ. *Osenĭ*, Sloven. *Yesenik* ('autumn month'); Sloven. *Kimavec* ('fly month'); Slovac. *Hruden* ('clod month'); Little Russ. *Babyne l'ito*, Pol. *Babie lato* ('old woman's summer'); Little Russ. *Šiven* ('seed month').

October: O. Church Slav. *Listopadŭ*, Serb. *Listopad*, Huz. *Padolyst*, Lith. *Lapkristīs*, Lett. *Lapu menesis* ('month of falling leaves'): Little Russ. *Zolten*, Lith. *Rudujīs*, Lett. *Rudens mēnesis* ('yellow month'); Sloven. *Vinotok*, Lower Sorb. *Viński myasec* ('wine month'); Russ. *Gryaznikŭ* ('time when the roads become usable'); Sloven. *Obročnik* ('hoop month').

November: O. Church Slav. *Grudinŭ*, Russ. *Grudenĭ*, Huz. *Hrudeni* ('clod month'); Sloven. and Pol. *Listopad*, Little Russ. *Lystopad* ('month of falling leaves'); Serb. *Studeni* ('cold month').

December: O. Church Slav., Russ., Little Russ. *Studenŭ*, Pol. *Styczeń* ('cold month'); Czech *Vlčnec*, Upper Sorb *Vyelči mĕsac*, Lett. *Vilku menesis* ('wolf month'); Little Russ.

[1] The contention of Schrader, pp. 394–397, that the Indo-Germanic peoples knew of only three seasons, seems to the writer scarcely proven, especially as the theory is based solely on the *argumentum e silentio* (cf., further, Hirt, *Indogermanen*, Strassburg, 1907, pp. 512, 749).

Trusym, Lett. *Putenu mēnesis* ('month of snow drifts'); Serb. *Prosinac*, Czech *Prosinec*, Huz. *Prosynec* ('time of increasing daylight'); Sloven. and Croat. *Gruden*, Lith. *Gródìnis* ('clod month'); Russ. *Solnovorotŭ* ('[winter] solstice'); Lower Sorb. *Zymski* ('winter month'); Lith. *Sausis* ('dry [frost] month'), and *Sėkis* ('[wood-]cutting time').

It will be obvious, from the examples just given, that many month-names are applied by the Balto-Slavs to different months of the Julian calendar. Thus, the 'birch month' may be March (Sloven. *Brězen*), April (O. Church Slav. *Brězinŭ*), or May (Lith. *Berzēlis*); the 'flower month' may be April (Croat. *Cvitani*), May (Sloven. *Cvěten*), or June (Lett. *Zēdu mēnesis*); the 'yellow month' may be May (Sloven. *Zolto-pušnik*) or October (Little Russ. *Zolten*); and the 'clod month' may be September (Slovac. *Hruden*), November (Huz. *Hrudeni*), December (Lith. *Gródìnis*), or January (Czech *Hruden*).

3. The Balto-Slavic calendar originally had nothing corresponding to the week, the names for which properly mean 'Sunday' (O. Church Slav. *Nedělya*, Lith. *Nedėlė* [lit. 'day on which nothing is done'], O. Pruss. *Sawaite* [perhaps a loan-word from Gr. σάββατον]). The days of the week, which here begins with Monday, were numbered, in conformity with ecclesiastical usage, instead of being named, as in the Teutonic and other calendars. Thus the Lithuanian designations of the days of the week, which are here perfectly typical of the whole Balto-Slavic system, are as follows: Sunday, *Nedėlė* ('day on which nothing is done'); Monday, *Panedėlis* ('day after Sunday'); Tuesday, *Utárninkas* ('second day'); Wednesday, *Seredà* ('heart' [*i.e.* middle of the week]); Thursday, *Ketvergas* ('fourth day'); Friday, *Pētnyczia* ('fifth day'); Saturday, *Subatà* ('Sabbath'). For further details, see Schrader, pp. 963–965; Miklosich, 'Christliche Terminologie der slav. Sprachen,' in *DWAW* xxiv. [1876], pp. 19–21, where it is held that the Balto-Slavs borrowed their calendar through the Germanic peoples in Pannonia.

4. The Balto-Slavs divided their day (O. Church Slav. *dĭnĭ*, Lith. *dēnà*, cognate with Skr. *dína*, 'day' [for further cognates, see Berneker, p. 253 f.]) into at least four parts: dawn, morning (Lith. *auszrà*, O. Pruss. *angstainai*; cf. Schrader, p. 559); noon (Lith. *piētūs*; cf. Schrader, p. 2); evening (O. Church Slav. *vecerŭ*, Lith. *vãkaras*, O. Pruss. *bītai*; cf. Schrader, p. 1 f.); and night (O. Church Slav. *noštĭ*, Lith. *naktìs*; cf. Schrader, p. 569); and they were early acquainted with some sort of hour, as shown by O. Church Slav. *casŭ*, 'hour' (properly 'time'; cf. the cognate O. Pruss. *kīsman*, 'time,' Alban. *kohε*, 'time,' 'weather' [for further cognates, see Berneker, p. 137]).

Among the Russian peasants certain days receive special names. Thus Jan. 16 (the Feast of St. Peter's Chains in the Eastern Church) is called 'Peter Half-Food,' because by that time half the winter store of food has been consumed; Jan. 18 (the Feast of SS. Athanasius and Cyril) is 'Athanasius Break-Nose' (the cold then being so intense as to freeze the nose stiff); Jan. 22 (the Feast of St. Timothy) is 'Timothy Half-Winter'; Feb. 2 is 'Meeting Day' (when winter and summer are supposed to meet); Apr. 12 is 'Take the Waggons out'; May 2 is 'Nightingale Day'; June 13 is 'Buckwheat Day' (this grain then being sown), etc. Many foreign words receive folk-etymologies in this connexion, as when Russ. *Martŭ*, 'March' (a loan-word from Lat. *Martius*) is thus associated with *maritĭ*, 'to burn' (of the sun), because in that month the sun begins to burn the earth (for abundance of further examples, see Afanasiev, *Poetič. vozzr. Slavyan na prirodu* ['Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature'], Moscow, 1869, iii. 670–675).

The months and seasons play some part in Slavic folk-tales. According to a White Russian tradition, spring is a young and most beautiful maiden; summer, a sensually lovely woman; autumn, a lean and elderly man, three-eyed, and with unkempt and bushy hair; and winter, an aged man, with white hair, a long grey beard, barefooted and bareheaded, clad in white, and bearing an iron club (Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*[2], Graz, 1887, p. 519, with a reference to Afanasiev, *op. cit.* iii. 676–682).

A folk-tale 'of the twelve months,' of rather exceptional interest in this connexion, is recorded by Wenzig, *Westslaw. Marchenschatz*, Leipzig, 1857, pp. 20–26. A certain woman had a daughter named Holena, as hateful in soul as in body, and a stepdaughter named Marushka, as good as she was beautiful. In the depths of the ice-month (December), Marushka was compelled by Holena, under threat of being killed if unsuccessful, to fetch her violets. After much wandering, Marushka saw a light in the distance, and, following this, she 'comes to the top of the hill. Here a great fire burns, about the fire are twelve stones, on the stones sit twelve men. Three were grey-bearded, three were younger, three were still younger, and the three youngest were the handsomest. They spoke not; they looked silently into the fire. The Ice-Month sat at the head; he had hair and beard white as snow. In his hand he held a staff.' Marushka conducted herself with the utmost respect for these personages, and, on learning of her quest, 'the Ice-Month rose, went to the youngest month, put the staff in his hand, and said: "Brother March, sit at the head." March took his seat at the head, and swung the staff over the fire. On the instant the fire flamed higher, the snow began to melt, the trees dropped down buds,' and at the bidding of March, Marushka plucked the violets for which she had been sent, after which she politely thanked the months and returned to her wretched home. Soon, however, the cruel Holena sent her out again, this time for strawberries. Now it was June, the *vis-à-vis* of the Ice-Month, to whom the staff was given. A third time Marushka was sent for apples, and the Ice-Month gave the staff to September. By this time Holena, angered beyond measure by Marushka's success in her impossible tasks, herself set forth; but she displayed the utmost insolence to the months, whereupon 'the Ice-Month frowned and swung the staff over his head. Instantly the heaven was darkened, the fire burned low, snow began to fall as though a feather-bed were shaken out, and a biting wind blew through the wood,' all causing the death of the wicked Holena, and ultimately of her equally evil mother, while Marushka 'lived happily ever afterward.'

In this story the hill is plainly the sky; the fire is the sun, which is warmer or cooler according to the various months of the year; and perhaps there may be a covert moral that the powerful seasons are to be treated with respect, or disaster will follow.

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the course of the article, and further references may be found in Krek, *Einleit. in die slav. Literaturgesch.*[2], Graz, 1887, pp. 510–520.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

CALENDAR (Teutonic).—For the earliest and fullest account which we possess of any native Teutonic calendar we are indebted to Bede's treatise, *de Temporum Ratione* (ch. 15). Bede says that in former times the Angli calculated their months according to the course of the moon, whence the name (A.-S. *mónaþ*, from *móna*).[1] The months individually bore the following names:

Jan. *Giuli.*	May, *Thrimilci.*	Sept. *Halegmonath.*
Feb. *Solmonath.*	June, *Lida.*	Oct. *Winterfylleth.*
Mar. *Rhedmonath.*	July, *Lida.*	Nov. *Blotmonath.*
Apr. *Eosturmonath.*	Aug. *Weodmonath.*	Dec. *Giuli.*

The meaning of these names was as follows. The months called *Giuli* derived their name *a conuersione solis in auctum diei*, since one preceded the solstice and the other followed it. *Solmonath* denoted 'month of cakes,' which they used to offer at that time to their gods. *Rhedmonath* and *Eosturmonath* derived their names from two goddesses, *Rheda* (*Hreð*?) and *Eostre* (*Eastre*), to whom sacrifices were offered in these months. *Thrimilci* was so called because at that time the cattle were milked thrice a day, 'for such was once the fertility of Britain, or of Germany, from whence the English nation came to Britain.' *Lida* (*Liða*) meant *blandus siue nauigabilis*; *Weodmonath*, 'month of tares,' which were then most abundant; *Halegmonath* was *mensis sacrorum*. *Winterfylleth* might be rendered by the coined word *hiemiplenium*. *Blotmonath* denoted *mensis immolationum*, because they then devoted to their gods the live stock which they were going to slaughter.

The year began on Dec. 25, and that night (probably the preceding night) was called *Modraniht* ('night of the mothers'), on account (so

[1] Reference may also be made to the Anglo-Saxon menology of the Vercelli MS (ed. Wülker, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, Leipzig, 1894, ii. 282–293).

Bede suspected) of certain ceremonies which they observed. In ordinary years three months were reckoned to each season; but when there was an intercalation—it is not stated how often this took place—the extra month was added to summer. Such a year was called *Thrilidi*, because the name Lida was then borne by three months. Another and more customary division of the year was into two seasons, winter and summer, calculated according to the relative length of the nights and days. The first month of winter (*Winterfylleth*) acquired its name, which was a compound of 'winter' and 'full moon,' from the fact that winter was reckoned to begin from the full moon of that month.

Some modern writers have taken exception to this account, on the ground that it presents an impossible combination of solar and lunar reckoning. The explanation, however, may be that the solar reckoning had begun to encroach on the other before the adoption of Christianity. Originally the year may have begun with the interlunium nearest to the winter solstice. The word *Giuli* is clearly related to the A.-S. name for Christmas, *Geohhol*, *Géol*, 'Yule.' In a fragment of a Gothic calendar, dating probably from the 6th cent., we find *Naubaimbair*: *fruma Jiuleis* (*i.e.* 'the first Jiuleis'), which is the exact Gothic equivalent of the same word. Here also the name seems to have been given to more than one month (*aftuma Jiuleis*, 'the second Jiuleis,' probably being the name of Dec.), though apparently these months were Nov. and Dec., instead of Dec. and Jan.—a discrepancy which is due probably to the difficulty of equating lunar months with divisions of the Roman (solar) year.

Later English authorities show comparatively few variations from the list of month-names given by Bede. Dec. and Jan. are distinguished as *se ǽrra Géola* and *se æftera Géola* respectively, as in Gothic; and a similar distinction is made between the two months called *Liða*. We find also *Hlyda* for March, *Séarmónaþ* ('dry-month') for June, *Hærfestmónaþ* ('harvest-month') and *Rugern* (probably 'rye-harvest') for September, and *Iulmónaþ* (Yule-month') for December.

The earliest Continental reference is a passage in Einhard's *Vita Caroli Magni* (ch. 29), where Charlemagne is said to have fixed German names for the months. Before his time they were called partly by Latin and partly by native names. The authorized list was as follows:

1. *Wintarmanoth.*	5. *Winnemanoth.*	9. *Witumanoth.*
2. *Hornung.*	6. *Brachmanoth.*	10. *Windumemanoth.*
3. *Lenzinmanoth.*	7. *Hewimanoth.*	11. *Herbistmanoth.*
4. *Ostarmanoth.*	8. *Aranmanoth.*	12. *Heilagmanoth.*

For *Hornung* we find in later times *der kleine Horn*, and so also *der grosse Horn* for January. The name is probably connected with O. Norse *hiarn*, 'frozen snow.' *Ostarmanoth* corresponds to the Anglo-Saxon name for April, but *Herbistm.* and *Heilagm.* to the two Anglo-Saxon names for September. *Lenzinm.*, *Winnem.*, *Brachm.*, *Hewim.*, *Aranm.*, *Witum.*, and *Windumem.* appear to mean 'spring-month,' 'pasture-month,' 'fallow-month,' 'hay-month,' 'reaping-month,' 'wood-month,' and 'grape-gathering-month' respectively.

Among German-speaking peoples in later times the Latin names appear to have been almost exclusively used for March, April, May, and August, in many districts also for January. The other names in common use were: for Jan. *Hartmonet* ('sharp-month') and several others; for Feb. *Hornung*, etc., and *Sporkel*, the latter word probably being borrowed from mediæval Latin *spurcalis*, 'Shrove Tuesday,' in allusion to the merriment, often very questionable, which characterized this day, especially as the *Indiculus Superstitionum* (8th cent.) has a notice *de Spurcalibus in Februario*. For June we find *Brachmanet*, *Brachot*, or 'second May' (*ander Meije*, etc.); for July *Houmanet*, *Houwot*, or *Hundemaen*; for Sept. *Herbest*, or 'second August' (*ander Ougest*, etc.); for Oct. *Winmanet* ('wine-month'), *Herbest*, or *ander Herbest*; for Nov. *Wintermanet*, *erste Winterm.*, *dritte Herbest*, *Louprise* ('fall of the leaf'), *Wolfm.*, *Halegm.* etc.; for Dec. *Wintermanet*, *ander Winterm.*, *Hartm.* etc.

Concerning the form of calendar which prevailed in Germany in heathen times we have no definite information; but the fact that several of the above names are applied to different Roman months perhaps suggests that they originally denoted lunar months.

The month-names used in the Netherlands, both now and in the past, differ somewhat from the German. The following are the commonest varieties: (1) *Louwmaand* (meaning doubtful), *Hardm.*; (2) *Sprokkelmaand*, *Sporkel*, *Sille* (the latter unexplained); (3) *Lentemaand*; (4) *Grasmaand* ('grass-month'); (5) *Bloeimaand* ('blossom-month'), etc.; (6) *Zomermaand* ('summer-month'), *Braakm.* etc.; (7) *Hooimaand*, etc.; (8) *Oogstmaand*, etc.; (9) *Herfstmaand*, *Evenmaand* ('oats-month'?); (10) *Wijnmaand*, etc.; (11) *Slagtmaand* ('slaughter-month'), etc.; (12) *Wintermaand*, etc. The modern Frisian names practically all agree with the Dutch.

The native month-names used in Denmark are as follows: (1) *Glugmaaned* ('window-month'?); (2) *Blidemaaned* ('cheerful-month') or *Göjemaaned* ('giant-month'); (3) *Tormaaned* ('winter-month'); (4) *Faaremaaned* ('sheep-month'); (5) *Mejmaaned*; (6) *Sommermaaned* or *Skærsommer* ('bright summer'); (7) *Ormemaaned* ('worm- or snake-month'); (8) *Hömaaned* ('hay-month') or *Höstmaaned* ('autumn-month'); (9) *Fiskemaaned* ('fish-month'); (10) *Sædemaaned* ('sowing-month') or *Ridmaaned* ('riding-month'?); (11) *Vintermaaned*; (12) *Julemaaned* ('Yule-month').

In Sweden we find: (1) *Thore* ('giant-month'); (2) *Göja* ('winter-month'); (3) *Blidemånad*, *Blida*; (4) *Vårant* ('spring-work'); (5) *Mai*; (6) *Midsommer*; (7) *Hömanad*, *Hoant* ('hay-making'); (8) *Skördemånad*, *Skortant* ('reaping-work'); (9) *Höstmånad*; (10) *Blotmånad*, *Slagtmånad* (cf. the A.-S. and Dutch names for Nov.); (11) *Vintermånad*; (12) *Julmånad*.

In Norway a peculiar and apparently archaic calendar has continued in use down to the present time. The first three months are called respectively *Torre* ('giant'), *Gjo* ('winter'), and *Krikla* or *Krine* (the latter two unexplained). For the 4th and 5th months we find only the name *Voarmoanar* ('spring-months'); for the 6th and 7th, *Sumarmoanar*; for the 8th and 9th, *Haustmoanar*; for the 10th and 11th, *Vinterstid*; for the 12th, *Jolemoane* or *Skammtid* ('short-time'). All these months are lunar. *Jolemoane* is said to denote the lunar month in which Yule (Christmas) falls, provided that it lasts until Jan. 6; otherwise the name is applied to the following lunar month. The Norwegian year is divided into summer and winter. The former begins on Apr. 14, which is called *Sumarmaal*, and the latter on Oct. 14, called *Vetternætter*. This arrangement can be traced back to early times.

In Iceland the first month has always been called *Thorri*, the second *Gói*, the third usually *Einmánaðr* (supposed to mean 'one month' before the beginning of summer). After this there is much variation. *Sáðtið* (seed-time') varies between 3 and 4, *Eggtið* ('egg-time') and *Stekk tið* ('fold-time' or 'lambing-time') between 4 and 5, *Sólmánaðr* ('sun-month') between 5 and 6. We find also: (4) *Gaukmánaðr* ('cuckoo-month'), *Harpað* (unexplained); (5) *Skerpla* (unexplained); (6) *Sel-*

mánaðr ('mountain-pasture-month'); (7) *Heyannir* ('hay-making'), *Miðsumar*; (8) *Trimánaðr* ('double-month'?), *Kornskurðmán.* ('reaping-month'); (9) *Haustmán.*; (10) *Gormán.* ('slaughter-month'?); (11) *Frermán.* ('frost-month'), *Ylir* (supposed to mean 'howler,' but perhaps identical with the Anglo-Saxon *Giuli*); (12) *Hrútmán.* ('ram-month'), *Jólmán.*, and *Mörsugr* ('marrow-sucker'?). The majority of these names can be traced back to the 13th cent.; but, with the exception of the first two or three, they do not seem to have been much used.

The Icelandic months are not lunar, but they do not really correspond to ours. The year contained 364 days, *i.e.* exactly 52 weeks, and was divided into winter and summer, the first three and last three months being included in winter and the rest in summer. Each month contained 30 days, except the third month of summer, which had an additional 4 days, known as *Aukanætr*. The beginning of the fourth month, *i.e.* the beginning of summer, fell always on a Thursday, between Apr. 9 and 15 (O.S.), while the beginning of winter fell always on a Saturday, between Oct. 11 and 18. These dates were called respectively *Sumarmál* and *Vetrnætr* (the Norw. *Sumarmaal* and *Vetternætter*), though in each case the name was applied to the first three days. 'Midsummer' proper was the beginning of the fourth month of summer, and fell always on a Sunday, between July 13 and 20, while 'midwinter' was the beginning of Thorri, and fell always on a Friday, between Jan. 9 and 16. Every five or six years, a whole week, called *Sumarauki*, was intercalated after the *Aukanætr*, i.e. immediately before 'midsummer.' The usual method of dating was by the number of the week in summer or winter.

An attempt has recently been made to show that this peculiar calendar is merely a modification of the Julian, determined by greater convenience in the reckoning of Easter. The number of dates on which Easter could fall was reduced thereby from thirty-five to five, while the beginning of summer coincided with the mean date for Thursday in Easter week. It is likely enough that Church influence did contribute towards the fixing of this date, but the assumption on which the theory as a whole mainly rests, viz. that the Northern peoples could not have known the week before they adopted Christianity, can hardly be admitted. According to native tradition, the *Sumarauki* was invented by a certain Thórsteinn Surtr shortly after the middle of the 10th cent., at a time when it was found that the year of 364 days, which was already in use, did not really coincide with the solar year. The week may very well have been adopted quite early in Icelandic history as the standard division of the year, in place of the lunar month. Such a change is probably to be ascribed to the isolation of the settlers, and the difficulty which they consequently found in determining or agreeing as to when intercalation should take place according to the lunar system.

In spite of the great variety of names shown by the above lists, there is yet an appreciable number of cases in which several Teutonic peoples agree in using the same term. These are, as a rule, derived from occupations peculiar to certain periods of the year, *e.g.* 'hay-month,' 'harvest-month,' 'slaughter-month.' Again, there is no doubt that some names have become obsolete in certain countries. Thus in some parts of Sweden the marsh-marigold is called *trimjölksgräs*, which points to the former existence of a month-name corresponding to the A.-S. *Thrimilci*. It has also been suggested that the A.-S. name *Liða* may be related to Old Church Slavic *lěto*, 'summer.' If so, it must be very ancient.

The most important case of agreement, however, is that of Goth. *Jiuleis*, A.-S. *Giuli*, and perhaps Icel. *Ylir*; for, though this word is clearly related to A.-S. *Geohhol*, *Géol*, O. Norse *Jól*, it is certainly not a recent derivative from it. The etymology of the whole series of forms is quite obscure, but there is no reasonable ground for doubting the antiquity of a midwinter festival among many, if not all, of the Teutonic peoples. Procopius, writing in the middle of the 6th cent., says (*Goth.* ii. 15) that the inhabitants of Thule (*i.e.* Scandinavia) were for forty days in winter without the light of the sun. When thirty-five days had passed, it was their custom to send messengers to the mountains, and, as soon as they heard from them of the sun's return, they began to celebrate the greatest of their festivals. This story as it stands is difficult to credit, for such a phenomenon could, of course, occur only in the extreme north of the peninsula; but, at all events, it gives evidence for the existence of a festival about the end of the first week in January, *i.e.* at precisely the same time as we find the Yule festival in later days. Apart from the sagas, we should notice especially a passage in the *Chronicle* of Thietmar of Merseburg (i. 9), where it is stated that the great nine-yearly festival at Leire (in Sjælland) took place about the time of Epiphany.

Other festivals were doubtless held at various seasons in the year, and the assumption that uniformity prevailed everywhere is neither necessary nor probable. In the North, however, we hear frequently of two specially important festivals, one at the beginning of summer or 'towards summer,' the other at the beginning of winter. The former may have coincided with the great festival at Upsala, which, according to a scholion (No. 137) in Adam of Bremen's *History*, took place every nine years about the vernal equinox, though this cannot be regarded as quite certain. The latter was doubtless held at 'the winter nights' (*Vetrnætr*) in October. We hear also of religious festivals among the heathen Old Saxons about this time, and the A.-S. name *Winterfylleth* seems rather to suggest something of the same kind. Tacitus (*Germ.* 11) says that the ancient Germani usually held their tribal gatherings either at the full moon or at the new moon, and in another passage (*Ann.* i. 50) he mentions a religious festival which seems to have taken place at a full moon in autumn. It is held by many scholars that the Teutonic year originally began at this time; and, though incapable of actual proof, the view has much in its favour, especially as the ancient Gauls also appear to have begun their year in the autumn.

As regards the interdependence between the festivals, Icelandic custom fixed an interval of ninety days (which points to the lapse of three full lunar months) between *Vetrnætr* and 'midwinter' (the old Yule), whereas the English year would seem to have begun at the third new moon after the beginning of winter. This accounts for the difference between the two midwinter festivals, if we are to suppose that *Vetrnætr* was originally a mean date for the third full moon before the solstice, corresponding to the A.-S. *Winterfylleth*. The Scandinavian Yule may have been shifted from the solstitial new moon to the following full moon, in consideration of the obviously greater convenience which the latter would present in northern latitudes; but this, of course, can be regarded only as conjectural.

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(Strassburg, 1901), s.vv. 'Abend,' 'Jahr,' 'Jahreszeiten,' 'Mond und Monat,' 'Morgen,' 'Nacht,' 'Tag,' 'Woche,' and 'Zeitteilung.'
H. MUNRO CHADWICK.

CALF.—See BULL.

CALIFORNIA.—Fundamentally the religion of the Indians of California is very similar to that of savage and uncivilized races all the world over. Like all such peoples, they cherished animistic notions, attributing life, intelligence, and especially supernatural power, virtually to all things. Nor did they lack the beliefs and practices of shamanism, which is founded on the conception that certain men, through communication with the animated supernatural world, have the power to accomplish what is contrary to, or above, the events of ordinary experience. As elsewhere, belief in shamanistic powers circled mainly around disease and death, which were generally believed to be not only dispelled but entirely caused by shamans.

In common with the other American Indians, those of California made dancing, always accompanied by singing, a conspicuous part of nearly all their public ceremonies. They differed from almost all other tribes of North America in exhibiting a much weaker development of the ritualism and symbolism which are perhaps the most distinctive feature of the religion of the Americans as a whole. Practically all the approaches to a system of writing devised in North America, whether in Mexico, Yucatan, or among the tribes of the United States and Canada, are the direct outcome of a desire for symbolic religious expression. The California Indians, however, are remarkably free even from traces of this graphic tendency, alike in their religion and in the more practical aspects of their life. In many parts of North America there is a considerable amount of fetishism, not of the crass type of Africa, but rather as a result of over-symbolism. This fetishistic tendency is very slightly developed in California, and that in spite of—or, as an Americanist would more properly say, on account of—the generally rude and primitive condition of culture. By contrast, as actions and visible symbols are here a less important means of religious expression, words, both spoken and sung, are of greater significance.

As an ethnographic province, the greater part of California plainly forms a unit. Two portions of the present political State, however, were sharply distinguished from the remainder in point of culture during the native period, and these must usually be kept apart in all matters that concern ethnology and religion. One of these distinctive culture areas comprises the extreme N.W. corner of the State, in the drainage of the lower Klamath and about Humboldt Bay. The other consists of what is usually known as Southern California, extending from the Tehachapi Pass and mountains in the interior, and from Pt. Concepcion on the coast, southward to the Mexican boundary. The culture of the small N.W. area was in every way, and that of the larger Southern province at least in some respects, more highly organized and complex than that of the still larger and principal Central region, which comprised at least two-thirds of the State, and which, if such a selection is to be made, must be considered as the most typically Californian.

The religious practices of the Indians of California fall into three well-marked divisions: (1) such observances as are followed and executed by individuals, although their perpetuation is traditionary and tribal—that is to say, *customary observances*; (2) individual practices resting upon a direct personal communication of an individual with the supernatural world—in other words, *shamanism*; (3) observances and practices which are not only the common property of the tribe by tradition, but in which the entire tribe or community directly or indirectly participates—in other words, *ceremonies*. After discussing these three divisions of their religious practices, we shall conclude with a fourth section on their mythology.

1. Customary observances.—These are as strongly developed here as farther north along the Pacific slope. This W. coast region thus differs as a whole from the interior and E. parts of the continent, where such observances are usually a less conspicuous feature than tribal ceremonies. By far the most important of the observances in California are those relating to death. Next come those connected with birth and sexual functions. Beliefs and practices centring in the individual's name are of importance particularly in so far as they are connected with the customs relating to death. There are also restrictions and superstitions as to food.

Death was considered to bring defilement, and almost everywhere entailed purification ceremonies. In the N.W. region these were particularly important, and among such tribes as the Hupa and Yurok the observance of this purification, the most essential part of which was the recitation of a formula, was the most stringently exacted religious custom. The method of disposing of the dead varied locally between burial and cremation, cremation being practised over at least half of the State. Air-burial and sea-burial have nowhere been found. Mourning, which consisted primarily of singing and wailing, began immediately upon the occurrence of death, and continued for about a day, although it was sometimes longer protracted by the nearest relatives of the deceased. Among some tribes this mourning commenced with full vigour some time before impending death, often during the full consciousness of the patient and with his approval. Mutilations on the part of the mourners were not practised to any great extent, except that the hair was almost universally cut more or less, especially by the women. Mourning observances were almost always carried further by women than by men. Among some tribes of the Sierra Nevada the widow did not speak from the time of her husband's death until the following annual tribal mourning ceremony. Except in the case of the N.W. tribes, who possessed more elaborately constructed dwellings of wood, the house in which a death had occurred was not used again but was burned. Objects that had been in personal contact or associated with the deceased were similarly shunned and destroyed. The name of the dead was not spoken. Even the word which constituted his name was not used in ordinary discourse, a circumlocution or newly coined word being employed. It is certain that this stringently observed custom has been a factor in the marked dialectic differentiation of the languages of California. In N.W. California even the accidental mention of the name of the dead could be compensated for only by the payment of a considerable sum. Some property and food were buried with the corpse. The idea that the articles were for use in the world of the dead was not so strong a motive for such acts as the feeling that the objects had been defiled by association with the dead, and the desire to express sincerity of mourning.

On the whole, the immediate observances of death pale in importance before the annual public mourning ceremony, which is everywhere, except in the N.W. region, one of the most deeply-rooted and spectacular acts of worship.

Observances connected with *sexual functions*, including birth, are next in importance after those relating to death. The menstruating woman was everywhere regarded as unclean, and was excluded especially from acts of worship. Not infrequent was the conception that she contaminated food, especially meat. Among many tribes she was excluded from the house and confined to a menstrual hut. Her refraining from all but the most necessary activity was sometimes deemed essential. All these observances were greatly intensified at the time of a girl's first menstruation, a condition for which most of the languages of California possess a distinctive word. The girl at this period was thought to be possessed of a particular degree of supernatural power. One of the injunctions most strongly laid upon her was not to look about her. She kept her head bowed, and was forbidden to see the world and the sun. Some tribes covered her with a blanket. Many of the customs in this connexion most strongly resembled those of the North Pacific coast, *e.g.* the prohibition against the girl's touching or scratching her head with her hand, a special implement being furnished for the purpose. Some form of public ceremony, often accompanied by a dance and sometimes by a form of ordeal for the girl, was practised nearly everywhere.

Religious customs connected with *birth* consisted in part of observances before the birth of the child, in part of observances after birth, and especially of restrictions imposed on one or both of the parents after its birth. Practices affecting the child itself, or the mother before its birth, related in great part to food. The newly-born child was usually washed, often repeatedly. The mother after a birth was regarded as more or less defiled. Either the mother was, or both father and mother were, usually inhibited from activity for some time after a birth. The *couvade* in its strict form, with restrictions imposed entirely upon the father to the exclusion of the mother, does not seem to be found.

In N.W. California there is a special development of *spoken formulæ*, whose content is little else than a myth, and which not only constitute the basis and essential element of public ceremonies, but are connected with almost all customary observances. To such an extent had these formulæ grown into the mind of these Indians as being what is most sacred and most efficacious in all aspects of religion, that they partly supplanted shamanism. Not only purification from death and other defilement, but luck in hunting and fishing, and success in felling trees and making baskets, in the acquisition of wealth, in short, in the proper achievement of every human wish, were thought to be accomplished by the proper knowledge and recitation of these myth-formulæ.

2. Shamanism.—Shamanism, the supposed individual control of the supernatural through a personally acquired power of communication with the spirit-world, rests upon much the same basis in California as elsewhere in North America. In general, among uncivilized tribes, the simpler the stage of culture the more important the shaman. There is thus a contrast between the rude, simple-minded Indians of California and those of the Plains and of the South-West, where the supremacy of the shaman is rather obscured by that of the priest conversant with ceremonies.

The most common way of acquiring shamanistic power in California, as in so many other parts of the world, is by *dreaming*. A spirit—be it that of an animal, a place, the sun or other natural object, of a deceased relative, or an entirely unembodied spirit—visits the future medicine-man in his dreams, and the connexion thus established between them is the source and basis of the latter's power. This spirit becomes the guardian-spirit or 'personal.' From it he receives the song or rite, and the knowledge, which enable him to cause or remove disease, and to do and endure what other men cannot. In California, with a few special exceptions, the custom of having an animal as guardian-spirit does not seem so prevalent as elsewhere. Occasionally it is the ghost of a person who has once lived, usually a relative. Perhaps more frequently it is merely a spirit as such, not connected with any tangible embodiment or form. In certain regions the *waking vision*, or *trance*, is recognized as a means of acquiring shamanistic power. A person is in a wild desolate place, perhaps hunting. Suddenly there is an appearance before him. He becomes unconscious, and while in this state receives his supernatural power (cf. also COMMUNION WITH DEITY [Amer.]). On his return to his people he is for a time demented or physically affected. The concept of a guardian-spirit is much less clearly defined among the N.W. tribes, with whom the possession of 'pains'—the small material but supernatural objects which cause disease—rather than of true spirits, seems to be what is generally associated with shamanistic power. The majority of the shamans here, and those supposed to be most powerful, are women.

In parts of Southern California also the idea of the guardian-spirit does not seem to be well developed. Here the method of acquiring shamanistic power is almost exclusively by dreams. Among the Mohave, myths and not a personal meeting or communion with an individual spirit constitute the subject of the dreams. The Mohave shamans believe that they were present at the beginning of the world, before mankind had separated into tribes. They were with the great leader and semi-creator Mastamho. They saw him singing, blowing, and rubbing over the body of a sick man, and from him they thus learned the actions and speeches which constitute their power. The Mohave universally speak of having dreamed these scenes, but also state that they dreamed them before birth; in other words, that they were present in spirit form at the beginning of the world, at the time when all power, shamanistic and other, was established and allotted. It is obvious that, with this conception as the basis of their whole religion, there is but little room among them for any beliefs as to guardian-spirits of the usual kind. Of course nothing limits the shaman to one spirit, and among many or most tribes, such as the Maidu, a powerful medicine-man may possess a great number.

Frequently in Central and N.W. California there is some more or less public ceremony at which a new shaman is, so to speak, initiated before he exercises his powers. The body of initiated shamans do not form any society or association, nor do they otherwise appear to act in concert. The ceremony is rather an occasion that marks the first public appearance of the novice, in which he receives for his own good, and presumably for that of the community also, the assistance of the more experienced persons of his profession. This ceremony is usually held in the ceremonial chamber, and is accompanied by dancing. The efforts of the older shamans are directed towards giving the initiate a firm and permanent control of the spirits, which have only half attached themselves to him, and which are thought to be still more or less rebellious.

A special class of shamans, found to a greater or less extent probably among all the Central tribes, are the so-called *bear-doctors*—shamans who have received power from grizzly bears. Not only can

the bear-shamans assume the form of bears, as they do in order to inflict vengeance on their enemies, but it is believed that they can be killed an indefinite number of times when in this form, and each time return to life. The *rattlesnake-doctor*, who cured or prevented the bite of the rattlesnake, was usually distinct from other medicine-men. Among the Yuki, his power, like that of the rattlesnake, was associated with the sun; among the Maidu, with the thunder. Among the Yokuts the rattlesnake-shamans annually held a public ceremony designed to prevent rattlesnake bites among the tribe. On this occasion they displayed their power over the snakes by handling them in a manner analogous to that of the Hopi, and by even allowing themselves to be bitten. *Rain-doctors* were much looked up to in the southern half of California.

As everywhere else, the practice of shamanism in California circles about disease and death. It is probably more narrowly limited to this phase than in almost any other portion of North America. That the medicine-men who could cure disease were also those who must cause it, unless it were the direct consequence of an infraction of some religious observance or prohibition, was an almost universal belief. The killing of medicine-men was therefore of frequent occurrence. Among some tribes, as the Yokuts, the medicine-man who had lost several patients was held responsible for their death by their relatives. Among the Mohave also, murder seems to have been the normal end of the medicine-man. In the N.W. region the shaman who failed to cure was forced to return the fee which he had received in advance.

Disease, as among most primitive peoples, was usually held to be caused by small material objects which had in a supernatural way been made to enter the body. Their determination and extraction was the principal office of the medicine-man, and, as elsewhere, extraction was most frequently accomplished by sucking. In certain regions, especially the South, the tubular pipe was brought into requisition for this purpose. The disease-causing object might be a bit of hair, a stick, an insect or small reptile, a piece of bone, deer sinew, or almost any other material. In N. California it was not an ordinary physical object working mischief by its mere presence in the body, but an object itself supernatural and called a 'pain.' These 'pains' are variously described, frequently as being sharp at both ends, clear as ice, and possessing the power of moving. In some cases two classes of medicine-men were distinguished, one diagnosing, the other treating the patient. Sucking is not always resorted to. The Mohave blow or spit over their patients and stroke or knead their bodies. Medicines and drugs are but little used, and in a manner that gives no opportunity for their physiological efficacy. Four or five drops—the number varying according to the ceremonial number of the tribe—of a weak decoction may be given to the patient or even applied to him only externally. Tobacco is employed to a considerable extent by shamans, but is of equal importance in other aspects of religion.

3. Ceremonies.—Apart from such public observances as the shaman-initiation, menstrual-dance, and victory-celebration, which, while generally participated in, are performed primarily for the benefit of individuals, the ceremonies of the California Indians which are of a really public or communal purpose and character fall into three classes: (1) mourning ceremonies; (2) initiation ceremonies connected with a secret society; and (3) a more varied group of dances and other observances, all of which have as a common aim the benefit either of the community or of the world at large, as, for instance, when they cause a good crop of acorns and natural products, make the avoidance of rattlesnake bites possible, or prevent the occurrence of disease, earthquake, flood, and other calamities.

(1) Of these three classes the *mourning ceremonies* are at least as important as the others, and by far the most distinctive of the State as an ethnographic province, although neither they nor the secret society are found in the specialized N.W. area. The mourning ceremonies are absent also from the Athapascan, Yuki, and Pomo tribes in the coast region as far south as the Bay of San Francisco, but outside of this strip in the N. coast region they are universal in the State. Among the Maidu they are usually known as 'burning,' among the Miwok as 'cry'; among the Yokuts they have been called 'dance of the dead,' and among the Mohave and Yuma 'annual.' These ceremonies are usually participated in by a number of visiting communities or villages. They last for one or more nights, during which crying and wailing, sometimes accompanied by singing and exhortation, are indulged in, and find their climax in a great destruction of property. While those who have recently lost relatives naturally take a prominent part, the ceremony as a whole is not a personal but a tribal one. Among the Yokuts, and probably other tribes, it is immediately followed by a dance of a festive nature, and usually there is a definitely expressed idea that this general ceremony puts an end to all individual mournings among the participants. Participation in the ceremony is sometimes obtained by producing a membership-string or necklace, the receipt and the return of which are both marked by payments or presents. Among the Maidu the purpose of the burning of property is to supply the ghosts of the dead with clothing, property, and food. In some cases images are made to represent the dead, and are burned with the property offered.

(2) *Initiation ceremonies*, which result in something analogous to a secret society, are found in the whole State with the exception of the N.W. region and the agricultural tribes of the extreme S.E. There are usually no paraphernalia or insignia of a society, no degrees or ranks, no membership or other organization, nor is there the definite purpose of an actual society. In so far as a society may be said to exist, its principal purpose and its only public function is the initiation of boys as new members. To a certain extent the initiates are regarded as a class or council having a more or less indefinite authority over religious matters affecting the community. The precepts imparted to the initiates, other than ritualistic knowledge, seem to be of the most general kind. In many ways this initiation may be regarded as a puberty ceremony for boys, corresponding to the first-menstruation ceremony of girls. Among the Yokuts of Central California and in S. California the initiation was accompanied by the drinking of toloache or jimson-weed, the stupor and visions produced by which were regarded as supernatural. In S. California boys were made to undergo severe tests of pain and endurance at the initiation ceremony.

(3) The public ceremonies other than mourning and initiation observances, in other words the *tribal dances* of California, differ entirely in the three culture regions, which must therefore be considered separately.

(*a*) In the Central area these dances were mostly held in the large assembly house, and either lasted for a number of nights or consisted of a series of successive dances extending over a considerable period. Some of the dances were named after animals, and in these there was usually some

imitation of the actions of animals. Actual masks were never employed. In the Sacramento valley and adjacent region there was some impersonation of mythical characters, as of the creator Taikomol among the Yuki, and of the mythical Kuksu among the Pomo and others. There seems to have been nothing corresponding to an altar. The dancers were painted, but crudely and with simple symbolism. An important character in most ceremonies was the clown or buffoon, part of whose duties was to caricature the more serious performance.

The exact nature and relation of the various dances of most of the tribes of the Central region are very little known. Probably a typical example is furnished by the Maidu of the Sacramento valley, who declare that their ceremonies were obtained from their neighbours the Wintun. Among the Maidu the ceremonies were performed in winter, and constituted a series of fifteen or more distinct dances, coming for the most part in a definite order. These, so far as known, are the following: Hesi, Luyi, Loli, Salalu-ngkasi, Duck, Bear, Coyote, Creeper, Turtle, Aloli-ngkasi, Yokola-ngkasi, Moloko-ngkasi, Deer, Aki, Hesi. The majority of these dances were performed by men, but some by women only. Each has its characteristic paraphernalia. At least some of these seem to represent mythical characters. Farther to the south, among the Yokuts of the Tulare basin, such ceremonies do not seem to have been practised. Here the majority of the public ceremonies, like the rattlesnake ceremony which has been mentioned, are of the nature of shamanistic performances.

(*b*) In N.W. California the more important ceremonies can be held only at certain spots, and the performance of the same ceremony always varies somewhat in different localities. The performers do not represent mythological or other characters, and do not imitate animals. The essential religious portion of the ceremony consists in the recital of a sacred formula. These formulæ relate specifically to the exact locality at which the dances are held, and therefore vary considerably from spot to spot. The public portions of the ceremony, such as the dancing, are practically dissociated from this purely religious element. The dancers are mostly young men, without any knowledge of the ceremony other than of the simple dance-step and songs. The paraphernalia which they wear belong neither to them nor to the priests, but to wealthy men of the tribe, to whom the occasion is an all-important opportunity for the display of their wealth, which consists in large part of the dancing regalia, the possession of which is the chief condition of their social prominence. The most important ceremonies are the deer-skin dance and the jumping dance, the former held at six or eight, the latter at a somewhat larger number of places. The purpose of both dances is the good of the world, earthquake and disease being prevented and a food supply ensured by their performance.

(*c*) In S. California such ceremonies as partake of the nature neither of mourning nor of initiation rites are conspicuous by the prominence of the myth element. They consist essentially of long series of songs, occupying one or more nights, which recount, in part directly, but more often by allusion, a myth. In some cases dancing by men or women accompanies the singing, but this is never spectacular. Being only ceremonial recitations of myths, these ceremonies are not attached in their performance to specific localities; when dancing regalia are used, they are of the simplest character; nor is there opportunity for either altar or ritual. The predominance of the mourning element in the ceremonies of this region is further shown by the fact that among some tribes, as the Mohave, these singing ceremonies, besides being performed independently, are also continued for many hours at every death.

The *ceremonial chamber* has a distinctive character in each of the three culture areas. In the Central region it is a large, circular, dome-shaped structure, partly underground and with a covering of earth. It serves also as a place of assembly, and probably, at least at times, as a sudatory, whence its popular name of 'sweat-house.' In the N.W. the sweat-house is quite small, always entirely underground, and its roof consists of boards without a covering of earth. It is used primarily for sweating, and is the regular sleeping-place of all adult males. It is not used for public ceremonies except in the case of the dance at the initiation of shamans. In the South the ceremonial structure is not a house, but either a mere enclosure of brush, as among the Mission tribes, or a simple shade of brush on upright posts, as among the Mohave. This type of ceremonial structure is also found in the southern part of the Central region among the Yokuts.

4. Mythology.—In mythology an important difference between the three culture areas again appears. The N.W. mythologies are characterized primarily by a very deeply-impressed conception of a previous, now vanished race, which, by first living the life and performing the actions of mankind, was the producer of all human institutions and arts, as well as of many of the phenomena of nature. Second in importance are myths dealing with culture-heroes, more or less of the trickster type familiar from so many other parts of North America. In Central California, on the other hand, there is always a true creation of the world, of mankind, and of its institutions. The conception of the creator is often quite lofty, and tricky exploits are not usually connected with him. Often there is an antithesis between this beneficent and truly Divine creator and a second character, usually the coyote, who in part co-operates with the creator, but in part thwarts him, being responsible for the death of mankind and other imperfections in the scheme of the world. In the northern half of the Central region the creator is generally anthropomorphic; if not, he is merged into one personage with the coyote. In the southern half of the Central region the creators seem always to be animals, with the dignified and wise eagle as chief. The comparatively elaborate and consistent creation-myths of Central California are ethnographically of significance, on account of the scanty development of such myths among the American Indians in general. The myths of the Central region, not directly concerned with creation, are mostly stories of adventure, of much the same type as European folk- and fairy-tales. They do not explain the origin of phenomena except in a casual, isolated way, and are only very rarely of ceremonial import. In S. California there are no real creation-myths. The various animate and inanimate existences in the world are believed to have been born from heaven and earth as the first parents.

The great bulk of the S. California origin-myth consists of a history of mankind, at first as a single tribe, and later centred in the tribe which tells the story. In the successive experiences of this group of people, which are accompanied by more or less journeying, the world is gradually brought to its present stage, and all the institutions of mankind are developed. The people are under the guidance of one or two great leaders—at least one of whom always dies or departs after giving his beneficent directions. The thoroughly

Pueblo and S.W. character of such myths is obvious. They are usually followed to a greater or less extent by migration legends, recounting the wandering and conflicts of different tribes or clans. The plots of the remaining myths are not very different in essence from the adventure stories of the Central region, but are both much longer and more elaborate, and at the same time distinctively ritualistic, forming as they do the basis or framework of the singing ceremonies which have been described.

The world is usually regarded as surrounded by water, sometimes as floating upon it. It is often secured by four or five pillars, ropes, or other supports. Beyond where earth and sky meet there is often another land. The dead sometimes go below, sometimes above, sometimes across the ocean to the west, and sometimes to the more or less distant parts of this earth. The entrance to the world of the dead is pointed out by some tribes. People who have temporarily died have been there and have returned to describe it. Dances constitute the principal occupation of the dead. No ideas of future rewards and punishments, based on conduct in this life, have been found; and if any exist, they must be but scantily developed. As in other parts of the world, there are occasional ideas of transmigration of souls into animals, but these are nowhere systematically worked out or of any religious importance.

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A. L. KROEBER.

CALL, CALLING (*καλεῖν, κλῆσις*).—**1. The Biblical data.**—In the NT and in Christian theology 'call' and 'calling' are technical terms to denote God's efficacious summons to individuals to partake of the redemptive blessings to which they have been appointed in His eternal purpose (Ro 8^{28}). The Divine call is the act in which the Divine election (*q.v.*) is revealed and realized. Those whom God calls to salvation He has previously elected; those whom He elects He proceeds to call. For this specific use of the word 'call,' which meets us constantly in the Epistles, and, above all, in those of St. Paul, there are suggestions in the OT, in the employment of it to denote a Divine summons to a particular task or privilege or vocation—a summons which is not to be distinguished from a Divine command or decree, as in the call of Abraham (Gn 12^{1}; cf. He 11^{8}), of Moses (Ex 3^{10}), of Isaiah (Is 6^{9}), of the people of Israel (Is 42^{6} 48^{12}). In the NT the word continues to be used in the sense of the summons of an individual to a particular duty or vocation (Ac 13^{2}, Ro 1^{1}, 1 Co 1^{1}), and St. Paul still recognizes a peculiar calling of the Jews as a people, of which God will never repent (Ro 11^{29}). But in their technical employment 'call' and 'calling' have reference, not to a particular duty or life-task, but to a place in the Divine Kingdom (1 Th 2^{12}); not to an inheritance of national privilege, but to the enjoyment of personal saving blessings that are proffered not to the Jews only, but also to the Gentiles (Ro 9^{24}, 1 Co 1^{24}).

When we look more closely at the Christian's calling as it is set forth in the NT, we notice the following characteristics. It comes from God Himself (1 Co 1^{9}), and for this reason it is described as a 'high calling' (Ph 3^{14}), a 'heavenly calling' (He 3^{1}). It comes to men through the revelation of God in Christ (Ph 3^{14}, 1 P 5^{10}), and is mediated to the individual by the message of the gospel (1 Th $2^{12f.}$, 2 Th 2^{14}). It is not conditional upon human works or merit, but is the outcome solely of God's eternal purpose and grace (Ro 8^{28}, 2 Ti 1^{9}). In the strict use of the word, the call is always an effectual call. The 'called' (*κλητοί*) and the 'elect' (*ἐκλεκτοί*) are co-extensive and interchangeable terms (Ro 8^{28}, 1 Co $1^{24ff.}$, 1 P 2^{9}, 2 P 1^{10}, Rev 17^{14}). In the Gospels, it is true, we have the saying of Jesus (Mt 22^{14} [20^{16b} is probably spurious, cf. RV]), 'Many are called (*κλητοί*), but few chosen (*ἐκλεκτοί*),' in which 'called' has a wider reference. It seems evident, however, that our Lord in this utterance is not using either *κλητοί* or *ἐκλεκτοί* in the technical way in which, mainly through St. Paul's influence, they came to be employed as theological correlatives. The preceding parable shows that in this verse the 'called' are all to whom the general invitation of the Divine love comes, while the 'chosen' are those who accept the invitation (v.[10]) and also show themselves worthy of it (vv.[11-13]). This saying of Jesus justifies the distinction familiar in the old theology between the *vocatio externa* and the *vocatio interna*—the outward and the effectual call (cf. the Westminster Assembly's *Larger Catechism*, QQ. 67, 68). There is a Divine invitation to the privileges of the Kingdom which is free and universal in its scope (Mt 22^{9}, Ac 2^{21}, Ro 10^{13}, 1 Ti $2^{3.4}$)—an invitation which men may either accept or refuse. But, apart from this verse in the Gospels, the soteriological use in the NT of 'call,' 'calling,' 'called,' appears to restrict the words to the sense of an effectual call—a call that issues in salvation.

The fact that this 'high calling of God in Christ Jesus' (Ph 3^{14}) is co-extensive with election and predestination (Ro 8^{28-30}) does not obviate the necessity of human conditions to its being realized. The primary condition is faith, which responds to God's call and grasps the offer of His grace therein conveyed (1 Th 2^{13}, 1 Co 1^{21}). The next is the moral and spiritual effort involved in the very nature of the calling as a holy calling (2 Ti 1^{9}), a calling to be saints (Ro 1^{7}, 1 Co 1^{2}). The Christian must 'press on toward the goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus' (Ph 3^{14}). He must give diligence to make his calling and election sure (2 P 1^{10}). The existence of these human conditions does not contradict the truth that the Divine call rests upon a previous election and predestination. God's eternal purpose of salvation must include all the elements, together with all the conditions, which enter into the process of realizing it; and so must leave room for the exercise of that moral freedom to which the NT bears constant testimony, and of which men are assured by their own moral consciousness. Yet, on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that even these conditions are themselves conditioned. Christians work out their own salvation because God Himself is working in them both the willing and the working (Ph $2^{12.13}$). It is His Spirit that disposes them to respond to His call, that puts saving graces into their hearts, and so stirs up, increases, and strengthens those graces, 'as that they more and more die unto sin and rise unto newness of life' (*Larger Catechism*, Q. 75). St. Paul sums up this aspect of the matter when

he says, 'Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it' (1 Th 5[24]).

2. The historical development.—The starting-point here is provided by Augustine, whose doctrine of the absoluteness of predestinating grace led to a distinction between 'election' and 'vocation'—between a Divine decree which issues in salvation, and a summons to repentance and conversion which comes through the gospel and especially through the Church as the depository of grace. Ordinarily the elect would receive the call through contact with the historical revelation in Christianity, but in the sovereignty of the Divine grace this might be dispensed with (*de Prædest.* ix. 17). On the other hand, it was only in the case of the elect that the call could issue in salvation (xviii. 37). Thomas Aquinas, who in his theological scheme adhered very closely to Augustine's teaching on predestination and grace, regarded the call as the means employed by God for giving effect to His sovereign choice (*Summa Theol.* i. Q. 23, art. 2), and distinguished between the *vocatio exterior*, which comes through the preacher, and the *vocatio interior*, which is a Divinely implanted impulse towards the good (*Sentent.* iv. dist. 17, Q. 1. artt. 1, 2). See also art. GRACE (Rom. Cath. doctrine of). In the post-Reformation theology, Lutheran scholasticism (of which Calovius and Quenstedt may be taken as types) represented the Divine vocation as inaugurating the process of salvation. A distinction was made between the *vocatio generalis*, which comes through the revelation of nature, and the *vocatio specialis*, which comes through the Christian gospel, especially as mediated by the word and sacraments of the Church. The *vocatio specialis* was further defined as *seria*, *efficax*, and *universalis*. It was *seria* as being real and earnest; *efficax*, inasmuch as the Spirit Himself is working inherently in the word, so that, where men do not resist and refuse, conversion is sure to follow; *universalis*, as coming to all men alike without distinction of time or place (Seeberg, *PRE*[3], ii. 658). The last quality was specified in the interest of the desire to avoid that appearance of arbitrariness in the exercise of the Divine sovereignty which is suggested by the withholding of the special call from so many individuals and peoples. It was assumed that as a matter of fact the offer of the gospel had actually been made to the whole world at three different points in human history: first, when the *Protevangelium* was announced to Adam; next, in the days of Noah; finally, during the age of the Apostles, by whom the gospel was supposed to have been carried throughout the whole inhabited world (cf. Hodge, *Syst. Theol.*, 1872, ii. 645). That the knowledge of God's way of salvation and free invitation to accept it has since been so widely lost, is thus to be attributed not to the Divine purpose, but to the ingratitude and sin of man (Quenstedt, *Syst. Theol.*, 1685, III. v. 1).

In the Reformed theology as represented by Calvin, the call is that in which the Divine election is first realized (*Instit.* III. xxiv. 10). A distinction is drawn, however, between two different kinds of call. There is an external call made through the preaching of the word, which is universal, not in the impossible sense that it is absolutely world-wide, but as being addressed without distinction to every one who hears it. There is, further, a special or internal call, whereby, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, the word preached is implanted in the heart as a seed of life (*ib.* 8). For Calvin the call is effectual, not, as for the Lutheran theologians, because the word carries within it an inherent converting potentiality, but because, through the power of the Holy Spirit working *ab extra*, it actually effects conversion (*ib.* 1, 2). This is the view of 'effectual calling' which was adopted by the Westminster Assembly and is set forth in the *Confession of Faith* (ch. x.), the *Larger Catechism* (Q. 67), and the *Shorter Catechism* (Q. 31).

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CALVINISM.—By Calvinism is understood in this article the system of theological belief specially associated with the name of John Calvin, and embodied in substance in the Confessions and Catechisms of that section of the Protestant Church known as 'Reformed,' in distinction from the Lutheran. Calvinism might also be taken to include the system of ecclesiastical polity (Presbyterian) outlined by Calvin, and very generally found associated with his type of doctrine in Churches that have adopted the latter. Since, however, this connexion of doctrine and polity is by no means universal, it will be sufficient to consider polity only so far as it is a manifest outgrowth from the doctrinal principles. It will be found, as we proceed, that historically Calvinism has been associated with many forms of Church government and order. In the English Reformation, *e.g.*, Calvinistic doctrines were allied for a time with Episcopalianism; so in Ireland; Calvin's doctrines moulded the Puritan theology; they were largely taken over into Congregationalism, and ruled it till recent times; there have been, and are, Calvinistic Baptists and Methodists. Presbyterianism itself exhibits many modifications. The *differentia* of Calvinism, therefore, must be sought not in polity but in doctrine.

Two things have to be borne in mind in judging rightly of Calvinism: (1) The first is that, while Calvinism has, to a greater extent than any other system, a unity of view arising from the presence of a great central, controlling idea, there is little in its particular doctrines, taken by themselves, peculiar to Calvin. Its predestination doctrine, *e.g.*, generally regarded as its most characteristic feature, is at least as old as Augustine; it was upheld by most of the greater schoolmen (for Britain, cf. A. F. Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly*, pp. 326 ff., 346); it was maintained by Luther and Zwingli as stoutly as by Calvin himself. For the rest, its doctrines of the Trinity and of the Person of Christ are those of the Ecumenical Councils, and its Evangelical doctrines—including the Atonement and Justification by Faith, without works or merits of the sinner's own—are in the main the common heritage of Protestantism. What Calvin did was to mould these doctrines into a logically articulated system, under the guidance of the great determining thought of God's absolute sovereignty in the worlds both of nature and of spirit, and to give them a form fitted to exercise the strongest influence on both intellect and will, in the individuals and peoples accepting them. (2) The second thing to be kept in view is that Calvinism, in its historical course, has, without abandoning its fundamental principles, undergone large doctrinal modifications. It has proved its vitality in the different shapes it has assumed in different countries, and under new conditions. Calvinism, as time has shown, is not immobile, but is, in some respects, the most plastic of all systems; hence its power of indefinite expansion, its capacity of throwing out new shoots and of adjusting itself to changing environments, and its ability to assimilate new ideas. It is not enough, accordingly, in de-

picting Calvinism, to expound the Calvinism of Calvin himself; it must be shown how his type of doctrine has worked itself out in subsequent developments.

1. **John Calvin and his influence.**—Our sketch may properly begin with a brief account of Calvin himself, from whom, distinctively, the system takes its name. The place deservedly assigned to the commanding personality of Luther in connexion with the 16th cent. Reformation should not blind us to the fact that the spiritual movement which bears this name had not one origin, but several distinct origins. Lefèvre in France and Zwingli in Switzerland were preaching a pure Gospel before Luther's name had been heard of (on Lefèvre, cf. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, vol. i. bk. ii. ch. 2). Distinct in origin, the streams were kept still further distinct in their after-flow by the disputes which early arose between the German and the Swiss Reformers on the subject of the Sacraments. Luther had, properly speaking, no successor. At a later period the Swiss and the French Reformations found a point of meeting in Calvin, who, a Frenchman by birth, and a Swiss in virtue of his world-famed connexion with Geneva, fitly represented both.

John Calvin was born on 10th July 1509, at Noyon, in Picardy, where his father, Gerard, was procurator-fiscal and secretary to the bishop of the diocese. He was trained for the Church, and through his father's influence obtained, when only twelve years of age, a chaplaincy in Noyon Cathedral. In 1523 he proceeded to the University of Paris. There for four years he studied Latin, Logic, and Philosophy. By his father's wish, as he tells us in the Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms, he was then withdrawn from the study of Philosophy and put to the study of Law. Leaving Paris, he accordingly repaired first to Orleans, then to Bourges, and applied himself with incredible industry to his new study. At Paris he must have been perfectly aware of the new doctrines that were being taught; but it was not till a later time that, after many spiritual struggles (cf. his answer to Cardinal Sadolet), he was brought, as he expresses it (Pref. to Psalms), by 'a sudden conversion' to a subdued and teachable frame of mind. Considerable influence seems to have been exerted on his mind by his kinsman, Olivetan, a disciple of Lefèvre, and a future translator of the Bible into French, who directed him to the study of the Scriptures. The precise date of Calvin's conversion is uncertain. Some place it as early as 1529, while Calvin was yet at Orleans or Bourges, others as late as 1532, after the publication of his first work—a commentary on Seneca's *de Clementia*. His father had died in 1531. But whenever or however the change was brought about, its effects were immediate on the young scholar's plans of life. His place was thenceforward with the friends of the Reformation. Not yet, indeed, had Calvin any thought of mixing with public affairs; but the retirement he desired seemed to flee from him. His friends sought him out, so that, as he says, 'all my retreats were like public schools.' At Paris he taught, preached, and evangelized, and in 1533, according to some authorities, composed for Nicholas Cop, Rector of the University, an inaugural address, the boldly outspoken, evangelical sentiments of which roused a storm of disapprobation. At Poitiers he formed a small congregation. He finally betook himself to Basel, where, in 1536, an event took place which raised him at once to a foremost position of influence among the Reformers. This was the publication of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*.

The *Institutes* of Calvin is one of those epoch-making books, like Newton's *Principia* in science, or Kant's *Kritik* in philosophy, the interest of which is enduring. Hitherto no book had appeared which took commanding rank as an exhibition of the doctrines of the Reformed Churches in their systematic unity and connexion. Melanchthon's *Commonplaces* hardly served the purpose. Yet this was a work requiring to be done, both as a satisfaction to the mind of the Church, and in order that the Reformation might have something to oppose to the great and compact systems of the Middle Ages. Calvin undertook the task, and accomplished it with decisive success. Albrecht Ritschl has spoken of the *Institutes* as 'the masterpiece of Protestant theology.' Originally Calvin had contemplated nothing higher than the preparation of an elementary manual of doctrine. A fresh outbreak of persecution in France led him to give to the book the grander form of a vindication of his wronged brethren. Prefixed to it is a preface, addressed to Francis I., which is justly regarded as one of the *chefs d'œuvre* of literature. This being the purpose of the book, the spirit that pervades it, as one can imagine, is anything but a dry compendium of 'dogmas.' Its motive gives it the dignity of an eloquent *Apologia*.

The book, as originally published in 1536, was a small work, which subsequent editions enlarged to four or five times its original size. The additions made to it gave it architectural completeness, but wrought no change in its essential contents. The plan (in the final edition of 1559) is simple, following the order of the Creed. The first book treats of the knowledge of God the Creator, the second of the knowledge of God the Redeemer, the third of the work of the Holy Spirit. Here Calvin treats of faith and repentance, of free justification, of the sanctification of the believer, and, towards the close of the book, he unfolds his doctrine of eternal election to salvation, with its logical counterpart, in his view—the reprobation of the wicked. It ought to be noticed that, however fundamental this doctrine is in Calvin, it is brought in, not at the head of his system, as it is, *e.g.*, in the scheme of the Westminster Confession, but rather as a corollary from what has been shown of the dependence on Divine grace of all that is good in man. The fourth book treats of the Church, of Church government, of the Sacraments, and of the province of the civil ruler.

The sensation produced by the publication of the *Institutes* was immense. The book was speedily translated into the languages of Europe, and passed through innumerable editions. As an evidence of its popularity, it may be mentioned that versions of it exist in modern French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, German, English, and even in the language of Hungary, in Greek, and in Arabic.

Calvin's name could no longer be hid, but the thought of entering upon public life was as far from him as ever. It was as if by accident—the result of a *detour* occasioned by war—that, late in Aug. 1536, he entered Geneva, intending to remain only a single night. As it proved, with the exception of a short interval of banishment, he never again quitted it. The city had revolted against its bishop, and, under the preaching of Farel, a pupil of Lefèvre, had accepted the Reformation. Everything, however, was in a state of disorganization, and Farel, feeling deeply his own inability to cope with the elements of disturbance, waited on Calvin, whose presence in the city he had discovered, and adjured him to come to his help. This 'fearful obtestation' Calvin declares he was powerless to resist, and so commenced his connexion with Geneva. The task he undertook proved trying in the extreme. His reforming activity went out in the three directions of the Church (in conjunction with Farel, he drew up a short Confession of 21 Articles), of education, and of the reform of public morals. Above all, he claimed and exercised the right of excluding notorious evil-livers from the Lord's Table. This brought him into collision with the party known as the 'Libertines,' and led in 1538, after many disturbances, to his banishment from the city. The next three years were spent in tranquilly ministering to a congregation of French refugees in Strassburg. Here was laid the foundation of his series of Commentaries; here also he married. Geneva meanwhile was in chaos, and the cry soon arose to bring Calvin back. After much pressure he consented, and on 13th Sept. 1541 re-entered the city amidst general enthusiasm. There was now introduced a complete remodelling of Church and State on theocratic principles—the model constitution figuring itself to his mind as one in which the two powers do not remain apart, but are united for mutual support and for the attainment of common ends.

It is not necessary to follow in detail Calvin's after career and work in Geneva. Libertinism reared its head again in 1546, this time in connexion with pantheistic and atheistic doctrines, breathing a fierce hatred of Christ, and associated with free-love licentiousness. The struggle was long and severe, and Calvin's influence for some years sank to the lowest ebb. In 1555, however, the opposition wrought its own overthrow, and from that time the city had rest. It was in 1553, when this conflict was at its keenest, that Servetus came to the city, relying, there is reason to think, on Calvin's enemies for protection and support. The unhappy sequel is familiar. It was at Calvin's instance that Servetus was arrested, and proceedings against him were instituted. The Council, however, bitterly hostile at the time to Calvin, took the trial out of his hands, and conducted it on their own responsibility. Before coming to a decision, they took the opinion of the other Swiss Churches of Berne, Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Basel. The replies were unanimous in condemnation of Servetus, and he was adjudged to the flames. Calvin admitted the justice of the capital sentence, but with his colleagues did his best to induce the Council to substitute a milder form of execution. 'It is to him, notwithstanding,' says Rilliet, 'that

men have always imputed the guilt of that funeral pile which he wished had never been reared.'

The nine years that remained to Calvin from 1555 was the period of the triumph of his principles. Even more than before, acting on the conviction that the State has one sphere and the Church another, he withdrew from political business, and devoted himself to spiritual labours. The distrust of him by the Council seems to have cleared away, and people and Senate cordially supported him in his efforts. Under his influence Geneva became an asylum for the persecuted, and many persons of rank, learning, and piety found refuge within its walls. Calvin's reputation in Europe was yearly rising. His Commentaries and theological writings gained him renown: among his correspondents were kings, nobles, and persons of the highest positions in all countries; his advice was sought on matters small and great. In 1559 the famous Academy of Geneva was erected. In the train of culture and pure moral living came the arts. The city had trials, but steadily rose to influence. In the midst of all, Calvin was sometimes very poor. 'That which made the strength of that heretic,' said Pius IV. after Calvin's death, 'was that money was nothing to him.' His health, too, was undermined by serious maladies, and in his closing years he was never free from pain. He died on 27th May 1564, universally lamented.

Calvin was not without faults. His disposition tended to severity, though the story that, when young, his schoolmates fastened on him the nickname of 'the Accusative' is shown to be a fable (Doumergue, i. 74 f.). He specially blames himself for impetuosity of temper, and begs forgiveness of those whom he may have wounded by harsh and uncharitable expressions. He lacks Luther's geniality, rich overflowing humour, and human many-sidedness. But he is Luther's equal in unbending loyalty to conscience, and in greatness of intellect is incontestably his superior. The three powers that appear in him in almost naked severity are intellect, conscience, and will. Yet Calvin, as many tender friendships show, was not cold. He had a genuine appreciation of poetry and music, and the remarkable range and acuteness of his mind appear in his Commentaries, which anticipate the best works of their class in their freedom from prejudice and in their honest desire to ascertain the exact sense of Scripture. His system, as we shall presently see, was, in a very real sense, the reflexion of his own mind—severe, grand, logical, and daring in the heights to which it ascends, yet humble in its constant reversion to Scripture as its basis. Its influence on posterity has been yet more remarkable. It passed through the Creeds into the thoughts of men, moulded the life of nations, became the soul of Puritanism in England, of Republicanism in Holland, of the Covenanting struggle in Scotland, of democratic institutions in America, identifying itself in every land to which it went with the undying principles of civil freedom (cf. the remarkable series of testimonies to Calvin's greatness in Schaff's *Swiss Ref.* i. 272–275).

2. System of Calvinism.—From the man we turn now to the system, sometimes spoken of simply as Calvinism, sometimes more generally as the Theology of the Reformed Church. And here it is necessary in the first place to arrive at some clear conception of the *principle* on which the system depends, and from which it derives its distinctive character and unity. There is general agreement that the theology of the Reformed Church is more objective in character than that of the Lutheran, is less anthropological, and leans more directly on God and His words than on the experience of faith in man. This, however, is at best a formal distinction, and drives us back on the search for a deeper fundamental principle. That principle, probably, most would be disposed to find, with Principal Cunningham, in the doctrine of absolute predestination (cf. *Reformers and the Theology of Reformation*, pp. 121, 424); but even that doctrine does not carry us to the ultimate basis of Calvinism, or express its regulative principle with sufficient generality. On the other hand, the view of Schweizer, which finds the contrast between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches in the fact that the former was 'anti-Judaic' in its protest against the theory of work-righteousness in the Church of Rome, and the latter 'anti-pagan' in its protest against all creature-worship and idolatry as corruptions of pure Christianity (cf. Hastie, *Theology of the Reformed Church*, pp. 34, 146), is too wide. Schweizer came nearer the mark when, following Schleiermacher, he defined the theological principle of the Reformed Church as 'the consciousness . . . of the absolute dependence of man upon God alone in all that pertains to his religious life and to the salvation of his soul' (Hastie, p. 144). Baur observed that this was still too anthropological, and widened it to 'the idea of the absolute causality of God, as the one and only principle that determines and causes all things absolutely and unconditionally, by and of itself' (*ib.* p. 147). Similar to Baur's, but taking in the twofold aspect of nature and grace, is J. H. Scholten's formulation of the principle as 'the recognition of God's absolute sovereignty in the natural and moral worlds, and especially the absolute sovereignty of His free grace as the only ground of human salvation' (*ib.* p. 157). The defect of these definitions is that they seem to leave little place for human freedom, which yet, as will be found, has very real recognition in the Reformed Theology (predestination is no *fate*). Nevertheless they touch the essential point, that the Reformed Theology, comprehensively considered, affirms the entire dependence of all things in nature and grace, in their being, ordering, and capacity for good, on God (cf. further, on the principles of Calvinism, and the working of it out in its different relations, A. Kuyper, *Calvinism*). We are next to see how this principle is developed in the leading parts of the theological system.

(1) The first word in Calvinism is *God*, and it is important to observe how God Himself is conceived of by Calvin and his followers. It is contended by Calvin in the *Institutes* that a knowledge of God is naturally implanted in the mind of man, and that the Creation also is a glorious revelation of the essential attributes of God. But man is blinded by his state of sin, and needs the fuller revelation given in Holy Scripture. The character of God displayed in Scripture is presented summarily in the disclosure of His name in Ex 34[6f.] ('The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious,' etc.). 'Moreover, the perfections thus enumerated are just those which we saw shining in the heavens, and on the earth—compassion, goodness, mercy, justice, judgment, and truth' (*Inst.* bk. i. ch. x. 2). Loving-kindness is united with judgment and righteousness. In a later book of the *Institutes* Calvin connects redemption with this general character of God.

'God,' he says, 'who is perfect righteousness, cannot love the iniquity which He sees in all. All of us, therefore, have that within which deserves the hatred of God. . . But as the Lord wills not to destroy in us that which is His own, He still finds something in us which in kindness He can love. For, though it is by our own fault that we are sinners, we are still His creatures; though we have brought death upon ourselves, He had created us for life. Thus, mere gratuitous love prompts Him to receive us into favour,' etc. (bk. ii. ch. xvi. 3).

(2) The Creation depends absolutely and continuously on God, who fosters and guides it by His secret inspiration (*immanence*: 'I admit, indeed, that the expression, "Nature is God," may be piously used, if dictated by a pious mind' [bk. i. ch. v. 5]); yet God is in no way to be pantheistically identified with His works (*transcendence*). The world He has made God unceasingly rules by His providence in pursuance of a purpose (*teleology*). Here first we enter the sphere of foreordination, though not yet that of special predestination. Dr. Hastie states the doctrine unexceptionably:

'The fundamental idea of the Reformed Theology is that the world, in all its parts and processes and stages and forms of

life, is the outcarrying in time of one Divine plan, conceived in the eternal reason of the Godhead and realized by Creative power and wisdom and love. . . . The dominant idea of the Reformed system is therefore the relation of the Divine purpose in eternity to its execution in time; and its point of view is universally purposive or teleological' (*op. cit.* p. 162 f.).

This, however, requires a little elucidation for the avoidance of misconceptions. It is a misconception, first, if it is supposed that this inclusion by Calvinism of all acts and events in the sphere of the Divine purpose is tantamount to the doing away with, or denial of, the reality of the operation of second causes—especially of human freedom. The contrary is the case. The operation of second causes is constantly presupposed, and, where necessary, insisted on (cf. Calvin, *Inst.* bk. i. ch. xvii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, etc.). Freedom of will also, as a natural endowment of man, is carefully guarded. The purpose, or 'decree,' of God is executed, not in disregard of causes, or by overriding the nature of causes, but, as the *Westminster Confession* puts it in the chapter on 'Providence,' 'according to the nature of second causes, either necessarily, freely, or contingently' (ch. v. 2). Events take place, that is, in the case of necessary (natural) causes, necessarily; in the case of free causes, freely; in the case where one event depends contingently on another, in that order of dependence. If it be urged, as it sometimes is, that, in reality, however it may be in words, freedom in man is rendered nugatory by such all-embracing 'foreordination,' this points to a second misconception, on which a few words must now be said.

No one can reasonably question that the Reformed Theology affirms in clearest language the reality of human freedom (as a natural endowment), and of man's responsibility for his voluntary actions (cf. Calvin against Pighius on Free Will, and *Inst.* bk. i. ch. xv. 8: 'To this [intellect] He has joined will, to which choice belongs. . . . In this upright state, man possessed freedom of will, by which, if he chose, he was able to obtain eternal life. . . . Adam, therefore, might have stood if he chose, since it was only by his own will that he fell,' etc.; cf. bk. ii. ch. i. 10). The *Westminster Confession* is again studiously explicit on this point. In ch. iii. 1, on 'God's Eternal Decree,' it is declared that 'God . . . did . . . freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass: yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established'; in ch. ix. 1, on 'Free-Will,' it is laid down that 'God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined, to good or evil' (see also the passage on 'Providence' above, from ch. v.).

How then is the apparent paradox or, as it may seem to some, contradiction resolved? We do not urge that 'freedom' itself is a notion which requires careful analysis, and is not off-hand to be identified with arbitrariness, lawlessness, or incalculableness, which would conflict as fatally with God's foreknowledge as with His purpose (some, as Rothe, Martensen, and Martineau, with the older Socinians, think they can save man's freedom only by surrendering God's foreknowledge of free actions). But two considerations may help to throw light on the Calvinistic point of view. (*a*) The first is that freedom, view it as one may, is only one factor in the complicated web of human life. There is always the other and concurrent factor of external Providence. Man has the decision of what he will do in a given situation, but only in a limited degree does he *create* the situation. To a certain extent, of course, he makes or unmakes his circumstances, but never wholly. In every case there is an admixture, generally a preponderance, of causes over which he has no control. He did not, *e.g.*, choose his own parents, his station in life, the course of events that brought him into contact with this one and that one, gave him his opportunities, led to his relationships, etc. This evidently cuts very deeply. At every point we are touched by forces we did not make, while the slightest change at any point in outward Providence would alter the whole complexion of the future for all the individuals affected, and for those coming after them. In this power, then, of creating or modifying the external situation, Providence is seen entering as an essential factor in the shaping of the lives of men. Had Joseph, *e.g.*, not been sold by his brethren into Egypt, not only would a particular act not have been done, but the whole line of Joseph's volitions in that country would have been cut off, and a totally different series of volitions would have taken their place, with what different results to Joseph himself, to Israel, and to the world!—(*b*) But, next, on the Divine side, what *are* human volitions, prior, if we may so speak, to the Divine plan which takes them up as elements into the future course of the world? Obviously, to a Divine prescience, only *possibilities.* But of this infinity of possibilities which lie before the Creative Mind, who but God shall determine which shall be permitted to emerge as *actualities*? Here, as the *Westminster Confession* says, the liberty and contingency of second causes is not taken away, but established, for it is only by Divine decree that these are permitted to enter and operate as causes in the actual world at all. From this Eternal point of view there seems no evading the conclusion that the ultimate responsibility for the plan of the world must rest with the infinitely wise Creator. Even evil cannot enter, or run its mischievous course, save as, in infinite wisdom, He has resolved to allow it.

(3) This raises the last important question in the Calvinistic view of Providence, viz. the relation of Providence to *sin.* Sin, it is consistently held, springs from the will of the creature. What, then, is God's relation to the sinful act? Is it enough in this connexion to speak, as is frequently done, of 'permission'? It might seem so; yet reflexion, probably, will convince us of the inadequacy of this conception. We say, and truly, that God permits sin. But (*a*) how should such an act have been there at all to permit, since the slightest change in the course of God's providence would have prevented its emergence? And (*b*) Scripture and reason alike teach that sin is not only permitted by God, but is manifoldly bounded, regulated, and overruled by Him, in subserviency to His holy ends. Sin is not simply permitted to enter, and then done with; once it has entered, it brings with it a train of consequences. It lies with God in His providence, in this view, not simply to permit sin, but in His wisdom to say when, where, and how sin in humanity shall be permitted to break out; in what forms, along what lines, in what persons, to what heights, it shall be allowed to develop; and how its results, when these arise, shall be disposed of. The *Westminster Confession*, again, states the doctrine in admirably guarded terms thus:

God's 'almighty power, unsearchable wisdom, and infinite goodness . . . manifest themselves in His providence' in relation to sin, 'not by a bare permission, but such as hath joined with it a most wise and powerful bounding, and otherwise ordering and governing of them, in a manifold dispensation, to His own holy ends; yet so as the sinfulness thereof proceedeth only from the creature, and not from God, who, being most holy and righteous, neither is nor can be the author or approver of sin' (ch. v. 4).

(4) *Man* is viewed by Calvinism as made, a pure being, in his Creator's image, but now as *fallen*

and corrupted through his voluntary defection from the good. This corruption of nature proceeds from the first parents of the race to all their posterity, man's natural gifts, as Calvin phrases it after Augustine, being corrupted by sin, and his supernatural gifts withdrawn (*Inst.* bk. ii. ch. ii. 12). In regard to the question how the fault of one should render all guilty (ch. i. 5), Calvin seems to favour what later was called in theology the theory of 'mediate' imputation, viz. that the members of Adam's race are condemned, not directly for Adam's sin, but on the ground of their own pollution, so that he can say (cf. ch. i. 5, 6, 7, and especially 8):

'Being thus perverted and corrupted in all the parts of our nature, we are, merely on account of such corruption, deservedly condemned by God, to whom nothing is acceptable but righteousness, innocence, and purity. This is not liability for another's fault. . . . Hence Augustine, though he often terms it another's sin (that he may more clearly show how it comes to us by descent), at the same time asserts that it is the individual's own sin, and the Apostle most distinctly testifies that "death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned" (Ro 5^{12}); that is, are involved in original sin and polluted by its stain.'

The question is still not answered—On what ground is the posterity of Adam condemned to this pollution? Calvin would probably say—through the natural constitution of the race, in which, germinally, all were originally in the one. In its doctrine of hereditary corruption, universal depravation, and complete loss of spiritual freedom on the part of man, Calvinism takes over almost unchanged the doctrine of Augustine. Yet this doctrine of human depravity also, as Calvinism apprehends it, needs to be guarded against serious misconceptions. It is by no means the case that the doctrine of 'total depravity' (*i.e.* depravity of man in *all* the parts or faculties of his nature) is held by Calvin to imply that every human being is as bad as he can be, or that there are not wide distinctions of character among men, or that there are not natural virtues, capabilities even of splendid achievement, among the heathen or others who are yet unregenerate. Some of the most interesting sections in Calvin are those in which he illustrates these very truths (cf. *Inst.* bk. ii. ch. ii. 12–17, 22, 23, ch. iii. 3, 4; bk. iii. ch. xiv. 2, etc.). These virtues and endowments he explains partly through what remains of the natural image of God in man, partly through restraining grace preventing the full development of corruption, but especially through a work of God's Spirit bestowing gifts on men in all spheres of existence.

We give only two specimens of his language on a subject which is treated with great fullness. 'Therefore,' he says, 'in reading profane authors, the admirable light of truth displayed in them should remind us that the human mind, however much fallen and perverted from its original integrity, is still adorned and invested with admirable gifts from its Creator. If we reflect that the Spirit of God is the only fountain of truth, we shall be careful, as we would avoid offering insult to Him, not to reject or contemn truth wherever it appears. In despising the gifts, we insult the Giver' (bk. ii. ch. ii. 15). 'First, then, I deny not, that whatever excellent endowments appear in unbelievers [in French ed. 'in the life of infidels and idolaters'] are Divine gifts. Nor do I set myself so much in opposition to common sense as to contend that there was no difference between the justice, moderation, and equity of Titus and Trajan, and the rage, intemperance, and cruelty of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian; between the continence of Vespasian and the obscene lusts of Tiberius; and (not to dwell on single virtues and vices) between the observance of law and justice and the contempt of them' (bk. iii. ch. xiv. 2; he goes on to argue that these 'virtues of whatever kind, are Divine gifts'; cf. Kuyper, *Calvinism*, p. 159 ff.).

Still, these virtues, or 'images of virtue,' though God is pleased to visit 'with many temporal blessings those who cultivate virtue' (*ib.*), lack the root of true godliness, and in no way possess the character of spiritual righteousness, such as alone is truly well-pleasing to God. Neither in knowledge nor in righteousness can man of himself attain to salvation.

(5) The Calvinistic doctrine of *Christ as Mediator* follows, in respect of the Person of the Redeemer, the lines of the older theology, and need not be dwelt on. Enough here to say that Calvinism, on this head, separates itself from Lutheran speculations on the 'ubiquity' of Christ's humanity, as a result of the *communicatio idiomatum*, and, generally, from the later Lutheran theories of 'Kenosis.' Its Christology is more sober and practical, if perhaps tending, on the other side, to hold the Divine and the human in Christ too severely apart. On the doctrine of Atonement, again, original Calvinism had little that was distinctive, though this became a fruitful subject of discussion at a later time. Calvin, despite his strong emphasis on the doctrine of election, keeps himself clear of theories of a limited Atonement, and, with slight exceptions (cf. Com. on 1 Jn 2^2), suggests no limitation of the universal expressions in regard to the scope of Christ's propitiatory death (cf. Com. on Jn 3^{16}).

Cunningham admits that this is true, with the exception of one ambiguous passage, which he cites (*Refs. and Theol. of the Ref.* p. 396: 'It is true that we do not find in Calvin's writings explicit statements as to any limitation in the object of the Atonement, or in the number of those for whom Christ died'); but he argues that the topic was not then a distinct subject of controversy, and that Calvin had no occasion to take it up, though his other doctrines logically implied it. It cannot be overlooked, however, that the limitation of the Atonement was a leading point with Augustine, whom Calvin is continually quoting; his silence, therefore, if he really held this doctrine, is doubly strange. It is certain, however, as Cunningham says (p. 395), that Beza, Calvin's coadjutor and successor, held the doctrine of a limited Atonement, or, as it is called, of 'particular redemption'; and this doctrine, as a supposed corollary from the doctrine of election, came early to prevail in the stricter schools of Calvinistic orthodoxy. Still, even by the Synod of Dort such wide admissions were made of the intrinsic, infinite sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice, as the ground of the universal offer of the Gospel to men, that, as Schaff says, the difference between the two views became very much a question of words (*Creeds*, i. 521: 'After such admissions the difference of the two theories is of little practical account'). This Synod may be quoted as exhibiting the general Calvinistic view:

'The death of the Son of God is the only and most perfect sacrifice and satisfaction for sin; is of infinite worth and value, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world. . . . Moreover, the promise of the Gospel is that whosoever believeth in Christ crucified shall not perish, but have everlasting life. This promise, together with the command to repent and believe, ought to be declared and published to all nations, and to all persons promiscuously and without distinction, to whom God out of His mere good pleasure sends the Gospel. And, whereas many who are called by the Gospel do not repent or believe in Christ, but perish in unbelief; this is not owing to any defect or insufficiency in the sacrifice offered by Christ upon the cross, but is wholly to be imputed to themselves' (artt. III. V. VI. on 'The Death of Christ'; cf. Schaff, iii. 586; Mitchell, *Westm. Assembly*, p. 386; Cunningham, *Hist. Theol.* ii. 331; C. Hodge, *Syst. Theol.*, 1872, ii. 544 ff.).

(6) The crux of Calvinistic doctrine is reached when we come to *the application of redemption.* We may here pass by the treatment of such topics as faith, repentance, justification, etc., in which there is little, essentially, to differentiate the Calvinistic position from the Lutheran, and fix attention at once on that which gives Calvinism its distinctive character, viz. its view of the work of the Spirit of God in conversion (generally treated under 'vocation,' or 'effectual calling'), and, as connected with this, and in a manner arising out of it, its doctrine of unconditional predestination. Calvin's predestination doctrine has, as already noted, close resemblance to Augustine's; yet there are important differences which should be noticed. Augustine, it must not be forgotten, was a Catholic Churchman of a very pronounced type—the bishop (cf. A. Kuyper, *Calvinism*, p. 55); Calvin was as strongly a Protestant, repudiating the claim of the Church to come between the soul and God, and emphasizing the general priesthood of believers (*ib.* p. 56). From this followed certain consequences for doctrine. First, regeneration is for Augustine an act effected through baptism; for Calvin, it is effected through the agency of the word and spirit of God. Next, Augustine's doctrine of predestination was necessarily crossed by his doctrine of

baptismal regeneration. If all baptized persons are regenerate, it plainly follows that regeneration alone cannot be made a test of election. The regenerate person may fall from baptismal grace, and finally be lost. For Augustine, therefore, the test of predestination to life, or of election, was found, not in regeneration, but in *perseverance*. The elect have given to them the grace to persevere. Calvin entirely separates himself from this view. Regeneration is a spiritual work wrought in the souls of the elect, and of them alone. The elect persevere, but the seed of their perseverance is already implanted in them in regeneration. The sacramentarian element is completely purged out from this doctrine.

There is one more distinction. Augustine, with justice, confines predestination to salvation; it is, in every case, predestination to *life*. The word is thus synonymous with election. Calvin, on the other hand, speaks boldly of a *twofold* predestination—a predestination to salvation and a predestination to destruction (cf. bk. iii. ch. xxi. 5, etc.: 'The predestination by which God adopts some to the hope of life, and adjudges others to eternal death, no man who would be thought pious ventures simply to deny'). The majority of later Calvinists have preferred to follow Augustine's more cautious and Scriptural usage. Even in Calvin, however, as in the Calvinist Creeds, it will be seen below that there is an essential difference—another point on which there is great misconception—between the Divine decree as it relates to the salvation, and as it relates to the destruction, of men. The term 'unconditional' may be applied to it in both aspects, inasmuch as, in Calvin's system, the will of God must contain in itself the last reasons of all that is, and even the passing by of the unsaved, however mysterious, must be traced back to an origin in the eternal Divine will. But in another sense there is a conditionality in the rejection of men which does not apply to their salvation. Men are saved, in Calvin's view, by an act of absolutely free, unmerited grace on God's part, without regard to good works (these are the fruit of grace, not the cause of it); men, on the other hand, are never condemned, save on the ground of their own sin. Calvin strongly urges this (cf. *Inst.* bk. iii. ch. xxiii. 3, 8, 9, etc.: 'Wherefore, let us in the corruption of human nature contemplate the evident cause of condemnation (a cause which comes more closely home to us), rather than inquire into a cause hidden and almost incomprehensible in the predestination of God' [*ib.* xxiii. 8]). For the present it may be sufficient to quote the emphatic words of the Synod of Dort:

The Synod denounces it as a calumny against the Reformed Churches to assert that they hold 'that God, by a mere arbitrary act of His will, without the least respect or view to any sin, has predestinated the greatest part of the world to eternal damnation, and has created them for this very purpose; that in the same manner in which the election is the fountain and cause of faith and good works, reprobation is the cause of unbelief and impiety' (cf. Schaff, *Creeds*, iii. 596; Mitchell, *Westm. Assembly*, p. 386; Cunningham, *Hist. Theol.* ii. 430). The *Westminster Confession* also, in speaking of the foreordination of a part of mankind to dishonour and wrath, is careful to insert the words 'for their sin' (ch. iii. 7).

While in order of thought, in Calvinism, the Divine predestination logically precedes the call to salvation, and so properly belongs to the doctrine of God, under the head of the Divine purpose or decree ('if you want to understand this you have to go back from predestination to God's decree in general. . . . Belief in predestination is nothing but the penetration of God's decree into your own personal life; or, if you prefer it, the personal heroism to apply the sovereignty of God's decreeing will to your own existence' [Kuyper, *Calvinism*, p. 148]), the doctrine, practically, has its real root in the conviction of the sovereignty of the grace of God in personal salvation (cf. Hastie, *op. cit.* pp. 165 f., 235 ff.). Augustine and Calvin are here at one. The work of renewal being viewed by both as, in the nature of the case, *wholly* of God,—a work of grace from first to last,—the doctrine of predestination is simply the assertion that what God does in time in the salvation of the believer, He willed to do in eternity.

'It is the salvation of the believer viewed, if we may so say, *sub specie æternitatis*. . . . Thus regarded,—whatever speculative difficulties may attend it,—it is simply the expression of an experience which lies at the root of all genuine Christian consciousness, viz., that in this matter of personal salvation, the last word is always grace, not nature; that it is not *our* willing and running which has brought us into the kingdom of God, but *His* mercy; that it is He who first enkindled in us the desire after Himself, who drew us to Himself, who bore with us in our waywardness and resistance to His Spirit, who step by step overcame that resistance, and brought us finally into the number of His children; and that all this was no *afterthought* of God, but an eternal counsel of His love which has now effectuated itself in our salvation. This is the *religious* interest in the doctrine of predestination which gives it its abiding value. As a religious experience, no one would think of questioning that the fundamental attitude of the Christian spirit is one which ascribes *all* to grace in its salvation; that any thought of a divided claim—of a partitioning out of so much to God, and so much to self—is abhorrent to sound Christian feeling' (Orr, *Progress of Dogma*, p. 152 f.).

It is in accordance with the above view that, as already said, Calvin treats of predestination not in bk. i. of his *Institutes*, but in bk. iii., after an exposition of the work of the Holy Spirit in the soul, and its effects. It is also in this connexion with the doctrine of efficacious grace (the 'Effectual Calling' of the theologians) that predestination ought, in justice, to be considered. The doctrine of the effectual operation of the Spirit in regeneration, accordingly, may be called the pivot of Calvinism in a soteriological relation. Man's will, being wholly disabled for spiritual good by sin, can be restored to freedom and goodness only by an omnipotent act of God's grace. Such a conception has obviously 'election,' or 'predestination' to life, as its necessary correlate. It is important, however, for the avoidance of objections, to understand again precisely what this doctrine means. When, *e.g.*, Divine grace in the work of human renewal is spoken of as 'irresistible' (*i.e.* as certainly effectuating its result), one is apt to feel as if human freedom were overborne or annihilated. But that is by no means the intention, nor is it really the effect of the doctrine. Grace is certainly not 'irresistible' in the sense that the natural will cannot resist grace; for that is what, in the Calvinistic view, it is constantly doing (cf. Cunningham, *Hist. Theol.* ii. 408 ff.). When Calvin, with Augustine, speaks of efficacious grace, what he has in view is not a grace which overpowers the will, or puts any foreign force or pressure upon it, but a grace which *renews* the will, and restores it to its true freedom—which so acts upon it that it *freely* chooses the good. With this we may compare Augustine, *Rebuke and Grace*, 17, 38:

'The freedom of the will is defended in accordance with the grace of God, not in opposition to it; because the human will does not attain grace by freedom, but rather attains freedom by grace. . . . Because by the Holy Spirit their will is so much enkindled that they therefore *can*, because they so *will*, they therefore so *will*, because God works in them to *will*.' The writer of art. 'Pelagius' in Smith's *DCB* (iv. 295[a]) is therefore wrong when he says: 'The Augustinian theory made the action of grace entirely independent of the will; it was an irresistible power which forced the will.'

As little does 'efficacious grace' mean that God can or does override the laws of human nature which He has Himself ordained, or converts by a sheer act of power, without the use of appropriate means. What is meant is that God can use *such* means, can *so* deal with the individual in Providence and grace, can bring him under *such* outer and inner discipline, as, in harmony with, nay, through the laws of human freedom, to overcome his resistance. If it be asserted that, even when grace has done its utmost for a soul, there is still a possibility of re-

sisting it, Calvin, with Augustine, would reply that there is a higher freedom still—that in which even the desire to resist the good is overcome, and which therefore *certainly*, but none the less freely, chooses God (cf. Orr, *op. cit.* p. 151).

(7) The doctrine of *predestination* in Calvinism is hard and difficult enough, but it has a deeper philosophical and religious basis than many apprehend (Hastie's *Theol. of Ref. Church* is specially valuable here; cf. also Kuyper's *Calvinism*), and many of the objections to it certainly rest on misconception. This is true, for instance, of the common objection that it represents predestination as a perfectly *arbitrary* act of God—the decree of a will acting on no ground but its own good pleasure. God's own 'good pleasure' is the ground assuredly, but not in the sense of arbitrariness. God's sovereignty is upheld as a truth, the evidences of which are abundantly manifest in nature, as in grace; but, while it is contended that the ultimate reasons of God's determinations in the government of the world and in salvation are to us inscrutable, it is none the less maintained that they are assuredly the outcome of an eternal wisdom, righteousness, and love. Calvin upholds this as strongly as any one.

'We give,' he says, 'no countenance to the fiction of absolute power, which, as it is heathenish, so it ought justly to be held in detestation by us. We do not imagine God to be lawless (*exlex*). . . . The will of God is not only free from all vice, but is the supreme standard of perfection, the law of all laws'; only, 'the procedure of Divine justice is too high to be scanned by human measure, or comprehended by the feebleness of human intellect' (bk. iii. ch. xxiii. 2, 4; cf. Cunningham, *Hist. Theol.* ii. 450).

Further, while the reasons of God's election to salvation are declared to be inscrutable, it is held fast that the ground of His condemnation of others is their corruption and sin (ch. xxiii. 3). Thus the Divine justice is thought to be vindicated in the passing by of the unsaved.

Just here, however, the supreme difficulty arises for the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and reprobation. *Justice*, in some sense, may be vindicated on the lines of Augustine and Calvin, but not *love*; for, if God *could* save, why did He not? Why leave any to perish? Probably these questions can never be satisfactorily answered, even with the admission of inscrutability, without a double transformation of the doctrine, while still conserving its essential Calvinistic basis. (*a*) Election must be removed from the purely individual basis and treated more organically. This does not mean that election is not still individual, *i.e.* personal, but means that it is now viewed in connexion with a developing purpose or plan of blessing, to which the election of the individual is related as means. Abraham, *e.g.*, was chosen, but it was for the blessing of the whole world (cf. Orr, *op. cit.* pp. 167 ff., 292; Hastie, *op. cit.* p. 262 ff.). (*b*) Sovereignty must be interpreted in terms of God's character as love, rather than love in terms of sovereignty. Love, indeed, can work out its designs only by gradual stages, and in harmony with righteousness, and with the laws of human nature and freedom. Still, love, in the light of the Christian revelation, must be viewed as lying behind the whole plan, and as marking out the end of it. In the carrying out of its aims, nations and individuals have their gifts bestowed on them (as Lange says, election presides at the making of its object, as well as at the using of it), are prepared for service, and in due season are called to their task. Yet this election of God is never disjoined from its place in the context of God's whole purpose, which, in its largest scope, embraces the widest possible blessing for humanity (cf. Orr, *op. cit.* p. 292 ff.).

(8) The *Church polity* which springs from the scheme of Calvin, as now expounded, is necessarily one which lays stress on the equality of all believers before God, even while recognizing special gifts bestowed on individuals for service in His Church. The Church invisible is the body of the elect as these stand before the eye of God; the Church visible is the company of professing believers, locally distributed, and organized on the principles of God's word. Calvin went further here than Luther, or even Zwingli. 'With him Scripture alone had authority. Neither traditions nor observances, however authorized by custom, were spared; unless they could stand the proof, they fell beneath the sword of God's word' (Henry, *Calvin*, i. 368).

The ministerial office has two branches—pastors and teachers. The former includes the whole office as exercised in particular Churches in the ministry of the Word, the sacraments, and discipline; the latter is confined to the work of instruction (*Inst.* bk. iv. ch. iii. 4). In the constitution and government of Churches three permanent offices are recognized: those who exercise the ministry of the Word, called indiscriminately bishops, presbyters, and pastors ('on the authority of Scripture, which uses the words as synonymous' [*ib.* ch. iii. 8]); elders, or lay presbyters, who share with the pastors in the government ('By these governors I understand seniors selected from the people to unite with the bishops in pronouncing censures and exercising discipline' [*ib.* ch. iii. 8]); and deacons, entrusted with the care of the poor. The system thus, as Schaff says, 'rests on the principle of ministerial equality, and the principle of lay-representation by elders or seniors in the government of the Church' (*Creeds*, i. 462). The mode of appointment might vary, but, whoever had the power of nomination, ministers were regarded as legitimately called only 'when those who may have seemed fit are elected on the consent and approbation of the people' (*Inst.* bk. iv. ch. iii. 15). Calvin's principles were only imperfectly carried out in the 'ordinances' of his own city Geneva, and Calvinistic doctrine, as before said, has been associated with very diverse systems of Church government. The genius of Calvinism, however, is Presbyterian, and the scheme is perhaps seen in its greatest purity in the (old) French and Scottish Churches, and in America.

3. **Development of Calvinism.**—In its historical development doctrinal Calvinism has passed through many phases, some of which are alluded to below in the notices of Calvinism in the different countries. Three leading points may here be glanced at. Calvinism after Calvin's death became more scholastic, and tended in certain quarters to extreme forms, which, as inevitably, provoked reactions.

(1) A dispute which developed among Calvin's immediate followers is that known as the *Supralapsarian* and *Sublapsarian* (on its special history, see artt. under these heads). The controversy relates to what is termed 'the order of the Divine decrees' (order in thought, not in time), viz., whether, in electing some to eternal life and reprobating others, the decree of God is to be regarded as *preceding* or as *following* the consideration of man as fallen. The very statement of the question shows in how abstract and transcendental a region the discussion moves, and how great is the peril of falling into error through overbold speculation. On the former supposition—the *Supralapsarian*—the decree of election or reprobation comes first, then the fall of man (or of angels) is decreed as a means of accomplishing that end. Calvin never went so far as this, strong as his language sometimes is, but always viewed election as from a 'mass' already in condemnation, while, of course, recognizing that the fall of man

also was embraced in the providence of God. Beza separated himself from Calvin on this point, but the great majority of Calvinists have always preferred the milder—or *Sub*lapsarian view. The latter is the view taken by the Canons of the Synod of Dort in the Arminian dispute.

(2) A second important controversy, or group of controversies, emerging in Calvinist circles, but likewise distinguishing the more rigorous Calvinism from Arminianism, relates to the question of the *universality* or the *limited character* of Christ's Atonement. This also is, in form, a question of the order of the decrees. Did God first elect a certain portion of mankind to salvation, and then give His Son to die for them to redeem them? Or did He first decree to provide an Atonement of infinite efficacy for mankind, viewed as fallen, without restriction, and then elect those who should be actually brought to faith and participation in Christ's salvation? It might be shown that underlying both forms of the question there is a mistaken conception of the nature and aims of election. But, apart from this, it has been seen that the question becomes very much one of words when, irrespectively of the order of decrees, it is admitted that Christ's sacrifice has an infinite sufficiency, and is the ground of a universal proclamation of mercy to mankind. Arminianism contended for the universality of the Atonement, but with denial also of particular election (see ARMINIANISM). Calvin himself, as we saw, did not suggest limitation in the Atonement. The controversy assumed a somewhat acute form in the 17th cent. through the advocacy, in the writings of Moses Amyraut of Saumur (works from 1634 to 1662; see AMYRALDISM), of the view of 'hypothetical universalism,' *i.e.* the doctrine of unlimited atonement, with particular application, in God's sovereign purpose, to the elect. This mediating view, though warmly combated in Geneva and other centres of Calvinistic orthodoxy, was officially condoned in the French Church, and has since had many able supporters. Richard Baxter in England upheld it; the younger Edwards in New England adopted it; Ralph Wardlaw in Scotland, and Albert Barnes, the commentator, in America, with many more, contended for it. The whole trend of the discussion on the Atonement in recent times has passed into such different phases, that little, comparatively, is now heard of this question, so long a touchstone of purity in Calvinistic faith, and little disposition is shown on any side to deny the love of God to the whole world in the gift of His Son for its salvation (cf. the Declaratory Acts of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, England, and America; on the controversy in its older phases, see Cunningham, *Hist. Theol.* ii. 323 ff.; Schaff, *Creeds*, i. 480 ff., 772).

(3) A third influential development in Calvinistic theology is in the doctrine of *the Covenants*, usually associated with the name of Cocceius, in Holland. The leading ideas of the Federal Theology, however, are of much earlier date. Apart from Scottish (Rollock) and Anglo-Dutch (Amesius) writers, as early as 1570, Olevianus, one of the compilers of the Heidelberg Catechism, had published a work treating of the eternal covenant between God and believers. The *Westminster Confession*, which is based on the contrast of a 'covenant of works' and 'covenant of grace,' appeared in 1647, a year before the publication of the work of Cocceius on the subject. Cocceius, however, undoubtedly gave the idea a systematic development which raised it to a place of importance in theology which it had not formerly occupied. A still better known work on the Covenants is that of Witsius (cf. Mitchell, *Westm. Assembly*, p. 371 ff.; Schaff, *Creeds*, i. 773 f.; on the value of the doctrine, see Hastie, *op. cit.* p. 191 ff.). See COVENANT THEOLOGY.

4. Calvinism in different countries.—Much space would be required to trace the history of Calvinism in the different countries which received it, and the kind of influence it has exercised on each; but a few notes may be given. In general it may be claimed for Calvinism that its influence has been an elevating and invigorating one. Abasing man before God, but exalting him again in the consciousness of a newborn liberty in Christ, teaching him his slavery through sin, yet restoring his freedom to him through grace, and leading him to regard all things in the light of eternity, it contributed to form a grave but very noble and elevated type of character, and reared a race not afraid to lift up the head before kings.

Froude may well ask 'how it came to pass that, if Calvinism is indeed the hard and unreasonable creed which modern enlightenment declares it to be, it has possessed such singular attractions in past times for some of the greatest men that ever lived. And how—being, as we are told, fatal to morality because it denies free will—the first symptom of its operation, wherever it established itself, was to obliterate the distinction between sins and crimes, and to make the moral law the rule of life for States as well as persons . . . why, if it be a creed of intellectual servitude, it was able to inspire and sustain the bravest efforts ever made by man to break the yoke of unjust authority ('Calvinism,' in *Short Studies*, 2nd ser.). Many similar testimonies might be quoted (cf. Kuyper, *Calvinism*, pp. 8–10), but we cite only two, less frequently noted. Writing of the Dutch struggle for independence, Motley says: 'It would be ridiculous to deny that the aggressive, uncompromising, self-sacrificing, intensely believing, perfectly fearless spirit of Calvinism had been the animating soul, the motive power of the great revolt. For the Provinces to have encountered Spain and Rome without Calvinism, and relying on municipal enthusiasm only, would have been to throw away the sword and fight with the scabbard' (*John of Barneveld*, i. 331). Morley, again, taking Frederic Harrison to task in the *Nineteenth Century* (Feb. 1892) for omitting Calvin from his 'New Calendar of Great Men,' declares: 'To omit Calvin from the forces of Western evolution is to read history with one eye shut. To say that Hobbes and Cromwell stand for the positive results of the intellectual revolution in Protestant countries, and that Calvin does not, is to ignore what the Calvinistic churches were, and what they have done for moral and social causes in the old world and in the new. Hobbes and Cromwell were giants in their several ways, but . . . we cannot but see that, compared with Calvin, not in capacity of intellect, but in power of giving formal shape to a world, Hobbes and Cromwell are hardly more than names writ in water.' Morley then quotes from the *Essays* of Mark Pattison (ii. 31) a striking passage concluding, 'Calvinism saved Europe.'

Calvinism has found acceptance chiefly among the Latin and Anglo-Saxon races, while Germany has remained predominatingly Lutheran. Yet the Reformed Church gained an important foothold in Germany also, which it has never since lost. Its presence in all the countries into which it travelled has been marked by the rise of Creeds, or, more properly, Confessions.

(1) In *Switzerland* the Reformation had received its democratic and severely Scriptural character from Zwingli and other Reformers before the advent of Calvinism. The principal pre-Calvinistic Confessions are the *First Confession of Basel* (1534; still in use in Basel) and the *First Helvetic Confession* (1536; 'the first Reformed Creed of national authority'). After Calvin's death, in 1566 came the *Second Helvetic Confession*, composed by Bullinger—'the most widely adopted, and hence the most authoritative, of all the Continental Reformed symbols, with the exception of the Heidelberg Catechism' (Schaff, *Swiss Ref.* i. 222). It is in strictness a Zwinglian Symbol, but transfused with Calvin's influence. Its tenth chapter treats of predestination, but strikingly declares that we must believe in the love of God to the world, as attested in Jn 3[16]. More local in interest are three documents drawn up by Calvin himself—the *Catechism of Geneva* (1541), the *Consensus of Zurich* (1549), and the *Consensus of Geneva* (1552; polemical). In the Genevan Catechism predestination is not mentioned; the Genevan Consensus, on the other hand, is devoted to that doctrine.

(2) It has already been mentioned that the Reformation in *France* was indigenous. Calvin, however, did much to forward the movement (congregation formed at Poitiers, 1534; 'Calvin's grotto'), and it was under his influence and that of Beza that the French Church was, later, organized. Despite severe persecution, the adherents of the Reformation numbered some 400,000 in 1558. The first National Synod was held at Paris in 1559, when the Church was formally organized by the adoption of the *Gallican Confession of Faith* (drafted by Calvin), and of an order of discipline on the Calvinistic model (cf. Quick, *Synodicon*, 1692, vol. i.). The Church continued to hold national Synods (29 in number) till 1660, when their meetings were prohibited by Louis XIV., and in 1685 came the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Not till 1872 was the 30th Synod held, when a new and simpler declaration of faith was adopted (cf. Schaff, *Creeds*, i. 498 ff.). Calvinism spread into the Waldensian Church, and the Waldensian Confession of 1655 is based on the Gallican Confession of 1559 (on literature on the Reformation in France, cf. Schaff, *Swiss Reformation*, ii., Appendix).

(3) *Germany*, as we have said, was naturally Lutheran; but the views of the Swiss Reformers gained favour in certain of the free Imperial cities, four of which (Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau) presented at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 a separate Confession, known as *the Tetrapolitan.* At a later period a mild Calvinism gained the ascendancy in the Palatinate and in Brandenburg. The chief Reformed Symbol is the justly celebrated *Heidelberg Catechism*, drawn up at the instance of the pious and tolerant Frederick III., Elector of the Palatinate, on the basis of drafts by two young divines of the Reformed persuasion, Ursinus and Olevianus. It obtained in 1562 the approval of a Synod at Heidelberg: hence its name. No other catechism has ever had such popularity. It does not obtrude the Calvinistic peculiarities: the doctrine of election, *e.g.*, is incidentally implied in a few of the questions rather than expressly stated (cf. Schaff, *Creeds*, i. 529 ff.). Brandenburg also had its Confessions, which subsisted till the Union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany in 1817.

(4) *The Netherlands* first received the Reformation in the Lutheran form, enduring severe persecution, but later, as exiles from other countries flocked into the cities, a change took place, and the Calvinistic or Reformed type became predominant. A Church gradually shaped itself, with the *Belgic Confession* and the *Heidelberg Catechism* as its acknowledged Symbols. The Catechism has just been spoken of. The Belgic Confession, composed by Guido de Brès in 1561, was based on the Gallican Confession of 1559. It was revised in 1562, and soon after was publicly adopted by Synods of the Reformed Church (1566, 1568, 1574, 1577, etc.), and finally by the great Synod of Dort in 1619. Its Calvinism, like that of the Heidelberg Catechism, is mild in character. The new faith was the inspiring power in the heroic struggle which ended in the proclamation of the Independence of the Seven Provinces in 1581. While, however, Calvinism was the avowed faith of the Church, there were always those who maintained a protest against its doctrines, especially its doctrine of predestination. Calvinists themselves were partly to blame for the reaction, owing to the extreme lengths to which some carried their views (see SUPRALAPSARIANISM). Ultimately the smouldering opposition found utterance in the teachings of Arminius and the Remonstrants (see ARMINIANISM). The controversy that ensued led, after much acrimonious disputation, to the Synod of Dort (1618–19), the decisions of which have already been adverted to. Holland subsequently became the chief home of the Covenant theology. The 'Modern' School in Holland has departed far enough from Calvinism, but the Free Churches have revived it as the basis of their Constitution (cf. Kuyper, *Calvinism*).

(5) Doctrinally, the *English* Reformation was deeply influenced by Calvinism. Henry VIII., indeed, prohibited Calvin's books (1542), but even then and in succeeding reigns the English Reformers were strongly Calvinistic in sympathy. 'It is not too much to say,' observes Schaff, 'that the ruling theology of the Church of England in the latter half of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th cent. was Calvinistic' (*Creeds*, i. 604; cf. Cunningham, *Refs. and Theol. of Ref.* p. 168 ff.). This is sufficiently evidenced by the Elizabethan Articles, the Lambeth Articles, and the Irish Articles (see below). The Dean of Chichester, librarian to King Edward VI., wrote to Bullinger in 1552, while the Anglican Articles were under consideration: 'The greater number among us, of whom I own myself to be one, embrace the opinion of John Calvin as being perspicuous and most agreeable to Holy Scripture' (Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 181). The Thirty-nine Articles are themselves moderately Calvinistic. The soul of English Puritanism was its Calvinism. Neal (in Schaff, i. 703) defines a Puritan as 'a man of severe morals, a Calvinist in doctrine, and a Nonconformist to the ceremonies and discipline of the Church, though not totally separated from it.' Later, the Church of England came to be predominantly Arminian and, until the Tractarian Movement, latitudinarian.

(6) It will be questioned by none that the *Scottish* Reformation was Calvinistic from its beginning. The *Scottish Confession* of 1560 'exhibits a clear, fresh, and forcible summary of the orthodox Reformed faith, as then held in common by the Protestants of England, Switzerland, France, and Holland' (Schaff, i. 683). Though 'decidedly Calvinistic,' it is free from the extreme statements of some forms of later Calvinism. This native Symbol was superseded in 1648–49 by the *Confession of Faith drawn up by the Westminster Assembly*, 1643–46. A. F. Mitchell has conclusively proved (*Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, p. xlvi ff.; *The Westm. Assembly*, p. 380) that its famous ch. iii. 'Of God's Eternal Decree' closely, and in part verbally, follows Art. III. of the Irish Articles of Archbp. Ussher (1615). Its place in the forefront of the Confession, and its exceptionally strong and imperfectly qualified statements, give an aspect of severity to the Confession as a whole, and create stumbling-blocks at the outset—which is to be regretted. The chapter itself is an attempt at compromise between 'Supralapsarian' and 'Sublapsarian' modes of statement—only with the result, however, of introducing inconsistency into the total presentation. In recent years means have been taken, in both British and American Churches, to soften its offensive harshness by 'Declaratory' Acts and Statements. With the Westminster Confession are usually associated the Westminster *Larger* and *Shorter Catechisms*—the latter the best known popular Calvinistic manual.

(7) Congregationalism in *New England* was originally Calvinistic, but, with Jonathan Edwards, underwent modification, giving rise to the type of doctrine known distinctively as 'New England Theology.' This modified orthodox Calvinism in many essential particulars. Its ramifications may be traced in Fisher's *Hist. of Christian Doctrine*, 1896, p. 394 ff.

From the side both of philosophy and of science, with their accompaniment in enlarged Biblical knowledge, new influences have entered into theo-

logy in most countries during the last century, which have had the effect of largely transforming all doctrinal schemes. Christianity is increasingly apprehended more from its human, ethical, and spiritual sides, and the tendency is to withdraw interest from the transcendental and speculative aspects of doctrine. This naturally affects Calvinism in an especial degree. The perennial elements of truth in Calvinism will no doubt survive, but it may be questioned whether it will ever occupy so dominant and exclusive a place in the future as it has done in many periods of the past.

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JAMES ORR.

CAMBODIA.—The present kingdom of Cambodia, the remnant of the ancient Khmèr empire, is bounded on the W. by the Gulf of Siam and the kingdom of Siam, on the N. by Laos, on the S. by French Cochin-China, and on the E. by the Annamese empire.[1] Its area is more than a third of that of France, and it has a population of 1,500,000 inhabitants, three-fourths of whom are of the Khmèr race, the other fourth representing Chinese, Annamese, Cham, and Malay elements, not to mention several aboriginal races: Phnông, Samrè, Kuy, Pohr, Jarai, Radè, etc. The Cambodians reckon also that there are about 500,000 of their race scattered throughout Cochin-China and Siam.

1. Origin.—The origin of the Cambodians, or Khmèrs, as they call themselves, is obscure; it seems probable that they belong to the family of Mōn-Khmèr races, to which their language undoubtedly belongs. They also bear the strong impress of Hindu civilization.

2. History.—What is known with far greater certainty about the glorious past of the Khmèrs is that, as far back as in the 10th cent., they possessed a huge empire, extending from the Gulf of Bengal to the China Sea, divided into sixty governments, conquered after fierce conflicts with the Chams, Laotians, and Siamese, and mentioned with respect by the Chinese annalists. Their splendid capital, Angkor-Thom, 'Angkor the Great,' in the province of Siem Reap (recently reunited to Cambodia), was undoubtedly built in the end of the 9th cent., and completed during the first half of the 12th cent. by the erection of the wonderful temple of Angkor Wăt.[2] The ruins of its monuments give evidence to this day of culture and artistic gifts so incompatible with the intellectual apathy of the Khmèrs, that some scholars are inclined to think that the grandeur of their empire was due to a Hindu colony which governed the country from the 8th to the 14th century.

In the 13th cent. the Khmèr empire began to decline, under the attacks, first of the Siamese, and then of the Annamese. Continual civil wars, caused by anarchy in the royal family, hastened its decadence. At the end of the 18th cent., reduced to a few provinces, it was the vassal of both Siam and Annam. The French intervention, in 1862, secured peace for it; and since then, by retrocession from Annam or Siam, several lost provinces have been given back to it.

[1] In the language of the natives, the name of Cambodia is *srŏk Kampućā* (*Kambuja*) or *srŏk Khmèr* (*srŏk* = 'country,' 'kingdom').

[2] *Wăt* in Khmèr (Siamese *văt*) means 'Buddhist monastery.' In the transcription of Khmèr words we have followed, as far as possible, that of Finot (see Literature). The consonants have almost the same sounds as in the usual Sanskrit transliteration. It is the same with the vowels, with the exception of *ă*, which = *ea*, and o', which = German *ö*.

3. Physical appearance and modes of life of the people.—Of average height, and well-built, strong, and vigorous, appearing to the observer either slender, with straight nose, or thick-set, with flattened nose and Mongolian aspect (two types which survive in Cambodia like the persistence of two different races), the Khmèr, in spite of his dark colour and his large, slightly almond-shaped eyes, is a fine specimen of humanity. The women are smaller, and as a rule have beautiful figures. Very proud of their nationality, ceremonious, careless, even thoughtless, but gentle, patient, very hospitable, yet never allowing a stranger to take up his abode inside their houses, very hard working and patient in rural districts, of disconcerting apathy everywhere else, sincere, honest, and disinterested, in the opinion of travellers who have loved them least, these Cambodians are, nevertheless, capable of great internal solidarity, are very gentle and affectionate in their family life, with great love for their princes and their traditions, pious even to superstition, but having the greatest tolerance for others.

The men wear a *sampŏt*—a piece of cloth rolled between the legs and round the loins so as to form wide breeches—and, very often, a straight buttoned jacket. The women also wear the *sampŏt* (and sometimes, in the provinces far removed from the capital, a petticoat, or *languti*, forming a skirt), and a tunic tight at the waist and wrists and open at the breast. Very often the place of this tunic is taken by an accordion-pleated scarf, of a bright colour, which leaves the back and the arms uncovered.

Both men and women wear their hair cut like a brush, or very short and pushed back. They are quite ignorant of savage mutilations. In the country the women still continue to have large holes pierced in their ears, in which they wear wooden or metal studs; this custom shows a tendency to disappear completely.

The Cambodians prefer to live in the plain, on the banks of their great river, the Mekhong, and its chief tributaries, or by the side of the Tonlé Sap—the name given to the large fresh-water lake—and the arm which joins it to the Mekhong. Their huts, built on piles, are often large and well kept. The furniture is clean and very simple, however rich the owner may be, except perhaps at Phnom Pénh. The building of houses involves special rites. When the Cambodians go to the forest to cut down the wood for the supporting pillars of the roof, the tree chosen must fall flat to the earth, without coming into contact with any obstacle, either during its fall or on the ground. If it met with any obstacle it would be abandoned, as being likely to bring misfortune. The sorcerer determines the site, the orientation, and the day propitious for the building. The holes for the foundation pillars are not dug until a sacrifice has been offered to the spirit of the earth, as if to beg his pardon for encroaching upon his domain. The pillars are set up while the sorcerer looks on, and are covered at their upper ends with cloth amulets, in order to drive away the evil spirits that might still be dwelling in the wood. The central pillar is fixed first, to the sound of musical instruments. Doors, windows, and steps must all be odd in number. Women must not enter a house in process of construction; they would bring misfortune to the future inhabitants. *Bonzes* come and bless the house when it is almost finished. On its completion, first of all a cat is put into it, then the owner appears, laden with pieces of furniture. Before he crosses the threshold, a friend, purposely stationed there to intercept him, asks him where he comes from. He replies that, when coming from Laṅkā (Ceylon) he was shipwrecked and cast upon the shore, and, being homeless, he has come, with all that he has managed to rescue, to take up his abode in this house, which is not inhabited. After this little comedy he need not fear the evil spirits.

The Cambodian house, which is nearly always surrounded by an orchard, has never more than one storey. In fact, a Khmèr would never consent to live under anybody—a custom which is so deep-rooted that no one has the right to put even a handcuffed prisoner under the raised floor of a house. It may be for a similar reason that the Cambodians do not allow any person to pass his hand over, or lay it on, their heads. In the case of an adult, this familiarity is a serious insult; such a caress given to a child may bring misfortune.

The ladder which serves as the entrance to the house is, at its inauguration, bound with cotton thread. This ladder is supposed to be given into the charge of the male spirits, while the females inhabit the interior of the hut. In the evening, when the ladder is drawn up, so that the house may be isolated during the night, the last rung must be left sticking out, so that the guardian spirits may take their stand on it, and prevent ghosts or hostile spirits from entering. The rungs of this ladder are always odd in number; the ladder used for exhuming the dead being the only one that has an even number of rungs. Worn-out rungs must not be disdainfully thrown away or put in the fire. When a ladder breaks during a marriage ceremony the celebrations are continued; but the marriage is not consummated the same day, else the risk is incurred of seeing one of the newly-married pair die within the year.

The Cambodians, like almost all the races of the Far East, are extremely frugal, their chief food being rice. Fresh or salt fish, tuberous and leguminous plants, and sometimes pork, are also eaten. This tasteless fare is highly seasoned by means of *prahŏk*, a condiment of fermented salt fish, the sickening smell of which is most disagreeable. The Cambodians drink water or tea, very seldom alcohol. They use tobacco and chew betel; the use of opium is a vice confined to a few of their rich mandarins. It should also be mentioned that the Khmèrs eat fruit without waiting until it is ripe.

The Khmèrs, being of sedentary and rather lazy habits, confine themselves chiefly to cultivating the products which their

country readily offers: they are mostly fishermen and farmers, hunters and woodcutters. They cultivate a good many varieties of rice,[1] catch enormous quantities of fish, to be consumed fresh, salted, or fermented, and extract yearly about 3,000,000 kilogr. of palm-sugar.[2] Their industry and commerce are not very brisk; but they weave silk and cotton materials which are very harmonious in colouring and design, they are very clever silver-smiths, and they manufacture splendid canoes out of single tree-trunks.

4. **Religious beliefs.**—The Cambodians, although very religious, are absolutely tolerant. At the present day the official religion of the Khmèrs is Siṅhalese Buddhism. Their sacred books are written in Pāli, the language that they call *Bàlĕi Mokoth* (= *Pāḷī Magadha*, 'Pāli of Magadha'). They have preserved manifest survivals of ancient Brāhmanism, and ritual practices which are undoubtedly aboriginal.

i. BUDDHISM.—It seems now to be generally agreed that the Buddhism of the North was introduced into Cambodia between the 5th and 7th centuries. From the 7th to the 13th cent., tainted by Śaivism, it struggled hard everywhere against Brāhmanism, which was the official cult of the Khmèrs. It seems to have triumphed at the beginning of the 14th cent., but probably did not implant indestructible roots in the hearts of the Khmèrs until towards the 15th cent., through the introduction of the Pāli canon and the doctrine of the South, which completely supplanted that of the North. We need not repeat here what is said elsewhere under art. CEYLON BUDDHISM.

(1) *Clergy.*—Although the Buddhism of Cambodia is that of Ceylon, it does not follow that its clergy recognize the supremacy of the Ceylon Church; they regard it as the seat of the perfect doctrine, and sometimes send monks to be taught in Kandy or Colombo, but admit no other connexion.

The chief official of Buddhism in Cambodia is the king, who is its temporal head as well as the most devout worshipper. He can neither alter its doctrine nor confiscate its property. The heads in spiritual matters are two monks: the *somdaé práḥ*[3] *saṅghrāč* (=Skr. *saṅgharāja*), 'the king of the assembly of monks,' who appoints superiors to the monasteries on the 'right,' and the *lòk práḥ sòkŏn*, 'Lord Bishop,' who nominates superiors for the monasteries on the 'left.' Each superintends a monastery, and they rule almost equal parts of the kingdom. The second is inferior to the first, but is not at all dependent upon him, and never consults him. Under them are the elected provincial superiors, the abbots or heads of monasteries. The members of this hierarchy possess purely disciplinary power, and are in no way subordinated to each other.

The teaching of the young is entirely in the hands of the monks, or *bonzes*, who are called *lòk saṅ*, 'lords of the assembly' (*saṅgha*). They teach children from six to eight years of age. A boy at the age of twelve is received into intimate communion as a 'disciple' (Khm. *samne* = Pāli *samaṇera*), and may then wear the yellow robe. On reaching his twenty-first year, if he can give certain moral, physical, and social guarantees, he may be ordained by a chapter of at least twenty monks, and then receives the name of *phik* (Pāli *bhikkhu* = Skr. *bhikṣu*, 'mendicant'). Any monk may leave the Order, after obtaining permission from his superior, who can never prevent his final withdrawal, except for a short time.

The *bonzes* in Cambodia enjoy great privileges; they are exempted from public work, military service, and taxes—in a word, from all civil duties. They cannot raise actions at law, and they give witness only by conventional signs. In cases of crime or very serious fault (fornication, use of fermented drinks, etc.), the monastery hands the offender over to the secular power. The life of the *bonzes* is occupied with prayer and the instruction of the young. They subsist by means of voluntary alms, and take only two meals a day, between sunrise and midday. Very gentle, tolerant, and, as a rule, pure in their lives, they are much respected, and no one would dare to prepare a meal without laying aside a share for them.

The name of *dón či*, 'religious women,' 'nuns,' is given to certain girls or married women, who, after a form of taking of vows, wear white clothes, and live near the monasteries, in the most saintly way possible, rendering such services to the monks as can be performed outside the monasteries. Some widows, in order to show their deep sorrow, even submit themselves to this life for three years, which calls forth great regard for them.

(2) *Monasteries, temples, and pagodas.*—These are far from equal in magnificence to the Brāhmanical temples of the ancient Khmèrs. The only stone temples, and the most beautiful ones, are some rather small, ancient Brāhmanical temples which have not been used as such for centuries. The monastery (*wăt*) is nearly always in the middle of a park planted with *Ficus religiosa* and other large trees. Behind the pagoda there are small thatched cells, or *koth* (Skr. *kuṭī*), where the monks live; in front is the *sàlà* (Pāli *sālā* = Skr. *śālā*, 'hall'), a public hall which is used both as a meeting-place for monks and people and as a shelter for travellers. The pagodas, properly so called (*práḥ vihār* = Skr. *vihāra*, 'monastery'), or temples containing a statue (frequently a huge one) of Buddha, are built on small terraces or rectangular platforms, supported by thick walls, and especially by strong inside pillars of carved wood, and feebly lighted by a few narrow windows. They are especially distinguished by the elegance and lightness of their storeyed or sloping roofs, the corners of which end in a finial in the shape of the reared-up tail of a serpent or dragon. Some pagodas, and particularly that of Udong, are covered with earthenware painted with fine artistic effect. The entrance, with very few exceptions, is on the eastern side. The interior of the pagoda is adorned with mural paintings representing various legendary scenes, and contains a profusion of European petroleum lamps hung near the altar of the Buddha, whose statue is gilded. A wooden pulpit, supported by *garuḍas*, completes the furniture of the pagoda.

Besides the temples there are sometimes *ćetĕiy* (Pāli *chetiya* = Skr. *chāitya*, 'monument,' 'shrine'), large bell-shaped structures of dried brick which contain the ashes of great and saintly people.

ii. BRĀHMANISM.—Brāhmanism, which prevailed in Cambodia for such a long time, could not disappear without leaving material and moral survivals, in the first rank of which we must mention the ruins, sometimes very magnificent, of the ancient temples (Angkor Wăt, Angkor Thom, etc.), the remains of Brāhmanical statues, the *liṅgas* which are still found in Buddhist temples, and the caste of *bakus*, or *prâm* (= Skr. *brāhmaṇa*), also called *barohĕt* (Skr. *purohita*, 'household priest').

(1) *Bakus.*—Although it is still difficult to give a satisfactory etymology of the word *baku*, it seems certain that the *bakus*, are direct descendants of the ancient Brāhmans. The title *barohĕt* (*purohita*) marks their functions as palace-chaplains. The caste of *bakus* includes from nine hundred to a thousand male persons. Obliged formerly to marry only among themselves, the *bakus* at the present day may marry a woman of any race whatever, but they do not readily marry outside their caste. Although they are Buddhists like

[1] The Annamese have names for eighty-nine varieties.

[2] Produced by the *tnŏt* (*Borassus flabelliformis*, Murray).

[3] *Práḥ* (Burm. *bhurāḥ*, Cham *bara*, Jav. *bra*, Siam. *phraḥ*; cf. Skr. *vara*) is an honorific title placed before the names of divinities and kings.

the other Cambodians, they are distinguished from them by certain observances and real privileges, the relics of their former power. They still render a very marked cult to Viṣṇu and to Śiva, and have not the same scruples as the *bonzes* about killing any animal, or causing it to be killed. On the other hand, they are bound to perform all sorts of purifications; they cannot touch any cooking or table utensil without covering their hands with a cloth to avoid defilement, and they do not willingly eat of any dishes except those prepared at their homes, unless they have made sure that the person who has prepared them has been well purified previously. The *bakus* wear their hair long, and, rather than give up the custom, they prefer never to become officials. Forty years ago all *bakus* were exempted from taxes and public works; gradually the kings cut down these privileges for the good of their treasury. In case of misdemeanour or crime, *bakus* may be brought only before their peers. In the case of a capital crime, the *baku* is not executed, but is exiled to a distant province under supervision; if he is sentenced to the chain, he receives it from the head of the caste, and suffers his term of imprisonment in the house of one of the other *bakus*.

The *bakus* are exempted from the law which adjudges as perpetual servants of the king all the twins born in the kingdom, and, if any one of them dies childless, his property goes to the corporation, and not, as is usual, to the royal treasury. They may marry princesses. One of their chiefs in the burlesque festival of *măkh* (=Skr. *māgha*), the 11th lunar month, which corresponds to Jan.-Feb., used to become king of Măkh, and for three days enjoyed the semblance of royalty, and the very appreciable privilege of receiving the revenues of the kingdom during that time. Norodom (=Skr. *Narottama*), the predecessor of the present king, did away with this curious custom, but the seven or eight great dignitaries of the *bakus* still receive annually all the traditional presents—buffaloes, rice, etc.—from one of the great provinces of the kingdom. There is a belief deeply rooted in the popular mind, although not inscribed in any act, that, in the case of extinction of the direct royal line, the *bakus* have a right to the throne in preference to distant members of the royal family. The *bakus* claim that these privileges are nothing in comparison with those which they formerly enjoyed. The *bakus* are obliged to take charge, in turn, of the Brāhmanical statuettes, and the palladium of Cambodia (the *Prăh Khan*)—the sacred sword preserved in a building adjoining the royal palace. They are all qualified to share in this, but whereas the majority among them practise agriculture or commerce in order to live, their seven or eight chiefs, with pompous titles of Sanskrit origin, are the *barohĕts* (*purohita*), or royal chaplains, and the only real priests of Cambodia.

It is the *bakus* who offer the lustral water in sea-shells to the king during the great New Year festival, and, in his absence, themselves wash the Brāhmanical idols. It is they who, during the coronation-festivals, at the cutting of the fore-locks of princes, and at the great water-festivals, play the principal part. They also present the lustral water to the king on the occasion of the celebrations of his birthday. In case of war, they perform on the king the ritual aspersion of 'water of victory,' some drops of which they throw also on each army corps to ensure their success; they follow the king in the field, carrying with them the sacred sword, the gift of Indra, and the Brāhmanical idols. This explains how the worshipped weapon happened on two occasions (1812 and 1840) to fall into the hands of the conquering Annamese. They also consecrate the water of the oath which every mandarin must drink when entering upon his duties and at the coronation of every new sovereign.

Being the guardians of all purity, the *bakus*, standing at the top of a specially constructed platform, at every official entry of a new white elephant into Phnom Pénh, sprinkle it with lustral water, in order to purify it from the defilements of the forest. When one of the king's wives becomes pregnant, the *bakus* come and put a gold chain, the gift of the king, round her neck, and recite charms over it. It will then preserve her from the accidents of pregnancy. The new mother keeps this chain ever afterwards, as a sign of honour and fertility.

(2) *Âcârs* (Skr. *ăchārya*, 'teacher').—Below the *bakus* we might rank the *âcârs*, who very often take their place in the midst of the family for the cutting of the fore-lock, and who are lay-devotees, versed in theology and traditions, irreproachable in their mode of life, and held in veneration by the people for their knowledge and their holiness.

iii. POPULAR RELIGION. — Although all the Cambodians are very much attached to Buddhism, a very pure and very strict religion is not to be expected of them. The mass of the people, besides the cult which they render to the Buddha, worship Brāhmanical relics preserved by the *bakus* or kept in certain pagodas, without realizing what the words imply. All their superstitious piety is directed in the first place to the good or evil spirits and genii who animate all space. Under Buddhist names, so far as the *bonzes* and the very small minority of learned men (who try to identify these genii with the *prĕt* [=Skr. *preta*], 'ghosts,' the *yăkkh* [=Pāli *yakkha*, Skr. *yakṣa*], 'ogres,' the *râc sĕi* [=Skr. *rāja siṁha*], 'fabulous lions,' the *krŭth* [=Skr. *garuḍa*], 'mythical birds,' and the *nâk* [=Skr. *nāga*], 'fabulous serpents' of India) are concerned, the people unconsciously perpetuate the aboriginal cult—primitive Animism. It is this religion of very inferior ideas that dominates their whole daily life.

(1) *Nâk tà*.—In the first rank of good spirits must be placed the *nâk tà*, who seem to be local tutelary divinities, set apart, the Khmèrs say, by Prăh In (Indra) to guard a particular portion of land, or a certain mountain, river, or tree. According to some, the *nâk tà* would correspond to the Hindu *pitṛis* (*manes*). They dwell in the fine old trees which nobody would dare to cut down, and which are called *unsà srŏk*, 'the trunks, the roots of the country.' There is always one for each province, and sometimes one for each village. It is under the canopy of their foliage that the people come to worship the spirit, who can take the most diverse forms—a stone, a strangely shaped root, the ruins of a Brāhmanical statue, etc. The *nâk tà* are involved in cases of serious illness, epidemics, prolonged drought, or too heavy rainfalls. The oblations which they love are of three kinds: offerings of living animals, which, in the name and presence of the *nâk tà*, are given their liberty; offerings of food; and sacrifices of living animals. In the last case the buffalo or ox chosen is slaughtered in the midst of a large assembly of the people, who terminate the festival with a meal and rejoicings. At the installation of a governor in his new province a buffalo is always sacrificed to the *nâk tà*. In this case the animal is killed with great cruelty, its neck being sawn for a long time, as the duration and intensity of its bellowing are signs of prosperity for the new governor.

In former times the *nâk tà* had to be honoured by more cruel offerings, for in certain provinces of Cambodia, about 1840, it was the custom to sacrifice to them those who had been condemned to death. And even at the present day, persons who have been condemned to death are executed in the presence of the *nâk tà* of the province to which they belong; they thus become offerings to the spirit as well as victims punished for their misdeeds. In this there is very probably a reminiscence of human sacrifice.

(2) *Ârăk*.—Alongside of the *nâk tà* we find the *ârăk* (=Pāli *arakkha-devatā*, 'tutelary deities'), good spirits, or tutelary genii, who dwell in trees or in houses, and take special care of individuals. The *ârăk* seem to be the human ancestors, as the *nâk tà* are the Divine ancestors. The *ârăk* of the family is nearly always a relative or friend long dead, who has constituted himself the protector of the group loved by him. He is the best and the

most precious of the *dôn tà* (=ancestors, in the sense of grandfathers) of his *protégés*. The *àràk* is invoked especially in cases of illness, as this is almost always, in the eyes of the Khmèrs, the work of evil spirits. Then a *kru* (=Skr. *guru*, 'spiritual preceptor') is called in, *i.e.* a sorcerer, male or female, who gets into close communion with the *àràk* of the sick person, causes him to become incarnate in himself, and, armed with his power, asks who is the evil spirit that is torturing the patient. Then, to the sound of songs and a small band, he exorcizes it by spraying rice-wine that he has in his mouth over the patient in very minute drops. The patient is also slightly pricked or gashed, in order to chase away his tormentor. Every year, in Jan.–Feb.–March, a great festival in honour of the *àràks* takes place. It is called *lö'ṅ rôṅ*, 'the exaltation of the shed.'[1] To this feast the *kru* gathers all his pupils, *i.e.* all the clients cured by him, and in their presence he proceeds to call up all the *àràks*, and becomes possessed by these spirits, with much stamping and a fit of hysterics, which is apt to infect his audience. Blossoms from the frangipani tree (*Plumeria alba*, Linn.) are offered to the *àràks*. Many of the Cambodians have really no other cult than that of their *àràk*.

(3) *Prāy, khmôc prāy.*—*Nāk tà* and *àràk* have a hard task in combating the evil spirits, or *prāy*. Perhaps the most dreaded are the *khmôc prāy*, 'wicked dead,' and, among these *khmôc*, women who have died in childbed. These, hidden in the trees, frighten people by laughing and by throwing stones, and try to make them mad, or to kill them. The woods are also inhabited by elves, who are supposed to cause incurable diseases among men.

(4) *Bĕisać.*—The Cambodians must also beware of people who have died a violent death, the *bĕisać* (=Pāli *pisācha*, Skr. *piśācha*, 'goblin'), famished souls, stripped of everything, who return from the hells to demand food, and, if any one refuses to pay heed to them, take revenge by inflicting all sorts of evils on him. They are appeased by the placing of rice and other food for them among the brushwood, while the *prāy* will not accept offerings unless they are laid on a winnowing fan.

(5) *Smĕr.*—There are also terrible wer-wolves, male and female, known by the name of *smĕr*. Sometimes these are, according to Aymonier,[2] 'men who, as the result of certain magical incantations, are endowed with special powers and properties, *e.g.* being able to swallow dishes. In order to deprive these wer-wolves of their power it is necessary to strike them with a hook on the shoulder.' Sometimes they are women, who, after being rubbed, voluntarily or involuntarily, with oil consecrated by a sorcerer, lose their reason and flee to the woods, where, after seven days, they change into wild tigresses, unless a man skilled in sorcery, and rubbed with the same oil, gives them a knock on the head with a bar, while repeating magical words, and brings them back to reason.

(6) *Sorcerers, sorceresses, and soothsayers.*—The popular religion of the Khmèrs, by its very character, implies belief alike in magic, astrology, and the most minute performances in order to find out whether the apparently simplest action in daily life does not run the risk of being unlucky. Wizards and soothsayers are the indispensable priests of the popular religion of the Cambodians. A distinction is drawn between the sorcerer-soothsayers, *àp thmòp*, who foretell destinies and days, sell philtres and charms, and make use of spells either from wickedness or avarice, and the medicine-sorcerers, or *kru* (=Skr. *guru*), who add to these many gifts those of curing and exorcizing, and thus being able to counteract the wicked power of the *àp thmòp*. These two kinds of offices may be filled indifferently by sorcerers or sorceresses (*mè thmòp*). To cause a person to fall ill, or die, they have several processes: by means of incantations they transform a buffalo skin and some grains of rice, or some shavings of wood, into a huge black beetle, or into worms which enter the stomach of the victim, cause him to become ill, and kill him, unless a more skilful sorcerer intervenes to save him. Areca nuts, and certain *pratāl*, or tubers, after conjurations by the sorcerer, also cause a slow and most painful death to the person who touches them. Two human skulls, whose upper parts have been removed, placed one upon the other (top to top), and secretly laid (after certain incantations) under the bed of a man who is perfectly well, have equally disastrous results. The sorcerers also cast spells over people by means of a little wax figure which they prick with a needle at the spot where they wish to affect the person against whom they have a grudge. On the other hand, they sell protective amulets and love-philtres, or *khnòe*, small phials of baked earth filled with consecrated oil, which secure the favour of the king, success at play, or with women, for the man who is rubbed with it.

(7) *Ghouls or sorceresses.*—Lastly, there are the *srĕi àp*, a kind of ghouls or sorceresses, some of whom become so involuntarily, and others as a result of studying magic. At night their heads, accompanied only by the alimentary canal, wander about to feed on excrements, in search of which they will even look among the intestines of people who are asleep. Recognizable by their bloodshot and haggard eyes, these ghouls can throw a spell over any one by merely wishing it, and on this account they are dreaded far more than the sorcerers. If a *srĕi àp* is denounced in a village, either the authorities condemn her to a penalty —exile or death according to the gravity of her alleged misdeeds—or the inhabitants of the village themselves destroy her. The same fate was formerly shared by some of the *thmòp*.

5. Medicine.—It is natural that in the state of mind above described the doctor in serious cases is always the *kru* (=Skr. *guru*), or sorcerer-doctor. As regards the doctor, properly so called, or *kru pĕt*, his whole science is summed up in the knowledge of simples, the combination of medicines, and the recitation of *mantras* ('charms') at the time of administration. His medicine books are merely treatises similar to the ancient *Antidotaries*, including, besides a few clinical references, a great many very complicated formulas of medicaments, followed by their method of administration and preparation, according to the symptoms of the various kinds of diseases. Medical skill is generally transmitted from father to son, but sometimes practitioners instruct in their art intelligent young men, who then become their disciples. Like the Chinese, they attach great importance to the examination of the pulse in the diagnosis of diseases, and think that the latter are due to the evil winds that circulate through the whole system of mankind. Their medicines are borrowed from all countries, but consist chiefly of vegetable species. Various kinds of *Strychnos*, the *Cannabis indica*, the *Datura*, the gamboge, the rayed aniseed (*Illicium anisatum*), etc., are extensively used. The horn of a stag or a rhinoceros, an elephant's tooth, pangolin scales, etc., are supposed to be efficacious in smallpox and certain fevers. Bezoars and gall-stones are reputed febrifuges. The medicines vary according to the part of the body where the disease starts, the build of the person, and the day on

[1] This festival is always held in a temporary shed, specially built for the purpose.
[2] In *Cochinchine française*, xvi. 183.

which he is to drink the potion. In a case of dysentery, one is advised to cut the bark of the *pŏn* (?) on the tree itself, at a height a little above that of the navel of the invalid. In heart disease a decoction of the heart of ebony wood and iron wood, or a decoction of ivory and ploughshare, is prescribed. Eagle-wood is regarded as being especially pleasing to the spirits. In external maladies the part affected is rubbed with it; in internal, the sides of the vessel containing the potion to be drunk. Massage, pinching the skin, and the use of moxas are extensively resorted to. Surgery is not practised. In fractures, co-aptation is never attempted; but care is taken simply to keep the dislocated limb in place by ingenious splints of straight bamboo blades covered with carefully kneaded potter's clay. Before administering any medicine whatever, the physicians invoke *Dhanvantari*, the physician of the gods. The doctor is never paid until after a cure, and he almost invariably receives five arms' lengths of white calico, four betel leaves, some areca, four handfuls of cooked rice, and a wax-candle stuck on a slice of bamboo-trunk.

(1) *Smallpox.*—All that is done is to place some amulets beside the patient, and lay him on banana-leaves near which a fire is kept burning. Care is taken to avoid speaking of itchiness, mats are not shaken before him, so that he may avoid scratching himself, and a white linen cloth is laid beside him to make his pustules whiten by sympathetic magic. The medical formularies do, indeed, include remedies for the different stages and accidents of smallpox, but they are seldom employed.

(2) *Phthisis.*—Consumptives are never cremated, but buried, with a piece of broken earthenware on their faces, so that the evil spirit which is in them may not pass to their children. They are not exhumed in order to be burned until several years have elapsed, and then only if none of their heirs has suffered from the terrible disease.

(3) *Births.*—These take place with the help of matrons. In cases of difficult delivery a special potion is administered, and areca, betel, prepared betel-quids, and fragrant joss-sticks are offered to the 'god of medicine,' after which the midwife recites *mantras*. If a woman dies without being delivered during the 7th, 8th, or 9th month of pregnancy, this is believed to be due to the vengeance of the *prāy*; she and her fetus become dreaded ghosts. When a miscarriage takes place, the sorcerer is hurriedly called. He puts the fetus in an earthenware jar, and, armed with a sword in his right hand, with which he threatens the jar in order to prevent the evil spirit of the fetus from coming out, goes to the nearest stream, pronounces imprecations, breaks the jar with a blow of the sword, and leaves everything in the water. Usually, however, the sorcerer makes a pretence of this ceremony, hides the fetus, which is supposed to be animated by a spirit as intelligent as it is powerful, roasts it over a fire isolated by seven cotton threads stretched round the hearth, coats it with soot and varnish, and sews it into a little bag which he will always carry with him. Henceforward he will succeed in all his enterprises, and in cases of danger his *kŏn prāy*, 'son of the spirit' (the name given to the fetus prepared in this way), who considers him now as a father, saves his adoptive parent by his warnings. The adoptive father is obliged merely to give a few grains of rice at each meal to the spirit, who otherwise would take flight, thinking himself badly treated. This belief has such a strong hold on the mind of the Cambodians, that sometimes, we are told, sorcerers, or simply bold men, come, three days after the burial, to the grave of a woman who has died with child, to demand from her and take the fetus which is still in her womb, in order to make a *kŏn prāy* of it by means of the above-mentioned ceremony.

Faith in the supernatural power of the fetus led formerly, and apparently still leads (but only in quite exceptional cases, which are rightly regarded as crimes punishable by law), to unnatural acts. The power of the fetus is specially great when it is the first child of a couple married for the first time. In order to get possession of such a fetus, the husband used to ask his wife, as if in jest, about the fifth or sixth month of pregnancy, for the possession of the future child. If the woman entered into the joke, and replied, without thinking, 'It is yours,' the husband would lead the unfortunate woman to a secluded spot and kill her in order to get the fetus, which, when cooked and blackened as by the sorcerer, rendered him henceforward invulnerable and successful in his smallest undertakings. This detestable practice must have been fairly widespread, for, even at the present day, in a case of first pregnancy, the parents of the woman, with whom as a rule the young couple live, anxiously and constantly watch the shortest absence of the future mother.

6. Astronomy and astrology.—At one time astronomy was held in great honour in Cambodia, where special experts, the *nāk hòra* (Skr. *horā*; cf. Gr. *ὥρα*), 'astronomers,' 'soothsayers,' determined the solar and lunar eclipses, noted the variations of temperature, and fixed the calendars. At an early period these studies took the form of astrology, and treatises on this subject are plentiful in Cambodia. At the present day, *hòras*, headed by two respected and well-remunerated chiefs, are connected with the royal palace, and each year compose a calendar or *sànkran* (Skr. *saṅkrānti*, 'passage of the sun or other planetary body from one zodiacal sign to another'), including—besides the usual particulars, such as eras, eclipses, etc.—predictions about rain and fine weather, or the returns of the crops, etc. The Khmèrs apply to them to learn the best time for a marriage, the naming of a child, a journey, the building of a house, the success of an enterprise, illness and its issue, the sex of an unborn child, the next betrothal, war and peace, rain and fine weather, etc., all of which the *hòras* determine quite readily by consulting tablets similar to the Malay *kotikas*. Moreover, by means of formulæ and prayers, they can prevent the evil effects which they foretell. Among the common people the *hòras* are called *kru mòl*, 'the teachers who see,' for, independently of the official astrologers of the king's palace, there are other *hòras* scattered throughout the whole kingdom.

The belief in lucky and unlucky days exists in Cambodia as in the neighbouring countries. Friday, for instance, is regarded by everybody as a particularly lucky day for putting on new clothes for the first time, or finishing a piece of work which has been begun; this day is chosen for cutting the thread of a woven piece of cloth.

Eclipses are attributed, as in India, to Rāhu;[1] hence the expression *ra* (=*rāhu*) *čăp čăn*, 'the monster is seizing the moon'='there is an eclipse of the moon.' At the time of an eclipse, monks and *bakus* assemble at the royal palace, where, in anticipation of a possible catastrophe, which an eclipse may produce, the king is purified and gives abundant alms. On the other hand, shaving a child's top-knot of hair at this time ensures good fortune for him. Pregnant women render worship to Rāhu, to prevent their future children from being deformed or weakly. In the same way, if an eclipse occurs, the pillars which have been set up for the building of a house must immediately be placed on the ground and covered so as to be hidden from the eclipse. If they were used without this precaution, misfortune would follow.

7. Superstitions and various beliefs.—(1) *Natural objects.*—The Cambodians ascribe powers either beneficent or dangerous to almost all natural ob-

[1] This belief is general in the Far East.

jects; hence the reverence and fear which they inspire, and the complicated rites and practices to which they give rise.

Dew (*ansò'm*) is supposed to be vivifying. During the dry season, fog predicts an epidemic. Reviling the wind would cause ulcers, tumours, or humps. Pre-historic objects of stone or bone (Khm. *kàm rüntăh*, 'thunder-bolts') are regarded as bringing good fortune, especially flint axes, which are carefully preserved in the house. Trees whose roots spread under the house bring bad luck to it. When one wishes to get in marriage a virgin, and not a licentious woman or a widow, he must offer buds to the Buddha, and not full-blown flowers on which the bees have already alighted. The first fruit of a tree must never be gathered, for fear it should bear no more, and the people should be careful not to beat down the next crop with a thin bamboo pole, lest henceforth the tree may produce fruit as thin as the pole. Indian hemp (*kănčhà*) must be gathered with laughing and jesting, and feigning the intoxication it is to cause, in order to preserve its full power. The cotton-plant (*krabas*) and the bamboo (*rosĕi*) should always be planted far from the house; else, as soon as they have grown higher than the hut, they would like, in order to show their gratitude, to serve as funeral cushion and matting for those who planted them. So the young people always leave the work of planting them to an old man, who puts below what he has just planted a piece of jar or earthenware and says to the tree: 'Do not think of taking me until this potsherd has rotted!' The tamarind (*ampil*) and the frangipani tree (*čompĕi*) possess powerful virtues, so it is unlucky to see them growing too near the house. A stick of tamarind-wood allows its owner to wander fearlessly during the night under the protection of the *prăy*. A box, or the finger-board of a musical instrument, made from the heart of a tamarind or frangipani tree, serves to gain the love of women and the favour of the king. A knife-handle made from the wood of a tamarind which has grown near a house would lead the *prăy* of the tamarind to devour the fetus in the womb of the mistress of the house, and to make all her pregnancies miscarry. So married men keep this tree at a distance from their houses. The *koki* (*Hopea dealbata*, Hance), the king of trees, must be planted only by kings or *bonzes*. When others carry off a cartload of this precious wood, they must first invoke the spirits, and light some sweet-scented rods on the beam of the cart.

Although the tiger (*klà*) is very much dreaded by the Cambodians, who believe his whiskers to be a strong poison, and regard his appearance in a village as a sign of coming epidemics, the elephant (*damrĕi*) is greatly revered, especially the white elephant (*damrĕi sa*), which is considered as an unrivalled bringer of good fortune—an idea which is held also by neighbouring peoples, since, at the time when Cambodia was the vassal of Siam and Annam, it had to give to its two suzerains all the elephants of that colour caught in its territory. The French intervention has secured for it the free disposal of these venerated animals. The Khmèrs, like the Malays of Java, absolutely refuse to kill the monkey (*svà*) or to eat its flesh; they show great displeasure on seeing it hunted by Europeans. The *khtiň pos*, 'serpent bison' (*Bos gaurus*, H. Smith), is considered to be very redoubtable. The Khmèrs think that it feeds on serpents, which it kills by squirting its saliva on them. A ring made from a *khtiň's* horn is an antidote against reptiles' bites. Care must be taken, however, not to gather the hairs of its head, which sting as dangerously as serpents. The bones of a hare (*tonsài*) which has died a natural death are used in the preparation of powerful spells. Buffaloes (*krabĕy*) and oxen (*kò*) which, on entering or leaving their field, scrape up the earth, and throw it in the direction of the field, foretell good fortune for their master; but if they throw it in the opposite direction it is a sign of adversity, and the master must get rid of them. The goose (*kàňan*) should be reared only by well-to-do people. To the poor it would bring an increase of wretchedness. Little chickens with curly feathers (*mān čĕ*) should be reared only by a man who, without apparent cause, has lost several children, by way of a preservative for the coming children; or by a man in intimate relationship with the *àrăk*, in order to be offered in sacrifice to them. The kite (*khlèň*) hovering over a house signifies misfortune, and warns the family to abandon it. The same thing is foretold by the entrance unawares of the little palm-tree rat (*Sciurus palmarum*, *kòm-pròk*). When a large butterfly (*mè ambò*) comes flying into a house, it is a bad omen; a grasshopper (*kandóp*), on the other hand, on the thatch of the roof foretells a piece of luck. The crow (*kaèk*), according to the direction of its cry, foretells the return of an absent one, or a reverse of fortune. Cranes (*krăl*, *ronăl*) flying and crying in a flock above a village denote that there will soon be some love-escapades among the girls. The cry of the *ula slĕk* ('screech-owl'), a nocturnal bird of prey, and that of the *khlèň srak* (*Strix flammea*) foretell death.

(2) *Various objects.*—A winnowing-fan cannot be made by an unmarried man without bringing him misfortune. The person who carelessly sits down on a winnowing-fan will later lose his way in the woods. Although cracked metal objects, *e.g.* gongs, must never be kept in the house, but have to be thrown away, a curse would fall on the person who threw a worn-out cauldron among the rubbish below the house; it must be hung up in the house or thrown into the river. A pillow which has become useless must also be committed to the water, for it is a powerful vehicle of misfortune. A broken hearthstone meets with the same fate. On the other hand, when there is a storm or an excessive rainfall, a knife is placed among the cinders on the hearth. Any one who, when in a foreign country, negligently throws away rubbish, such as a piece of an old worn-out garment, lays himself open to reverses. Again, when one is abroad, the water with which the mouth is rinsed must be swallowed, or it will facilitate the attack of evil spirits. To veil the face, even inadvertently, with white cotton, like the dead, or the condemned at the place of execution, is to draw down very grave misfortunes. Instruments of torture, stocks, fetters, irons, etc., must never be put away in a house or shed, but must be left in the open air under a tree; and the executioner, after beheading a man, must quickly turn away his eyes, lest some day he be overtaken by the same fate. When a hunter wishes to secure a good bag, he must, before setting his net for wild animals, hold a traditional dialogue with a tall tree, on the north side of which he places his net. He himself, of course, utters both questions and answers, as he seeks for the tree's permission to take some of its flock. Then he places an offering of bananas at the foot of the tree, sets the trap, and returns home, taking care not to shake or break any big branches on the way. If, however, the net remains empty, the hunter takes off his clothing and pretends to hang himself, as if by mistake, in the meshes of the net which he has just set. After this his hunting is sure to be successful.

The following is a similar superstition. In May, on the day he proposes to begin ploughing, the farmer invites a few friends to his house. He puts his oxen to the plough in front of the house, after placing on a piece of white cotton beside it a brass bowl containing water, betel, boiled rice, fish brine, a boiled chicken, and a bottle of rice-spirit. He sets a portion of this food at each of the four corners of the plough, and invokes the ghosts of his ancestors in these words: 'Hasten, all ye departed ancestors, give us prosperity on this occasion. Through your protection, may our oxen and buffaloes escape all diseases, and our ploughmen all shocks.' The old men in the company now drink the rice-spirit, the young ones eat the food, and then work goes forward without mishap.

During harvest, a reaper must not use a sickle whose handle is made from the horn of a domestic animal, such as a cow or a buffalo, as these have already borne their share of toil and fatigue in ploughing. Any one who neglects this rule will bring trouble on himself. When the proprietor of a stable means to castrate a bull or a buffalo, he must first warn the animal by telling it not to think that he performs this operation capriciously, but with good reason, and then beg it not to bear him a grudge either in this or in any future life. The operation is preceded by a sacrifice to *Prăḥ Pisnukar* (Skr. *Viśvakarman*), the spirit of all industries. Immediately after the operation, two men throw to each other, over the animal, first a pumpkin and then a cock three times each, saying: 'Be as big as this pumpkin, and return to your stable regularly in the evening; be as fleet as this cock, and know your dwelling-place as he does.' If the pumpkin or the cock falls to the ground during these motions, this presages the death of the animal in question.

(3) *Metamorphosis.*—The Khmèrs, like the Annamese, believe in the transmutation of species and in metamorphosis. Thus the fresh-water tortoise (*kanthài*) may spring from a heap of worms which have collected during rain. Sometimes the snake (*antŏň*) is born from hindweed (*tròs*), which grows beside water, and can then change itself into a *skàr*, a kind of brown weasel. The Cambodians believe also that nocturnal birds, such as choughs, owls, screech-owls, are born from the four material substances of the dead—blood, flesh, bone, impurities. We have already noticed [§ 4. iii. (5)] that certain women, after being rubbed with oil from a magic vial, are changed in seven days into tigresses.

8. Festivals.—Indolent, gay, careless, and very religious, the Cambodians are extremely fond of festivals. Most of these assume to-day a distinctly Buddhist character, although it is possible to find in some of them quite a different origin, doubtless aboriginal.

(*a*) The following are the chief periodical religious festivals:—

(1) *Thvò' bŏn čŏl čhnam*, 'Festival of the entrance into the year,' takes place in the first month of the Cambodian year (15th March–15th April). The festival lasts three or seven days; it recalls the New-year festivals of the West.

On the first day the pagoda undergoes a thorough cleansing both outside and inside. Then eight *phnom*, or heaps of sand, are raised in honour of the *devata* (Khm. *tépoda*), or protecting deities. On the second day the faithful flock together, dressed in their best clothes, and laden with fine sand, sweet-smelling joss-sticks, and tapers. They make an offering of the wands and tapers to Buddha in the temples, and then march in procession round the pagoda, scattering their sand on each of the *phnom*. The whole night is spent in singing, playing, and dancing within the precincts, so that they may be able to keep watch over the mounds, as in the popular estimation any damage done to them would lead to great misfortunes by driving away *tépoda* or *tévodas*. On the third day the women come, carrying provisions and kitchen utensils, and install themselves in the enclosure, not of the pagoda this time but of the monastery, to prepare the presents destined for the

monks, and the dishes for their own families to consume. From eight until eleven o'clock in the morning, set prayers are said by the *bonzes* in the brilliantly illumined pagoda, before all the functionaries and the people. When these are performed, the *bonzes* come outside to receive the presents of the laity, and, after offering the first of their rice to the animals and birds, partake of a meal in public, which lasts for a quarter of an hour. The laity eat and play all afternoon in the enclosure. On this day, too, the rich give large alms to the poor. In the evening the statue of Buddha is washed, and so are the *bonzes* and *âčârs*; in the houses the children and grandchildren respectfully wash their parents and grandparents. In pious households all sexual relations are broken off during the first three days of the year. For the first seven days no living being or animal may be killed, no business matter concluded, all insults or controversies must be avoided, neither lies told nor hardness shown to any one, if the year is to be well begun, and therefore stand a good chance of also ending well.

(2) *Thvö' bŏn bambuos phikkh*, 'Festival of the ordination of a monk' (Pali *bhikkhu*); (3) *Thvö' bŏn bambuos nĕn*, 'Festival of the ordination of a novice'; (4) *Thvö' bŏn săn prăh*, 'Festival of the erection of a statue to Buddha'; or *Thvö' bŏn bŏ'k prăh nĕt prăh*, 'Festival of the opening of the sacred eyes of *Prăh*' (=Buddha). These ceremonies may take place only during the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th months of the ordinary year, and also during the 5th month of an intercalary year, that is to say, from 15th April to 15th July, or else from 15th April to 15th August.

The first two festivals may last from three to nine days, with feasting and games at the expense of the parents of the candidate, who himself takes only a very passive part in the proceedings, which end in his ordination. The candidate, dressed in white or else in his best clothes, rides in great pomp on horseback, preceded by an orchestra and shaded by a parasol of honour, right through the village from his own house to the monastery amid the joyful cries of the crowd, in spite of the army of *Măra* (=*Māra*), Buddha's enemy, symbolized by a few masked figures, who try to stop him on the way. After the *pratăksĕn* (Skr. *pradakṣiṇa*), or sunwise circumambulation of the whole gathering round the temple, and a last intervention of *Măra* and his followers, the candidate enters and takes his place in front of the statue of Buddha, facing the ordainer, who addresses to him the ritual questions, gives him the customary advice, and consecrates him. The festival for erecting a statue to Buddha also lasts three days, the first being employed in making an enclosure round the statue and in pretending to shave it and to 'open' its eyes with two long needles. The other two days are specially devoted by the people to the worship of the statue. This festival, being somewhat rare, always attracts many of the faithful and devout.

(5) A still rarer festival is the *Thvö' bŏn banćŏh semà*, 'Festival for the burying of the *semà*,' which recalls the laying of the foundation-stone of a church in the West. It is held only on the occasion of the erection of a new pagoda, or the building of a new monastery. These *semà*, or carved stones, which serve as the evidences of the inauguration ceremony, are nine in number. One of them, the *semà kel*, 'buried *semà*,' is placed in a hole in the ground four cubits deep, in front of the principal altar inside the pagoda, into which the believers have first thrown new clothing, jewels, gold, musical instruments, hair, parings of nails, and even a few drops of their blood.

The feast lasts at least three days, during which the crowd eat, sing, and rejoice, after making the necessary offerings of food to the *bonzes*. On the last day, at an auspicious time determined by the *âčâr*, the *bonzes* begin to pray; and nine men, at a signal from the *âčâr*, place the *semà kel* in its hole, and cover it up amid cries of joy from the crowd. As soon as this is performed, several other men go to place outside the pagoda the eight *slĕk semà*, or 'leaves of *semà*'—stones carved and often hollowed out to form niches, in which the faithful light sweet-scented sticks. These stones are placed at the four corners, and at the middle of the four sides of the pagoda, to form the pillars of the invisible rampart which will defend the pagoda from evil spirits and demons. The expression 'eight leaves of *semà*' recalls an ideal lotus-flower, of which the *semà* buried within the pagoda would be the heart (*alabastrum*), and the *slĕk semà* the petals. These last also represent the eight regions of space.

(6) *Thvö' bŏn ćŏl prăh vosà*, 'Festival of the beginning of the *vosà*' (=Pali *vassa*, 'rainy season' or 'season of retreat'), takes place about 1st July, and is a time of fasting, meditation, and prayer, lasting three or four months. The faithful bring to the monks cuttings of cloths, and an enormous candle which has to burn incessantly during the whole time of retreat, under the care of the monks.

(7) *Thvö' bŏn kan bĕn* (Skr. *pinda*, 'ancestral cake'), 'Festival of the customary *pinda*,' is the festival of the *nåk ta*, considered as the ancestors of the Khmèrs. They are presented with offerings of food.

(8) *Thvö' bŏn phćŭm bĕn*, 'Festival of re-union round the *pinda*, or cake, offered to the ancestors,' is the occasion when the faithful bring to the pagoda cakes and delicate foods, which, placed round the altar of Buddha with candles and sweet-smelling rods, rejoice the *don ta*, or ancestors of the family, and call down benedictions and prosperity upon its members.

(9) *Thvö' bŏn ćĕñ prăh vosà*, 'Festival of the end of the season of retreat,' is celebrated fifteen days after the preceding, that is to say, about the end of September. It consists of offerings of rice to the *bonzes* and the launching on the river of little rafts, made from the trunk of the banana tree, laden with provisions, zinc coins, and some lighted candles, and leaving them to follow the course of the water, after saying to the ancestors, who are believed to have their places on them: 'Go to the country, to the fields you inhabit; to the mountains, under the stones that serve you for houses; go! return!' whereupon the souls of the dead regain their mysterious dwellings.

(10) *Thvö' bŏn hè kak tăn* (Skr. *dāna*, 'generosity'), 'Festival of the procession of the abounding gifts (to the priests),'[1] one of the most picturesque ceremonies of Cambodia, lasts only one day for each monastery.

All the inhabitants of the province or village, headed by their chiefs and decked in their most beautiful clothing, proceed to carry to the pagoda the numerous and varied presents which the governor has bought with the money of the faithful. These presents—parasols, piastres concealed in a candle, fans, stuffs, fruits, etc., are carried on litters; shaded by a parasol, and preceded by an orchestra, they lead the procession. Behind come the governor and the mandarins with all the insignia of their rank, then the women, in hierarchical order, all grouped behind the *prapon thom*, 'the chief wife,' of the governor.

(*b*) Two Buddhist festivals have still to be noticed:—

(11) *Thvö' bŏn hè phka*, 'Festival of the flowers,' is the pilgrimage which a family, or more usually a whole village or district, makes to some famous pagoda to offer flowers, fruits, provisions of all sorts, and yellow cloth on bamboo hand-litters. The village visited would be dishonoured if it did not immediately provide an abundant feast and rejoicings in honour of its pious guests.

(12) *Thvö' bŏn nimont lŏk saṅkh ćĕk oi sampŏt sa*, 'Festival to invite (*nimont*=Pāli *nimantana*, 'invitation') the monks to a distribution of white cloth,' may take place any time during the year; before accepting the cloth, the *bonze* spreads it out on the heads of the donors and sometimes of all their relatives, at the same time repeating prayers conferring great blessings on them. Those who are too poor to make an offering of their own try at least at this time to touch the cotton cloth in order to share in the blessing pronounced.

(*c*) Festivals of Brahman origin are the following:—

(13) *Thvö' bŏn ańkăm bŏk sampăh prăh khè*, 'Festival of paddy pounded to render homage to the moon,' is celebrated in the 8th month of ordinary years, and the 9th of intercalary years, sometimes in the monastery, but more frequently in the village.

Each housewife broils and pounds a bowl of glutinous rice (*Oryza glutinosa*, Linn.). This bowl is exposed to the rays of the moon in the midst of trays laden with cakes and fruits, amongst which there must be one or two coco-nuts. On some matting on the ground is laid a cushion covered with five cubits

[1] Or better, *Thvö' bŏn hè kathĕn* (Pāli *kaṭhina*, 'robe made for a Buddhist priest within a single day and night'), 'Festival of the procession of gifts of clothing to the monks.'

of white cotton cloth, on which is placed a young banana-leaf rolled up to resemble a hare's ears. Two posts are fixed three cubits from one another, and with them is connected a horizontal stick, furnished with five areca leaves, five betel leaves, some flowers, five bees'-wax candles, and five sweet-scented sticks. At the end of each post are attached horn-shaped bags made from banana leaves, called 'horns of plenty.' Between 11 p.m. and midnight the women and girls, kneeling on the ground, thrice raise their hands, joined together, as high as their faces, towards the bright moon. Then, one after the other, they go and kneel on the cushion, take up the leaf shaped like a hare's ears, and salute the moon three times, saying: 'To-day is the full moon of the month of *kràdĕk* (Skr. *kārttika*, Oct.-Nov.); to-day, in every family, they do as we do. We invite all the divinities of heaven to come and take their share of these bananas, of this glutinous rice, crushed and cooked by us: come and drink of the water of these coco-nuts and protect us; grant that we may be happy during this life, and that our possessions may increase in our hands.' When they have finished, the head of the family takes a lighted candle and lets the wax which runs down drop into a vase full of water. The drops, more or less numerous, falling into the water will foretell rains, and, accordingly, more or less abundant harvests; so the whole family watches the operation with an anxious curiosity. Then the young men convey the presents offered to the divinities to the mouths of the maidens, and soon the whole gathering is eating and laughing and praising the moon.

(14) Mention may also be made of the *bŏn phĕk tĭk saĉa*, 'Ceremony of the drinking of the water of the oath'; the *bŏn ĉrat práḥ aṅkāl*, 'Ceremony of the opening of the furrow'; and the anniversary of the birth of the king. The eighth day of each moon, waxing and waning, and the day of full moon of each month are also feast days (*bŏn sĕl*).

(15) The 'Festival of the cutting of the top-knot' (Pāli *Chūlā-kantana-maṅgala*) is common to the Cambodians, the Siamese, and the Laotians of the countries bordering on Cambodia and Siam, and is compulsory on girls and boys of all ranks in their 9th, 11th, 13th, or 15th year (never during an even year), and marks their transition from childhood. Without it boys cannot enter monasteries as novices. Of Brāhman origin, this custom has become an essential rite of the Buddhists. It is preceded in the first month after the birth of each child by a shaving, without any pomp, of all the hair, called *kòr săk prĕi*, 'shaving of the wild hair.' This shaving is followed by many others, in which care is taken to leave a little tuft of hair on the top of the head; this tuft is usually rolled on a valuable pin, and surrounded with a little crown of white flowers, giving a most charming effect. It is this tuft which must be shaved with such ceremony. Only 77 or 78 days in the whole year are favourable for this operation, and the particular day is fixed by the *hòra* or the *àĉàr*.

The ceremony usually takes place in May, and for princes assumes great splendour. It lasts as a rule four days, the first three days being spent in preparatory prayer. At the same time, in the court of honour at the palace, an artificial mountain is built, made of painted wood and cardboard, with grass and branches of shrubs stuck on to imitate vegetation.[1] Two paths, oriented the one to the east and the other to the west, for the king, who officiates, lead to the top of the mountain. Round the mount are trays laden with offerings dedicated to Viṣṇu, the Devatās, and the Buddhas. At the top of the mountain, on a little platform, a light pavilion of cloth, closed in by silken curtains, screens a vat and an arrangement for spraying water, which will allow a rain of Mekhong water to fall on the neophyte at the desired time. A consecrated cotton thread isolates this pavilion, and preserves it against the attacks of evil spirits. On the other hand, in the throne-chamber, at the very foot of the throne, a couch of carved wood, covered with embroidered silk, is erected for the king; then, a little to the right and in front of the throne, a large carpet is spread out, with a flat cushion for the hero of the festival. Just opposite, a trunk of a banana tree, covered with a fine piece of silk and having an enormous ring set with diamonds at its summit, symbolizes mount Meru. Golden trays laden with fruits are placed round this mount. Twelve *bonzes*, with their superior, pray without ceasing in the hall, but it is four *bakus* who officiate along with the king. Inside the hall, round the central pillars, there is another cord, made of eight threads of red cotton, which passes round an altar of Śiva, and ends in a sort of crown placed on white cotton cloth.

About five o'clock on each of these three evenings there is a very brilliant procession, in which the candidate is borne in great state in a palanquin lavishly ornamented with gold, surrounded by all the functionaries and court ladies, to make the *pradakṣiṇa* round the palace. Each time the *bakus* go in front of him, sounding a conch to frighten away the evil spirits, and he descends from his portable throne and takes his seat on the carpet, leaning on the little pillow set opposite the *bonzes*, with the *bakus* on his left hand. The king, who follows him, does not ascend his throne, but takes his place on a cushion in the middle of the hall. Then the prince makes to the king, the *bonzes*, the altar of Śiva, and Mount Meru a salutation which recalls the *añjali* of the Hindus. The *bonzes* recite formulas in Pāli, which those present repeat in a low voice. After some rather lengthy prayers the king and prince withdraw to their apartments, and the *bonzes* to their pagodas, with presents from the king. On the fourth day this procession takes place in the morning, when the prince in his gilded palanquin, dressed in golden brocade, and preceded by the king, enters the throne-room. The *bonzes* bless the preservative cord, and the *bakus* sound the conch to keep away the evil spirits. Then the *bonzes* recite the most important of their prayers while the *bakus* undo the prince's hair, divide it into three locks in honour of the *Trimūrti* (triad of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva), and tie each lock round a golden ring; the king, armed with a pair of golden scissors, cuts the three locks, and pretends to give the first stroke of the razor; the *bakus* make a pretence of giving another, and the shaving is finished by a barber. At the last stroke of the razor the *bakus* again sound the conch, and the *bonzes* repeat a text in Pāli. After this ceremony the whole assembly goes to the court beside the structure representing a mountain. The recipient, clad in white cotton, along with the king in a white muslin mantle, mounts to the pavilion, where, from the spray placed at the top of the mountain, he receives on his head, shoulders, and body a heavy shower of Mekhong water (the name signifies 'the mother of waters'). Then the king pours on his head five jug-fulls—in memory of the five rivers which descend from the Himālayas—of perfumed lustral water, and a crown of raw cotton is placed on his head. He must wear it conscientiously for three days.

The festival terminates with great banquets which the king gives to all his functionaries, and the receiving of presents—rolls of piastres and bars of silver—which these functionaries give to the young prince. On the occasion of the cutting of the top-knot, whether of the high or of the lowly, the hero of the festival receives presents from all his friends and relatives. Those which are presented to a prince, the son of a king, are carefully inscribed with the names of the donors, so that the king may be able to give them equally valuable gifts when they themselves celebrate a similar ceremony. The prince on this occasion receives a new name, which is inscribed on a leaf of gold, but which he will never bear in ordinary life.

(16) A water-festival, *Lŏi práḥ tip*, 'Festival of boating games,' a kind of regatta, is held every year at Phnom-Pénh, in October, when the waters of the Mekhong begin to abate. Only the *bakus* play a prominent part, and the king invokes *Práḥ hàm Sramŏt*, 'the god of the seas' (Varuṇa?), asking him to keep the overflowing Mekhong within bounds so that it may fertilize and enrich the country.

The festival is held on the right bank of the river facing the royal wharf. A huge raft bearing a big shed decorated with rich draperies is built for the king and his court. All the rich royal canoes and nearly all the vessels of the whole kingdom are there, freshly painted and beflagged, and filled for the most part either with spectators or with competitors for the regatta. The racing boats, of a special shape, are drawn up at a fixed place, ready to go. The festival lasts three days and three nights, with no respite except in the mornings. The regattas take place to the sound of royal music and the guttural cries of the rowers, excited by the jovial bantering song improvised by a sailor standing up in the boat. The number and the rapidity of the barques give quite a fairy aspect to the river. The signal for each race is given by a *baku* dressed in green, who, followed by the canoes, goes in a boat, a sword in each hand, and cuts a strip of black leather, an object held sacred by all, placed between two canoes. He makes three attempts at it, as though full of fear of committing a sacrilege, murmurs a prayer in Sanskrit, cuts the cord, and hurriedly departs. While the race-boats are taking their flight, amid innumerable cries, the chief of the *bakus* offers the king and all the members of the royal family a conch containing some of the water of the river, with which they all perform purifying ablutions. After nightfall, the people launch on all sides tiny rafts of banana-wood, furnished with lighted candles and offerings to the spirits and ghosts, which illuminate the whole river. The night is spent, on board the royal raft as well as on the other boats, in feasting, games, and music.

9. Organization of family life.—(1) *Relation of the sexes.*—The organization of the family in Cambodia is strongly knit, and their morals are stricter than those of most other peoples of the

[1] This represents Mount Kailāsa in the Himālayas, which, as we know, is the heaven of Śiva.

Far East. As soon as the boys have undergone the cutting of the top-knot, if they are going to be educated or to become novices, they sleep in the monastery. Afterwards, until their marriage, they pass the night in the *sāla*, or common house. Until they are of marriageable age the girls are called *prohmocàrĕi* (= Pāli *brahmachārī*, 'chaste'), and are looked upon as brides of *Pràḥ En* (= Indra). With the first signs of puberty they take the name of *kramŭm*, 'young girl,' and they 'go into the shade' (*col melŏp*). The relatives tie cotton thread round their wrists, and offer a sacrifice to the ancestors to announce the event to them. On the same day, to the north-east of the house, they plant a banana tree, the fruit of which may only be eaten by the young girl or sent to the monks.

To behave herself correctly and according to tradition, the young girl must not now allow herself to be seen by any strange man, nor must she look on any man even by stealth; like the monks, she must abstain from food from midday onwards, eat only rice, salt, coco-nuts, peas, sesame, and fruit, but neither fish nor flesh of any kind; she must bathe only after dark when no one can see her, and never without her sisters or friends; she must work only in the house, and never go out even to the pagoda. This strict retreat lasts only for a few days among the poor, sometimes for years among the rich. It is interrupted only by the occurrence of an eclipse. Then the 'maiden in the shade,' like the pregnant woman, puts an areca knife and a little box containing lime in the knot of her *sampŏt*, lights candles and sweet-smelling sticks, and goes out to worship Râhu, the monster who causes the eclipse: he will crown her desires with good fortune. She then returns to her retirement. The 'coming out of the shade' (*čĕñ melŏp*) is marked by the *bonzes* coming to the house to repeat prayers, and by a banquet. It often ends in another ceremony preparatory to marriage, at which they 'do the teeth' (*thvò' thmeñ*). This is presided over by an *àčàr*, who spreads white cotton cloth on the ground, and places eight bits of straw on it in the directions of the eight points of the compass; in the middle a coco-nut porringer, a shuttle, a small cup of *samrit* (bronze alloyed with a little gold and silver), and a metal model of a boat are covered with as many measures of paddy (fetched by the *àčàr* himself from the granary of the house) as the years of the girl's age. She sits down on the well-arranged heap, an old couple mix up the lacquer for her teeth in front of her, while seven young boys encourage them by singing and pretending themselves to pound. This lacquer is then applied to the teeth of the young girl, who is required to preserve it until the morning. After a series of jokes and fun from the boys, who imitate the exorcisms of the *prăy*, and a banquet, the young girl goes out in the morning three times to worship *Pràḥ Atit* (Skr. *āditya*), the rising sun. Her teeth are then covered with lampblack, and she does reverence to the domestic altar, and henceforth is ready for marriage.

It can be understood that under these conditions seduction is rare; or, if a case occurs, abortive potions help to hush up the matter. But, as a general rule, Cambodian girls are very reserved, go out little, and conduct themselves well. Boys and girls usually marry when about sixteen. Marriage between too close relatives is forbidden; it is allowed between first cousins only when the father and mother of the bridegroom are older than those of the bride. The incestuous union of a brother and sister, even when born of different mothers, is forbidden, under penalty of a heavy fine or confiscation of goods, and obligatory separation. Formerly, the incestuous couple were beaten with rods, tied to a raft, and abandoned to the mercy of the river, where they soon died of hunger; for no one would consent to help them out of pity. The king alone, who in Cambodia is above the law, may marry his aunt or even his half-sisters.

(2) *Marriage.*—A marriage is often arranged by the parents without the young people being acquainted with each other, but is scarcely ever carried out without their consent. Three female intermediaries from the home of the boy go to that of the girl and sound the relatives, with becoming deliberation and circumlocution. If the signs are favourable, new official intermediaries of a more exalted character come to make the official demand, and bring the presents of the suitor on trays. The girl has been approached beforehand, and her silence is taken for a formal acquiescence. After inquiry has been made into the parentage of both young people, if the omens are favourable, they are officially betrothed. The fiancé, who has not yet put in an appearance, is now brought to live with his future parents-in-law to 'do service' (*thvò' bamro'*). He has to sleep in the kitchen, carry the water and the wood, and be under the command of the parents of the girl, who, in return, is expected to prepare his food and his betel. This stage lasts only a few months in the case of people in easy circumstances, for fear of a too speedy pregnancy; one or more years with the poor, who often have two or three children before marriage. For, on the other hand, marriage in Cambodia is a very onerous affair. The obligatory betrothal presents include 100 areca nuts, 200 betel leaves, a pound of gambier, a gourd of wine, a pound of tobacco, not to mention the building of a new cottage, near that of the young girl's parents, to shelter the young couple. The presents of the marriage proper, always borne, according to the ancient custom, by the bridegroom, are fixed at 5 piculs (±300 kilogr.) of pork, 50 hens, 30 ducks, 100 bottles of rice-wine, 30 special cakes, not to speak of jewels, cloths presented to the fiancée, and a sum of money called *khàn slà*, 'presenting the areca and the betel,' which, under the name of a marriage present to the bride, is in reality handed over to her father. The fiancé must also give to the girl's mother the *pràk snăp tik dòh*, 'price of the mother's milk, the nursing indemnity,' along with a bouquet of areca flowers; to his own parents, on the last day of the marriage, huge wax candles; besides the innumerable traditional gratuities, however humble, to be distributed on this occasion. On the other hand, the young man who has undertaken all these expenses and has gone to 'serve' with his future parents-in-law runs the risk of being sent away in disgrace and without any compensation, as guilty of a lack of respect—a charge easily incurred if he does not manage to please them and his fiancée. He therefore tries above all to win her good-will and favour in order to escape a costly repudiation, which would, in addition, make him ridiculous in the eyes of the village. The matter is usually easy enough, the betrothed having, in the eyes of the public and even of the law, the same rights as husband and wife. The fiancé who has seduced his bride can never withdraw; he who withdraws without cause is condemned to a heavy fine and the loss of his betrothal expenses. The fiancée cannot without infamy be sought by another suitor; in case of flagrant infidelity, she suffers the punishment of an adulteress. On the other hand, the children of a betrothed couple are considered legitimate. Only the parents of the young girl are affected by such proceedings, which make it impossible for them to send away their future son-in-law if he displeases them. If they send him away without cause they themselves will be held responsible for an indemnity, and have to give back the betrothal presents.

Marriage by capture takes place in Cambodia when the parents of the young girl refuse their consent and the lovers agree. The young man is free from blame after the abduction, when he has made his apologies to his parents-in-law.

The law allows three legitimate wives, besides concubines; the masses, however, through poverty, are monogamous. Only one of the wives, the *prapŏn thom*, 'the chief wife,' enjoys authority and the prerogatives of the legitimate wife. She also is the only one who is married with a complicated ceremony. Polyandry, although very rare, is tolerated, and appears to the Cambodians odd rather than scandalous.

Religious intervention is very seldom invoked at weddings in Cambodia. When it does happen to occur, which is about once in four occasions, it is

continued to prayers and the sprinkling of holy water on the two young people by the *bonzes*. Nor does the civil law meddle with marriage. It remains a purely domestic ceremony. Marriage, we have seen, cannot take place between too near relatives. It may be celebrated at any time of the year except during the three months' retirement of the monks.

A special shed is built near the home of the fiancée, with a roof of foliage, and hung on the inside more or less richly with red draperies. On the morning of the marriage day the bridegroom, dressed in his best, goes in state to the house of the bride, and sits at her right hand, both on one mat. All the guests surround them, with areca flowers in their hands. The bridegroom himself, after bowing three times, offers one of the flowers to each member older than himself of the bride's family, beginning with the father and the mother. They lay the flowers they have received on plates in front of them, and on these the young man's parents place a sum of money varying according to the degree of the person: usually 9 *damlĕṅ* (about 20 fr.) for the father, 7 for the mother, etc. Then the *čaṅ dai*, 'binding of the hands,' takes place; the parents of the two pass a bracelet of 7 threads of untwisted cotton on the wrist of each of the pair, the relatives and friends do the same on the fingers, and at the same time offer them presents, which are often very rich: jewels, cloths, animals, slaves, land. After this the parents, holding a lighted candle, walk three times round the bride and bridegroom, who, along with the old ladies, go into the house to change their gala dresses for more simple costumes, before they serve the wedding breakfast to their guests. When the feast begins, the guests are grouped by sexes, and placed in order of rank, of relationship, and of age. The long and sumptuous meal is preceded by prayers to their ancestors, who receive as an offering the first of each dish. The ceremony ends with the *phsàm dammek*, 'the union in the same bed,' in the conjugal house. Respected matrons arrange the nuptial sleeping-mat, and present the newly-married pair with the cakes or rice-balls, a portion of which each places in the mouth of the other, to show henceforth their unity; the matrons lightly knock the heads of the husband and wife together, saying, 'Be united and happy,' and leave them. For a second or third wife, or when a man marries a widow, the marriage ceremony is confined to a hearty feast. Members of the royal family are married by the *bakus*, who sprinkle them with holy water.

(3) *Divorce.*—Divorce exists in Cambodia, but is seldom put into practice. It is nearly always demanded by the wife. In the case of separation by mutual consent, the wife gives up to the husband the wedding presents she received, and all that he possessed at the time of their marriage. If there are children, everything is considered common property; the husband receives two-thirds and the wife the remaining one-third. The children, if they are of tender years, are entrusted to the wife, to return in the end to the husband, or else they are divided, or, if they are grown up, are allowed to choose for themselves. If the divorce is demanded only by the wife, she is liable to pay double the amount spent by the husband on the marriage, and can claim only her dowry and one-third of all goods acquired since the marriage. But, as a rule, unions in Cambodia are lasting: the wives have a keen sense of duty, and the husbands have a great regard for their wives, and spare them too hard work—which contrasts very favourably with the loose and selfish marriages of the Annamese. Widows may marry quite honourably if they cremate their first husband properly and preserve their widowhood for three years.

(4) *Birth.*—The Cambodian wife, who, without great outward authority, is well treated in her home, is accorded very particular attention during pregnancy. The confinement always takes place without the aid of a doctor, but with the intervention of expert matrons, who employ empirical manœuvres, accompanied by the recitation of *mantras* and by sacrifices. The vigorous constitution of the Cambodian mother does the rest. The umbilical cord is not cut until after the issue of the placenta. The child is immediately washed and wrapped in swaddling-clothes. The mother is bathed in warm water, a warm oval stone is placed on her abdomen, and she is laid on a camp-bed, under which a fire is kept burning for the space of from 9 to 30 days. The wood with which the fire is fed differs according as the child is the first-born or not. A cotton thread blessed by a *kru* or an *àčàr* surrounds the room, to preserve it from evil spirits. The mother suckles her child until the age of three or four, not without stuffing it at the same time with rice and bananas, which is the cause of the enormous abdomen which marks all Indo-Chinese children. At six months the child receives the name of a flower, an animal, a mineral, or some other object. At the cutting of the top-knot this name is exchanged for a new one. Patronymic names are unknown in Cambodia.

The birth of twins is considered unlucky, as also is that of albinos, dwarfs, and deformed infants. These unfortunate children, except when the offspring of *bakus*, become, from their very birth, life-long slaves of the king.

Adoption takes place with extreme facility in Cambodia, and to it is joined the custom of concluding a friendship, which binds the contracting parties closely together and ends only with death. They mix a few drops of the blood of each with a little water, and divide and drink this, after pronouncing the oath to be brothers for ever; such are the rites of the compact. Cf. art. BROTHERHOOD (artificial).

(5) *Disposal of the dead.*—Cremation is the general custom in Cambodia, but the ceremony, which among the very poor takes place immediately after death, is among the rich often deferred, for various reasons, for several months or even years. In the latter case they either bury the body and leave it to be exhumed at the desired time, or they preserve it in the house. To preserve the body they pour a certain quantity of mercury into the mouth and place the body in a coffin of hard wood hermetically sealed, except for a small hole to which is fixed a bamboo tube which carries out of the house the gases that are formed. Some devout Buddhists, however, order their flesh to be cut into small pieces to feed the birds of prey. King Ang Duong ordered this to be done with his body when he died, about the end of 1859.

As soon as an invalid enters on his death-agony the *bonzes* are called, in order to repeat the prayers for the dying. Until the actual moment of death all present repeat in a loud voice, the patient joining in as long as he has the strength, '*Arahaṅ! arahaṅ!*' 'the saint! the just one!' (Pāli *araham* = 'the saint,' 'one who has attained final sanctification'). When the last breath has been drawn, the children of the dead man close his eyes and mouth, and wash the body with holy water. If, in default of direct heirs, this pious duty is performed by a slave, he is henceforth free. Then a small ingot of gold or silver is put in the dead man's mouth; small squares of gilded paper are applied to the orifices of his face; and he is clothed in white. His hands are joined, and in them is placed a rolled-up banana-leaf containing three betel leaves, a candle, and three sweet-smelling sticks. The body is placed in a wooden coffin, more or less costly according to the fortune of the deceased, and is kept in position by sawdust, cotton, paper, and pounded guava leaves in such a way that it cannot move. On the neck of the corpse is placed a white cotton collar, which communicates with the outside by a long cord, attached to a band of cotton, and passing between the coffin and its lid. Then the family, the servants, and slaves go into mourning—that is, they shave their heads and put on white clothes. Every day, at the usual meal-times, trays laden with food are brought near the coffin, beside which is a tray with a betel-box and a change of clothing for the deceased. The whole day a number of *bonzes* remain beside the coffin in prayer, with their hands on the white band which communicates with the deceased's collar.

They usually proceed with the cremation after

three days. The coffin is carried from the death-stricken house to the pyre, on a huge hearse with a fringed canopy laden with garlands of leaves and flowers. Four *bonzes* take their places, standing on the hearse at the four corners of the coffin, which is covered with flowers, ornamented with figures cut out of gold paper, and furnished, where the head is, with lighted candles and burning scented sticks. Just in front comes a child, the son or grandson of the deceased, carried on a palanquin, his forehead adorned with a band of plaited bamboo, to which is fastened the cotton cord from the coffin. After the burning of the body this child receives the dress of a novice from a *bonze*, quite near the pyre. If the deceased has no direct male descendant, a slave may fill this rôle, and receives his liberty through this fact of entering into the monastic order. This palanquin is often preceded by another covered with a yellow parasol, and bearing a *bonze*. In front of all goes an *àcàr* on foot, holding a white banner called 'flag of the soul' (*tŏṅ pràḥ lĭṅ* [Skr. *liṅga*, 'sign']). From the handle of this flag hangs a pot full of uncooked rice. In a wallet which he carries the *àcàr* has put all that is required for preparing betel-quids. Behind the hearse there generally walk a small orchestra, a young girl throwing small pieces of money to the poor, hired mourners, the family, and friends. Except in the case of kings and princes, who are burned in a special construction called a *mén*, the dead, as a rule, are burned in a building which bears the name of *phnom yŏṅ*, 'mountain of deliverance.' After the thrice-repeated *pradakṣina* round the cremation catafalque, or *phnom yŏṅ*, the coffin is placed on it, and left there for three days. The family and friends establish themselves in the vicinity under leafy shelters. The coffin is placed open on its pyre, the face of the dead man is washed for the last time with coco-nut milk; and then the *àcàr* walks three times round the pyre, swinging a lighted torch so as to set fire to it. At the first crackling of the flame the young 'conductor of the soul' is consecrated, and the music plays. When the combustion seems sufficient, the *àcàr*, his assistants, and the others present extinguish the fire by throwing jars of water on it. The rice, cooked in a pot on the funeral fire, and the betel-box are put near the ashes of the body. Out of the ashes the *àcàr* and his assistants fashion a human form, which they carefully place facing in the direction which appears most suitable. Over this figure, which is covered with white cotton cloth, the *bonzes* recite prayers, and all present prostrate themselves. Then each one begins to look among the ashes for the bones that remain; these bones are washed with holy water, placed in a cloth bag, or an urn of porcelain or some precious metal, and then buried in the neighbourhood of a pagoda, or piled up near a *Ficus religiosa*; or, in the case of rich persons, they are placed in small structures of masonry called *cetĕiy*, built on a piece of consecrated ground. Prisoners abandoned by their family, and people who have died through violence, suicide, accident, or assassination, are buried, not burnt. The two last are not long in appearing on earth again in the form of some dreadful ghost. The body of a criminal is abandoned to birds of prey, unless the relatives buy and bury it.

(6) *Mourning.*—Mourning consists in shaving the head every fortnight, dressing in white, wearing no jewels or ornaments, and fasting once a week, on *thṅai sĕl* (Pāli *sīla*), which is equivalent to our Sunday. Mourning is worn only for persons who are older or are in a higher position than oneself. Mandarins and functionaries wear it for the king until the cremation, which is sometimes put off for years. Children and grandchildren, whether by birth or adoption, wear mourning for their parents and grandparents for three years; the widow wears it for her husband for the same length of time; brothers and sisters wear mourning only for their elders; nieces, nephews, and cousins wear it only until the cremation. Parents, grandparents, and widowers do not wear mourning for children, grandchildren, and wives respectively.

(7) *Ghosts.*—All Cambodians believe in the appearance of ghosts who issue from the decaying dead body; when there is no putrefying matter left, the apparitions cease, the human remains being changed into nocturnal birds of evil omen.

(8) *Festival of the dead.*—A solemn festival in honour of the dead is held in September—the *phcŏm*, 'reunion,' 'assembly'—when all souls have the right to leave their Hades and come to enjoy the offerings which the Cambodians never fail dutifully to prepare for them.

10. Political and judicial organization.—(1) *Government.*—At the head of the political organization of Cambodia stands the king, absolute sovereign and by right of birth possessor of all life and lands in his kingdom. Indeed, his power is limited only by the rivalries or intrigues of his troublesome relatives; the audacity of certain great functionaries, who at one time showed a great inclination, for their own interests, to lean upon the Siamese or the Annamese; or by revolt on the part of his subjects. The king governs with the help of a council of five great mandarins, who are chosen by himself, and who have no power except what is accorded them by the good sense, favour, or laziness of the king. The order of succession to the throne of Cambodia is badly established and variable: it is in the male line, but sometimes from father to son, sometimes from brother to brother, in order of birth. Women may be and have been called to the throne. If there is no heir belonging to the royal family, the mandarins, says a very credible tradition, may call one of the *bakus* to the throne.

The coronation celebrations, and those at the cremation of a high personage in the royal family, are the most superb to be seen in Cambodia. Coronation celebrations are continued for eight days, the last being occupied with the actual crowning. This ceremony is purely political, not religious, except in its first part, when the chief of the *bakus* pours on the king's head the so-called lustral water of investiture, while the *bonzes* pray. Then the *bonzes* disappear, and if the *bakus* remain and take a very active part in the ceremony, it is less in the rôle of unconscious representatives of the ancient Brāhman religion than as trustees of the traditions of a glorious past. On the coronation day, all the functionaries, high and low, hand over their resignations to the new king, who reinstates them the next day, after they have taken the oath of fidelity. It is worthy of notice that, when the newly crowned king returns to his palace, he is accompanied by a group of female followers, one carrying his parasol, another his sabre, a third his betel-box—in short, everything he needs for daily use. Another group follows, carrying a cat (the first living creature to be introduced into a house before it is inhabited), rice, ivory, a rhinoceros' horn, a gourd, haricots, grains of sesame—all the symbols of abundance and well-being. All services within the palace are performed by women. The Khmèrs have a profound and respectful attachment to their kings.

(2) *Society.* Cambodian society next to the king is no longer made up of castes but of classes, very clearly defined and often very exclusive: (*a*) the royal family (*Pràḥ Voṅsà*—Skr. *vaṁśa*, 'race,' 'lineage'); (*b*) the *Pràḥ Voṅ* (Skr. *vaṁśa*); (*c*) the *bakus* and *bonzes*; (*d*) free men; and (*e*) slaves.

(*a*) The royal family includes relatives to the fifth degree, and persons who have gained this position by marriage with princesses nearly related to the throne. On account of polygamy, it forms a veritable population, exempt from taxes and compulsory service, and provided, according to their quality, with incomes and titles more or less considerable. Their possessors too often abuse the spirit of loyalty of the Khmèrs, in order to oppress them and put themselves above the law, but are, at the same time, directly and very effectively dependent on the king, their chief and absolute master. The importance of the princes of the royal family is in direct proportion to their intrigues or their popularity.

The following is the order of rank of these personages: the *appayôrāc̄* (Pāli *upayuvarājā*, 'vice-heir-apparent'), king who has abdicated, preserving the right to a six-storeyed parasol; the *opparāc̄* (Pāli *uparājā*, 'viceroy'), second king, and often heir-apparent, who must be content to be shaded with a parasol of only five storeys; the *práḥ vorrācini* (Pāli *vararājinī*, 'chief queen'), the queen dowager, mother of the king; the *ak mohesĕi* (Pāli *aggamahesī*, 'first queen') the queen, first wife of the king and mistress of the harem, who usually owes her title more to high birth than to favour. These positions of dignity may be vacant for want of the personages themselves or because the king wills it so. All, according to a pre-determined order, are possible successors to the throne.

(*b*) The *Práḥ Voṅ* are descended from the royal family, but more distantly related. From their illustrious origin, they retain the privilege of being designated 'Práḥ' and of paying fewer taxes than the king's other subjects. Otherwise they live just like them.

(*c*) The *bonzes* and the *bakus* have already been discussed [§ 4. i. (1) and ii. (1)].

(*d*) The free men (*prei ṅā*) furnish the functionaries of all degrees.

(*e*) Slaves are divided into (*a*) slaves for debt, and hence redeemable; and (*β*) slaves who are irredeemable, comprising prisoners of war, former rebels not put to death, and unfortunate savages who have almost always been kidnapped on the frontiers. The children of irredeemable slaves are themselves slaves from their birth until the end of their lives. Slavery, although of a mild form, owing to the moderate character of the Khmèrs, has none the less been till recently the open sore of the country, and has tended to augment the general apathy and economic mediocrity.[1]

(3) *Civil law.*—In theory, individual property does not exist in Cambodia, the king being the possessor of all the territory. The legality of this theory is affirmed by certain legal provisions. Thus, in the case of large successions without direct heirs, the king inherits all or part of the goods; all land not cultivated for three years returns to him; when expropriating land either for the general good or for his own particular advantage, if he gives an indemnity, it is of good-will, not of necessity. But, as a matter of fact, individual property is perfectly recognized in Cambodia: any individual who, subject to certain formalities, asks the king for a piece of land from the public ground, which represents four-fifths of the whole territory, obtains it without difficulty. If after three years he has brought it under cultivation, and transformed it into rice-fields or meadows, and if he continues to cultivate it, it belongs to him. He may let it, sell it, transfer it by gift, or leave it to his children, always on condition that he pays the taxes which are levied on all land in the kingdom. It cannot be taken from him except when he fails to make use of it, or when, after cultivating it, he abandons it for three years. Private property consists of the moveable and immoveable possessions which the husband and wife brought with them at the time of their marriage, and of which, in the event of a dissolution of the marriage, each claims his or her own, after dividing the common gains. By a very Asiatic extension of paternal rights, children are considered the property of the father, who may, if he wishes, sell them while they are minors. Except in case of extreme misery, Cambodians very seldom avail themselves of this right.

(4) *Law of inheritance.*—This varies according as the husband has had one wife or more. In a monogamous household the surviving parent has the guardianship of the children, and the administration and the usufruct of all the property. The children inherit without distinction as to sex, but the eldest and the youngest always receive a double portion—the one because he has had to carry his brothers, the other because he has had to rejoice his parents' old age. Children by adoption enjoy the same rights as children by birth. Usually, too, children who have taken part in the cremation of their parents reap some special benefit.

(5) *Penal law.*—The Khmèr penal law is extremely rigorous in theory, and boasts no fewer than some twenty ways of inflicting death, with or without ingenious tortures. In practice, the penalty of death is reserved for usurpers, rebels, those guilty of high treason, and repeatedly convicted offenders. In the first case, the condemned man's head is cut off and exposed in the middle of the market-place, while the body is quartered and placed at the four cardinal points of the royal palace. In the last, the head is cut off and placed on the end of a piece of bamboo firmly fixed in the ground. The body is given back to the family if it is claimed, or is left to be buried by the police. Incorrigible elephant thieves are crushed by elephants. This terrible punishment is, of course, rarer than the offence. At one time thieves were punished by death, mutilation, slavery, or confiscation of goods; to-day they are liable to a penalty varying with the offence; in cases of insolvency, this may take the form of selling the offender into slavery. The general tendency is for the judges to commute the barbarous punishments of former days into profitable fines, which are divided amongst the judges themselves, the royal treasury, and the plaintiff or prosecutor, if there is one. Any one who cannot pay the fine imposed is sold as a slave. In cases of accidental homicide there is a sort of *wergeld*, varying with the quality and condition of the person killed. The woman taken in adultery is marched for three consecutive days through the town, her face covered with a basket of plaited bamboo, red flowers in her ears, forming a collar, and on her head, avowing in a loud voice her fault and her repentance. This march may be exchanged for a fine levied on the personal property of the woman and her lover, part of which is handed over to the husband, unless he is proved to have been a consenting party to the infamy of his wife. The fine varies with the position of the woman in the household; the 'chief wife' is more heavily punished than the mere concubine or any other wife. The husband is entitled to kill offenders taken *in flagrante delicto*, but on the strict understanding that he kills them both. The punishment of rape is a fine which varies decreasingly according as the victim is a married woman, a young girl, a widow, or a slave. The seducer may be put to death by the young girl's parents, if he is caught *in flagrante delicto* and is acting without their implied acknowledgment; but no proceedings are taken against a seducer, failing a complaint by the victim or her parents. The penalty varies with the condition of the person seduced, and according as there has been pregnancy or not. The gravest case is pregnancy followed by death in child-bed. Abduction is

[1] The new king of Cambodia, Sisovath (Skr. *Śrī Svasti*), who ascended the throne in 1904, has abolished slavery, which had, indeed, been greatly ameliorated since the arrival of the French in the country.

punishable by a fine in proportion to the condition of the female carried off, the distance covered, and the natural obstacles, rivers, or mountains crossed. Sexual intercourse with animals meets with ignominious punishments, such as having to feed on the grass of the fields, or to lap water from the boiling of rice. As a rule, the punishments are simply punitive and do not involve degradation: a functionary who has served a term of imprisonment for breach of trust resumes his duties freely. Legal proceedings in Cambodia are slow, involved, and expensive. Accused and accusers have the right of being represented at the tribunal by a kind of advocate called the 'shoulder of the case' (*smà kedèi*). Liberation on finding sureties is frequently practised. A crime may be proved either by witnesses or ordeals.

(6) *Ordeals.*—The principal judicial tests still in use are the following: -(*a*) Water: both parties dive, and the one who rises first is guilty; or they swim across the arm of a river, and the last to arrive is guilty. (*b*) The test of the molten tin, into which the accused must plunge a hand without being burned. (*c*) Burning coals, over which he must walk without hurting his feet. There are other tests quite as illusory, but much milder. Very often the judge does not hesitate to order the suspected person to be tortured, in order to obtain either his confession of a crime or the names of his accomplices. The greatest scourge of Cambodian justice is not its laws, but its judges—functionaries who are often unjust because they are ignorant and greedy. Having paid a large sum to the royal treasury before entering on office, they set about recouping themselves, at the expense of litigants, by a sad misuse of justice. There is, indeed, a law which enacts that an unjust or ignorant judge shall receive a sentence equal to double that which he has wrongly inflicted, not to mention the chastisements reserved for him in the after life. But those who ought to apply this law are only too often so deserving of the same treatment that they dare not make use of it.

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ANTOINE CABATON.

CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS.—The title 'Cambridge Platonists' has come to be applied to a school of philosophical divines—members, for the most part, of two colleges, Emmanuel and Christ's—who flourished at Cambridge between the years 1633 and 1688. The names with which this article is properly concerned are those of Whichcote (1609–83), Culverwel († 1651), Smith (1618–52), Cudworth (1617–88), and More (1614–87), all resident teachers at Cambridge within the period mentioned; but, in so far as the influence of their teaching made itself felt outside, some other names, belonging to this period and to the time after, must also be noticed—Glanvill, Norris, Cumberland, Shaftesbury, Clarke, and Berkeley, representing the religious and philosophical aspect of this influence; and Taylor, Stillingfleet, Burnet, Patrick, Rust, Tillotson, and Fowler, representing its ecclesiastical and political aspect.

The first thing which the student of a school of religious and philosophical thought must always see to is that he realizes the social environment in which the thought of the school lived and moved; study of the mere equipment of the thought, apart from the use to which that equipment was put, is idle. And no student has more need of this *caveat* than the student of the 'Cambridge Platonists.' They are writers—especially the three greatest of them, Smith, Cudworth, and More—whom one is peculiarly tempted to read without thinking of 'social environment,' without troubling oneself about the state of England in their time. There grows upon one, as one reads them, the sense of a cloistered piety and learning cultivated apart in some paradise such as Henry More made for himself in his lifelong home at Christ's; and one is too apt to be impatient, as of something irrelevant, when one is asked to remember where this paradise was—that it was in the England of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, the Restoration, the Revolution, the England of Laud, of the Covenant and Westminster Assembly, of the New Model, of the St. Bartholomew's Day Ejectments. But this is exactly what it is most necessary to remember. The question which a scientific study of the Cambridge Platonists must make it its chief object to answer is exactly this: how were these cloistered lives related to that troubled world without?—for it was certainly not by mere accident that these lives found their peace in that stormy time.

Burnet, who met Cudworth and More when he visited Cambridge in 1663 as a young man, and who, throughout his whole subsequent career, was in sympathy with the ecclesiastical position of the Cambridge school, describes its members generally in the following terms (*Hist. of My Own Time*, Oxford, 1823, i. 323 ff.):

'All these, and those who were formed under them, studied to examine farther into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared against superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the Church and the liturgy, and could well live under them: but they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that things might have been carried with more moderation. And they continued to keep a good correspondence with those who had differed from them in opinion, and allowed a great freedom both in philosophy and in divinity: from whence they were called men of latitude. And upon this men of narrower thoughts and fiercer tempers fastened upon them the name of Latitudinarians. They read Episcopius much. And the making out the reasons of things being a main part of their studies, their enemies called them Socinians. They were all very zealous against popery. And so, they becoming soon very considerable, the papists set themselves against them to decry them as atheists, deists, or at best Socinians.'

From this account, the result of contemporary observation, we gather (1) that these 'men of latitude' took up a position midway between the Puritans (the early upbringing of most of them had been Puritan) and the Prelatists of their time—that they occupied, in respect to these extremes, what another contemporary account (S. P.'s *Brief Account of the new Sect of Latitude-Men: together with some Reflections on the New Philosophy*, 1662) describes as 'virtuous mediocrity'; and (2) that it was deliberately on a philosophical basis that they founded the position which they took up—a position from which they advocated toleration and comprehension even where considerable differences of religious opinion and practice, not only outside, but within the Church of England, were concerned.

Turning to their writings, we find this philosophical basis of their advocacy of toleration and comprehension fully and clearly set forth in their doctrine of the place of Reason in Religion.

Truth, they tell us, is Natural and Revealed, and reason is the faculty which apprehends and judges both kinds. It is the same reason which, on the one hand, apprehends the truths of morality and of natural science, and, above all,—for 'God is most knowable of anything in the world' (Whichcote, *Select Sermons*, ed. 1698, p. 112),—the truths of Natural Religion, that God exists, and is good and wise; and, on the other hand, apprehends, in addition to the truths contained in our 'natural knowledge of God,' the truths contained in the 'revelation of His will,' which is made to us in the Scriptures. And these truths of Revealed Religion reason finds no less 'reasonable' than those of Natural Religion.

'Our Reason is not confounded by our Religion, but awakened, excited, employed, directed, and improved' (Whichcote, *op. cit.* p. 298).

The Scriptures are, indeed, we are told, exactly suited to our reason. They offer, in the plainest way, matter upon which we can employ our reason with the greatest profit to our lives, and with the surest guarantee, from that faculty itself, that we are not deceived. At the same time, by the very prominence which the Scriptures give to this matter, so suitable to reason, so capable of engaging it where its employment is most useful and least likely to lead us astray, they make it evident to us—the more evident, the more truly 'rational' our study of them is—that a *minute* employment of reason in religion, about things not plainly included in the matter to which prominence is given, is unprofitable, and, indeed, even irrational. Such a procedure brings with it no universally acceptable guarantee of its own correctness, and so divides those who fall into it from one another, one minute reasoner making this non-essential, or, it may be, extraneous, matter all-important in religion, another, that, and so on, while that which is essential, that about which all would be of one mind, if they used their reason in the way religion requires, is left out of sight.

To the two opposed parties of their day—Puritans and Prelatists—the 'men of latitude' said: 'Unite on the broad common ground of that which is essential in religion, and agree to differ about things that are non-essential. That which is essential is contained in the Scriptures, and is so plain that you cannot miss it if you employ your reason in the right way, each man for himself, upon the Scriptures.' It is here that we come down to the bed-rock of the philosophical basis on which the Cambridge school founded their doctrine of toleration and comprehension: it is because *God* is, from the very first, its true object that man's reason marks securely, in the end, that which is *essential* in the revelation of God's will as contained in the Scriptures. The improvement of man's reason, then, by employment in the fields of science and of moral conduct, and, above all, by employment about the truths of Natural Religion, without the light of which the principles of science and conduct cannot be seen at all, is a process by which man grows in knowledge of that which is most knowable, of God—a process by which he becomes more and more 'like unto God,' till the perfection of reason is reached in that 'Divine sagacity,' as More calls it (Pref. General to *Collected Works*, ed. 1662, p. ix), that 'nativity from above,' as Whichcote calls it (*op. cit.* p. 350), which makes a man, at last, a sure judge of what is essential in the teaching of the Scriptures.

It was a charge commonly brought against the school that they preached mere morality, and ignored the importance of 'articles' of religious belief. Their teaching on the subject of 'Divine sagacity' is their answer to this charge. The morality which they preach is 'morality' which the moral agent's sense of the real presence of God, as a vital principle central in his soul, has transformed into piety—it is the condition of one who 'imitates God' in 'the holy and virtuous life,' and so 'knows' Him; and, knowing Him, can interpret His revelation of Himself made in the Scriptures, and get hold there of the *essential* 'articles' of religion.

So much for the way, peculiar to themselves, in which the Cambridge Platonists held the doctrine that the Scriptures are to be interpreted by the reason of each man. This doctrine itself reached them by two streams of influence, each of which was, otherwise also, of great importance in determining the outlook, and equipping the thought, of the school—the one having its source in Arminianism (*q.v.*), which had appeared in Holland towards the end of the previous century, the other proceeding from the Italian Renaissance of the century before.

In England, Arminianism found a footing towards the end of the 16th century. The distinctive tenet with which it opposed the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination had, indeed, to contend against great odds, for at this time, in England, Calvinism was widely spread among the people, and was already entrenched in the Articles of the Church; but the temper of Arminianism, what may be called its 'Humanism,' especially as shown in the substitution of the psychological for the dogmatic way of interpreting the Scriptures, commended itself more easily to educated minds. It was, after all, the temper which Colet and Linacre, and other English friends of Erasmus, and Erasmus himself—resident during various periods in England, and notably, from 1511 to 1514, at Cambridge, where he was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and occupied rooms in Queens'—had already recommended, by their example and teaching, to students, in England, of the ancient classical and Christian writers. The Universities—and perhaps Cambridge especially—were thus prepared to receive the new Arminian Humanism; and the clergy of the Church of England at these places of learning were, more than others, exposed to its influence. As a matter of fact, when we reach the times of Charles I., we find that Arminianism—so far, at least, as opposition to Calvinism was concerned—had become widely diffused among the clergy of the Church of England, the Dissenters, together with a large number of the lay members of the Church of England, remaining Calvinists. That the Cambridge 'men of latitude' should 'read Episcopius much,' as Burnet tells us they did, that they should be on the side of the psychological, against the dogmatic, interpretation of the Scriptures is, therefore, just what the vogue of Arminianism in the Church of England at this time would lead us to expect from divines at home in a university which was otherwise—in letters and natural science—showing itself singularly receptive of Humanism.

The other influence operative in forming the Cambridge view of the method of Scripture interpretation can be traced back to the 'Platonic Academy,' which flourished, during the latter half of the 15th cent., at Florence, and especially to the work, in it, of Marsilio Ficino. His Latin translations from the newly-recovered Greek, and his commentaries, gave Plato and Plotinus to Italy and then to Europe, and substituted, for the skeleton to which the Church and her schoolmen had reduced the system of Aristotle, what was everywhere welcomed as a living philosophy. It was a philosophy in grasping the inward sense of which the men of the Renaissance, become so curious of new things, found a new thing which arrested their attention beyond all else, namely, a bit of vivid personal experience. It was not the sober ethical and political philosophy, and the logic, of Plato that interested Ficino and his Platonists very much; their chief interest was in the other—the mystical—side of Plato's teaching, especially as apparent in his doctrine of 'Eternal Beauty,' object of Philosophic Love, set forth in the *Symposium* and elsewhere. Hence it was that Ficino and his Platonists went eagerly on from Plato to Plotinus, in whose writings they found fuller satisfaction than in Plato's of their craving for vivid personal experience, and discovered a philosophy which offered, not so much propositions to be apprehended, as moments to be lived. Ecstasy, immediate contact with the One, union of self with God—this was the formula in which the new philosophy of the Platonic Academy (set forth by Ficino as a philosophy in perfect concord with Christian faith) was wholly included. The *Enneads* of Plotinus, translated into Latin by Ficino and printed at Florence in 1492, were first printed in Greek at Basel in 1580, and were being studied at Cambridge by 1633, if not earlier.

Burnet tells us that Whichcote, who began to teach at Emmanuel in 1633, 'set young students much on reading the ancient philosophers, chiefly Plato, Tully, and Plotin' (*Hist. of My Own Time*, i. 321), and Whichcote's pupil Smith, and the rest of the school, certainly show intimate knowledge of the Greek text of the Neo-Platonic philosopher, and bear ample testimony to the profound influence which he exercised upon them. It was the doctrine, or experience, of ecstasy—understood by them, however, not as an occasional and temporary state of religious exaltation, but rather as habitual con-

centration of affection, will, and understanding upon God, 'because of His own loveliness, excellency, and beauty' (Whichcote, *op. cit.* p. 213) it was the Plotinian doctrine, or experience, of ecstasy, thus understood, that the Cambridge Platonists put in the very centre of their Christian philosophy. It became, in their teaching, equivalent to 'justification by faith,' to the 'sanctification' of men's souls by means of a 'vital efflux' from God upon them, making them partakers of His life and strength (Smith's *Select Discourses*, Worthington's ed., 1660, p. 312)—it appeared as 'nativity from above' (in Whichcote's phrase), as 'Divine sagacity' (in More's phrase), the crowning gift of God bestowed only upon those who practise the ἄσκησις of a holy and virtuous life. The influence of Plotinus thus modified profoundly, even transformed, in the Cambridge Platonists, the notion of Scriptural interpretation with which mere Arminianism opposed the Calvinistic and other dogmatic interpreters. The Arminian teaching carried the Cambridge Platonists only thus far—that the reason of the good man, of the man in earnest about the holy and virtuous life, is the faculty by which the Scriptures are to be interpreted, and the essentials of religious doctrine and practice distinguished broadly (as they are never distinguished by the reason of the mere theologian) from the non-essentials. But the Cambridge Platonists could not rest with this. Reason must be sublimated into 'Divine sagacity' by the real presence of God in the soul. The interpreter of inspired Scriptures must be himself inspired.

It may be asked why Christian experience alone was not accepted by them as warrant for this far-reaching conclusion—why they appealed, in support of it, also to pagan experience and philosophy. The answer is, briefly, that for them the religious faculty is reason, which, though informed by the immediate presence of God, is still man's reason. Religion is 'reasonable,' and, especially on that part of it distinguished as 'Natural Religion' (which, indeed, is the foundation of Revealed Religion [see Whichcote, *op. cit.* p. 87 f.]) much light is thrown by philosophy, by the best thoughts of the best men, of all ages and faiths, who have employed their reason about the soul, the world, and God. These divines, then, naturally mixed Religion and Philosophy. Even the mediæval Church, although holding no brief for human reason, had recognized it in Aristotle as ancillary to Catholic belief. But the Cambridge Platonists, as Christian Humanists, held a brief for reason in religion, and were very specially and strictly concerned to show that reason had not failed man, even outside the Christian dispensation, in his endeavour after religion.

How seriously they regarded the obligation upon them to bring the philosophy of the Greeks and Romans into evidence, may be judged from the mass of classical erudition which cumbers the pages of most of them—especially of Cudworth and More. It is an uncritical, pre-Bentleyan erudition which—to take one curious instance of its general character—not only accepts, but dwells on and elaborates, the notion of the Mosaic origin of all that is good in Greek philosophy, especially in the teaching of the Pythagoreans and of Plato (described as *Moses Atticus*)—a notion which, it may be thought, stultifies the appeal, undoubtedly intended and made, to that philosophy as witnessing to the truths of Natural rather than of Revealed Religion.

But, after all, the distinction between Natural and Revealed Religion was not one to be very clearly defined by those who, on principle, mixed Religion and Philosophy, as the Cambridge Platonists did. Although there were some truths which plainly belonged to the realm of Natural Religion, there were others which belonged indeed to the realm of Revealed Religion, inasmuch as without the revelation contained in the Scriptures we should not have known them at all (*e.g.* that the Godhead is undivided Trinity, and that we are justified by faith in Jesus Christ), but yet were to be detected, by those who already had them through revelation, as also obscurely appearing in the philosophical systems of men who had walked merely by the light of Nature—the 'candle of the Lord,' as Culverwel calls it. Thus we find the Cambridge school making much of the 'Trinity' of the Neo-Platonists; and we have seen that they connected the ecstasy of Plotinus with that 'nativity from above' in which their Christian experience realized the meaning of the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ. In fact, when they appeal to the Platonic or Neo-Platonic philosophy, they take little account of the distinction between Natural and Revealed Religion: perhaps because Plato, as being *Moses Atticus*, records revealed truths; but also for the deeper reason that revealed truth, limited by them to the essentials of religion which 'Divine sagacity' marks off from non-essentials, is, after all, only natural truth raised to a higher power, as it were—natural truth, no longer regarded from without as the object of theological science, but become the inward experience of one who has 'found religion.' The ecstatic condition of union with God described by Plato and Plotinus seemed, to the religious minds of men like Smith and More, to be an experience essentially the same as that of the man 'in whom Christ liveth'—the man for whom alone 'revealed truth' has vital meaning. In ecstasy, then, the Christian Religion and the Platonic Philosophy are mingled with each other, and that so intimately that the distinction between Natural and Revealed Religion seems to vanish in the result.

While their interpretation of the Platonic philosophy is thus as psychological, and as expressive of personal experience, as their interpretation of the Scriptures, their interpretation of ancient philosophy other than Platonic, notably of the atomic philosophy of Democritus, is not psychological, but dogmatic. The Platonic philosophy they found no difficulty in interpreting in the light of their own religious experience—they felt no temptation to read the dogmas of theological science into a philosophy which tallied so well with that experience. Their interpretation, accordingly, of this philosophy is good. But ancient philosophy other than Platonic, tallying with no personal religious experience of their own, they interpreted badly, reading into it the natural science of their day. So we find them (1) comparing the atomic philosophy of Democritus closely with the mechanical philosophy of Descartes; and then, as the former is obviously 'atheistic,' while it is necessary to show that the latter, though closely resembling the former, is not 'atheistic,' (2) arguing back to a common source of both—to a theistic Mosaic atomism, which Democritus perverted into atheism, but Descartes has revived in its original purity (see Cudworth's *Etern. and Immut. Morality*, bk. ii. ch. 4). Similarly the revolution of the earth and the other planets round the sun—the greatest discovery of the modern mechanical philosophy—was already known to the Pythagoreans, and to Numa Pompilius, who, indeed, symbolized it by making the temple of Vesta circular with a fire in the centre; but they had derived their knowledge from the Jews, who had it by Kabbalistic tradition from Moses (see More's Append. to *Defence of the Philosophick Cabbala*, ch. 6, p. 126, ed. 1662). Thus in Democritus and the Pythagoreans was found the authority of Revelation for the methods and results of modern science. There could not be a greater contrast than that between the childish exegesis of the Cambridge School, where, on the one hand, a philosophy, like that of Democritus, is concerned, which appeals, not to their personal religious ex-

perience, but to their acquaintance with modern science, and, on the other hand, their illuminating exegesis of a philosophy, like that of Plato and Plotinus, into which they read, not their modern science, but rather, as it were, themselves.

The Cartesian philosophy has been incidentally mentioned; it is now time to consider it as one of the most important factors in the environment of the Cambridge Platonists—as the body, to quote More's phrase (Preface General to *Collected Works*, p. xviii), of which Platonism is the soul. This philosophy, so eminently rational, doubting all that rests on any authority except that of 'clear and distinct ideas,' making its ideal the explanation of the world according to mechanical principles mathematically expressible, naturally recommended itself to all those who, like the Cambridge 'men of latitude,' were contending for reason against authority. Cartesianism was, indeed, itself only a product of the Humanistic Renaissance, the air of which such men breathed everywhere, at this time. Thus we find Spinoza, who in his close association with the Remonstrants and Collegiants was in the same atmosphere, also naturally attracted by this rational philosophy of clear and distinct ideas, and writing his earlier works under its strong influence. Humanism, we must remember, not only gave new life to the study of classical literature and ancient philosophy, and was instrumental in bringing about great alterations in religious doctrine and practice, but was also the renaissance of Natural Science. Linacre, Harvey, Gilbert, Bacon, Galileo, Descartes, and many others were as truly products of Humanism as Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Aldus, Erasmus, Colet, and Montaigne.

The mechanical philosophy of Descartes, then, was quite naturally adopted by the Cambridge School—with certain reservations, as we shall see. Smith, his friend Worthington tells us, was chiefly instrumental in introducing the study of it at Cambridge. Culverwel, More, and Cudworth made large use of it, and important letters passed between More and Descartes in 1648, which were printed in More's *Collected Works* (1662), and specially referred to in his Preface General to that edition. But the Cambridge Platonists, we can see, felt themselves placed in a somewhat awkward dilemma in regard to the Cartesian philosophy. They were bound, as Humanists, to adopt it, for its mechanical principles were those in the light of which the Natural Sciences were making such notable advances at this time—advances to culminate ere long in the mathematical and physical discoveries of Newton, who was already in 1665 a graduate of Cambridge, and in 1669 Professor of Mathematics, although the publication of the *Principia* was to be delayed for many years.

The 'men of latitude,' then, were bound to accept the philosophy of Descartes, but could not conceal from themselves that it might easily be abused in the cause of 'materialism and atheism'—in fact, was being widely so abused, especially by those who had fallen under the growing influence of the writings of Hobbes. So, in order to divert the tendency of the Cartesian philosophy from materialism and atheism to the support of religion and a spiritual theory of the world, it was necessary, they felt, to insinuate into its very substance, as it were, another philosophy of an entirely different kind. This was their philosophy of the 'plastic principle,' or 'soul of nature'—an immaterial principle, spiritual, but unconscious, which pervades the universe, and, like the Platonic *anima mundi*, or the Aristotelian φύσις, is the immediate and immanent cause of all the beautifully contrived processes and products of the organic and inorganic worlds. Descartes, indeed, posits an immaterial spiritual substance—God—as First Mover of the world; but leaves Him afterwards out of account: for the movements of the world, although started by Him, are explained as going on according to their own necessary mechanical laws; and it is an easy step, from this position, to dispensing with God altogether, and recognizing only those laws. So, into the Cartesian complex of mechanical laws, to be retained merely as a system of bare *quantities* lending themselves conveniently to exact computation, must be infused the vital *quality* of the 'plastic principle.' Thus, through the lieutenancy of a spiritual, though unconscious, principle, God penetrates the world with His beneficent organizing activity, instead of remaining outside, a mere Force, while within, not He, but Necessity, rules. The argument for God's wisdom and goodness, 'from design in Nature,' which Cartesianism, by the prominence which it gives to mechanically necessary laws, invalidates, or even destroys, is thus rehabilitated by the theory of a 'plastic principle.' We can now regard those laws as so many quantitative expressions of a vital quality with which God continually inspires Nature in order to the accomplishment, through her, of His ends. Teleology is grafted upon the mechanical philosophy—we can infer Divine wisdom and goodness, not merely existence and power (see Cudworth's *Intell. Syst.*, ed. 1845, i. 274 ff.). As for the other cardinal doctrine of religion, beside that of the existence of a wise and good God—the immortality of the soul—it also rests on the theory of the 'plastic principle.' No finite soul can exist without a material vehicle, and it is the 'plastic principle' present in a soul which moulds matter—terrestrial, aërial, or ethereal—into a vehicle suitable to that soul's condition here on earth, or, after the death of this body, as a ghost in the air, or as a blessed spirit in the ether of heaven. Without the vehicle-building power of the 'plastic principle' within them, souls must perish, or, at least, pass into a state of eternal unconsciousness. Stories of ghosts appearing, and of witches transforming themselves into hares, are recorded—with especial *empressement* by More (in his *Immortality of the Soul*, and *Antidote against Atheism*)—as evidence of the survival of the soul after terrestrial death, and of the continuance of its vehicle-building plastic power, whereby it moulds an aërial body in place of the discarded terrestrial body, and—such is the force of habit—an aërial body resembling that terrestrial body, so that we can tell 'whose ghost it is' when a deceased person thus appears to us in his aërial body.

The 'demonology' of the Cambridge Platonists is a topic which no estimate of their intellectual and religious position can omit to take serious account of. They shared in the popular superstitious beliefs of their time: but that is not so astonishing as the deliberation and ingenuity with which they used both Stoic physics and the current scientific notions of their own day for the establishment of these beliefs, in the interest of religion. More (assisted later by his Oxford friend Glanvill, the author of *Sadducismus triumphatus*, 1682) goes further than the others in this direction; while Smith, judged by his Huntingdon Sermon (*Select Discourses*, 1660, Disc. 10), is the sanest of them. It is difficult for us to comprehend how these enlightened men should have given themselves so deliberately to superstition; but perhaps, after all, it is not more difficult to understand than that 'Cudworth, Newton, and Locke should all have concentrated their interest upon a literal interpretation of an obscure vision in Daniel' (Tulloch, *Rational Theology in England in the 17th Century*, ii. 212).

There were other things in Descartes which the Cambridge Platonists did not like. His distinction between matter as 'extended substance' and spirit as 'substance without extension' they denounced as tending to atheism—More, in the Preface to his *Divine Dialogues* (1668), eventually receding from the friendly position of his *Letters* to Descartes (1648), and charging that philosopher himself with actual atheism. Spirit, both Cudworth and More argue, has extension, for extension is not necessarily material. If spirit were without extension, God

would be nowhere, instead of being everywhere. Space is extension, but not the extension of matter: therefore, unless there is extension of Nothing, space must be the extension of Spirit. In infinite space we have the extension of infinite Spirit (see Cudworth's *Intell. System*, iii. 232, ed. 1845). This notion is one of the most interesting in the metaphysics of the Cambridge School, and was associated in their minds with the victory of the Copernican over the Ptolemaic system of the heavens (see More's *Philosophical Poems*, p. 409, ed. 1647).

Another point on which we find the Cambridge divines insisting against Descartes is that the distinction between True and False, Right and Wrong, depends, not, as he teaches, on the will of God, but on the eternal nature of things, or law of the ideal world: the distinction is 'essential,' not 'arbitrary' (see Cudworth, *Intell. Syst.* ii. 533). This law of the ideal world, logically prior to the will of God, as being the rule, or rather system of rules, according to which that will is always exercised, is equivalent to the τόπος νοητός of Plato, and the Divine σοφία of his later followers. The Cambridge divines thus correct Cartesianism in this instance by means of the Platonic doctrine of Ideas, as they correct it elsewhere by means of the Platonic *anima mundi*, or 'plastic principle.' And the use which they make here of the doctrine of Ideas is as important in its bearing on their epistemology as it is on their theology, or philosophy of religion, and on their ethics. In accordance with this doctrine, knowledge is explained as man's participation in the mind of God by means of the Ideas, or *eternæ rationes rerum*, which are at once His thoughts, from which, by act of His will, sensible phenomena are produced, and at the same time the mental forms in us, by the activity of which we take hold of these phenomena, and organize them into a rational experience. Here epistemology and theology are one, as they are in the kindred philosophy of T. H. Green. This theologico-epistemological use of the doctrine of Ideas, made by the Cambridge Platonists generally, is perhaps most clearly exemplified in the writings of More's Oxford correspondent and warm admirer, John Norris of All Souls, who, adopting the language of Malebranche, speaks of knowledge as 'seeing things in God' (*Reason and Religion*, 1689, pp. 187-194). In ethics, the doctrine of Ideas was used by the Cambridge divines mainly against Hobbes, whose philosophy they regarded with genuine alarm. If Cartesianism is the matter out of which—with certain rejections—the plastic power of Platonism, the soul of their philosophy, moulds a body for itself, Hobbism is the poison which kills philosophy body and soul.

Against the 'materialism and atheism' of Hobbes the arguments brought by the Cambridge Platonists were those which we have seen them using against Descartes, so far as that philosopher seemed to them to be dangerously defective or erroneous in his teaching about God and the soul. But their contention that the distinction between Right and Wrong is essential, not arbitrary, directed against the Cartesian conception of God, admitted—they at once saw—of extended use against Hobbes's conception of political sovereignty; and so we find them vigorously combating that conception with this same well-tried Platonic weapon. Further, since the counterpart of Hobbes's morality-making absolute 'sovereign'—whether monarch or assembly—is his 'subject' wholly actuated by self-regarding motives, to meet this side, or aspect—the 'subject' side—of Hobbes's political theory, we also find them armed, and with a weapon peculiarly their own, their employment of which gives them a most important, though imperfectly recognized, place in the history of English Moral Philosophy. It is to the psychological observation of the Cambridge Platonists that English Moral Philosophy primarily owes the conception of 'a naturally good temper,' or of 'fellow-feeling,' which Shaftesbury undoubtedly got from them, and handed on to successors who made it a cardinal point of moral theory. Shaftesbury first printed his *Inquiry* in 1699, and in the Preface which he wrote in 1698 to his edition of Whichcote's *Sermons* a passage occurs which makes it plain that it was the Cambridge Platonists who not only originated, but gave, once for all, definite direction—the direction which it always retained—to that movement of reaction against Hobbes which may be said to constitute English Moral Philosophy as evolved throughout the 18th and the first half of the 19th century.

To Whichcote and his school—Cumberland being with them—belongs the credit of having put 'a naturally good temper,' or 'fellow-feeling,' in the position of paramount importance which it has ever since occupied in English Moral Philosophy. Hobbes, while it must be admitted that he made it quite clear that the public good is the end—here he was misunderstood by his critics—maintained that the 'sovereign' (monarch, or assembly, with *carte blanche*) is the only judge of the means towards this end; the Cambridge Platonists, followed by Shaftesbury and a succession of moralists down to J. S. Mill, maintained, against Hobbes, that the means to the public good are such only as the people—not the 'sovereign' wielding uncontrolled power, but the 'subjects' united by fellow-feeling—when consulted from time to time, themselves determine. And this was the doctrine which Locke afterwards made popular.

There are, doubtless, important differences between the philosophy of the Cambridge Platonists and that of Locke; but, so far as political theory is concerned, the differences are quite superficial. The Cambridge Platonists are as entirely with him on the political question of the 'liberty of the subject' as they are on the religious question of toleration. Locke's friendship with Cudworth's daughter, Lady Masham, is an episode in the history of philosophy which those who look beneath the surface of those times, while they do not attach too much significance to it, cannot but regard with sympathy.

Their attitude to Hobbes and his influence thus exhibits the position of the Cambridge School more clearly than anything else in their philosophy. We see how firmly and consistently they hold by the maxim of Humanism—that the judgment of the well-instructed and virtuous man is to be trusted in religion, morals, and politics. In these branches they are for reason against authority, for social feeling against self-regarding motives, for religious toleration and comprehension against sectarianism of Puritan and Prelatist, for the easy liberty of the subject, under a system of fair representation, against autocracy whether of monarch or of assembly—in short, they are against *centralization*, either in religion or in politics, whereby the judgment of the private man is suppressed in the one case, and his reasonable freedom of action in the other: that is, they are in favour of personal religion, and of individual initiative in the common work of effecting the public good. The ready-made religion which the political superior supplies to his subjects in Hobbes's polity is not religion, for it is not personal; and, on the civil side, the measures taken by that superior do not really conduce to the public good, for they exclude all initiative on the part of subjects united by fellow-feeling in the task of working out a common end. It was, of course, in personal religion that the Cambridge divines were chiefly interested; and the fact that Hobbes, by divorcing reason and religion, made personal religion impossible, was, doubtless, a ground for opposing him which came home to them with peculiar intimacy. And our

admiration of their courage is increased when we consider that in fighting Hobbes for rational religion against authoritative religion, for personal religion against official religion, they stood almost alone. Puritans and Prelatists alike were on the side of authoritative and official religion the religion of Protestant Confession, or of Catholic Church. The influence of Bacon, too, as well as that of Hobbes, was against the Cambridge divines; almost everybody in England said, or implied, that reason and religion must be kept apart. The Cambridge divines stood almost alone in maintaining that theology and the Christian life require the independent application of the private man's reason to the problems of religion, natural and revealed. These are problems, they maintained, which admit only of a personal solution within the Christian experience of each man.

We must now make brief mention of some contemporaries, not belonging strictly, or at all, to the Cambridge School, but either sharing their views independently or influenced by them.

The greatest of these is **Jeremy Taylor**. He entered Caius in 1626, the year after Milton entered Christ's. He became Fellow of Caius in 1633, but in 1636 migrated to All Souls', Oxford, where he came within reach of the influence of Falkland and his Great Tew set, including Chillingworth, whose *Religion of Protestants* was published in 1637. This influence, tending in the same direction as that of Whichcote, who was beginning to be well known about the time Taylor left Cambridge, was, we must believe, one of the causes which produced the *Liberty of Prophesying*, published in 1647. At any rate, this work is a plea for reason in religion, and for toleration and comprehension (see Tulloch, *op. cit.* i. 384).

The next name that should be mentioned is **Stillingfleet**. By 1690, as Bishop of Worcester, he had hardened into orthodoxy, and was ready for his attack upon Locke; but in his earlier days his sympathy was with the Cambridge School. During all the seven years he was at St. John's, Cambridge (1648–55), Whichcote's Trinity Church Lectures were going on; and in 1659, the year before the Restoration, Stillingfleet published his *Irenicum*, written entirely in the spirit of Whichcote's teaching, and urging men to sink their religious differences, even to the extent of trying to find common ground on which Presbyterians and Episcopalians might be united in one Church. The Restoration, however, put an end to that idea; and Stillingfleet, we must suppose, suffered disillusion. It was scarcely in the spirit of the Cambridge Platonists that he carried on his polemic with Locke.

As Taylor urged Latitudinarian views upon England at the time of the Civil War, and Stillingfleet at the end of the Commonwealth, when men were prepared for the Restoration, so **Burnet**, standing closer to the Cambridge School than either, was one of those chiefly instrumental in giving practical effect to these views in the settlement of affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, which followed the Revolution of 1688. As we have seen, he visited Cambridge in 1663, when a young man, making there the acquaintance of Cudworth and More. The 'notions of the Latitudinarians,' then imbibed, brought Burnet into much trouble afterwards, till, at the Revolution, in 1688, he became Bishop of Salisbury, and, during his long tenure of 25 years, found it possible to give some effect to them.

Patrick, whom Burnet mentions in his *Autobiography* and in his *History of My Own Time*, was a Fellow of Queens', Cambridge, when Smith, also a Fellow of that College, died in 1652, and he preached the funeral sermon appended to Worthington's edition of Smith's *Select Discourses* (1660). Patrick, as this rather florid, but evidently sincere, encomium shows, was an enthusiastic admirer of Smith; and, in his various preferments, ending with the See of Ely, must be regarded as one of those who helped to keep Latitudinarian principles before the country.

Rust, educated at St. Catherine's, became Fellow of Christ's in 1649, and was a friend of More. Soon after the Restoration, at the invitation of his friend Jeremy Taylor, he went to Ireland, where he was ordained, and, after many preferments, succeeded Taylor as Bishop of Dromore in 1667. Among other works he published, in 1683, *A Discourse of the Use of Reason in Matters of Religion . . . against Enthusiasts and Deists.*

Tillotson, who appears in Burnet's list of 'men of latitude,' was closely allied with the Cambridge School, and preached the sermon at Whichcote's funeral.

Fowler was the author of *Principles and Practices of certain moderate Divines of the Church of England abusively called Latitudinarians, in a Free Discourse between two intimate Friends*, published in 1670, which, together with Burnet's records and S. P.'s *Brief Account*, is our principal authority for the impression which the Cambridge divines made on their contemporaries. He became Bishop of Gloucester.

Turning now from public men to philosophical writers who shared independently, or were influenced by, the doctrine of the Cambridge School, we find six names standing out prominently: Glanvill, Norris, Cumberland, Shaftesbury, Samuel Clarke, and Berkeley.

Glanvill (1636–80) was of Oxford. His *Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661) is a philosophical piece entirely in the spirit of the Cambridge Platonists; and his later work on witchcraft (*Sadducismus triumphatus*) was produced in collaboration with More.

Norris was also of Oxford; he entered Exeter College in 1676, and became Fellow of All Souls' in 1680. In 1683–84 he had a correspondence with More which he published in 1688, the year after More's death. His *Reason and Religion* was published in 1689, the year he left Oxford for a country living and married. In 1701 and 1704 he published, in two parts, *The Theory of the Ideal and Intelligible World.* His philosophy closely resembles that of Smith and More: by grasping the Eternal Ideas man enters into the mind of God —this is Malebranche's 'seeing things in God'; and it is in 'ecstasy' that a man so enters into the Divine mind. The ecstatic habit can be cultivated; and *Reason and Religion*, with its 'Contemplations,' each followed by an 'Aspiration,' is a practical Devotional Treatise, 'written,' as its author tells us in the preface, 'for the use of the *Learned Reader*, who, perhaps, needs as much to be assisted in his devotion as the more ignorant.' While Norris is thus a close follower of the Cambridge divines in philosophy, he apparently had not much sympathy with their ecclesiastical position. At any rate, in 1692 he became Rector of Bemerton near Salisbury, in Burnet's diocese—a poor man with a growing family, he complains, but with no hope of preferment from his Bishop. He was, it would seem, a strong Anglican and Tory, opposed to Nonconformists and Whigs.

Cumberland entered Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1648, and became Fellow in 1656. He was thus a contemporary, during his residence at the University, of the leading members of the Cambridge School. In 1661 he was Rector of Brampton in Northamptonshire. In 1672 he published his *de Legibus Naturæ*, and in 1691 he was made Bishop of Peterborough by William III. In the *de Legibus Naturæ* he opposes Hobbes with

arguments similar to those used against him by Cudworth and More; and, with Whichcote, dwells especially on good-nature, or social feeling. 'Obligation to the exercise of the moral virtues,' he maintains, 'flows immediately from hence, that such actions are enjoined by the Law of Nature, which, in its ultimate form, is Benevolence to all Rationals,' although he adds (what Whichcote and his school would have put otherwise): 'and the sanction of that law is briefly deduced from the consequences which attend such a Benevolence, at the appointment of the Author of Nature.' Whichcote, with the approval of Shaftesbury, insists most strongly on the natural, not arbitrary, connexion between virtue and reward, vice and punishment: we are punished for our sins, not because God so wills and appoints it, but because sin naturally produces misery. This difference between Cumberland and the Cambridge School does not, however, as it happens, amount to much; it does not affect Cumberland's attitude towards the common enemy, Hobbes, and it is to be accounted for by the difference between the juridical technique of a writer deeply influenced by Grotius, and the Platonic technique of the Cambridge School.

We have already seen how considerable **Shaftesbury's** debt is to Whichcote and his followers, and need only add now that Shaftesbury also owed something to Cumberland's insistence on the notion of the public good as the object of benevolence. We assist here at the birth of Utilitarianism, which, in one form or another, has ever since held the field in England.

Samuel Clarke was an important man in his day; but his *Boyle Lectures* (1705-6) are wearisome reading now. He has nothing new or suggestive to say. His system is, in skeleton, that which the 'men of latitude' had brought forth in living flesh. Obligation to virtue is laid upon us by our reason apprehending 'the eternal fitness of things'; but this 'eternal fitness' Newton's pupil looks at with the eye not of the Platonic mystic but of the pure mathematician.

In Berkeley's *Siris* (1744) the Cambridge philosophy for the last time is embodied concretely in a single work—and in a work which might almost have been written, a century earlier, by Henry More. Its immediate object is to press the claims of tar-water as a panacea. Tar, the exudation of the pine, contains the vital virtue of the universal soul of Nature in a concentrated form. From tar-water, so informed, Berkeley 'soars very high,' on Platonic wings, up into the metaphysics of religion and morals.

To sum up: the Cambridge Platonists hold their place in an 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics' on four main grounds: (1) They present the idea of 'personal religion' in a very impressive way, and with great sincerity. (2) They were preachers of religious toleration and comprehension, at a time when everything seemed to be against the prevalence of these ideas. (3) They gave direction to English Moral Philosophy by supplying Shaftesbury and his followers, down to the Utilitarians of the 19th cent., with the notions of 'good-nature' and 'fellow-feeling,' as dispositions relative to the 'public good.' (4) On the other hand, their use of the Platonic doctrine of Ideas, in theology and epistemology, presents them as contributing also to the idealistic side of English Moral Philosophy. T. H. Green's 'reproduction of the Eternal Consciousness in my consciousness' bears close comparison with the Cambridge tenet—'participation of man's mind in God's mind through apprehension of the *æternæ rationes rerum*.' Comparison of Green with the Cambridge divines makes it clear that his philosophy is a phase of Christian Platonism.

LITERATURE.—J. Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, Edin. 1872, gives the fullest and most connected account of the 'Cambridge Platonists' and their religious environment. The present writer wishes to acknowledge many obligations to this standard work, as well as to the *DNB*. Westcott's paper on 'Whichcote' in his *Religious Thought in the West*, London, 1891, is illuminating; and Inge in his *Christian Mysticism*, London, 1899, deals briefly, but in a sympathetic and suggestive way, with the teaching of the School. Campagnac's Introduction to his *Cambridge Platonists* (selections from Whichcote, Culverwel, and Smith, Oxford, 1901) is a good piece of work, which the student will find useful. Mention may also be made of Symon Patrick, *Works*, including his 'Autobiography,' ed. with Introduction, by Alex. Taylor, Oxford, 1858.

J. A. STEWART.

CAMEL.—I. In Arabia.—The camel is the animal essential to Bedawi life. On account of its meagre demands, its endurance, and its swiftness, it is the usual vehicle for long journeys across the desert. Camel-rearing is one of the most important arts with the Bedawin, and tribes vie with each other for the honour of producing the finest camels. The breed of *mahrīs*—a name now used to designate saddle-camels—was introduced by a tribe of South Arabia, the B. Mahra. As a general rule, the male is the pack-animal (*rākib*), and the female the mount (*radīf*).

The words used in ancient Arabia for the chief actions in the process of harnessing camels have come down to us, but they are not in entire agreement with modern terminology. The Arabic language has quite an extensive vocabulary reserved for the camel itself. Besides epithets which do duty as names of the camel, and general words like *jamal* (which has, through κάμηλος, spread into the languages of Europe), *'ibil*, *ba'īr*, and *nāqa*, Arabic has a large number of words to designate the animal according to its age and its economic rôle. The word *māl* appears to have meant 'camels' before acquiring the meanings of 'large cattle' and 'moveable property' (cf. Lat. *pecus*, *pecunia*). The designation, 'ship of the desert,' applied to the camel, seems strange when we think of the exclusively inland life of the Bedawin, and was apparently unknown to ancient poetry (see, however, Jacob, *Altar. Beduinenleben*, p. 61 f.), but it exists in modern poetical works of quite a Bedawi type, *e.g.* in the following lines given by Musil (*Arab. Pet.* iii. 253): 'What thinkest thou of this ship without mast? How it moves on! It is the female camel of the chief, which is ridden by a gallant cavalier.' The explanation of the phrase seems to be as follows: the root *rkb*, conveying the idea of 'bestriding an animal,' gave rise to the word *markar*, with the sense first of 'mount' (horse or camel), then of 'ship'; and by a sort of backward play of words the idea of 'ship' has come to displace that of 'camel.' Besides, the form of the classic palanquin of the desert, the *doli*, has always called up to the minds of travellers the image of a barque.

In the ancient literature of Arabia, just as in practical life, the camel has a pre-eminent position, both alongside of the horse and before it. There is not a single poet of the desert but sings the praises of his camel and, by a play of imagination that is something of a shock to Western minds, compares his mistress to it, often carrying the analogy to minute details. Snouck Hurgronje (*Mekka*, 1888, ii. 188) recalls the cry of women lamenting a dear husband: 'O my son, my eye, my camel,' interpreting it in the sense of 'O thou who wast my help in supporting life's burden.' This precious animal is what the generous host offers as a feast to a hungry traveller. The legendary host of ancient Arabia, Ḥatim at-Ṭa'i, found a means of making this gift, after his death, to the Yemenite chief who fell asleep near his tomb. The camel is also the most perfect sacrifice that the Bedawi can present to his gods. But, besides offering it as a

victim, round which a small social, family, or tribal group sat at table in a ritual feast, the Bedawī also consecrated his camel as a living offering to the pre-Islāmic deities; and Nilus, writing in the 5th cent. A.D., has described a heathen Arab camel-sacrifice in considerable detail (summarized, from *PG* lxxi. 612 ff., in art. ARABS [ancient], vol. i. p. 665ᵇ). Owing to the prohibition contained in the Qur'ān (v. 102), traditionists have furnished valuable though contradictory details on certain pre-Islāmic usages relating to the camel. The words *sā'iba* and *waṣīla* meant camels which had had ten young ones and had therefore become *ḥarām*, i.e. sacred. After this no one was allowed to mount them or milk them; they were tabu, under the protection of the god. Their last offspring was generally sacrificed and eaten in a solemn feast, from which women were usually excluded. The name *sā'iba* was also given to the camel which a man in a position of danger—*e.g.* in the course of an adventurous razzia—promised to consecrate to a sanctuary if his hopes of success were fulfilled. The *sā'iba* was *ḥarām* for everybody except the guardians of that temple in whose sacred enclosure (*himā*) it passed the rest of its life. The same treatment was given to the stallion with a numerous posterity, the *hāmī*. If these sacred animals wandered from the *himā*, they had to be led back with due veneration. They were easily recognized by the mark (*wasm*) stamped on a conspicuous part of their body by means of a red-hot iron. Similar marks distinguished the victims destined for sacrifice. Although this custom had a religious significance which roused the opposition of Muhammad, the Prophet retained the practice of putting an external mark on the animals destined for the solemn sacrifice made by pilgrims at Minā on the 10th of Dhū'l-ḥijja. The camels have a collar formed by two sandals hung on a grass rope. But the marking of flocks, and of camels in particular, was not confined to those beasts consecrated to a deity; in ceremonies beginning with a sacrifice, and with the object of protecting a flock from epidemics, and at annual gatherings, which they held at a fixed time, the Bedawīn used to mark all the young beasts with a tribal and individual *wasm*. In this way the owner, besides performing a religious act, obtained a practical means of recovering lost or stolen animals. The marking of camels, which is attested by the earliest Arabic literature, and, in various regions, by rock-pictures, the date of which it is difficult to determine, is still a living custom; its economic importance is paramount. But the hospitable and religious sacrifice of camels is tending to disappear, the victims nowadays being less valuable animals.

It is impossible to fix with certainty the antiquity of the camel in the Mediterranean countries. According to arguments derived from texts, it was introduced into Syro-Palestine at the time of the Judges, and into Egypt with the Assyrian conquest. Its introduction into North Africa we must, with René Basset, carry back to the time of the Arabian conquest.

The camel plays an important rôle in Musalmān history. We learn from the Qur'ān (vii. 71-77, xi. 64-71) that Allāh sent a prophet named Ṣāliḥ to the B. Thamūd to preach the worship of the true God; he consecrated a female camel to Him, according to the rites which have been discussed above, and threatened a terrible judgment on any one who should prevent the animal from pasturing freely on the land of Allāh. The B. Thamūd were obstinate in their idolatry, and, disregarding the tabu of the holy camel, they hamstrung and killed it, as a punishment for which they were destroyed by fearful storms.

The war which, according to the Arab traditions, raged for forty years between the B. Bakr and the B. Taghlib, and which is called the War of Basūs, originated in the slaying of the camel Sarāb and its young one by Qulaib b. Rabī', chief of the B. Taghlib.

It is well known that the battle in which 'Alī met his chief adversaries, 'Ā'isha, Ṭalḥa, and Zubair, near Baṣra in Jumād-al-Awwal, A.H. 36 (Nov. 656 A.D.), received the name of the Battle of the Camel. In the last hours of the combat the palanquin of 'Ā'isha, borne on a camel specially bought for the purpose, served as the centre for the final resistance of the vanquished. The historians tell us of the groups of warriors, small tribes, or fractions of tribes, who came up in turn to surround the 'Mother of Believers,' and in turn disappeared in the confusion of flight; sixty warriors seized the camel's bridle in their hands, and perished or lost the use of the hand. Finally, to stop a fratricidal struggle, a rally of the last defenders who were fighting under 'Alī's standards succeeded in hamstringing the camel, and so put an end to the combat. Now, all this description, down almost to its very details, is the same as that derived from modern observation of Bedawī life: when they are setting out to fight, the daughter of the chief, in bridal attire and wearing heavy jewellery, mounts the *dolī*, and, standing upright in it, takes part in the fight. Surrounded by faithful followers, she is the rallying-point of the riders, in the successive movements of sudden charge and rapid flight that compose the whole strategy of the desert. She stimulates the warriors of her tribe by her presence and her impassioned words of encouragement, and it is round her camel, fallen prostrate on its hamstrung legs, that they offer their last struggle.

LITERATURE.—Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, p. 61 f.; Lefébure in *Actes Cong. Orient*, 1905, pt. ii. sec. vii. p. 24; Flamand, *ib.* p. 63; René Basset, *ib.* p. 69; Jaussen, *Coutumes*, Paris, 1907, p. 269; Musil, *Arabia Petræa*, Vienna, 1908, iii. 253. GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES.

2. **In OT and Talmud.**—The camel is mentioned with great frequency in the OT as belonging to the rich and as a beast of burden (for data see, for example, *HDB* i. 344 f.; *EBi* i. 633-636; *PRE*³ ix. 729-731; *JE* iii. 520 f.); but here it has, of course, no religious significance, although it was unclean, and might not be used for food (Lv 11⁴, Dt 14⁷; on various theories regarding this prohibition, cf. *PRE*³ xxi. 746). In later times the camel came to figure in proverbs, of which the best known are naturally the two quoted by our Lord: 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God' (Mt 19²⁴ and parallel passages),[1] and 'to strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel' (Mt 23²⁴).

The Talmud also contains several proverbs about the camel. For instance, "In Media the camel can dance on a bushel-basket" (*Yeb.* 45*a*), meaning that in Media everything is possible; "as the camel, so the burden" (*Soṭa* 13*b*); "the camel asked to have horns, so his ears were cut short" (*Sanh.* 106*a*); "there are many old camels who must bear the burdens of the young ones" (*ib.* 52*a*) (Krauss, in *JE loc. cit.*).

3. **Among the Iranians.**—Outside Arabia, it is among the Iranians that we find the chief allusions to the camel. Zarathushtra beseeches Ahura Mazda to grant him 10 mares, a stallion, and a camel (*Yasna* xliv. 18); camels are classed among sacrificial animals (*Vendīdād* xxii. 3), and are part of the riches of Airyaman (*ib.* xxii. 20); while to him who has offered a perfect sacrifice the personification of Benediction (*āfriti*) comes 'in the form of a camel of prime quality, most rutting in intense rut' (*Pursišnīhā* xxxii., ed. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892-93, iii. 66). To the Iranians the camel was evidently the most valuable of all

[1] The Talmud (*Berakhoth* 55*b*, *Baba meẓi'a* 38*b*) has a similar proverb, except that 'elephant' is substituted for 'camel' and the NT saying recurs in the Qur'ān (vii. 38).

the larger kind of cattle, for *Vendidād* ix. 37 prescribes that

'a priest thou shalt purify for a pious benediction; the country-lord of a country thou shalt purify for a male camel of prime quality; the district-lord of a district thou shalt purify for a stallion of prime quality; the village-lord of a village thou shalt purify for a bull of prime quality; the house-lord of a house thou shalt purify for a cow that is with calf' (cf. also *Vendīdād* vii. 42, xiv. 11).

The camel is vividly described in *Yašt* xiv. 11–13 as the fourth of the ten incarnations of Vereθraγna, the god of victory, but the passage has no particular religious value as regards the animal under consideration.[1] It is more interesting, in this connexion, to note that, according to Strabo (p. 733), an apple or a bit of camel's meat was eaten just before the consummation of marriage, doubtless with reference to the salacity of the animal, to which the Avesta repeatedly alludes. In the Avesta, *uštra*, 'camel,' not infrequently forms a component of proper names (Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 515), as Frašaoštra, 'having camels that press forward'; Vohuuštra, 'possessing good camels'; and foremost of all—Zaraθuštra, the great Iranian reformer himself.[2]

4. In India.—Here the camel is a relatively unimportant animal, and in the earlier period *uṣṭra*, the Indian counterpart of the Avesta *uštra*, 'camel,' meant 'buffalo' (Spiegel, *Arische Periode*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 49, 51). The main habitat of the camel in India is Rajputāna (Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1858–74, i.[2] 349), and in northern India 'the bones of the camel are very useful for driving off insects from a sugar-cane field, and buried under the threshold keep ghosts out of the house. Pliny says that a bracelet of camel's hair keeps off fever' (*PR* ii. 36). The camel figures, however, to some extent in Sanskrit proverbs. Some of these represent the animal in an unfavourable light, as greedy, stupid, etc. 'A camel in a garden looks only for thorns'; 'a camel will trample down a screwpine [a bush noted for its fragrant flowers] to get at thorns'; and to touch a camel or an ass is even more polluting than to touch a dog, a cock, or a Chāṇḍāla [a member of the lowest Hindu caste]; but, on the other hand, the camel receives praise for its perseverance in getting sweet fruit from unusual places (Böhtlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, St. Petersburg, 1870–73, Nos. 1548, 2885, 6597, 6216). In modern India the camel is occasionally found as a *dramatis persona* in folk-tales from the north (Swynnerton, *Indian Nights' Entertainment*, London, 1892, pp. 15–17, 34–36, 269 f., 310 f.; Crooke and Rouse, *Talking Thrush*, London, 1899, pp. 33–35, 43–46).

5. In Africa and in Europe.—The camel is not indigenous in Africa and Europe, and it plays a rôle of no religious importance. In the latter continent it has never had any real economic value, though its name in various forms (on these, see especially Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 404–406) is found in every European tongue.

LITERATURE.—Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugetiere bei den südsemit. Völkern*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 141–46; Hahn, *Haustiere und ihre Beziehung zur Wirtschaft des Menschen*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 220 ff.; Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882, pp. 356–61. Reference may also be made to the bibliographies appended to the various encyclopædias mentioned in the text.

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[1] The Pahlavi *Dinkart* IX. xxiii. 21. (tr. West, *SBE* xxxvii. 224) preserves a tradition that Vāc, the (good) wind-god, was temporarily transformed into a camel by Kai Khūsrōi, who then rode him over vast distances.

[2] On the suggested explanations of Zoroaster's name, see especially Jackson, *Zoroaster*, New York, 1899, pp. 12–14, 147–149; Justi, *op. cit.* p. 381; a worthless guess of Husing and Hoffmann-Kutschke, that Zaraθuštra stands for *zauθra-rastra*, alleged to mean 'having sacrificial shrubs [for the *haoma* sacrifice],' is still seriously advanced by Prášek, *Gesch. der Meder und Perser*, Gotha, 1906–10, ii. 122 f., who ignores Bartholomae, *Zum altiran. Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1906, p. 240.

CAMISARDS.

CAMISARDS.—'Camisards' is the name given to those Protestants of the Cevennes who for several years resisted by force of arms the attempts made by the government of Louis XIV. to convert them to Roman Catholicism. The word is doubtless derived from *camisa*, a dialectic form of *chemise*; and its use in this connexion arises either from the practice of fighting in white shirts or blouses, or from an incident at the siege of Montauban in 1629, when such a blouse was used as a signal. The word *camisade* appears in early military French as the equivalent of 'night-attack.'

Geographically, the name 'Cevennes' is given to the long, curving line of broken ridges extending nearly from Lyons to Narbonne, which marks the edge of the central table-land of France, where it breaks down eastward to the basin of the Rhône. Locally, however, 'the name is limited to a tangle of schist ridges and deep-cleft ravines constituting that portion of the arc which is between the Coiron and the limestone plateau of Larzac' (Baring-Gould, *Book of the Cevennes*, 1907, p. 2). This 'inextricable network of mountains and deeply furrowed valleys' is drained by the rivers Allier and Lot, Ardèche and Gardon, and represents to-day the upper parts of the Departments of the Loire, and the Lozère, the Ardèche and Gard. In the 17th cent. the population of this bleak highland district was prevailingly and intensely Protestant, and had already offered a stubborn resistance to the repressive measures that went before the Edict of Nantes.

The immediate cause of the troubles and the hostilities in the Cevennes was the exterminating policy of Louvois against the Protestants, which was set free from any legal trammels by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. That Edict, reluctantly granted by Henry IV. in favour of the Protestants who had raised him to the throne, had itself fallen far short of their claims and rights as citizens. But for many years before its revocation it had been so administered, and so disregarded, that the situation of the Protestants was already very hopeless. The condition of affairs is thus described by Jean Claude in a letter to the Marquise de Regnier (1685):

'The severities which are practised in France are of such a kind that human nature is no longer able to resist. If it were possible to foresee a termination of them, one might resolve to face them, and death would be a motive for constancy, instead of a temptation. But the horrors that are practised, inconceivable in themselves, not only have no end, but go on increasing, and are of such a kind that we are bound to fall either into despair, or into frenzy and an entire loss of reason, or into apostasy.'

This situation became even more acute after the Revocation. The first blow was the banishment of the Protestant clergy, of whom six or seven hundred quitted France. The next was the prohibition of emigration for the Protestant laity. Then followed the wholesale demolition of Protestant churches, imprisonment and torture for those who refused to conform, and the galleys for thousands of those who resisted. Louis XIV. had allowed himself to be persuaded that the Revocation would not cost a drop of blood. Before its work was done, 12,000 Protestants had been executed in Languedoc alone, and at least half a million had quitted the country, taking with them much of its best blood, its best character, and its highest industrial skill.

The administration of the Decree in Languedoc was committed to Lamoignon de Bâville, a man of unflinching severity against the Protestants, though by no means a blind admirer of the Catholic clergy. He continued to govern the province for thirty-three years, at the end of which he had crushed Protestantism, but almost depopulated the country. The resistance in the Cevennes divides itself into two periods, the first from 1686 to 1698, when it was mainly passive, the second from 1700 to 1709, when it was marked by fierce outbreaks of active warfare, one of which lasted for eighteen months. The banishment of the pastors and the prohibition of public worship drove the people to private assemblies and the ministrations of lay preachers.

Among the latter, who were known as 'predicants,' François Vivens and Claude Brousson (formerly an advocate at Toulouse) were specially conspicuous. Bâville, vigorously assisted by the Duc de Noailles and the Marquis de la Trouse, turned the soldiery loose upon these assemblies, slaying and hanging the worshippers and arresting the predicants. Many of the latter were executed, burnt alive, or broken on the wheel; many more, with thousands of their followers, were shipped off to the galleys. What that meant of shame and torture may be learnt from the narrative of Jean Bion, himself a Catholic chaplain on one of the ships. It was always open to the Protestants to escape by recanting, and large numbers gave way under the terror of persecution, but many still remained firm. Their endurance was largely fortified, and their enthusiasm inflamed, by the writings and correspondence of Pierre Jurieu, the learned antagonist of Arnauld, Bossuet, and Bayle, who, from his place of exile in Rotterdam, and chiefly by means of his 'Pastoral Letters,' exercised an immense influence over the Protestant remnant in France. His prophecies of speedy deliverance, based on his interpretation of the Apocalypse, raised the hopes of the people. The prediction of Claude was verified. Many of the Protestants of Languedoc, avoiding renunciation of their faith, fell into frenzy. An infectious ecstasy seized people of all ages and of both sexes. They heard supernatural voices. They spoke with tongues. Children of the tenderest years were the subjects of most extraordinary manifestations. Quite uneducated persons gave utterance, when 'seized by the Spirit,' to prophecies in the purest French. Many of these prophecies were taken down, and a long series of them, uttered by Elias Marion, is printed in *A Cry from the Desert*. Animated by such enthusiasm, the resistance was maintained over a period of ten years, and it was not until the capture and execution of Brousson broke the heart of the people that Bâville could claim even a partial and temporary success.

The death of Brousson was followed by a year or two of comparative calm; but it might be thought that Bâville foresaw the outbreak that was to come, seeing that he kept his troops busily employed in constructing a network of roads, practicable for cannon, throughout the whole district. The flame of enthusiasm was kindled anew by the ecstatic utterances of a travelling sempstress from Dauphiné. It spread like wildfire through the Cevennes, though Bâville did his utmost to extinguish it. At last the people were goaded into open war. A chief object of their execration was the Abbé du Chayla, the arch-priest of the Cevennes, in whose prisons at Pont Montvert in the Lozère many Protestants suffered unspeakable tortures. Under the leadership of one Séguier, a body of the Camisards attacked his house, delivered his prisoners, and slew him (1702). Bâville inflicted terrible reprisals, but the spirit of the peasants was roused to fury, and for some two years they sustained an open war with the armies of the king. Calling themselves 'les enfants de Dieu,' and their camp 'le camp de l'Eternel,' they regarded themselves as God's instruments for the destruction of 'Babylon and Satan,' the Roman Church and priesthood. Their principal leaders were Laporte, Roland, and Cavalier—the latter but a youth of seventeen, who had been a baker's apprentice. The number of fighting men probably never exceeded four thousand; but their methods of guerrilla warfare, and their knowledge of their own rocky fastnesses, compelled Bâville to collect from 40,000 to 60,000 men to hold them in check. Shocking cruelties were perpetrated on both sides. A great tract of country was devastated and almost depopulated. The issue of successive engagements varied. At length Montrevel was superseded in the command of the army by Marshal Villars, whose more diplomatic methods met with better success. He offered an amnesty, freedom of conscience, and the right to leave the country, to such as chose to accept it. These terms were accepted by Cavalier and some of his followers. He himself quitted France, and, after serving with credit in Italy and Spain, entered the British army, where he rose to the rank of Major-General, and died as Governor of Jersey (1740). Others of the Camisards, many of whom thought that Cavalier had betrayed the cause, attempted to carry on the struggle; but after the fall of Roland, the most chivalrous of their leaders, their powers of combination and resistance were broken; and, except for a fruitless rising instigated by Abraham Mazel in 1709, the Camisard movement was at an end.

For a brief time the Camisards constituted a small English sect known as French Prophets, and in their land of refuge showed forth their most unlovely and fanatical traits. They claimed to be able to prophesy and to work miracles, advocated communism of property, and asserted that the Messiah was about to establish His kingdom with terrible doom for the wicked. They gained a considerable following even among the English, but their meetings became so disorderly that legal proceedings were required to check them. Finally, in 1708, they overreached themselves by claiming that one of their number, Thomas Emes, would rise from his grave on May 25 of that year; but the resurrection did not take place, and the resnltant disillusionment brought about the speedy decay of the sect.

LITERATURE.—Apart from the general histories of the Church in France, the following works may be specified out of the copious literature: (A) PROTESTANT: Benoist, *Hist. de l'édit de Nantes*, 5 vols., Delft, 1693–95, esp. the last volume, which has a useful appendix with lists of prisoners in the galleys, and a collection of the edicts against the Protestants; Jean Claude, *Les Plaintes des Protestans*, etc., Cologne, 1686, new ed. 1885; Cavalier, *Memoirs of the War of the Cevennes*, London, 1712 [to be used with caution]; *A Cry from the Desert*, with preface by John Lacy, London, 1707; Misson, *Le Théâtre sacré des Cevennes*, London, 1707; Jurieu, *Lettres pastorales*, Rotterdam, 1686–89; Elias Marion, *Evangelical Warnings* (with verbatim report of his prophecies), London, 1707; Antoine Court, *Hist. des troubles des Cevennes*, Villefranche, 1760; Peyrat, *Hist. des pasteurs du désert*, Paris, 1842; Frostérus, *Les Insurgés protestants sous Louis xiv.*, Paris, 1868; Bonnemère, *Hist. de la guerre des Camisards*, Paris, 1869; Blanc, *De l'Inspiration des Camisards*, Paris, 1859; *Mélange de literature historique et critique sur tout ce qui regarde l'état extraordinaire des Cévennois*, London, 1707; Coquerel, *Hist. des églises du désert*, Paris, 1841; *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protest. français*; Baird, *The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, 1895.—(B) CATHOLIC: Fléchier, *Lettres choisies avec relation des fanatiques*, Paris, 1715; Brueys, *Hist. du fanatisme de notre temps*, Utrecht, 1709–13; Louvreleuil, *Le Fanatisme renouvelé*, Avignon, 1704–07; *Mémoires de Bâville*, Amsterdam, 1734; *Mémoires de Villars*, The Hague, 1734; de la Baume, *Relation de la révolte des Camisards*, Nîmes, 1874.—(C) FOR THE FRENCH PROPHETS: Bulkeley, *Answer to several Treatises lately published on the Subject of the Prophets*, London, 1708; 'Hughson' (pseudonym of Edward Pugh), *Copious Account of the French and English Prophets*, London, 1814.

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CAMPANOLOGY.—See GONGS and BELLS.

CAMPBELLITES.—See DISCIPLES OF CHRIST.

CANAANITES.—The name Cana'an first appears in the Tell el-Amarna letters under the forms *Kinaḫni* (כנען) and *Kinaḫḫi* (כנע) as a designation of the lands at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, which we include to-day under the names of Syria and Palestine. In Egyptian inscriptions of the XIXth dynasty the name is always found with the article *p'-K'-n'-n'* (Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iii. 88, 617, iv. 219; Müller, *Asien*, 205 ff.), and is a general term for the Asiatic dominions of Egypt. In the OT it has commonly the same wide scope. What 'Canaan' means, and whether the name of the race is derived

from the land, or that of the land from the race, are unsettled questions. In this article 'Canaanite' will be used as a general designation of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine. The religion of the later Canaanites, who were contemporary with the Hebrews, will be discussed in art. PHŒNICIANS.

A. *SOURCES OF INFORMATION.*—**1. Excavations in Palestine.**—Since 1890 more or less extensive excavations have been carried on in the mounds of Palestine, and these have shed a flood of new light upon the religious beliefs and practices of the ancient Canaanites.

In 1890 Petrie made an exploratory survey of the mound of Tell el-Ḥesy, the Biblical Lachish (Petrie, *Tell el-Ḥesy*, 1891). Between 1891 and 1893 Bliss excavated about one quarter of this mound (Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 1894). In 1898 Bliss and Macalister ran exploratory trenches into the mounds of Tell Zakariyâ (Azekah?), Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi (Gath?), Tell Judeideh, and Tell Sandaḥannah (Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 1902). From 1902 down to the present time Macalister has been excavating in a very thorough fashion the great mound of Jezer, the Biblical Gezer (Macalister, *PEFSt*, 1902–9, *Bible Side-lights from the Mound of Gezer*, 1907). In 1902–3 Sellin excavated Tell Ta'annek, the Biblical Taanach (Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, 1904), and in 1903–5 Schumacher excavated Tell el-Mutesellim, the Biblical Megiddo (Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, 1908).

All these mounds contain remains dating from the earliest period of Palestinian history. They show that a homogeneous civilization prevailed in the land prior to the Hebrew conquest, and they give a fairly complete idea of the religion of the aborigines.

Mention should also be made of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, a collection of nearly 300 letters sent by petty kings of Canaan to the Pharaohs Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV. (*c.* 1400 B.C.), which were discovered in 1887 at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt. These were written in Canaan, and therefore properly come under the head of Palestinian archæology. One letter of this series was found at Lachish, and four letters of the same period have been discovered by Sellin at Taanach. All are rich in allusions to religious beliefs and rites, and contain a large number of theophorous names of persons and places (see Winckler, *KIB* v. [1896]; Knudtzon, *BASS* iv. [1899] pp. 101–154; *Vorderasiat. Bibliothek*, ii. [1907 ff.]).

2. Babylonian inscriptions.—The evidence is now abundant that the Amorites entered Babylonia at the same time as they entered Palestine, and that the founding of the so-called First Dynasty of Babylon was a result of their invasion (Meyer, *Gesch.*[2] i. 2, pp. 465, 544 ff.). In contract-tablets of this period an immense number of proper names of a Canaanitish-Hebrew type make their appearance; and, as these are nearly all theophorous, they throw much light upon the religious conceptions of the Amorites (see Ranke, *Early Bab. Personal Names of the Hammurabi Dynasty*, 1905). Besides this, the Babylonian inscriptions of about 2000 B.C. contain a number of direct statements in regard to the religion of *Amurru*, or the 'Westland,' which stood at that time under Babylonian rule.

3. Egyptian inscriptions.—From the earliest days the Egyptians interfered in the politics of Canaan, and in their records names of Canaanite gods occur, either independently or compounded with the names of places or persons. Canaanite colonies also settled in Egypt, and introduced their gods into that land. When the Egyptians became a conquering power under the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, they had no war-gods of their own, and consequently they extensively adopted the deities of their warlike Semitic neighbours. During the New Empire, Semitic fashions and Semitic religion made great progress in Egypt, and hosts of Canaanites were settled in that country either as slaves or as officials. The result is that the Egyptian records, particularly of the New Empire, contain many references to the religion of Canaan (see Müller, *op. cit.* 309–318).

4. The Old Testament.—The OT contains numerous statements, mostly in the form of prohibitions, concerning the religion of the race which Israel dispossessed. It also discloses survivals of Canaanitish ideas. The Hebrews did not exterminate their predecessors, but mingled with them, and adopted their civilization. The language which we call Hebrew is the language of the glosses to the Tell el-Amarna letters, and Is 19[18] calls it 'the language of Canaan.' It differs little from the dialect spoken by the Phœnicians. The place-names of the Israelites were nearly all derived from the earlier inhabitants, and many of them are found in the Egyptian inscriptions and in the Tell el-Amarna letters. So far as they contain the names of gods, they may be used unhesitatingly for the history of the pre-Israelitish period. The OT also informs us that Israel served the *b^e'ālim*, and worshipped in their high places; accordingly, it is probable that most of the sanctuaries of later times were survivals of ancient Canaanite holy places. It is certain also that the sacred traditions of these shrines were learned by Israel from the Canaanites, and were gradually transformed to accord with the genius of the religion of Jahweh. The Book of Genesis contains many evidences of a fusing of two strands of tradition, a Hebrew and a Canaanite, corresponding to the fusing of the two races; and, so far as the Canaanite elements can be disentangled, they are useful for reconstructing the religion of Israel's predecessors (see Paton, 'The Oral Sources of the Patriarchal Narratives,' *AJTh*, 1904, p. 658). Many rites of the religion of Israel, particularly those connected with the planting of grain, the reaping of crops, and the celebration of harvest festivals, must have been derived from the earlier inhabitants of the land.

5. The Phœnician religion.—The Phœnicians were the lineal descendants of the Canaanites; hence it is natural to look among them for survivals of primitive Canaanite religion, and to interpret obscure phenomena of earlier times by the later Phœnician religion.

From these various sources we must now seek to re-construct the religion of the ancient Canaanites.

B. *THE PRE-SEMITIC ABORIGINES.*—The earliest archæological remains in Palestine belong to the Palæolithic age. These have been found in small numbers, and have never been adequately described. From them it is impossible to draw any conclusions in regard to the race or the religion of the people who produced them. Neolithic remains are more numerous, and furnish a better basis for historical conclusions. The excavations that for the last seven years have been carried on by the Palestine Exploration Fund at Gezer have disclosed in the lowest level of the mound a series of caves in the soft limestone rock that were once occupied by Neolithic men. As the marks on the walls show, these caves were excavated with tools of bone, stone, or wood; and in them only bone and dressed-stone implements have been found. They must belong to a period from 3500 to 3000 B.C., because they are three feet below the level in which scarabs of the XIIth Egyptian dynasty first appear (*PEFSt*, 1902, p. 347; 1903, p. 12; 1903, pp. 317–321; 1905, p. 309 f.; 1907, p. 186; 1908, pp. 213–217). Similar caves were found by Sellin under the mound of Taanach, although in this case they contained no remains. Other caves in all parts of Palestine doubtless date from the same early age, but no thorough investigation of them has thus far been made.

This race was in the habit of burning its dead; and for this purpose fitted up one of its caves at

Gezer as a crematory, cutting a chimney up through the solid rock, in order to secure a good draught (*PEFSt*, 1902, p. 347 ff.). The floor of this cave was covered to a depth of a foot with the ashes of human bodies. In this stratum a sufficient number of fragments of bones were found to permit a re-construction of the ethnological type. None of the individuals exceeded 5 ft. 7 in. in height, and most were under 5 ft. 4 in. From the shape of the skull and from other indications it may safely be inferred that these people did not belong to the Semitic race (see the report of Macalister, *PEFSt*, 1902, p. 353 ff.). The same conclusion may be drawn from the fact that they burned their dead, since cremation was not a Semitic custom. From the circumstance that they deposited food and drink with their dead, it may be inferred that they believed in some sort of immortality, and that they practised ancestor-worship.

Around the entrance to this cave, and in the floors, sides, and entrances of other caves, an immense number of so-called 'cup-marks' are found. These are melon-shaped depressions formed by rotating a hard stone upon the soft surface of the rock. They vary from the size of a thimble to that of a barrel, and are often arranged in complicated patterns (*PEFSt*, 1902, p. 361; 1903, pp. 124, 316 ff.; 1904, pp. 35, 112, 197; 1905, p. 310; 1908, p. 213). It is clear that most of them cannot have served any utilitarian purpose, particularly when placed on vertical surfaces; and the fact that they are constantly associated with menhirs, dolmens, cromlechs, and altars seems to indicate that they have a religious significance (see Spoer, *ZATW*, 1908, p. 271 ff.). Herodotus (ii. 106) states that he saw in Syria pillars on which γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα were cut. These correspond to the menhirs, found in all parts of Palestine, and evidently intended to represent phalli on which cup-marks are engraved. They show, apparently, that the cup-marks were symbols of a female deity worshipped by these aborigines, and that they were intended to represent either the inverted breast, or, as Herodotus says, the γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. These symbols were multiplied for magical purposes around dwelling-places, just as crosses are multiplied on Christian buildings. From them we may perhaps infer that the chief divinity of the pre-Semitic Canaanites was a mother-goddess, and that they were still organized on the matriarchal tribal basis. From the fact that nearly equal numbers of male and female bones were found in the crematory, it may be concluded that polyandry was not practised.

It was natural that a people dwelling in caves should think of their deity as also inhabiting one. Traces of such a sanctuary seem to be found at Gezer. In the central valley, which lies between the two summits of the mound, a rock-surface about 90 ft. square has been unearthed, which is covered with 83 cup-marks, varying in size from a few inches to 6 ft. in diameter. Two of these, measuring 3 ft. in diameter, are surrounded with small standing stones set on end and cemented together with clay. Another, 2 ft. 3 in. in diameter, has cut from its bottom a passage, too narrow to admit a full-grown man, which leads to a cave beneath the rock-surface. In this cave a large number of pig-bones were found, which suggests that the rock-surface above was a place of sacrifice, and that the blood and portions of the victims were poured down through the passage into the *adytum* below. The same cave is provided with a concealed entrance, which may have served some priestly purpose; and two other caves, with cup-marks in their floors, in the immediate vicinity evidently form part of the same complex (*PEFSt*, 1903, pp. 317–321; 1904, pp. 111–113). Similar rock-cut high places with caverns beneath them, dating apparently from the earliest period, have been discovered at Taanach (Sellin, *op. cit.* 34) and at Megiddo (Schumacher, *op. cit.* 156). All three sanctuaries bear a close resemblance to the Qubbet eṣ-Ṣaḫra in the Ḥaram at Jerusalem, with its rock-surface and underground passages. Cup-mark areas with small circles of standing stones have also been found at Tell Judeideh and at Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi (Bliss-Macalister, *op. cit.* 194 ff.; Vincent, *Canaan*, p. 92 ff.).

The only other evidences of the religion of the Neolithic aborigines are amulets found in their caves. A few phallic emblems have been discovered, but these are not so common as in the later Semitic levels (*PEFSt*, 1902, p. 342; 1903, p. 22; 1904, p. 112). Along with them, in larger numbers, are found small stone rings (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 23; 1904, p. 113; 1904, p. 120). These cannot be spindle-whorls, as was at first conjectured, since undoubted spindle-whorls are found along with them. It seems more likely that they are feminine symbols (analogous to the cup-marks) that were worn on the person as amulets (cf. the objects depicted by Schumacher, *op. cit.* 52). In the ashes of the crematory at Gezer a rude terra-cotta figure of a man's head was found (*PEFSt*, 1902, p. 358; 1904, p. 19). There is nothing to indicate that this was an idol. This race apparently stood upon a lower religious level than that of image-worship.

C. *THE SEMITIC CANAANITES.* — From the Egyptian records it is clear that, at least as early as 2500 B.C., Palestine was occupied by a Semitic race which exterminated the earlier inhabitants (Meyer, *op. cit.* i. 2, p. 389). From contemporary Bab. records it appears that this race was called *Amurru*, the Amorites of the OT (Meyer, *ib.* 465).

I. THE PANTHEON.—(*a*) *General names for the gods.*—Can. religion bore a close resemblance to the religion of the pre-Muhammadan Arabs and of the Semites in general (see ARABS, SEMITES). It was a complex system of polydæmonism and polytheism, in which everything that could do something, or was believed to be able to do something, was deified. Personal names of the gods were commonly avoided, and they were called by titles that expressed their power or authority.

1. El.—The most general designation of a divinity was *el* (Heb. אֵל, 'god'), which probably means 'power' (from the root אול, 'be strong'). It is frequent in Amorite names of the 1st dynasty of Babylon (Ranke, *op. cit.* 99 ff.). In Palestine it occurs as early as 1500 B.C. in the list of cities conquered by Thutmose III.

The place-names compounded with *el* are *Y(a)-'-q(e)-b-'-a-ra'* =Jacob-el (Thutmose, No. 102; *MVG*, 1907, p. 27; Egyptian makes no distinction between *l* and *r*); *Y(a)-sha-p-'(e)-ra*, perhaps=Joseph-el, or Jesheb-el, in any case a compound with *el* (Thutmose, No. 78; *MVG*, 1907, p. 23); *Ma-sha-'-(e)-ra*= Mishal in Asher, probably also a wrongly vocalized *el*-compound (Thutmose, No. 39; *MVG*, 1907, p. 16); *Ha-r-'(e)-ra*=Har-el, 'mount of a god' (Thutmose, No. 81; *MVG*, 1907, p. 24).

In the Amarna letters *el* occurs frequently in names of persons, e.g. *Batti-ilu* (Winckler, 51. 20; 125. 3, 28); *Milki-ilu* (163. 27, etc.)=*Ili-milki* (179. 36); *Yabni-ilu* (218); *Shabi-ilu* (126. 26).

From the time of the XXth dynasty we meet *Raui-'(e)ra*, possibly=Levi-el (Müller, *Egypt. Researches*, p. 49); *'(E)-ry-m* =El-ram, an inspector under Ramses III. (Breasted, *Records*, iv. 221); *Bk-n-wr-n-r'*=Beknur-el, the chief of police under Ramses IX. (Breasted, iv. 253); *Bk-wr-n-r*=Bekur-el, the wife of Seti I.; *B'-dy-r'*=Bed-el, the king of the Canaanite city of Dor in the time of Ramses XII. (Breasted, iv. 278); *W'-r'-k'-ty-r'*= Berket-el, a rich shipowner of Sidon in the time of Ramses XII.; *M-k'-m-rw*=Makam-el, a Syrian prince of the same period (Breasted, iv. 279).

All the place-names compounded with *el* in the OT are probably survivals of Canaanite nomenclature. These are *El-'ale* (Nu $32^{3.37}$, Is 15^{4} 16^{9}, Jer 48^{34}); *El-ḳosh* (Nah 1^{1}); *El-tolad* (Jos 15^{30} 19^{4}); *El-teḳe* (Jos 19^{44} 21^{23}); *El-teḳon* (Jos 15^{59}); *Arb-el* (Hos 10^{14}); *Ari-el*, perhaps an ancient name of Jerusalem (Is $29^{1.2.7}$); *Jabne-el* (Jos 15^{11}); *Jezre'-el* (Jos 15^{56} and oft.); *Jiphtaḥ-el* (Jos $19^{14.27}$); *Jeḳabṣe-el* (Neh 11^{25}); *Joḳthe-el*

(Jos 15^{38}, 2 K 14^{7}), *Jirpe-el* (Jos 18^{27}); *Migdal-el* (Jos 19^{38}); *Ne'i-el* (Jos 19^{27}); *Penu-el* (Gn 32^{31} etc.); *Kabșe-el* (Jos 15^{21}, 2 S 23^{20}, 1 Ch 11^{22}).

In none of these cases was *el* understood as 'God' in a monotheistic sense, or even in a monarchical sense; nor was it the name of an individual deity, as it became later among the Hebrews. It was generic, and denoted the particular divinity who dwelt in a place, or whose activity was recognized in the name of a person. Any one of the innumerable gods or dæmons might be called by this title.

2. Ba'al.—When an *el*, or 'power,' was regarded as the 'proprietor' of a city or sanctuary, he was known as *Ba'al*. Here also no one god was meant, but every superhuman being, from the lowest sort of local dæmon to the highest Nature-god or tribal god, might become a *ba'al* by establishing a relation with a particular holy place (see BAAL). *Ba'al*-names are common in the Amorite period in Babylonia, *e.g.* in the Obelisk of Manishtusu (Hoschander, *ZA*, 1907, pp. 285–297; Ranke, p. 72). Through Semitic settlers and captives, and through borrowing of Asiatic cults, many of the *be'ālim* of Canaan became naturalized in Egypt during the period of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, being identified either with Set or with Montu. The name *ba'al* is regularly used with the article in Egyptian, as in Can.-Heb., which shows that it is in no sense a proper name, but only an appellative (see Breasted, iii. 46, 140, 147, 154, 200, 271, iv. 25, 27, 36, 42, 44, 48, 57, 61, 63, 140). From these passages it appears that the Canaanitish *be'ālim* were regarded by the Egyptians as primarily gods of storm and of war.

A *Ba'alat Zaphon*, the feminine counterpart of the Biblical *Ba'al Zaphon*, appears at Memphis in the time of Ramses II. (BAAL, ii. 288b). The daybook of a frontier official in the time of Merneptah records *Ba'alat-remeg* and *Shem-ba'al* as names of Canaanites who had passed that way (Breasted, iii. 271). A butler in the time of Ramses III. bore the name of *Mahar-ba'al* (Breasted, iv. 213). The king of Gebal in the time of Ramses XII. was *Zakar-ba'al* (Breasted, iv. 279). Müller adds the names of *Ba'al-ram* and *Savf-ba'al* (*Asien*, 309). *Ba'al-ram* appears as a proper name in one of the letters discovered at Taanach (Sellin, *op. cit.* 113). (For additional evideoce of the use of the name *ba'al* in ancient Canaan, see BAAL, ii. 290b.)

When the deities were viewed in relation to their worshippers, they were called by various names of kinship and authority, like human heads of families and rulers. Such names are *'amm* or *dâd*, 'father-uncle'; *ab*, 'father'; *aḥ*, 'brother'; *melek*, 'king'; *dan*, 'judge.' In none of these cases is the title to be understood as the name of an individual god. Any *el* or *ba'al* might become a 'father' or 'uncle' or 'king' by being worshipped by a particular group of people; consequently all these epithets are just as indefinite as are *el* and *ba'al*.

3. 'Amm.—One of the oldest of these titles is *'amm*, 'father-uncle,' which dates from a polyandrous stage of social organization, when the child did not know its father, but only a group of husbands of the mother, any one of whom might be either father or uncle. Under such circumstances the chief divinity of the tribe could not be known as 'father,' but only as *'amm*, or 'father-uncle' (see 'AMM).

Proper names compounded with this epithet are common during the period of Amorite supremacy in Babylonia: *e.g.* *Bali'ami*, *'Ami-ilu*, *'Ama-Sin* (Obelisk of Manishtusu); *'Ammurabi*, or *Ḥammu-rabi*, the sixth king of the 1st dynasty; *Dur-'ammi* (King, *Ḥammurabi*, iii. p. lxv); *'Ammi-ditana*, one of the kings of the 1st dynasty; *'Ammi-saduga*, another king of the same dynasty; *Zimri-ḥammu* (*Cun. Texts*, iv. 1*a*, line 8); *Yashdi-ḥammu* (*ib.* 2, line 21) (see Ranke, 65, 85; for proof of the West Semitic origin of names of this type see Zimmern, *KAT*³ 480). In the Egyptian tale of Sinuhe (*c.* 1970 B.C.) the shaikh of Upper Tenu in Palestine bears the name *'Ammue'nshi* (= עמיאנשי; Breasted, i. 238). In the Amarna letters we meet *'Ammi-ya* (Winckler, 119. 11; 120. 15, etc.), the name of a district; *'Ammu-nira*, king of Beirut (96. 29; 128. 130); *Ḥamuniri* (71. 15, 66, 69; 91. 53, 133). In the list of Thutmose III. (No. 43) occurs *Y(a)-b-ra-'a-mu*, i.e. Jible'am (Jos 17^{11} etc.). The other names of places compounded with *'amm* in the OT are doubtless all of Canaanite origin, since *'amm*-formations belong to the earliest period of the Semitic languages. These are *Jokde-'am* (Jos 15^{56}), *Jokme-'am* (1 K 4^{12}), *Jokne-'am* (Jos 12^{22} etc.), *Jorke-'am* (1 Ch 2^{44}), *'Am-'ad* (Jos 19^{26}).

4. Dâd.—Similar in meaning to *'amm* is *dâd* (Heb. דוד), 'paternal uncle' (primarily 'beloved'). It occurs in West Semitic personal names as early as the Obelisk of Manishtusu, e.g. *Bil-dada* (C. xi. 4; cf. C. xvii. 1), *Dada waqar* (*Cun. Texts*, ii. 3–43, 4). It appears perhaps in the name of the Egyptian commissioner *Dudu* in the Amarna letters (Nos. 44, 45, 52). The name of the city, *Ash-dod*, may also be compounded with this divinity (cf. *Ash-bel*). *Dâd* lingers in Heb. names of persons, e.g. *El-dad* (Nu 11^{26}), *Eli-dad* (Nu 34^{21}), *Dod-jahu* (2 Ch 20^{37}), *Bil-dad* (Job 2^{11} etc.), and the name is applied to Jahweh in Is 5^{1}, perhaps also in Am 8^{14}, according to the text of the LXX.

5. Abu.—When fraternal polyandry gave place to polygamy and children knew their fathers, then the chief god of the clan was known as *abu*, 'father.' This stage of social development had already been reached by the Amorites. Proper names compounded with *abu* are common in tablets dating from the period of the Amorite Ist dynasty of Babylon. Two of the kings of this dynasty are *Abi-eshu'a* and *Sumu-abi*. Other names of this period are *Abi-ramu* (= Abram), *Abi-araḥ*, *Abi-ilu*, etc. (see Ranke, 58). In the famous fresco on the tomb of Khnumhotep of the time of Sesostris II. (*c.* 1900 B.C.), one of the Asiatics there represented bears the name *'(A)b-sh-(a)* i.e. *Abi-shai* or *Abishua*. In the patriarchal tradition of Gn 20^{2} the king of Gerar bears the name *Abi-melek*, and in Gn 14^{2} the king of Admah is *Shin-ab*. In the Tell el-Amarna letters (149–156) we find *Abi-milki*, king of Tyre.

6. Aḫu.—Another frequent title of deities in ancient Canaan was *aḫu*, 'brother,' 'kinsman.' Amorite names of this type appear in Babylonia as early as the Obelisk of Manishtusu (Scheil, *Textes élam.-sém.*), e.g. *Aḫu-ṭabu* (A. xv. 14), *Aḫu-issap* (C. xvii. 3), *Aḫu-patan* (D. xi. 12), *Aḫu-shumu* (B. i. 7; C. v. 3); *Ali-aḫu* (A. x. 25) (see Hoschander, *ZA*, 1907, pp. 260–265). In documents of the Ḫammurabi period we meet a large number of names of this formation (see Ranke, 62 ff.).

7. Melek.—*Melek*, 'king,' is not a Bab. title of divinities. Nevertheless, forms compounded with *malk* occur in the Obelisk of Manishtusu (Scheil, *op. cit.* 41 ff.), doubtless as names of Amorite settlers in Babylonia. In *Cun. Texts*, xii. 34, *Malik* appears in a list of foreign gods. In the Amarna letters there are several compounds with *melek*, e.g. *Abimilki*, king of Tyre (nos. 149–156); *'Abdi-milki* (77. 37; 252); *Ili-milki* (102. 36; 151. 45), or *Milkili* (163. 27, etc.); *Milk-uru* (61. 53; 69. 85; 53. 43). The place-names *'Emeq-ham-melek* (Gn 14^{17}, 2 S 18^{18}), which has probably come down from Canaanite times, and *Yad-ham-melek* in the list of Sheshonk (Breasted, iv. 351), may contain this title of deity. See, further, AMMONITES.

8. Adon, 'master,' which is so frequent as a designation of deities in the OT and in Phœnician inscriptions and proper names (see Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epig.* 152 f.; *KAT*³ 398, n. 2), appears in the Amarna letters in *Adunu*, the name of the king of 'Arqa (79. rev. 2; 119. 10).

9. Dan, 'judge,' is a common Semitic epithet of gods. In Assyrian it is a title of Shamash, the sun-god, and is found in the names of the king *Ashur-dan* and the general *Dayan Ashur*. In the Amarna letters it appears in *Addu-dan* (163. 37) and *Addu-dayan* (239–240). It survives in the Heb. place-names *Dan* (Gn 14^{14} etc.) and *Mahaneh-dan* (Jg 18^{12}), and probably in the tribal name *Dan*, which bears the same relation to the personal names *Dani-el* and *Abi-dan* as the clan-name *Ram* bears to *Jeho-ram* and *Abi-ram*, or as *Jacob* and

Joseph bear to the place-names *Jacob-el* and *Joseph-el* in the list of Thutmose III.

10. **Ḳôsh**, 'lord,' is found in the place-names *Ka-su-na* (List of Thutmose III., No. 37; *MVG*, 1907, p. 16) = *Kishôn* (Jg 4^{7} etc.) and *El-ḳôsh* (Nah 1^{1}). This title survives in Heb. in the personal name *Ḳôsh-Yahu* (1 Ch 15^{17}) and *Bar-ḳôs* (Ezr 2^{53}, Neh 7^{55}), also in the Edomite royal names *Ḳaush-malak* (*KIB* ii. 21) and *Ḳaush-gabri* (*KIB* ii. 239). In later times *Ḳosh* became the standing title of the national god of the Edomites.

11. **Addar**, 'noble,' as a title of deities, may perhaps be inferred from the Pal. place-names *Addar* (Jos 15^{3}) = *Ḥazar-addar* (Nu 34^{4}), and *Adoraim* (2 Ch 11^{9}), both of which are mentioned in the list of Sheshonk I. (Breasted, iv. 350, 353), and *'Aṭaroth-addar* (Jos 16^{5} 18^{13}). Cf. the names compounded with *adur* in Bab. (*ZA*, 1907, p. 256).

12. **Shem.**—A curious anticipation of the late Jewish use of *shem*, 'name,' as a substitute for Jahweh is found already among the Amorites in the use of *shumu*, or *shem*, as a title of divinities. This is seen as early as the Obelisk of Manishtusu (B. i. 7; C. v. 3) in the personal name *Aḫu-shumu*, 'name is a brother' (*ZA*, 1907, p. 264). It appears in the names of two of the kings of the Ist dynasty of Babylon, *Sumu-abi* and *Sumu-lâ-ilu*, and also in such names as *Sumu-ramu*, *Sumu-atar*, etc. (see Ranke, 151). In the Amarna letters we meet *Shumu-Addu*, *i.e.* Shem-Hadad, prince of Shamhuna (no. 220), *Shum-Adda* (11. 13; 221); cf. the Heb. name *Shemu-el*, Samuel.

13. **'Elyon**, 'high,' is preserved in Gn $14^{18ff.}$ as the title of the god of the Canaanite priest-king Melchizedek. According to Philo Byblius (*ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* i. 36), this name was in use among the Phœnicians. It also survived among the Hebrews as a title of Jahweh.

(*b*) *Nature-gods.*—Having now enumerated the general titles of divinity, we proceed to investigate the individual deities of the Canaanites. Here, as among all the other Semites, the powers of Nature held a conspicuous place.

1. **Shemesh, or Shamash**, 'the sun.'—Shamash is mentioned along with Belit and the other gods as one of the chief divinities of Gebal in the Amarna letter, Winckler, No. 87. 65. In No. 156. 6 he is coupled with Adad, the storm-god. In other passages he is spoken of as the source of human life and joy (144. 11; 149. 52; 150. 21). Several place-names compounded with *Shemesh* in the OT bear witness to the ancient prevalence of his worship; e.g. *Beth-Shemesh*, 'house of the sun,' in Judah (Jos 15^{10} etc.) = *'Ir-Shemesh*, 'city of the sun' (Jos 19^{41}); also in Naphtali (Jos 19^{38}), and in Issachar (Jos 19^{22}); *'En-Shemesh*, 'spring of the sun' (Jos 15^{7} 18^{17}). Synonymous with *Shemesh* is Ḥeres, which is found in *Har-Ḥeres*, 'mount of the sun,' a city of the Amorites (Jg 1^{35}), and *Timnath-Ḥeres*, 'territory of the sun' (Jg 2^{9}). It so happens that none of these names occurs in the Egyptian records or in the Amarna letters, but there is no reason to doubt that they belong to the Canaanite period.

2. **Yārēaḥ**, 'the moon,' is not mentioned as an object of worship in the pre-Israelitish period; the names *Sin* and *Sin-ai* seem, however, to attest the antiquity of the moon-cult under its Bab. form. The native Can.-Heb. name is found, apparently, in *Yᵉrēḥô*, Jericho (so Jerome, *OS*, 78. 6; the older comm.; Siegfried-Stade, *Heb. Wörterb.*; Sayce, *Early History*, p. 250). Lebānāh, 'the white,' one of the names of the moon, seems to be found in the place-names *Libnah* and *Lebonah*; and Ḥadāshāh, 'the new moon,' in the town of that name (Jos 15^{37}). *Bit-arḫa* (Knudtzon, *Amarna*, 83. 29) seems to be the same as *Beth-yerah*, 'house of the new moon.' The worship of the moon prevailed among the Hebrews down to a late date (Dt 4^{19} 17^{3}, 2 K 23^{5}, Jer 8^{2}, Job 31^{26}), and was universal in other branches of the Semitic race; it cannot, therefore, have been lacking among the Canaanites. Star-worship also was probably not absent, although no traces of it have survived, unless it be in the place-name *Kᵉsîl*, 'the constellation Orion' (Jos 15^{30}). The name *Beer-sheba*, 'well of the Seven,' may also be connected with the cult of the Pleiades.

3. **Ẓaphon**, 'the north,' or Ba'al Ẓaphon, 'owner of the north,' appears in the place-name *Ẓapuna* (Amarna 174. 16) and *Ẓaphon* in Gad (Jos 13^{27}, Jg 12^{1}). It occurs also in the feminine form *Ba'alat Ẓaphon* as a deity worshipped at Memphis (*Sallier Papyrus*, 4, 1 rev.) (see BAAL, ii. 288^{b}).

4. **Addu, Adad, or Hadad**, was the storm-god of Canaan. *Ad-da-ad* appears written phonetically in the list of gods, K. 2100 (see Bezold, *PSBA* xi. p. 174 ff.), with the added remark that this name is used especially in Amurru (the Amorite land). This god entered Babylonia at an early date with the Amorite settlers, and there became synonymous with Ramman, 'the thunder' (Zimmern, *KAT*^{3} 442 ff.; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* i. [1905] 146 ff.). In the time of the Amorite Ist dynasty he occupied a conspicuous position. In the conclusion of the Code of Ḫammurabi, where the king pronounces curses upon those who shall abrogate his laws (xliii. 64), he says:

> 'May Adad, the lord of abundance, the ruler of heaven and earth, my helper, deprive him of the rain from heaven and the water-floods from the springs! May he bring his land to destruction through want and hunger! May he break loose furiously over his city and turn his land into a heap left by a whirlwind!'

In Amarna 149. 13 f. he is described as the god 'who utters his voice in heaven, so that the whole land trembles at his voice' (cf. 150. 7).

His name occurs more frequently than any other as an element in personal names in the Amarna letters, e.g. *A-ad-du* (Winckler, 125. 17), *Ad-da-ya* (163. 37, etc.), *Yapti'-Ḫa-da* (217a. 6, cf. p. 414), *Rib-Ad-di* (53. 1) = *Rib-Ḫa-ad-di* (83. 1), also written ideographically *Rib-IM* (54. 2), *Shum-ad-da* (11. 18) = *Shumu-Ḫa-di* (223. 1). Whether the ideogram *IM* in other names such as *Amur-IM*, *'Abd-IM*, *Natan-IM*, *Yapa-IM*, *Yapaḫi-IM*, *IM-dayan*, *Mut-IM*, and *IM-maḫir* is to be read *Addu* or *Ba'al* is doubtful (see BAAL, ii. 290^{b}). In any case it is certain that *Addu* had become the chief *ba'al* of Canaan, and that the Egyptians thought mostly of him when they spoke of the *ba'al* (see above, C. I. (*a*) 2). In the OT the name survives in the personal name *Hadad* (Gn 36^{35}, 1 K 11^{14}) and in the place-name *Hadad-rimmon* (Zec 12^{11}).

In early Bab. inscriptions this god frequently bears the ideographic title *MAR-TU*, which, according to an Assyr. interlinear version (Reisner, *Hymn.* p. 139, lines 143, 145), is to be read *Amurru*, 'the Amorite'—a name given with reference to his foreign origin. He bears also the title *KUR-GAL*, 'great mountain,' and is called 'lord of the mountain,' which seems to indicate that he had become the *ba'al* of Lebanon, the region in which his worshippers dwelt (Jensen, *ZA* xi. 303 f.). In Aramaic endorsements on Bab. documents of the Persian period, both *MAR-TU* and *KUR-GAL* are rendered by אור, i.e. *Amurru* (Clay, *Bab. Exp. Univ. Penn.* x. 7, xiv. viii, also *Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, i. 301, 304, 311, and *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites*, 1909). On Bab. seal-cylinders he is represented holding a boomerang (the thunderbolt) in his right hand, and a spear (the lightning) in his left hand, occasionally as standing on a stag or a wild goat. These attributes identify him with the storm-god (see E. Meyer, *Sumerier u. Semiten* = *ABAW*, 1906); the goddess Ashera is regarded as his consort (Reisner, 139) as well as the consort of Ramman = Addu (Sayce, *ZA* vi. 161). There is no reason, accordingly, to doubt that *Amurru* is merely a title of Addu (see Zimmern, *KAT*^{3} 443, 447; Meyer, *Gesch.*^{2} 466 ff.).

5. **Resheph**, 'the lightning,' is hardly more than a variant of Addu. Under this name the god was early adopted from the Canaanites by the Egyptians. A text of Ramses III. reads: 'The officers

are mighty like Resheph. . . . His name is a flame, the terror of him is in the countries' (Breasted, iv. 22). A city in Egypt bore the name of 'House of Resheph' (*TSBA* iii. 424). On the Egyptian monuments he is represented with Semitic features, armed with shield, club, and spear, wearing a tall conical cap, around which is a fillet bearing a gazelle's head. The type does not differ much from the representations of Amurru-Hadad (see the figures in Muller, *Asien*, p. 311; *Egypt. Researches*, p. 33; Spiegelberg, *OLZ*, 1908, col. 529). Resheph continued to be worshipped by the Phœnicians down to the latest times (see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 15t, *s.v.*, also *Ephemeris*, i. 150 f.; Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 50 ff.). He survives also in the place-name *Rashpuna* (Rost, *Tiglat-Pileser III., Annals*, 126; *Smaller Inscriptions*, i. 5, iii. 1). A Phœnician seal of the 14th or 15th cent. (Ménant, *Glypt.* 204 f.) depicts him in a manner similar to the Egyptian representations. In the OT *resheph* is the lightning-stroke of Jahweh, with which He inflicts pestilence and death (Dt 32^{24}, Ps 78^{48}). Synonymous with Resheph was **Barak**, 'lightning,' which appears in the place-name *Benê-Berak* (Jos 19^{45}), and the personal name *Barak* (Jg 4^{6} etc.). Closely connected is **Reseph**, 'thunderbolt,' which occurs in the Phœnician compound name מלקרתרשף (Cook, p. 361), and in the name of Saul's concubine *Rispah* (2 S 3^{7}).

6. **Sharabu** and **Birdu**, 'heat' and 'cold,' appear in Bab. lists of gods as the Amorite names for corresponding Bab. divinities (Zimmern, KAT^{3} 415).

7. **Selem**, 'darkness,' is a well-known deity in Arabia and in Babylonia. He appears in the Amarna letters in the place-name *Baru-ṣilim* (Winckler, 71. 64, 67), and in the OT in the mountain *Ṣalmon* (Jg 9^{48}) and the town *Ṣalmonah* (Nu 33^{41}).

8. **Uru**, 'light,' seems to be found in *Uru-salim*, Jerusalem, in the Amarna letters; also in *Milk-uru* (Winckler, 61. 53. 69. 85, 52. 43), with which should be compared *Uru-milki*, king of Gebal in the Annals of Sennacherib, ii. 50. Personal names compounded with *Ur* or *Or* are common in later Heb. and Phœnician. According to Clay, *Uru* is used as a synonym of *Amurru* in Bab. texts.

9. **Sheol**, 'the under world,' seems to have been personified as a deity by the ancient Semites, to judge from the proper names *Methu-shael*, *Mishael*, *Sha'ul* (Saul). Hence the place-name in the list of Thutmose III., No. 110, *Ba-ti-sha-'-ra*, which can hardly be regarded as a Babylonianizing writing of *Beth-el* with inserted *sha*, may be *Beth-She'ol* (see Müller, *MVG*, 1907, p. 29); and *Gibeath-She'ul* (1 S 11^{4} 15^{34}, Is 10^{29}), which in 1 S 10^{5}, apparently, is called 'the hill of God,' may have derived its name from the god of the under world rather than from the historic king of Israel (H. P. Smith, *Harper Memorial*, i. 61).

10. **Dagon** appears in Babylonia as early as 2150 B.C. in the names of the kings of the dynasty of Isin—*Idin-Dagan* and his son *Ishme-Dagan*,—also in the name of one of the early *patesis* of Assyria, *Ishme-Dagan*. This deity is not Old Babylonian, but was first brought in by the Amorite invaders. A Canaanite in the Amarna letters (Winckler, Nos. 215, 216) bears the name *Dagan-takala*. The town *Beth-Dagon* appears in a list of Ramses III., itself copied from an earlier original (Müller, *Egypt. Research*, p. 49). It is the same as *Beth-Dagon* in Judah of Jos 15^{41}. There was another *Beth-Dagon* in Asher (Jos 19^{27}). The oldest and most probable etymology of this name is that of Philo Byblius, who connects it with *dagan*, 'corn'; Dagan was thus a sort of Semitic Ceres.

11. **Worship of animals.**—The early Canaanites, like most primitive races, worshipped animals, partly on account of their superior strength and cunning, partly because of their utility, and partly because of their adoption as totems of clans. In later days these animals were subordinated to the great gods as attributes or symbols. Clay images of cows and bullocks, and human figures with the heads of these animals, have been found in large numbers in all the mounds of Palestine (see Macalister, *PEFSt*, 1903, p. 41; 1904, p. 331; 1907, p. 245; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 107). The worship of Jahweh under the form of a bullock, and the use of the title אביר, 'bullock,' as a name of Jahweh by the later Hebrews, are doubtless survivals of this cult. Images of horses are also found in the mounds (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 41), and the place-name *Ḥazar-susah*, 'court of the mare' (Jos 19^{5}), also suggests this cult. Sacred horses at Jerusalem are mentioned as late as the time of Manasseh (2 K 23^{11}), and the Phœnician name עבדססם, 'servant of the horses,' occurs (*CIS* i. 1, p. 95). Bronze figures of serpents, and serpent-heads as amulets, have been found both at Gezer and at Taanach (*PEFSt*, 1903, pp. 42, 222, 1906, p. 119; Sellin, *op. cit.* 112). The goddess 'Ashtart is often represented holding serpents in her hands. One of the towns of the Calebites in later Judæa bore the name *'Ir-naḥash*, 'serpent-town,' and the cult of a bronze serpent in Jerusalem lasted down to the time of Hezekiah (2 K 18^{4}). Figures of fishes are found at Gezer in different levels (*PEFSt*, 1902, p. 342; 1903, p. 39).

The Heb. place-names *Beth-car*, 'house of the lamb'; *Beth-lebaoth*, 'house of the lions'; *Beth-nimrah*, 'house of the leopard'; *Beth-ḥoglah*, 'house of the partridge,' are similarly formed to *Beth-el*, *Beth-Dagon*, *Beth-Shemesh*, and may point to primitive Canaanite cults of animals at these places. Other animal place-names that may have religious meaning are *Aijalon*, 'stag-town' (Jg 1^{35} 12^{12}), mentioned also in the Amarna letters (Winckler, 173. 20, 180. 57); *Humṭah*, 'lizard' (Jos 15^{54}); *Ḥazar-shual*, 'court of the fox' (Jos 15^{29} 19^{3}); *Ṭelaim*, 'lambs' (1 S 15^{4}); *Laish*, 'lion' (Jg 18^{27}, Is 10^{30}), occurring already in the list of Thutmose III. (No. 31); *'Eglon*, 'calf' (Jos 15^{39}); also *'En-'eglaim*, 'spring of the two calves' (Ezk 47^{10}); *'En-gedi*, 'spring of the kid' (Ezk 47^{10}); *'En-haq-qore*, 'spring of the quail' (Jg 15^{19}); *'Ophrah*, 'young gazelle' (Jg 6^{11}, Jos 18^{23}); and *'Ephron* (Jos 15^{9}, 2 Ch 13^{19}), occurring already in the list of Thutmose III. (No. 54; Muller, *MVG*, 1907, p. 18; *OLZ* vi. 229); *'Arad*, 'wild ass' (Jg 1^{16}); *'Eṭam*, 'vulture' (2 Ch 11^{6}, 1 Ch 4^{32}); *'Aḳrabbim*, 'scorpions' (Nu 34^{4}); *Parah*, 'cow' (Jos 18^{23}); *Ẓor'ah*, 'hornet' (Jg 13^{2}); *Ḥamor*, 'ass,' occurs as the name of a Canaanite (Gn 34^{2} etc.), and *Piram*, 'wild ass,' as the name of the Canaanitish king of Jarmuth (Jos 10^{3}). See BAAL, vol. ii. p. 287.

12. **Other Nature-deities.**—Besides the gods just enumerated, there was an immense number of nameless numina that presided over all sorts of physical objects, and were known as their *be'ālim* (see BAAL, vol. ii. p. 291).

(*c*) *Ancestor- and hero-worship.*—The Semitic Canaanites believed in the continued existence of the dead, and practised sacrificial rites in their honour. At Gezer the Amorites used as burial places the caves that had previously been occupied as dwellings by their non-Semitic predecessors. Around the walls of these caves, in small stone enclosures, the nobility were buried. The common people were piled one upon another in the middle of the caves. With the dead were placed food and drink, clothing, ornaments, weapons, seals, scarabs, amulets, and small figures of domestic animals, all of which were designed to supply the needs of the soul in its journey to the other world. In the earlier period the dead were usually deposited in the contracted position of an unborn child, possibly to express the thought that death is birth into another life. Flat benches and altar-like structures in the burial-places suggest the performance of sacrificial rites, and this theory is confirmed by the presence of bones of animals and of infants in connexion with adult burials. Cup-marks found in the caves also attest the existence of religious practices (see *PEFSt*, 1902, p. 351 ff.; 1903, pp. 14 ff., 23, 396, 323; 1904, pp. 119 ff., 324; 1905, pp. 32, 79, 307; 1907, p. 191; 1908, pp. 187, 203). Similar

remains have been found by Sellin at Taanach and by Schumacher at Megiddo.

Certain place-names in Palestine also suggest the cult of the dead, e.g. *Obhoth*, 'ghosts' (Nu $21^{10f.}$ $33^{43f.}$); *'Emeq-rephaim*, 'valley of the shades' (Jos 15^{8} etc.). The graves of the patriarchs, which were reverenced by the Hebrews in later times, were probably survivals of ancient Canaanitish sanctuaries, *e.g.* the grave of Abraham and Sarah at Hebron (Gn 23^{19} 25^{9}), of Rachel at Ephrath (Gn $35^{19f.}$), of Deborah at the oak of weeping (Gn 35^{8}), of Jacob at Abel-mizraim (Gn 50^{11}), of Joseph at Shechem (Jos 24^{32}). Names of the formation Jacob-el, Joseph-el, Jabne-el, Jezre-el, Jiphtaḥ-el, Jeḳabṣe-el, Joḳthe-el, Jirpe-el (see above, C. 1. (*a*) 1) are properly names of persons. Their use as names of places can be explained only by an ellipsis of *beth*, 'house of,' as in Ba'al-maon over against Beth-ba'al-ma'on. All of these names, accordingly, point to a cult of real or assumed ancestors at their supposed places of burial (see von Gall, *Altisr. Kultstätten*, pp. 65, 129). A number of these names occur already in the Egyptian inscriptions, and all of them probably go back to Canaanite times. For other forms of ancestor-worship among the Hebrews that may be derived from the Canaanites, and that at least help to interpret the facts just adduced, see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Hebrew), vol. i. p. 444.

(*d*) *Departmental deities.*—Besides Nature-gods and deified ancestors, the Canaanites had numerous divinities who presided over various aspects of human life or over abstract qualities. Conspicuous among these were—

1. **'Ashtart**, the 'Ashtoreth of the OT and the Astarte of the Greeks. The etymology of her name is obscure, but her function is clear. She was the goddess of sexual love and of reproduction (for the archæological and literary evidence of the early existence of her cult in Canaan see 'ASHTART, 5). One of her epithets was Kadesh (cf. *ḳdēshā*, 'temple harlot'), and under this name she is often mentioned in Egyptian texts (Müller, *Asien*, 315; *Egypt. Res.* 32). In monuments of the XIXth dynasty she is depicted in un-Egyptian fashion facing straight forward, standing on a lion, naked, or clothed in a skin-tight garment, holding in one hand a lotus-blossom and in the other a serpent, to typify both the charm and the peril of her cult. Usually she is grouped in a triad with Resheph and the ithyphallic Min. Similarly in a Bab. text (Reisner, *Hymn.* p. 139, lines 143, 145) she appears as the consort of Amurru-Hadad-Resheph. In all the mounds of Palestine large numbers of terra-cotta 'Ashtart plaques, six or seven inches in length, have been discovered, and also moulds in which these were manufactured. They are limited to the later period, when the land was under Egyptian rule (*PEFSt*, 1904, p. 118; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 106). The commonest type of 'Ashtart figures bears a close resemblance to the Egyptian representations described above (see the drawings in Bliss-Macalister, pl. lxvi. 10–16, lxviii. 1, 2; Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* ii. 242; Vincent, *Canaan*, 161 ff.). A second type, which is most frequent at Taanach (Sellin, 106), depicts her with a tall striated head-dress, necklace, anklets, and girdle, with her hands held to her breasts. This suggests rather Bab. influence. A third type has horns like the Egyptian Hathor (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 225). A fourth type has a bird-like beak and huge earrings (Sellin, fig. 113). Here perhaps Cypriote influence is to be detected. Still a fifth type recently discovered at Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1909, p. 15) represents the goddess with a veil, like the statue discovered by Oppenheim at Tell Halaf (*Das alte Orient*, x. 1). This seems to reveal Hittite influence. In Taanach, Sellin found 19 'Ashtarts, but not a single Ba'al. The same proportion holds true of the other mounds, and shows that 'Ashtart must have occupied an altogether unique position in the esteem of the ancient Canaanites.

2. **'Anath.**—The etymology and meaning of her name are obscure (perhaps from ענה in a transitive sense, 'afflict,' 'conquer'). That she has anything to do with the Bab. goddess *Antum*, the consort of Anu, is extremely doubtful: (1) because the reading *Antum* is uncertain; (2) because this goddess plays an unimportant part in early Bab. religion; and (3) because in Canaan this name has the initial guttural ע, which is not found in Babylonian. 'Anath was widely worshipped in the Semitic world, and there is no reason to doubt that she was a primitive Semitic divinity. The place-name *Anati* in the Amarna letters (Winckler, 125. 43) probably contains her name. *Beth-'Anath* in Naphtali is mentioned in the list of Thutmose III. (No. 111), also in a list of Seti I. (Müller, 195; cf. Jos 19^{38}, Jg 1^{33}), and there was another *Beth-'Anath* in Judah (Jos 15^{59}). *'Anathoth*, near Jerusalem, was also named after her (Jer 1^{1}), and the father of Shamgar, judge of Israel, was called *'Anath*, according to Jg 3^{31} (? cf. 5^{6}). Her cult had penetrated to Egypt as early as the reign of Thutmose III. (Müller, *Asien*, p. 313). A team of horses belonging to Seti I. bore the name ''Anath is satisfied' (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iii. 43). One of the dogs of Ramses II. was called ''Anath is protection' (Breasted, iii. 201). In one of his inscriptions Ramses III. says: ''Anath and 'Ashtart are his shield' (Breasted, iv. 62). On the Egyptian monuments 'Anath is represented in profile, holding a shield and spear in her right hand, and a club in her left hand. By the Egyptians she was evidently regarded as a war-goddess. Her name occurs down to late times in Phœnician inscriptions (see Baethgen, *Beitr.* p. 52).

3. **Edom**, 'maker,' whose worship is attested by the names *'Obed-Edom* (2 S 6^{10}) and עבראדם (*CIS* i. 367), appears in the place-name *Sha-ma-sha '(E)-tiu-ma*=Shamash-Edom, in the list of Thutmose III. (No. 51; Müller, *MVG*, 1907, p. 18); also, perhaps in *Udumu* (Amarna, Winckler, No. 237), *Adam* (Jos 3^{16}), and *Admah* (Gn 10^{19} $14^{2.8}$, Dt 29^{23}, Hos 11^{8}). In an Egyp. magical text we meet 'Resheph and his wife Edom' (Müller, p. 315), which shows that Edom was also construed as feminine.

4. **Aven**, 'strength,' is perhaps present as the name of a deity in *Beth-Aven*, 'house of strength' (cf. *Beth-el*, *Beth-Shemesh*; Jos 7^{2} 18^{12}, 1 S 13^{5} 14^{23}). In Hos 4^{15} 10^{8} it appears as a sanctuary.

5. **Bezeḳ**, 'scattering' (?), seems to be a Divine name in the place-name *Qir-Bezeḳ* in a list of Ramses III. (Müller, *Eg. Res.* p. 49), and in the name of the Canaanite king, *Adoni-Bezeḳ*, 'my lord is Bezeḳ' (Jg 1^{5-7}).

6. **Gad**, 'fortune,' is a well-known Semitic deity (see ARABS, vol. i. p. 662; BAAL, vol. ii. p. 290). His cult survives in the place-name *Migdal-Gad* (Jos 15^{37}), and also probably in the tribal name *Gad*.

7. **Gil**, 'joy,' must be a god in the woman's name *Abi-Gil*, which cannot be translated 'father of joy,' but must be translated 'joy is a father.' The place-name Gilo(n) (Jos 15^{51}, 2 S 15^{12}) may also be named after him.

8. **Ḫiba** (etymology unknown) appears as a god in the name of the king of Jerusalem in the Amarna letters, 'Abd-Ḫiba, 'servant of Ḫiba.'

9. **Chemosh** (etymology unknown) appears perhaps in the place-name *Michmash*, 'place of Chemosh.'

10. **Muth**, 'death,' was a deity among the Phœnicians (Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* i. 38), and appears also in the Heb. personal name *Aḥi-moth*, 'death is a brother' (1 Ch 6^{25}). It may be found in the place-name *'Az-maweth* (Ezr 2^{24}, or *Beth-'az-maweth*, Neh 7^{28}), 'death is strong'; perhaps also in *Jar-muth*, a Canaanitish city (Jos 10^{3} etc.), and *Jeri-moth* (1 Ch 7^{7} etc.). This seems more likely than that we have here the Egyptian deity Muth. None of the other Egyptian deities obtained such a foothold in Canaan that towns were named after them, and it is not probable that this happened to this relatively obscure goddess.

11. 'Azar, 'help,' appears as a god in such proper names as *Abi-'Azar*, ''Azar is a father,' *Eli-'Azar*, or '*Azari-el*, ''Azar is god.' Hence the name of the famous *maṣṣeba Eben 'ezer*, which was probably a survival from Canaanitish days, should apparently be translated 'stone of 'Ezer.'

12. 'Esau, 'maker' (cf. 'Edom'), was worshipped by the Phœnicians, according to Philo Byb. (Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* i. 35), who calls him *Usoos*. He seems to have been regarded as a rough huntsman, like 'Esau of Hebrew tradition. It is probable that he was known to the early Canaanites, although his name does not occur in any of our sources. His feminine counterpart '*A-ši-ti*—עשתי seems to be found in Egypt (Müller, 316). The picture of her on a rock in the desert near Redesieh (Lepsius, *Denkmaler*, 138) represents her as a wild huntress on horseback, brandishing a shield and spear. In a votive inscription of the XVIIIth dynasty, according to Ebers, '*A-ši-ti* of the sand is named along with Kadesh.

13. Palet, 'deliverance,' appears as the name of a god in the place-name *Beth-Palet* (Jos 15[27], Neh 11[26]), as well as in several Heb. personal names.

14. Sid, 'hunter,' or 'fisher,' perhaps identical with Agreus, 'the hunter,' or his brother Halieus, 'the fisher,' in Philo, ii. 9, appears as a god in such Phœnician personal names as '*Abd-Ṣid*, *Yaton-Ṣid*, *Han-Ṣid*, and in the compound Divine names *Ṣid-Melqart* and *Ṣid-Tanit*. The antiquity of his cult is proved by the name of the city *Ṣid-on* (Meyer, *Gesch.*[2] ii. 1, p. 392).

15. Sedeq, 'righteousness,' is a god in the personal name *Ben-Ṣedeq* (Winckler, *Amarna Let.* 125. 37), also in *Adoni-Ṣedeq* (Adonizedek), the Canaanite king of Jerusalem (Jos 10[1. 3]). He survives in the Phœn. personal names *Ṣedeq-Rimmon* and *Ṣedeq-melek*.

16. Shalem, 'peace,' is well attested as a Phœnician deity (Sidon, 4; *CIG* 4449; *CIS* 15; see Lidzbarski, *s.v.*; Winckler, *KAT*[3] 224). He appears also frequently in Heb. proper names such as *Abi-Shalom*, *Shalmi-el*, etc. His worship in ancient Canaan seems to be established by the name of the city *Jeru-salem* (in the Amarna letters *Uru-salim*), which may mean either 'city of Shalem,' or 'Uru is Shalem,' and also by the sanctuary Jahweh-Shalom (Jg 6[24]). In the Amorite period in Babylonia he appears as *Shulmanu*, whose name was used frequently in compounding the names of later Assyrian kings, *e.g.* *Shalman-ezer*.

17. Jahweh.—Whether Jahweh was known to the Amorites in Canaan and in Babylonia is a hotly-debated question.

The facts are these: In Neo-Babylonian documents from Nippur, Jewish names occur in which an initial *Jehô* is represented by *Jâḫû*, e.g. *Jahu-natanu*=Jeho-nathan (Clay, *Business Documents of the Murashû Sons*, p. 19). In the same documents final *Jahu* or *Jah* is represented by *Jama*=*Jawa*, e.g. *Abi-jawa*=Abi-jah, *Aḫi-jawa*=Ahi-jah. The long list of names of this sort given by Clay (*Light on the Old Testament*, p. 244) leaves no doubt of the identity of *Jawa* with Heb. *Jah*. In Assyrian, initial *Jeho* is represented by *Jau*, e.g. *Ja-u-ḫa-zi*=Jeho-ahaz, *Ja-u-ba'di*=Jeho-abad, so also *Ja-u-a*=Jehu. At the end of names *Jahu* or *Jah* is also represented in Assyr. by *Jau*, e.g. *Ḫa-za-ki-a-u*=Hezekiah, *Na-ad-bi-ja-a-u*=Nedabiah, *Az-ri-ja-a-u*=Azariah. Now, in documents of the 1st dynasty of Babylon, where Amorite names are so common, we find *Ja-u-u(m)-ilu* (*Cun. Texts*, iv. 27), which, after the analogy of the Assyr. names just given, seems to represent Jo-el, 'Jahweh is God'; and in documents of the succeeding Kassite period we find *Ja-u-ba-ni*, *Ja-u-a*, *Ja-a-u*, *Ja-ai-u*, and the feminine *Ja-a-u-tum* (Clay, *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur*). *Jau-bani* is a name of the same type as *Ea-bani*, 'Ea is my maker,' or *Ilu-bani*, 'a god is my maker,' and it is difficult to translate it in any other way than 'Jahweh is my maker.' This is the belief of Delitzsch (*Babel u. Bibel*, p. 46), Sayce, Hommel (*ExpT*, ix. 522, x. 42, xi. 270), and Winckler (*KAT*[3] 66 n.). Its correctness is questioned by Zimmern (*KAT*[3] 468), Daiches (*ZA*, 1908, p. 125 ff.), and Meyer (*Gesch.*[2] ii. 1, p. 546). Whether *Ja-PI-ilu* (*Cun. Texts*, viii. 34) and *Ja-'PI-ilu* (*ib.* vii. 20), which occur in documents of the Ḫammurabi period, are to be read *Ja-wi-ilu*, and identified with *Ja-um-ilu*, as Delitzsch, Sayce, Hommel, and Winckler think, is more doubtful; still it is not impossible.

Coming now to Canaan, in one of the tablets of the Amarna period discovered at Taanach the name *Aḫi-ja-mi* or *Aḫi-ja-wi* occurs (Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 115). It looks as though we must connect this with the later Bab. spelling of Jewish names in which *Jah* is represented by *Ja-ma* (*Ja-wa*). Some names beginning with *Jah* occur in the Amarna letters, and may possibly be Jahweh-compounds. Furthermore, in place-names of Canaan in the early Egyptian inscriptions *Jah* occurs at the end of words in the same manner as in later Heb. formations. In the list of Thutmose III. (No. 97) the name *Ba-ti-ya-ā* occurs, which can be read only Beth-Jah (cf. *Bithiah*, 1 Ch 4[18]). This is precisely the same sort of formation that is found in the list of Shishak: *Ha-ni-ni-'ā* (No. 95), *Sha-na-y-'ā* (No. 115), *Ba-bi-y-'ā* (No. 118), where the presumption is that these are Heb. names ending in *Jah* (Muller, *Asien*, pp. 162, 312; *MVG*, 1907, p. 26). Jastrow (*JBL*, 1894, pp. 191–227) tries to explain *Jah* in these forms, and in Heb. names, not as the Divine name Jahweh, but as only an emphatic afformative. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 159) regards *Jah* as originally a different deity from *Jahweh*. Both of these theories are difficult in view of the facts that *Jah* and *Jahu* interchange at the ends of names, and that formations ending with *Jah* increase in Heb. history in the same proportion as formations beginning with *Jeho* (Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, p. 162). In Gn 22[14] Mori-jah is explained as though it were a Jahweh-compound. This shows at least the feeling of the ancient Hebrews that *Jah* at the end of names was Jahweh. Muller and Sellin suggest that names of this sort may be due to early settling of Hebrews in Canaan; but the tradition that Israel first came to know Jahweh through Moses is well attested by the facts that no names compounded with Jahweh are found in national tradition before the time of Moses, and that names of this sort are exceedingly rare before the time of David.

On the whole, the evidence seems favourable to the idea that Jahweh was known to the Amorites in Canaan and in Babylonia as early as 2000 B.C. If this be so, it is easy to see why he was worshipped by the Kenites, from whom the knowledge of him passed to Israel (see, further, art. JAHWEH).

(*c*) *Bab. gods in Canaan.*—It is now known from the Bab. inscriptions that between 3000 and 1700 B.C. Palestine stood almost constantly under Bab. influence. The depth of the impression that Bab. civilization left at this time is shown by the fact that in 1400 B.C., after Canaan had been 200 years under Egyptian rule, its people still used Babylonian for correspondence with the Pharaoh and with one another. The mounds also contain abundant evidence of the influence of Bab. art (see Paton, *Early Hist. of Syria and Palestine*, p. 49 ff.). It is not surprising, therefore, that Bab. religion exerted a profound impression upon ancient Canaan, and that many of the gods of Babylonia were adopted in that land.

1. Sin.—The cult of the moon-god under his Bab. name Sin is proved by the names Sin-ai and the Desert of Sin, perhaps also by שנאב, the name of the Canaanite king of Admah (Gn 14[2]; cf. Jensen, *ZA* vii. 177). On the cult of the moon in the desert see von Gall, *Altisr. Kultstatten*, p. 2.

2. Ramman-Rimmon was the Bab. equivalent of the Amorite Adad (the root *ramânu*, 'roar,' 'thunder,' occurs only in Bab.), but he was introduced into Canaan as a separate deity. *Giti-Rimûni* occurs in the Amarna letters (Winckler, 164. 45)=*Gath-Rimmon* (Jos 19[45] 21[24f.], 1 Ch 6[54 (69)]). We find also *Rimmon-pereẓ* (Nu 33[19]), the cliff of *Rimmon* (Jg 20[45-47] 21[13]), the spring of *Rimmon* (Jos 15[32] 19[7]), *Rimmon* in Zebulun (Jos 19[13], 1 Ch 6[62 (77)]), and *Hadad-Rimmon* (Zec 12[11]), which is specially interesting because of its identification of Adad with Ramman.

3. Nin-ib.—The god whose name is written ideographically *NIN-IB* has lately been shown to be represented in Aram. translations by אנושת (Clay, *Bab. Exp. Univ. Penn.* x. 8 f.; *JAOS* xxviii. 135 ff.; *Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, i. 287 ff.). This, he thinks, should be read *En-mashti*=*En-marti*, the Sumer. equivalent of *Bel-amurru*, 'lord of the Amorite.' In this case *NIN-IB* would be a god of the West who had migrated to Babylonia; but the equivalence with *En-marti*

is very doubtful, and the name seems to be too old in Babylonia to have come in with the Amorites (see Jastrow, *Rel. der Bab. u. Ass.* i. 57). More plausible is the pronunciation *En-nammashti*, 'lord of the creatures' (Hrozný, *RS*, 1908, p. 339 ff.), in which case this is a genuine old Bab. divinity. He appears in the Amarna letters in the place-name *Bit-NIN-IB*, near Gebal (Winckler, 55. 31), and near Jerusalem (183. 15), also in the personal name *'Abd-NIN-IB* (53. 39), in all of which cases it is possible that he is merely the Bab. equivalent of some native Can. deity.

4. **Anu**, the Bab. sky-god, is perhaps found in *Anaharath* (Jos 19[19]), which appears already in the list of Thutmose III. (No. 52) as *('E)-nu-ḥ(e)-r-tu*; also in *Ben-Ana* (Amarna, 125. 35).

5. **Laḥmu**, the god of fertility, is perhaps found in *Beth-lehem* (so Tomkins, Sayce). *Beth-ephrath*, 'house of fertility,' which is found as an explanatory gloss in Mic 5[1] (LXX), seems to confirm this view. That Bethlehem was the seat of a regular cult is evident from 1 S 20[5f. 29], where David is said to have gone to Bethlehem to perform the annual sacrifices of his clan.

6. **Nabu, Nebo**, the patron god of Borsippa, the scribe of the gods, appears in the town Nebo in Moab (Nu 32[3. 38]), also *Nebo* in Judah (Ezr 2[29] 10[43], Neh 7[33]), and Mount *Nebo* in Moab (Nu 33[47], Dt 32[49] 34[1]).

7. **Nergal**, the war-god, is found on a seal-cylinder of Canaanitish workmanship, discovered in the Amarna level at Taanach, which bears the inscription, 'Atanaḥili, son of Ḥabsi, servant of Nergal.' In this case the possibility must be reckoned with that Nergal is the Bab. equivalent of a native deity, but in any case it gives an interesting evidence of the syncretism that was going on in Canaan during this period (Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, pp. 27, 105). Nergal is also mentioned in the letter of the king of Alashia (Cyprus) (Winckler, 25. 13, 37). A tablet containing the myth of Nergal and Eresh-kigal was found among the tablets at Tell el-Amarna.

8. **Sheba'**.—In the Bab. pantheon there is a deity *Sibitti*, 'the Seven,' who is identified with the Pleiades. 'The Seven' are also a group of evil demons that are often mentioned in incantations (Zimmern, *KAT*[3] 413, 459). The worship of *Sheba'*, 'seven,' in Palestine is shown by the woman's name *Bath-Sheba'*, daughter of Sheba', and by several other OT personal names. The place-name *Be'er-Sheba'* is most naturally explained with reference to this cult.

Seals representing various Bab. divinities have been found in the Amorite levels at Gezer, and one tablet commonly called the 'Zodiacal tablet,' found in debris contemporary with the Amarna letters, bears the emblems of a large number of the Bab. gods (*PEFSt*, 1907, pp. 245, 263; 1908, pp. 26 ff., 78, 186, 208, 245). In the light of this evidence we may safely infer that the Amorites were familiar with the Bab. religion, and that many Bab. gods won an established place in their pantheon. Many of the Bab. elements in the later Heb. religion were probably learned by the Hebrews from the Canaanites.

(*f*) *Egyptian divinities in Canaan.*—During the Neolithic period there is no evidence of Egyptian intervention in Palestine, but in the earliest Semitic period such intervention began. King Snofru of the IVth dynasty (*c.* 2900 B.C.) brought cedar-wood from Lebanon (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* i. 66). Under Pepi I. of the VIth dynasty, Palestine was invaded by an Egyptian army under the leadership of Una (Breasted, *op. cit.* i. 142 f.). The excavations at Gezer show that Egyptian influence was strong there at least as early as 2500 B.C., and this influence continued throughout the entire history of this city (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 309). Scarabs of every dynasty from the VIth onward have been found in the various levels, and are an important aid in determining the chronology of the mound. A funerary statue, bearing an Egyp. inscription of the VIth dynasty, has also been found at Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1903, pp. 36, 125). From the period of the XIIth dynasty a burial-cave has been discovered, containing a number of interments that are thoroughly Egyptian, with the exception of embalming (*PEFSt*, 1905, p. 316; 1906, p. 122). A stele and a statuette of the XIIth dynasty have also been unearthed (*PEFSt*, 1904, p. 121; 1906, p. 122). The traces of early Egyptian influence in Taanach and Megiddo are less numerous; still they are not wanting. The seal-cylinder of the Ḥammurabi period, discovered by Sellin at Taanach, bears also Egyptian emblems—an interesting evidence of the meeting in Palestine of the two great civilizations of antiquity. Under dynasties XVIII.–XIX. (1600–1200 B.C.) Canaan was almost continuously under Egyptian rule, and its civilization received a strong Egyptian impress. A large Egyp. hieroglyph of the XIXth dynasty indicates the existence of an Egyp. temple or palace at Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1908, p. 200). At Tell esh-Shihab, near Damascus, there is a votive stele of Seti I. (*PEFSt*, 1904, p. 78). At Sa'adiyeh, east of the Sea of Galilee, is a monument of Ramses II. (*ZDPV* xiv. p. 142), and at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, near Beirut, are inscriptions of several Egyp. kings. In view of these facts, it is not surprising that Egyp. religion found considerable acceptance in ancient Canaan.

1. **Hathor**, the Egyptian goddess of love, was early identified with 'Ashtart, as is shown by the artistic representations of this goddess. She has frequently the horns and other attributes of Hathor (see above, p. 182). The Ba'alat of Gebal was represented in precisely the same manner as Hathor, with the solar disk between two horns (Meyer, *Gesch.*[2] ii. 1, p. 394), and in Egypt she was known as the Hathor of Gebal (Müller, *Asien*, p. 314).

2. **Bes**, the ugly dwarf-god, was more popular in Canaan than any other Egyptian deity. Numerous images of him are found in the mounds at all levels (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 122; 1904, p. 288; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 105).

3. Other Egyptian figures, supposed to represent **Ptah, Osiris, Sebek**, etc., have been found in single specimens (*PEFSt*, 1903, pp. 48, 122; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 107).

4. **Scarabs** were used as amulets in Canaan as in Egypt, and were buried with the dead. They have been found in large numbers (*PEFSt*, 1902, p. 365; 1903, pp. 21, 390; 1904, pp. 20, 224; 1905, pp. 186, 188; 1907, p. 266; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 111).

5. **Amon-Re**, the patron of Thebes, and the chief god of the empire so long as Thebes was the capital, received much compulsory service in Canaan during the period of the Egyptian supremacy. After his victorious campaigns, Thutmose III. gave three cities in Northern Syria to Amon (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* ii. 223). In the Amarna letters (Knudtzon, 59. 9) the people of Tunip say: 'The gods and the (wooden) *mutashshu naprillan* of the king of Egypt dwell in Tunip.' Rib-Addi of Gebal invokes Amon as 'the god of the king' (Winckler, 54. 4). In another letter he couples him with the Ba'alat of Gebal (Winckler, 67. 5). Amon also occurs in one of the tablets from Taanach (Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 119). In other cases Amon was identified with the native sun-god Shamash. Thus Rib-Addi combines Shamash with the Ba'alat of Gebal in the same manner in which he combines Amon (Winckler,

87. 62 ff.). Similarly, when Abimilki of Tyre calls the Pharaoh Shamash, he is thinking of Amon (Winckler, 150. 6 ff.). One Canaanite bears a name compounded with Amon, namely, *Amanhathi* (Winckler, 131). Ramses III. records the building of a temple in Zahi, in Syria, where there was a great statue of this god, to which the people of Syria brought their presents (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iv. 123). It was also customary for the Pharaoh to send an image of Amon to one of his friends in Canaan upon whom he wished to confer honour. Thus, in the reign of Ramses XII. (*c.* 1100 B.C.), Hrihor, the high priest of Amon at Thebes, sent a certain Wenamon to carry an image called 'Amon of the Way' to Gebal, and to bring back thence cedar wood (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iv. 278 ff.). Incidentally it is mentioned that the forefathers of the king of Gebal had spent their days sacrificing to Amon (p. 283). This king of Gebal had a butler called Pen-Amon (p. 284). The cult of Amon never took a strong hold upon the affection of the Canaanites, for he was identified in their minds with the exactions of the Egyptian government. So soon as Egyptian authority was relaxed, his worship died out, and it has left no traces in any of the place-names of the land. The report of Wenamon shows clearly how Amon had lost prestige in Canaan by the time of the XXth dynasty.

6. The cult of the Pharaoh.—In Egypt the Pharaoh was worshipped as an incarnation of Amon-Re, and in the palmy days of Egyptian rule this dogma was enforced in Canaan. The image of the king was set up in certain cities alongside of that of Amon, and on stated occasions the Syrian princes were required to pay homage to it (Winckler, 51. 9 f.). The worship of the king seems to have consisted chiefly in the burning of incense; hence, when a beleaguered town wished to surrender, it signified this by holding up a lighted censer on its battlements (Müller, *Asien*, p. 305). One of these censers found at Megiddo is depicted in the frontispiece of Schumacher's *Tell el-Mutesellim*. The writers of the Tell el-Amarna letters address the king as 'my lord, lord of the lands, my father, my sun, the sun of heaven, the sun of the lands, my god, the breath of my life.' Occasionally they append 'son of Shamash' as a translation of the Egyp. title 'son of Re,' with the absurd result that the Pharaoh is entitled both 'sun' and 'son of the sun.' These were conventional formulas that the Canaanites did not take at all seriously, and the moment that Egyptian rule was relaxed the worship of the Pharaoh ceased along with that of his father Amon-Re.

II. THE SANCTUARIES OF CANAAN.—(*a*) *Holy cities.*—A large number of places in Canaan show by the meanings of their names that they were set apart as sanctuaries.

Thus, in the annals of Thutmose III., we meet *Ḳadesh*, 'the sanctuary' (No. 1) = Amarna *Ḳidshi*; *Hosah*, 'asylum' (No. 3) = Amarna *Ḫazi*; *Ṭibḥath*, 'sacrifice' (No. 6) = *Ṭubiḫi* (Amarna 127); *'Nō-r-p-'a*, 'healing-place' (No. 29), cf. *Jirpe-el* (Jos 18^{27}); *Akshaph*, 'sorcery' (No. 40); *Hekalayim*, 'two temples' (No. 89). In the Amarna letters we meet in Northern Syria *Bit-arḫa*, 'house of the new moon' (Knudtzon, 83. 29); *Bit-NIN-IB* (Winckler, 55. 31); *Bit-tiri*, 'house of the turtle-dove' (?) (Winckler, 82. 12); *Bur-Selem*, 'the well of Selem' (Winckler, 71. 64, 67); *Ṣiduna*, Sidon (from the god Sid); in Palestine west of the Jordan, *Ajaluna*, 'stag-town' (Winckler, 173. 20); *Bit-NIN-IB* (Winckler, 183. 15); *Uru-salim*, 'city of Shalem'; in Palestine east of the Jordan, *Ashtarti* (Winckler, 142. 10, 237. 21).

Many place-names in Israel show by their meaning, or by something connected with them, that they are survivals of ancient Can. sanctuaries. Such are *Beer-Sheba*, 'the well of the Seven'; *Hebron*, 'alliance'; *Carmel*, 'garden,' in Judah, where a feast occurred (1 S 25$^{2-7}$) and where there was a standing-stone (1 S 15^{12}); *Beth-'Anath*, 'house of 'Anath' (Jos 19^{38} etc.); *Kirjath-je'arim*, or *Ba'al Judah* (Jos 15^{9}), where the ark was long deposited (1 S 6^{21}, 2 S 6^{2}); *'En-shemesh*, 'spring of the sun' (Jos 15^{7} 18^{17}); *Migdal-Gad*, 'tower of the god of fortune' (Jos 15^{37}); *Beth-Leḥem*, 'house of Laḥmu'; *Beth-Dagon*, 'house of Dagon' (Jos 15^{41}); *Jabne-el*, 'a god builds,' apparently the name of a deified ancestor (Jos 15^{11}); *Ba'al-perazim*, 'Ba'al of the clefts' (2 S 5^{20}); *Ba'al-hamon* (Ca 8^{11}); *'Emeḳ ha-elah*, 'valley of the sacred tree' (1 S 17^{11}); *Jezre-el*, 'a god sows,' apparently a deified ancestor (Jos 15^{56}); *Nebo*, named after the Bab. god Nabu (Ezr 2^{29} 10^{43}); *Ir-naḥash*, 'city of the serpent' (1 Ch 4^{12}); *'Emeḳ-rephaim*, 'the valley of the ghosts' (Jos 15^{8}); *Gilgal*, 'the stone circle' (Dt 11^{30} etc.); *Mispah*, 'a place of worship for the Israelites' (1 S 7^{6} 10$^{17ff.}$); *Ramah*, 'the height,' where sacrifice occurred (1 S 9^{12}, cf. Hos 5^{8}); *Gibeath-ha-elohim*, 'the hill of God' (1 S 10^{5}); *Ba'al-tamar*, 'Ba'al of the palm-tree' (Jg 20^{33}); *Gibeon*, 'the height,' where there was a great high place (1 K 3^{4}); *'Anathoth*, 'the 'Anaths,' where a family of priests was settled (1 K 2^{26}, Jer 1^{1}); *Nob*, where there was a temple and a priesthood of Jahweh (1 S 22$^{9ff.}$); *Ba'al-hazor*, 'Ba'al of the enclosure' (2 S 13^{23}); *Beth-el*, 'house of the god'; *Timnath-ḥeres*, 'precinct of the sun' (Jg 2^{9}); *Ba'al-shalisha* (2 K 4^{42}); *Shiloh*, where there was a temple of Jahweh (1 S 1^{9} ^{24}); *Shechem*, where there was a holy tree, 'the oak of the diviner' (Gn 12^{6}, Dt 11^{30}), a holy stone (Jos 24^{26}), and an altar (Gn 12^{7} 33^{20}); *'Ophrah*, 'young gazelle,' where there was a holy tree and a holy stone (Jg 6); *Pir'athon*, where was shown the grave of the hero 'Abdon (Jg 12^{15}); *'Ayyalon*, 'stag-town,' where there was a grave of the hero 'Eylon (Jg 12^{12}; note the identity of the consonants in the name of the hero and of the place); *Jiphtaḥ-el*, 'the god opens' (Jos 19$^{14.27}$), apparently the name of a tribal hero; *Gibe'ath ham-moreh*, 'hill of the oracle' (Jg 7^{1}); *Ḳedesh*, 'the sanctuary' (Jg 4^{11}, 1 Ch 6$^{57 (72)}$); *Shamir*, 'guardian,' the burial-place of the hero Tola' (Jg 10^{1}); *Migdal-el*, 'tower of the god,' (Jos 19^{38}); *Beth-shemesh*, 'house of the sun' (Jos 19^{38}, 1 S 6$^{14.18}$), called also *Ir-shemesh*, 'city of the sun' (Jos 19^{41}); *Ne'i-el*, 'trembling (?) of the god' (Jos 19^{27}); *Timnah*, 'the sacred precinct' (Jg 14^{1} etc.); *Ba'al-Gad* (Jos 11^{17} etc.); *Dan*, 'the judge,' where there was a temple (Jg 18^{30}); *'Ashtaroth*, 'the Astartes,' probably to be read as a singular *'Ashtart* (Jos 13^{31}) = *Be'eshtarah*, or *Beth-'Ashtart* (Jos 21^{27}); *Ẓaphon*, 'the north' (Jos 13^{27}); *Mizpah*, 'the watch-tower,' connected with the legends of Jacob and Laban (Gn 31), and a place of assembly for Israel (Jg 11^{11}); *Maḥanaim*, where the angels of God appeared to Jacob (Gn 32$^{2.3}$); *Penuel*, 'face of the god' (Gn 32^{31}); *Goren ha-aṭad*, where Jacob was buried (Gn 50$^{1-11}$); *'Aṭaroth*, whence Mesha carried away 'the altar of its beloved,' *i.e.* its god (*Mesha Inscr.* line 20); *Ba'al-Pe-or* (Nu 25$^{3-5}$ etc.); *Nebo*, named after the Bab. god Nabu (Nu 32^{3} etc.); *Beth-Ba'al-Me'on* (Jos 13^{17}); *Bamoth-ba'al*, 'high places of the Ba'al' (Nu 22^{41}, Jos 13^{17}); *Naḥali-el*, 'brook of the god' (Nu 21^{19}); *Shiṭṭim*, 'the acacias,' where Israel was seduced to Moabite rites (Nu 25^{1}, Hos 9^{10}). In all these cases it is probable that we are dealing with ancient Can. sanctuaries that were appropriated more or less completely by the Israelites to the service of Jahweh.

(*b*) *Sacred natural objects.*—The sanctity of the places that have just been mentioned was due in most cases to the presence in them of some awe-inspiring natural object in which the deity was believed to manifest his presence. Such were springs, trees, mountains, and caves. All of these holy objects that we meet in the OT were doubtless an inheritance from the Canaanites (see BAAL, vol. ii. pp. 285–288, where full lists are given). The sanctuary at Sinai seems to have been a cave (Ex 33^{22}, 1 K 19^{9}); so also at Hebron (Gn 23^{9}). In Gezer a cave was reverenced by the primitive Neolithic inhabitants, and retained its sanctity as part of the high place down through Semitic times (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 24).

(*c*) *High places.*—In connexion with such holy objects, sacred enclosures, known as *bāmōth*, 'high places,' were established. In the earliest times these were open to the sky, being merely fenced off from the adjacent territory by walls or lines of stones. The high place at Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi was rectangular in form. At the two ends there were small chambers, and on one side was the entrance (Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations*, fig. 9). Most of the sanctuaries of Canaan were of this simple type, and remained so throughout the entire Israelitish period. No certain traces of covered temples have been discovered in the excavations; nevertheless, it is certain that such temples existed in the larger cities. We have noticed already the one that Ramses III. built for Amon Re in Zahi, and in the letter of Rib-Addi of Gebal (Winckler, 71. 59) we read: 'Let not the king, my lord, neglect the city, for there is much silver and gold in it; great will be the spoil in its temple (*bit-ilanishi*) it it is captured.' The mention of 'gods,' *i.e.* images, that have been

carried off from other places also suggests that there must have been houses in which these images were kept. A small terra-cotta model from Gezer represents a deity seated within a covered edifice (*PEFSt*, 1908, p. 22). The OT alludes frequently to the high places of the Canaanites, mostly in commands to destroy them. The equipment of the high places consisted of—

1. **Maṣṣēbôth**, or standing-stones.—In all Semitic lands the most primitive and the most persistent symbols of the deity were the *maṣṣēbôth*, or standing-stones (see MASSEBA). Tall, slender stones were phallic emblems and represented male divinities, while small conical stones depicted the female breast and represented female divinities (see 'ASHTART, 4; Spoer, *ZATW*, p. 286). The OT frequently refers to these as used by the Canaanites, and commands that they shall be destroyed lest they seduce the Israelites to worship strange gods (Ex 23[24] 34[13], Lv 26[1], Dt 7[5] 12[3]). These prohibitions date from a late period. In early times Israel appropriated the *maṣṣēbôth* of its predecessors, and dedicated them to the service of Jahweh. A large number of these sacred stones are mentioned in the earlier writings of the OT (see BAAL, vol. ii. p. 287). They were probably inherited from the earlier inhabitants of the land. In the list of Thutmose III. (No. 11) we meet *Kirjath-neṣib*, 'town of the standing-stone' (Müller, *OLZ* ii. 138). The excavations have revealed such pillars in the high places of all the cities. At Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi there were three standing-stones within the sacred enclosure (Bliss-Macalister, fig. 9). At Gezer there was an alignment of eight huge stones. The second stone in the line from N. to S. is much smaller than the rest, and has been worn smooth by rubbing, kissing, or sacrificing upon it. It was evidently the most sacred object in the temenos, and the conjecture is reasonable that it was the symbol of the mother-goddess 'Ashtart, whose plaques are found in such large numbers in all levels of the mound. She was the analogue of the ancient Semitic matriarch. Consequently the seven tall stones in the line must represent male divinities who were regarded as the polyandrous consorts of 'Ashtart (see *PEFSt*, 1903, p. 25 ff., 287; 1904, pp. 118, 196; Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights*, p. 57 [a photograph of the stones is given on p. 51]). The enormous number of phallic emblems found in the strata covering the floor of the high place prove that it was devoted to the cult of the reproductive forces of Nature (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 36). Two pillars surrounded with cup-marks were found by Sellin in the high place at Taanach (*Tell Ta'annek*, p. 104). Pillars with cup-marks upon them were discovered by Schumacher at Megiddo (*Tell el-Mutesellim*, pp. 105 ff., 125 ff., 163 ff.). These pillars, unlike those at Gezer, are artificially hewn, and hence should perhaps be classified as *ḥammānîm* rather than *maṣṣēbôth* (see BAAL, vol. ii. p. 287).

2. **Asherim.**—The *ăshērîm*, or sacred posts, were indispensable accessories of Canaanite high places (see art. POLES). The Hebrews adopted these from the Canaanites along with the *maṣṣēbôth*, and they were used in the cult of Jahweh down to the Deuteronomic reformation. After that time an effort was made to destroy them (Ex 34[13], Dt 7[5] 12[3]). At an early date 'Ashtart was confused with her symbol, so that Ashera was used as a proper name. She appears in Babylonia, in connexion with the Amorite migration, in tablets of the Ḫammurabi dynasty. In one inscription set up in honour of Ḫammurabi by a certain Ibi-Ashratum, she appears as 'Ashratum, bride of the king of heaven, mistress of luxury and splendour, dwelling in the mountain, the merciful one who reverently supplicates her husband' (Hommel, *Aufs. u. Abh.* p. 211 ff.). In a seal published by Sayce (*ZA* vi. 161) she is coupled with Ramman in the same manner as 'Ashtart is coupled elsewhere; and in a hymn she is associated with Amurru, the equivalent of Ramman (Reisner, *Hymn.* p. 139). In Babylonia, Ashera is regarded as a goddess of the desert, or of the west-land (Zimmern, *KAT*[3] 432). *Abd-Ashirta*, 'servant of Ashera,' is mentioned in the Amarna letters more frequently than any other person. In one letter (Winckler, 40. 3) he calls himself '*Abd-Ash-ta-[ar]-ti*, i.e. 'servant of 'Ashtart,' which shows the equivalence of the two names. In one of the tablets from Taanach (Sellin, p. 113) we read: 'If the finger of the goddess Ashirat shall indicate, let one observe and obey.' The *ăshērîm*, being made of wood, have not survived in any of the mounds of Palestine.

3. **Altars.**—In the most ancient high places there were probably no altars. The *maṣṣēbā* served both as idol and as altar. Subsequently a separate stone or a mound of earth was set apart for purposes of sacrifice. In the high place of Gezer no altar was found, but a hollowed block of stone standing near one of the pillars may have been used to receive blood or offerings (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 31). At Taanach, in the lowest Semitic level, Sellin found a rock-hewn altar with cup-marks and a drain for carrying off the blood (Sellin, pp. 34, 103). A similar rock-altar was found by Schumacher at Megiddo (*Tell el-Mutesellim*, p. 155 ff.). In both of these cases remains of sacrifices and religious emblems found on the spot leave no doubt as to the character of the stone blocks. The altars of the Canaanites are mentioned repeatedly in the OT (Ex 34[13], Dt 7[5] 12[3], Jg 2[2]), and it is probable that the famous altars which the Israelites traced back to patriarchal times were derived from their predecessors (Gn 12[7f.] 13[4.18] 22[9] 26[25] 33[20] 35[1ff.]).

4. **Images.**—Images were not a part of the equipment of most of the high places, for in early times the *maṣṣēbā* served both as idol and as altar. The OT mentions *maṣṣēbôth*, *ḥammānîm*, *ăshērîm*, and altars, as found in the Canaanite high places, but rarely images (Jg 6[25], 2 Ch 14[3-6] 34[4-9]). Nevertheless, idols were in use in the larger cities. In an Amarna letter (Winckler, 105. 27) Rib-Addi of Gebal writes to the Pharaoh: 'If no troops are at hand, then send ships that may fetch us alive to my lord along with the gods.' Here evidently images are meant. In another letter (Winckler, 138 rev. 18 ff.) Akizzi of Qatna writes: 'O lord, thy fathers made Shamash, the god of my father, and put their name upon him. But now the king of the Hittites has carried off Shamash, the god of my father. Let the king know, accordingly, how it stands with the god; and if Shamash, the god of my father, is to return to me, then let the heart of my lord care for him and give gold for Shamash, the god of my father, as thy fathers have done, and let my lord put his name upon Shamash along with the former one.' This shows that in this period, as in later times, idols were taken prisoners of war, and that conquerors were in the habit of carving their names upon them (cf. *KIB* i. 26 f.; ii. 62 f., 130 f.).

Images such as might have been used for public worship have not been found in any of the mounds of Palestine. The 'Ashtart plaques, which have been excavated in such numbers, were apparently not meant for worship, but for presentation as gifts to the goddess, like the votive figures that have been discovered at the Argive Heræum, Delos, and other ancient Greek sanctuaries. The fact that they are always broken shows that, when they had accumulated in too great quantities, they

were destroyed by the priests in order to prevent their being used again. Apart from these, and the little figures of deities imported from Egypt, representations of gods in human form are rare in Canaan. It is uncertain whether the few statuettes that have been found are really idols (*PEFSt*, 1907, p. 246; 1908, p. 23; Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, p. 51; Vincent, *Canaan*, ch. iii.). Evidently fetish stones continued to be the chief symbols of the great gods down to late times. Figures of animal gods are more common (see above, p. 181).

III. RELIGIOUS RITES OF THE CANAANITES.—

1. Animal-sacrifice.—*Maṣṣēbôth* and altars imply the existence of sacrifice. We must suppose that the *zebaḥ*, or sacrificial meal, as it was practised among the Arabs, Hebrews, and other Semites, existed also in Canaan. Animals that were regarded as proper for food were brought to the sacred stone or altar and were slain upon it, and the blood was poured out at the base of the stone. Parts of the animal were then given to the god by throwing them into a pit, or by burning; and other parts were eaten by the worshippers in a meal of communion. The report of Wenamon speaks of a daily sacrifice offered in the fortress of Zakar-ba'al, king of Gebal (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iv. 280 f.). Direct evidences of animal-sacrifices are not frequent in the mounds, since the eating of the animals resulted in the scattering of their skeletons. Nevertheless, accumulations of bones in the strata near all the high places make it evident that among the Canaanites, as among the early Hebrews, every slaughter was at the same time a sacrifice (cf. *PEFSt*, 1902, p. 32).

2. Infant-sacrifice. — Traces of infant-sacrifice are much more clear. In the Canaanite levels of all the mounds, jars containing the bones of new-born infants have been found in large numbers, buried beneath the floors of the high places, under the corners and thresholds of houses, and in other places where sacrifice would naturally occur (Petrie, *Tell el-Hesy*, p. 32; *PEFSt*, 1902, pp. 303, 352; 1903, pp. 32 ff., 121; 1904, p. 119; 1906, pp. 63 f., 117 f., 159; Sellin, p. 35; Schumacher, p. 18). With these infants were deposited small jars containing food and drink. In some instances the bones showed signs of burning, but usually this was not the case. The jars were often filled with fine sea-sand. It is evident that first-born infants were sacrificed in honour of the mother-goddess, the giver of children. Such rites were common among all the Semites (see AMMONITES, vol. i. p. 391); it is not surprising, therefore, to find them among the Amorites.

3. Sacrifice of adults was not so common as sacrifice of children; still it was occasionally practised. In several cases the upper halves of bodies have been found in tombs, while the lower halves are missing. The analogy of rites in other parts of the world leads to the conjecture that these are cases of sacrifice (*PEFSt*, 1903, pp. 17 ff., 51; 1908, p. 186). The skull of a man was found in the high place at Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 225; 1904, p. 118). In a bank of hard earth near the high place a number of human bones were found (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 317). The head of a girl was also found near the standing-stones (*PEFSt*, 1907, p. 268). Foundation-sacrifices of adults, buried under the corners of buildings, are frequent in all the mounds (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 224; 1904, p. 391; 1905, p. 198; 1908, p. 186; *MNDPV*, 1905, p. 10).

4. Lamp and bowl deposits. — In the period contemporaneous with Egyptian rule in Canaan, deposits of lamps placed between two bowls begin to occur under the corners or thresholds of houses, in positions where formerly sacrificed infants were buried. It is clear that these are intended as substitutes for child sacrifice. The lamp, the symbol of life, takes the place of the life of the child. In a few cases both the sign and the thing signified are deposited together. Lamp and bowl deposits become increasingly frequent in the upper Canaanite and Israelite levels, and jar burials decrease in the same ratio, until, about the time of the Exile, jar-burials cease altogether and only lamp and bowl deposits remain (*PEFSt*, 1903, pp. 10 f., 228, 299, 306 ff.).

5. Incense.—It is known from the Egyptian inscriptions that incense was offered to the Pharaoh (Müller, *Asien*, p. 305), and there is no doubt that it was also presented to the gods. In the annals of Thutmose III. it is often mentioned as part of the tribute from Canaan (see Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, Index, *s.v.* 'Incense'). The town *Lebonah*, 'frankincense' (Jg 21[19]), is mentioned already in the list of Thutmose III. (No. 10). Incense-burners have been found in the mounds (Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, frontispiece).

6. Libations must also have been offered, but it is difficult to tell which of the vessels found in the mounds were used for this purpose. A sherd of the Israelite period from Lachish (Bliss, p. 102) bears apparently the inscription לְהַסֵּךְ, 'for making libation.'

7. Music. A large rattle was found in the temple enclosure at Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 46). Similar ones have been discovered at Lachish (Bliss, pp. 117, 120), and at Taanach (Sellin, p. 19). It is conjectured that they were used in the cult, like the sistra of the Egyptians, to mark time in the chanting of hymns. Musical instruments were part of the spoil carried away from Canaan by the Egyptians; and two Egyptian instruments, the *ken'noru*, or 'lyre,' and the *nataḳi*, or 'castanet,' have Semitic names, and were probably derived from Canaan. The presence of musical instruments implies the existence of song, and song implies a development of poetry. If there was secular song, there was doubtless also song in the service of the gods, as in Egypt and Babylonia. Such poetic effusions addressed to the Pharaoh as we meet in the letters of Yabitiri, governor of Joppa (Winckler, No. 214), or of Abimilki, king of Tyre (Winckler, 149), would scarcely have been possible, if the scribe had not been familiar with hymns to the gods. The long influence of Bab. civilization in Canaan also makes it probable that the psalm-type of composition had already found its way into that land.

8. Amulets, designed to protect the wearer against evil influences, were worn by the Canaanites in all periods. The most common type was the so-called 'Horus-eyes,' derived from Egypt, and intended to protect the wearer against the evil eye (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 213; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Index, *s.v.* 'Eye-amulets'). For other types of amulets see Vincent, *Canaan*, p. 176 f., and artt. CHARMS AND AMULETS.

9. Divination.—In one of the cuneiform letters from Taanach we read: 'If the finger of the goddess Ashirat shall indicate, let one observe and obey' (Sellin, p. 113). This shows that soothsaying was practised at sanctuaries, as in later Israel. The existence of oracles is further established by the names of many Canaanitish holy places: *e.g.* *Akshaph*, 'divination' (Jos 11[1] etc.); '*En-mishpat*, 'the spring of decision,' at *Kadesh*, 'the sanctuary'; the terebinth of *moreh*, 'the oracle' (Gn 12[6f.] 13[18]); the terebinth of *me'onenim*, 'the diviners' (Jg 9[37]); *Gibe'ath ham-moreh*, 'hill of the oracle' (Jg 7[1]).

10. Priests.—Sanctuaries and oracles imply the existence of priests who guarded the shrines and cultivated the means of divination, like the old

Arab *kahanat* and the old Heb. *kôhănîm*. In a letter of Rib-Addi of Gebal to the Pharaoh (Knudtzon, 83. 52), mention is made of a certain 'Ummahnu, whose husband is Ishkuru, handmaid of the Ba'alat.' Evidently she was a priestess of the great goddess of Gebal. Akizzi of Qatna complains of the Hittites that they have burned the city and carried away its gods and its *mu-ti* people. From the connexion *mu-ti* can hardly mean anything else than 'priests.'

11. Prophets.—The report of Wenamon (c. 1100 B.C.) relates of the king of Gebal: 'Now while he sacrificed to his gods, the god seized one of the noble youths, making him frenzied, so that he said, Bring the god hither! Bring the messenger of Amon! . . . Now, while the frenzied youth continued in frenzy during the night, I found a ship bound for Egypt' (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iv. 280). This shows that the ecstatic prophets of Ba'al and Ashera that we meet in later Heb. history were no new thing among the Canaanites (1 K 18[19]).

Of other Canaanite religious institutions we have no direct evidence, and can only draw inferences from the analogy of the Hebrews and of other Semitic peoples. In all probability the ritual of the Canaanites did not differ greatly from that of Israel in the pre-prophetic period.

LITERATURE.—See the bibliographies under 'AMM, 'ASHTART, and BAAL, and, in addition, Petrie, *Tell el-Hesy* (1891); W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägypt. Denkmälern* (1893); Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities* (1894); Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna* (=*KIB* v., 1896 [Eng. tr. *The Tell-el-Amarna Letters*]); Trampe, *Syrien vor dem Eindringen der Israeliten* (1898); von Gall, *Altisr. Kultstatten* (1898); Paton, *The Early History of Syria and Palestine* (1901); Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine during the years 1898–1900* (1902); Macalister, 'Reports on the Excavation of Gezer,' *PEFSt*, 1902–9; Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples d'orient* (1904 ff.); Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek* (1904); Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques* (1905); Ranke, *Early Bab. Personal Names from the published Tablets of the so-called Hammurabi Dynasty* (1905); W. M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches* (1906); Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (1906–7), with valuable index; Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (1906); Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer* (1907); Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (1907); Thureau-Dangin, 'Die sumer. und akkad. Königsinschriften' (=*Vorderasiat. Bibliothek*, i. 1 [1907]); W. M. Müller, 'Die Palästinaliste Thutmosis III.,' *MVG* xii. 1 [1907]; Hoschander, 'Die Personennamen auf dem Obelisk des Manishtusu,' *ZA* xx. [1907] 246; Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (1907 ff.); Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim* (1908); Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine* (1908); Breasted, *A History of Egypt*[2] (1908); Cormack, *Egypt in Asia* (1908); H. P. Smith, 'Theophorous Proper Names in the Old Testament,' in *Old Test. and Sem. Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper* (1908), pp. 35–64; Spoer, 'Versuch einer Erklärung des Zusammenhangs zwischen Dolmen, Mal- und Schalensteinen in Palästina,' *ZATW* xxviii. [1908] 271; E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*[2], i. (1909); Dalman, 'Napflöcher,' in *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, 1908, pp. 23–53; Gressmann, 'Dolmen, Masseben, und Napflöcher,' *ZATW* xxix. [1909] 113 ff.; Sellin, 'Profan oder sakral,' *Memnon*, ii. [1909] 211 ff. A useful summary of recent results of research will be found in Driver's *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible* (Schweich Lectures, 1908), esp. Lectt. ii. and iii.

LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

CANDLE.—The root of this word appears in the Lat. *candēre*, 'to shine'; the term itself is directly derived from *candēla*, an old word in Latin speech, having apparently the same meaning. It came in with Christianity, and has held a prominent place in our literature ever since, owing doubtless to the use of candles in religious and superstitious customs, and the figurative and symbolical associations of thought connected with this use. The importance of the term in English speech is well shown in Murray's *OED*. Here we shall confine attention to religious and ecclesiastical usage.

The use of artificial lights in religious ceremonies and observances is not by any means confined to the Christian Church; it has been characteristic of religious customs far into antiquity, and is not to be explained by considerations of utility alone. It springs from a sense of the symbolism inherent in Nature and in the powers and energies of the visible world. The human mind has a deep presentiment of a world behind and above the senses, and naturally sees in the more striking phenomena of the world the images and symbols of things unseen. Light is the most ethereal of all material things, fulfilling as it does so many beneficent functions in the world, and has long been consecrated in the sphere of religion as a symbol of Deity, of Godlike qualities and powers, of truth, purity, holiness, of that which enlightens and purifies the soul. In the Biblical sphere light in its highest sense is given to man in Revelation and in the institutions of religion, in which the ideas of the former are embodied. Of this, the golden candlestick in the tabernacle and the temple was a symbol, since it suggests generally the light which shone upon the world through law and prophecy, and in the ordinances of religion. Similarly, Christ calls Himself the 'light of the world,' and He charges His people to be like the candle which gives light 'unto all that are in the house' (Mt 5[15]). See small type below.

With the rise of gospel light upon the world, the types and symbols of the former dispensation were no longer required; and the NT nowhere enjoins the use of symbols even for its central and essential conceptions. The Church itself is the 'light of the world' (Mt 5[14]), and her light should be such as to render material symbols of it needless and superfluous. Yet it is likely enough that the need which has created Christian art would soon come to be felt, whenever men realized the essential beauty of the Christian conceptions, and the idea of the Church as the light of the world would be the first to call for symbolic and artistic expression.

It may be noted by the way that the word 'candle' has all but disappeared from the English Bible. The RV of 1888 has allowed it only in two places (Jer 25[10], Zeph 1[12] [text, but marg. 'lamps']). Why it should remain in these two solitary instances is quite a puzzle to the reader, since *nēr*, the common Heb. term for 'lamp,' stands in the text, and is so rendered in all other passages. It seems pretty certain that *nēr* must mean not 'candle,' but 'lamp,' since the *lamps* of the golden candlestick were fed with sacred oil. It seems probable also that λύχνος in the NT means 'lamp.'

Lamps (λύχναι, *lucernæ*) were early in use among the Greeks and Romans, as also among more Eastern peoples, though earlier instruments of light (tapers, torches, candles) of various materials and make may have continued among the poor. Numerous specimens of lamps have been preserved, some highly ornamental. In more primitive times, lights were readily obtained from splinters of pine or other resinous wood. These and other combustible substances, steeped in oil or tallow and fastened together with bark, could be used as torches. We read also of torch-cases of metal or clay, which, filled with suitable materials, could produce a bright and steady flame. None of these proved so convenient for ready and general use as the primitive candle, which consisted of a wick of oakum or of the dried pith of reeds or rushes, steeped in wax or tallow. Besides its greater convenience, it could be subjected to artistic treatment in the moulding to adapt it for scenic effect; in consequence of which, doubtless, its supremacy as a religious symbol was finally established.

We may take it as established beyond dispute that there was no ceremonial use of candles or lamps in Christian worship or in churches for the first three centuries. Up to that time the spiritual simplicity of worship as well as the strong antagonism to heathen customs which characterized the early days still continued, and found expression in occasional protests against the corrupting effect of heathen customs.

Tertullian (A.D. 200) inveighs in various places against the burning of lamps and the hanging of wreaths in porches in honour of the gods. Lactantius (A.D. 300), in exposing the folly

of heathen worship, exclaims: 'They kindle lights to Him as though He were in darkness.' 'If they would contemplate that heavenly light which we call the sun, they would at once perceive how God has no need of their *candles*.' 'Is that man therefore to be thought in his senses who presents the light of *candles* and *torches* to Him who is the author and giver of light?' 'But their gods, because they are of the earth, are in need of light that they may not be in darkness; and their worshippers, because they have no taste for anything heavenly, are recalled to the earth even by the religious rites to which they are devoted. For on the earth there is need of light, because its system is dark. Therefore they do not attribute to the gods a heavenly perception, but rather a human one' (*Div. Instit.* bk. vi. ch. 2).

Such protests, however, soon proved unavailing against the full tide of heathen custom which now began to enter the Church. With the conversion of Constantine and the Imperial recognition of Christianity, the new religion found ready nominal acceptance; but many of the old customs continued under new names and different sanctions. We hear first of the ceremonial use of lights at festivals in the dedication of churches and at the tombs of the martyrs.

Paulinus of Nola (A.D. 407) thus describes the feast of St. Felix, to whom his church was dedicated: 'Lights are burned, odorous with waxed papyri. They shine by night and day; night is radiant with the brightness of the day, and the day, itself bright in heavenly beauty, shines yet more with the light of countless lamps.' Jerome fully acknowledges the prevalence of the custom, which he excuses on the ground of the ignorance and simplicity of laymen or superstitious women, though evidently he sympathizes with it. He states that throughout the East 'candles are lit at the reading of the Gospel in full sunshine, not on account of the darkness, but as a token of joy' (*Ep. ad Ripar.*).

From the 4th cent. onwards and down through the Middle Ages, the custom is not only fully established, but is held in the greatest honour. Candles are burnt everywhere in the worship and on all high occasions, in festal services and processions, at baptisms, marriages, and funerals. They stand on the altar, they are placed in front of images and shrines, they are offered as votive offerings to God and to the saints, with prayer for recovery from sickness or for other benefits. There is hardly any service or ceremony by night or day which can be observed without them.

Some contend that the rapid spread of the custom is explained by supposing that it was simply the continuance of an earlier practice when Christian worship was observed in the darkness of the night, or in places like the catacombs from which the daylight was excluded. 'The necessary lights of one period became the ceremonial lights of the next' (Smith, *DCA* ii. 991). This supposition seems improbable and unnecessary. Heathen customs, religious symbolisms, the obvious attractions of artistic display, and scenic effect, together with the universal drift towards externalism and superstition—all these combined offer sufficient explanation.

In relating the origin of the festival of Candlemas (*q.v.*), originally a commemoration of our Lord's meeting with Simeon and Anna in the temple (Lk $2^{27.28}$), but afterwards celebrated in the West at the Feast of the Purification (*Candelaria*), an old writer (Jacob de Voragine, collector of the *Golden Legend*) affirms that this festival succeeded to and continued an earlier custom. 'Since it is difficult,' says he, 'to relinquish custom, the Christians converted to the faith from among the nations found it difficult to abandon this heathen practice, and so Pope Sergius changed it into something better, that the Christians, in honour of the blessed mother of the Lord, might on this day (Feb. 2) enlighten the whole world with lighted candles and wax tapers which had been blessed' (*PRE*³, art. 'Lichtmesse'). This was pre-eminently the Feast of Candles, in which candles were solemnly blessed and distributed among the people, who marched with them afterwards in procession through the city. The Christian reference of the ceremony was to the words of Simeon: 'a Light to lighten the Gentiles.' The higher reference of the custom is seen in the prayer offered in the consecration of the candles: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, Thou true light which lightens every man who cometh into the world, we pray Thee to bless these candles, that, wherever they are lighted, our hearts, enlightened by the invisible fire and purity of the Holy Ghost, may be freed from all blindness of sin and vice, and that after the dark and dangerous pilgrimage of earth we may enter into everlasting light.' Candles so blessed were thought to be a sure protection from many superstitious fears, a shield from thunder and lightning, blighting of the fields, diseases of cattle and other evils, especially the wiles of the devil.

It should be freely admitted that the higher reference of the custom and the Christian symbolism embodied in it were generally kept in view, and occasionally explained and enforced by the clergy. It was enjoined that the candles should be of wax alone, and not of tallow or other substances. 'The fragrant wax, the labour of the bee which dies when its work is accomplished, has mystic significance. It is drawn from the best juices of plants, and has the highest natural worth as a material for offerings.' The symbolism also might vary with the occasion. 'The baptism candle denoted the splendour of good works which open the door to the heavenly wedding-feast; the bride's candle, purity and sincerity of heart; the grave candle, the everlasting light of heaven which the dead enjoy; the Easter candle, the light of the world which breaks the power of death; the burning lights on the altar denote the Church, the light of the world' (*PRE*³, *loc. cit.*).

Yet it is patent to all that the custom has been the source of wide-spread and debasing superstition. This is strikingly seen both within the ranks of the clergy, where the observances were subject to prescribed rules, and among the people at large, where, as among the Russian peasantry at the present day, a consecrated candle is a charm for every evil they can think of. The minute prescriptions to regulate their use on ordinary and high occasions were calculated to induce false and superstitious conceptions among an ignorant or poorly educated clergy, and many old popular delusions which originated in these customs are hardly yet extinct.

At the Reformation the use of candles was abolished in all the Reformed Churches. They are still to be seen on the altar in Lutheran Churches, where they are retained as a symbol; also in many Anglican Churches.

LITERATURE.—In addition to works cited above, the reader may consult Smith's *DCA*; Brand, *Popular Antiq.*, 1813; Chambers, *Book of Days*, 1863-64, *s.v.*

A. F. SIMPSON.

CANDLEMAS.—I. Name.—'Candlemas' is the old English name for the Festival of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Feb. 2, which is called in the English Prayer Book 'The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, commonly called The Purification of Saint Mary the Virgin.'

There is early witness to its use—in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 1014: King Swegen ended his days '*to Candelmaessan iii Nonas Februarii*'; in a metrical Homily of 1325: 'The first nam es Candelmesse, The tother Maryes clensing esse, The thred Cristes meting es cald' (*Metr. Hom.* 155); in Arnolde, *Chron.*, under date 1521: 'Candylmas day next after, the Kynge and the sayd Duke of Burgoyn bare theyr Candyls.' L'Estrange writes under date 1655: 'February the 2nd (you may if you please call it Candlemas night) had been time out of minde celebrated at Court with somewhat more than ordinary solemnity' (Murray, *OED*, *s.v.* 'Candlemas').

The name is not peculiar to England. In France, it was formerly called 'la Candelière'; to-day it is 'la Chandeleur.' In Italy it is called 'Candelora' or 'Candelara.' Villani in his *Chronicle of Florence* (vi. 33), under date 1248, records the expulsion of the Guelfs by Frederic II. 'la notte di Santa Maria Candelaia.' The Danes used the term 'Kendelmess' (Olaus Wormius in *Fasti Danici*), and the Germans call it 'Lichtmesse,' or 'Missa luminum' (du Cange, *Glossar. ad Script. Med. et Inf. Lat.*, *s.v.* 'Candelaria').

The name is derived from the custom of carrying candles, torches, and tapers in the solemn processions on this day—a custom which is attested by Bede in the early part of the 8th century:

'Sed hanc lustrandi consuetudinem bene mutavit Christiana

religio, cum in mense eodem (*i.e.* Februario), die S. Mariae plebs universa cum Sacerdotibus ac Ministris, hymnis modulatae vocis per Ecclesias, perque congrua urbis loca procedit, datosque a Pontifice cuncti cereos in manibus gestant ardentes' (Bed. *de Ratione Temp.* c. 10, *ap.* du Cange, *loc. cit.*).

This description of the Candlemas procession and the reference to the Festival of the *Ypapanti Domini*—the Greek title of the Festival—in the *Martyrologium* of Bede are the earliest witnesses to Candlemas in this country (*DACL* ii. 640).

Baronius in his *Martyrologium Romanum* says that in the oldest codices the Festival has a variety of names: 'Festum Simeonis et Annae,' 'Presentatio,' 'Occursus,' 'Purificatio,' and, among the Greeks, 'Hypapante' or 'Hypante.' This last title was also used in the West, and is equivalent to the word 'Occursus.' It also witnesses to what was perhaps the original thought of the Festival, the coming of Christ to the Temple, which is the note struck in the *Invitatorium* in the Roman Breviary: 'Ecce venit ad templum sanctum suum Dominator Dominus; Gaude et laetare Sion, occurrens Deo tuo.'

2. **Origin.**—This has been until lately the subject of considerable difference of opinion. Baronius refers to the statement in the *Historia Miscella*, which here rests on the authority of Paulus Diaconus (*ob.* 799):

'Anno decimoquinto Imperii Justiniani (541), mense Octobre, facta est mortalitas Byzantii. Et eodem anno Hypapante Domini sumpsit initium, ut celebraretur apud Byzantium, secunda die Februarii mensis' (Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.* I. i. 108).

He also refers to the statement of Georgius Cedrenus, a later authority, whose *Compendium* goes down to the reign of Michael VI. Stratioticus (1057). Cedrenus records the institution of the Festival under the reign of Justin (*Hist. Compend. in Hist. Byzant.*, tom. vii., Ven. 1729), and the combined witness of the *Historia Miscella* and of Cedrenus is sufficient authority for recognizing the institution of the Festival at Constantinople on Feb. 2, either under Justin or under his successor Justinian—in either case probably through the influence of the latter.

But the discovery of the *Peregrinatio Silviae* by Gamurrini in a MS at Arezzo (Gamurrini, *S. Silviae Aquit. Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, Rome, 1887), now known to be the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* (Dom Férotin, Paris, 1903), has thrown new light on the early recognition of the Festival. The pilgrimage took place *c.* 385. The Festival of the Presentation was celebrated in the Church of the Anastasis at Jerusalem with great pomp. It was called the *Quadragesimae de Epiphania*. There is the procession such as is described by Bede three centuries later. Priests and bishops preach on the Presentation, and the dominant note is that of the 'Hypapante,' the 'Occursus,' the 'Festum Simeonis et Annae' of Baronius (cf. Duchesne, *Origines*[3], p. 499).

The transference of the Festival from 14th to 2nd Feb. was due to the institution of the Festival of Christmas (*q.v.*) on Dec. 25. This was unknown at Jerusalem in 385. Chrysostom refers to the Festival of Christmas in 386, as having been introduced into Antioch about 375. It is a Festival of the Latin Church (Duchesne, p. 258). And the forty days of the Purification according to the Law would lead to the institution of the Festival of the Presentation on Feb. 2. It was perhaps under the influence of the traditions of the Latin Church of the Danube Provinces that Justinian, whose home was in Dardania, between Old Servia and Macedonia, introduced the Festival into Constantinople. Evans has pointed out 'the loyal adherence to Western orthodoxy and the See of Rome' which was shown by the Dardanian bishops (*Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum*, pts. iii.–iv. p. 133, Westminster, 1885). The inference is that the Festival was kept in Illyricum and in the Church of the Danube at the close of the 5th century.

There is no evidence to show at what date the Festival was first held at Rome. Baronius states that it was instituted by Pope Gelasius (492–496) as a check to the heathen Festival of the Lupercalia (*Mart. Rom.* p. 87), but the statement rests on no evidence (see *DCA* ii. 1141). Batiffol (*Hist. du Brév. rom.* 134) says that the only Festival observed in early days in honour of the Blessed Virgin at Rome was the Octave of Christmas, Jan. 1. The four Festivals of the Nativity (Sept. 8), the Annunciation (March 25), the Falling Asleep or Assumption (Aug. 15), and the Purification (Feb. 2), are not attested earlier than the time of Pope Sergius (687–701). The statement of the *Liber Pontificalis*, as Baronius points out, does not necessarily go beyond the order of the Litany or Procession from S. Adriano to S. Maria Maggiore (Anast. Bibl. lxxxv.; Murat. *Rer. Ital. Script.* III. i. 150).

There is an earlier witness in Gaul, in a sermon of Eligius of Noyon (*ob.* 665), in which mention is made of the candles ('de eo mysterio cereorum' [Baronius, *Mart. Rom.*]). Whatever may be inferred from these scant references, there is witness for the observance of the Festival in Jerusalem in 385, in the Danube Province *c.* 500, in Constantinople in 542, in Gaul *c.* 650, and in Rome *c.* 700. It is in keeping with the traditions of Rome that it should be the last to witness to a Festival which had apparently already been established in the more Celtic provinces beyond the Alps.

3. **Threefold character.**—The Calendars and Service Books of the Church throw light on the threefold character of the Festival—as a Feast of our Lord, a Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and a Feast of Lights.

The earliest liturgical reference is in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, the earliest MS of which dates from the end of the 7th century. The Vatican MS has the title 'in Purificatione Sanctae Mariae,' the Rheinau MS 'Sancti Simonis,' the St. Gall MS 'Sancti Simeonis,' and the edition of Gerbert, perhaps from the lost Zürich MS, 'Yppapanti' (Wilson, *Gel. Sacr.* p. 166). This is evidence that the name of the Festival was not as yet fixed, and that beyond the Alps the prominent thought was the Feast of the Presentation. The titles 'S. Simeonis' and 'Yppapanti' agree with the notice in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

The *Gregorian Sacramentary* represents the use at Rome at the close of the 8th century. The first part of it (Murat., cols. 1–138) is the Sacramentary sent by Hadrian to Charles the Great, between 784 and 791 (Duchesne, p. 120; Wilson, *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, p. xli). The Festival is entitled *Yppapanti ad S. Mariam*. The first Collect is 'Oratio ad Collectam ad S. Adrianum.' Then, as a title to the Collect for the day, is the note 'Missa ad Sanctam Mariam Majorem.' The Collect is that of the English Prayer Book and the Roman Missal, a Collect of the Presentation. The 'Collecta ad S. Adrianum,' with its prayer 'Erudi, quaesumus, Domine, plebem tuam,' is the prayer for the Litania at S. Adriano instituted by Pope Sergius (Murat. *Sacr. Greg.* p. 22). It is to be noted that the Preface for use 'in Purificatione Sanctae Mariae' from the Vatican Codex and the Codex Othobonianus (*ib.* 273,297) is the Preface '*V.D. . . . Deus quia per incarnati*,' the Preface for Christmas Day. This is still the rule in the Roman Missal, and it is the link which joins Candlemas to Christmas.

The Saint-Amand MS of the Roman *ordines* is an important witness to the Candlemas Procession at Rome. It is a MS of the 8th cent., and is therefore of the same age as the *Gregorian Sacramentary*. At early dawn there was a gathering, or *collecta*, at the church of S. Adriano in the Forum. All the diaconal regions and all the titular parishes were represented, and with lighted candles awaited the Pope at the church. It was a meeting of the 'plebs,' on the very site of the Comitium, in

the Curia, where in bygone years the *Comitia tributa* had assembled. The choice of S. Adriano for this *collecta* is therefore not without importance in the history of the Festival at Rome, and the *oratio ad Collectam* must certainly be read in connexion with the traditions which probably still hung round this old meeting-place: 'Erudi, quaesumus, Domine, plebem tuam' (Murat. *Sacr. Greg.* p. 22). The Pope and the deacons vested themselves in black (*vestimentis nigris*). The Procession was then formed. Seven crosses were borne, probably at the head of the seven 'diaconiae'; then came the priests and subdeacons; last of all, the Pope with the deacons. Two lighted candles were carried before him.

Thus the Procession left the Forum for the church of S. Maria Maggiore. On nearing the atrium the Pope bade the choir sing the Litany again three times. 'Et ipsa die non psallitur *Gloria in excelsis Deo*.' The black vestments and the hushing of the *Gloria* lent a special note of solemnity to this service. It gives grounds for thinking that there is something in the suggestion of Baronius that the Festival was introduced into Rome to counteract the Festival of the Luperealia (Duchesne, App. p. 479).

The earlier Service Books of the Middle Ages still give emphasis to the idea of the Presentation of Christ. It is in the later Service Books that the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary takes a more prominent place. In the Metrical *Martyrology* of Oengus the Culdee (*c.* 800), it is noted as 'The reception of Mary's Son in the Temple, sure, inestimable' (Whitley Stokes, *Mart. of Oengus*, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. xxix., 1880, p. 58).

The *Leofric Missal* represents the use of the English Church before the Conquest. The earliest part of the Missal (Leofric A), *c.* 900–950, reproduces the order of the *Gregorian Sacramentary*, with, however, the Epiphany Preface instead of the Preface: 'Deus . . . quia per incarnati.' The Festival has the title 'Purificatio Sanctae Mariae' (Warren, *Leofric Missal*, 1883, p. 70). The second part (Leofric B) is a calendar of the date 975–1000. The 'Purificatio Sanctae Mariae' is distinguished by F as one of the Greater Festivals (*ib.* p. 24). The Third Part (Leofric C) is of the date of Leofric, Bishop of Exeter (1050–1072). There are several prayers which belong to the Candlemas Procession, and enter into the later Service Books.

These prayers and antiphons illustrate the three aspects of Candlemas. It is a Feast of Lights, in which there is a Blessing of Fire and a Blessing of Light, in honour of Him who is the Light of the World, a Light to lighten the Gentiles. It is a Feast of the Presentation, or Festival of Simeon, who is mentioned in more than one of the prayers. It is a Feast of the Blessed Virgin: 'genetricis tuae, cujus hodiae festa percolimus' (*Leofric Missal*, pp. 203, 204).

The *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, Bp. of London (1044–1050) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1051–1052), is evidence of English use in the early years of the 11th century. The date of the MS is 1008–1025, or perhaps 1013–1017 (H. A. Wilson, *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, H.B.S. vol. xi. p. xxiv). The title in the Calendar is 'Purificatio Sanctae Mariae' (*ib.* p. 10). The prayers for the Blessing of the Fire and Candles and the prayers for the Mass are both in the *Sanctorale*. The Blessings come immediately after the Collect for the Festival of St. Bridget on Feb. 1, and as there is a leaf wanting in the MS before the *ad Missam* of the Purification, Wilson thinks it possible that the candles were blessed on St. Bridget's Day. 'Leofr. A has no mass for S. Brigid's Day' (*ib.* p. lviii)—a fact which is important in its bearing on the customs of Candlemas Eve.

The antiphon is much fuller than in Leofric C, and has reference to Holy Simeon as well as the Blessed Virgin. It is a witness to the older name of the Festival. The prayers *ad Missam* are those of the *Gregorian Sacramentary* and the *Leofric Missal*, substituting a Special Preface instead of the old Christmas Preface. The Preface 'V.D. . . . Deus. In exultatione' has not been traced. Two passages give its character:

> 'Dives in suo, pauper in nostro. Par turturum vel duos pullos columbarum vix sufficit sacrificio caeli terreque possessor. Grandevi Symeonis invalidis gestatur in manibus a quo mundi rector et dominus predicatur. . . . salvator.'

It is probably of Gallican origin (*ib.* p. 160). The character of the antiphons and the Preface suggest that the European or Gallican type, as distinct from the Roman type, gave emphasis to the idea of the Presentation and the Meeting with Simeon and Anna. 'The Purification' was the title derived from Rome.

The *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, a MS written at Winchester towards the end of the 10th cent., has the rubric 'Oratio ad candelas benedicendas in Purificatione Sanctae Mariae' (Wilson, *Benedictional of Archb. Robert*, H.B.S. vol. xxiv. p. 35). This is the only form given, and it is followed by the Episcopal Benedictions in the Mass.

The later Candlemas rites are to be studied in the *Westminster Missal*, a MS of the date 1362–1386 (Wickham Legg, H.B.S. vols. i., v., xii.). The Mass is on p. 760. The whole of the Service except the Sequence emphasizes the Presentation. The Sequence is in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

The blessing of the candles is on p. 619, and is ordered after Terce. The candles, together with the special *candela rotunda*, are placed in readiness before Terce, in front of the high altar. The abbot enters, and the choir sing the responsory, 'Gaude Maria virgo cunctas hereses sola interemisti,' with the verse 'Gabrielem archangelum,' which is said to have been composed by a blind cantor, and sung first at the Pantheon (Batiffol, *Hist. du Brév. rom.* p. 134). Its reference to 'hereses' and to the 'judeus infelix qui dicit christum ex Joseph semine esse natum' is archaic. The Collect *Deus qui salutis* is the old Gregorian Collect for Jan. 1—the ancient Roman Festival of the Blessed Virgin.

The *candela rotunda*, which is to be specially consecrated, is then lighted, the cantor beginning the antiphon 'Venit lumen tuum,' which is an Epiphany antiphon at Lauds in the *Sarum Breviary*. Then follows the Blessing of the Light, after which the candles are sprinkled with holy water and censed, the cantor beginning the antiphon 'Hodie beata virgo Maria puerum Iesum praesentavit.' The candles are next distributed, and they, together with all the lights of the church, are to be lighted *de lumine benedicto*—the large *candela rotunda* which has been specially blessed with the old form of the *Benedictio ignis*.

The Candlemas Procession at Westminster Abbey in the 14th cent. emphasized the Blessing of the Light, the Presentation of Christ, and, in the ancient responsory, the Virgin Birth.

The Candlemas Procession in the Monastery at Evesham in the 13th cent. differed from the Westminster use (Wilson, *The Evesham Book*, H.B.S. vol. vi. p. 57). A procession was formed *usque in cryptam*, where the Blessing of the Fire and of the Candles took place, perhaps at the altar of St. Mary 'in cryptis.' This is a relic of the older Benedictine use, which ordered that the blessing should take place 'extra propriam ecclesiam.' When they reach the crypt, the abbot precedes and stands near the candles while the antiphon 'Gabrielem' is sung. The abbot then blesses the fire in the thurible, after which the candles and tapers are blessed. The abbot next sprinkles

the candles with holy water and censes them, and then says 'Dominus vobiscum' and the Collect 'Erudi, quaesumus, Domine, plebem,' the *oratio ad Collectam S. Adriani* of the *Gregorian Sacramentary*. The abbot then goes to his place, whereupon the precentor receives the candle prepared for the abbot, and lights it from the fire in the thurible. The *cereus ornatus*, probably the *magnus cereus qui dicitur mariale* in the Westminster MS Benedictional at Oxford, is borne before the abbot, and the procession is re-formed and passes through the cloisters to the church. The *cereus ornatus* is then placed '*super candelabrum* juxta altare.' The candles have to be carried during the Mass.

In the Salisbury Processional of 1445 (Chr. Wordsworth, *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 100), the large candle which was borne before the bishop weighed six pounds. The Lincoln candle weighed a stone.

There is an important comparative table of the Blessing of the Candles in Legg's edition of the *Westminster Missal* (pt. iii. pp. 1431-1432), which presents many of the chief differences as well as the points of agreement.

The later rites at the Procession, the Mass, and the Hours may be found in the Roman and Sarum Missals, and the Roman and Sarum Breviaries. In the Roman rite, where the priest is vested in a violet cope, there is no Blessing of the Fire, but the candles after being blessed are distributed, and the *Nunc Dimittis* is sung with the antiphon 'Lumen' after every verse. The Sarum Missal (ed. Dickinson, p. 696) also omits the Blessing of the Fire.

The Breviary Service of the Roman rite reflects the old character of the Festival. The antiphons at Vespers are those appointed for the Circumcision, the ancient Roman Festival of the Blessed Virgin, and at Matins the Invitatory is 'Ecce venit ad templum.' It is to be noted that the *Te Deum* is sung to-day where *Gloria in Excelsis* was omitted in the 8th cent. *ordo* of Saint-Amand. At second Vespers the antiphon to *Magnificat* is 'Hodie beata virgo Maria puerum Iesum praesentavit.' The Lections all refer to the Presentation.

The *Sarum Breviary* (ed. Wordsworth, p. 131) has some variations. The Ninth Response, not displaced by the *Te Deum*, is the ancient 'Gaude Maria, . . . Gabrielem,' and at second Vespers the responsory is 'Gaude, gaude, gaude, Maria.' It is noted that according to the Sarum Use the Festival cannot be transferred.

The Festival is observed with characteristic variations in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites. In the 11th cent. Sacramentary of Bergamo of the Ambrosian rite, it appears in the Calendar as the Purification (*DACL* i. 1399). In the Breviary the *Resp. in choro* at the First Vespers is 'Suscipiens Iesum in ulnis,' with the verse *Nunc Dimittis*; the Psallenda is 'Senex puerum portabat'; the third Collect is 'Erudi'; and the *Antiphona ad Crucem* is that of the Circumcision, 'Venite et videte in Bethlehem Regem'—another link which joins Candlemas to Christmas. This antiphon is repeated only five times, whereas at the Feast of the Circumcision (Jan. 1) it is repeated seven times.

The Mozarabic rite has preserved the Blessing of the Fire. The *ordo ad benedicendum candelas* is in the Mozarabic Missal (ed. Lesley, Rome, 1754, p. 300). The fire is struck from flint: 'Et sculpatur novus ignis cum silice et ex lavone.' *The Benedictio ignis* is that of Leofric C, while the Preface is that of the Sarum Missal, with some very slight differences, its presence in the Mozarabic and Sarum Missals showing the community of rite in the West in the earlier ages of the Church.

The antiphon 'Lumen' is sung after each verse of the *Nunc Dimittis*. Then follows the Blessing of the Light after the sprinkling of the candles. The Collect differs from the Roman, referring to Simeon and the 'Lumen ad revelationem gentium.' The 'oratio ad pacem' has a reference to purification: 'Domine Iesu Christe . . . in te impleta omnia ostendisti: dum in te vero Deo et homine: et purificatio secundum legem exprimitur: . . . Adesto plebi tue ad te ex purificatione venienti, et presta incrementum muneris.' Is this a link with the Roman purifications of the month of February? The *Inlatio* is of special interest, since it is identical with the *Inlatio* of the Circumcision, and yet has an allusion to Simeon and Anna and the Presentation in the Temple. Is it to be inferred that in earlier days the Presentation was observed at the octave of Christmas but was transferred to Candlemas to meet the needs of the Church to check the February traditions of heathendom—the sacred fire in the West, the lustrations in Rome?

4. Relation of the Feast of Candlemas to the early heathen festivals.—The following points stand out prominently in the liturgical evidence: the Blessing of the New Fire is emphasized in the Evesham use and the Mozarabic rite; the carrying of the candles is associated with the 'Lumen ad revelationem gentium'; and the idea of purification is preserved not only in the title of the Festival, but in the *oratio ad pacem* of the Mozarabic rite. This liturgical evidence is supported by the evidence of folk-lore.

The Blessing of the New Fire, which, according to the Mozarabic rite, must be newly struck out of the flint, may perhaps link the Festival of Candlemas with the rites of Celtic heathendom. The Celtic year began on Nov. 1, which the Church consecrated to All Saints. The 1st of May marked the beginning of summer, and the Beltane fires of May 1 compare with the Samhain fires of Nov. 1 (Rhŷs, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 518). The Church consecrated May 1 to the Apostles. The 1st of August is the great feast of the sun-god, the Lughnasadh Fair or Lammas Day, which the Church took over in honour of St. Peter. The day was also marked in old time by its fires.

The 1st of Feb. was the fourth great Festival of the Celtic year (Chambers, *Book of Days*, Aug. 1; for further details, cf. FESTIVALS [Celtic]). Vallancey in a quotation from Cormac's *Glossary* says:

> 'In his time [*i.e.* the 10th cent.] four great fires were lighted up on the four great festivals of the Druids; viz. in February, May, August, and November' (Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Bohn, 1848, vol. i. p. 349).

It is not difficult to connect the Blessing of the Fire with the ancient fires of Feb. 1; and the Scotch custom of the Candlemas Bleeze or Blaze (*Book of Days*, Feb. 2) was probably derived from the sacred fires lighted on Feb. 1, which is still dedicated to St. Bridget or St. Bride. Her sacred fire was still guarded at Kildare in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis (Wood-Martin, *Elder Faiths of Ireland*, 1902, vol. i. p. 279). St. Bride has entered into the heritage of the Goidelic Brigit, a Minerva who presided over the three chief crafts of Erinn (Rhŷs, *Celt. Heathendom*, p. 75). Candlemas is connected with St. Bride by two traditions of Scotch custom. One of these is described by M. Martin in his 'Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,' 1716 (Pinkerton's *Voyages*, iii. 613):

> 'The mistress and servants of each family take a sheaf of oats and dress it up in women's apparel, put it in a large basket, and lay a wooden club by it, and this they call Briid's Bed; and then the mistress and servants cry three times, "Briid is come, Briid is welcome." This they do just before going to bed' (Brand, *op. cit.* i. 50).

There is another version from the MSS of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre (*Scotland and Scotsmen in 18th Cent.*, ed. A. Allardyce, Edin. 1888, vol. ii. p. 447). The custom, according to Ramsay, was associated with the night before Candlemas, thus

linking the Candlemas Festival with the older Festival of Feb. 1. A bed was made of corn and hay near the door. When it was ready, some one went out, and called three times: 'Bridget, Bridget, come in; thy bed is ready.' One or more candles were left burning near it all the night. Frazer (*GB*[2] i. 223) speaks of this as a representation of the revival of vegetation in spring, and it is this which links the folk-lore of St. Bridget with the myth of Persephone (Seyffert, *Dict. of Class. Antt.*, tr. Nettleship and Sandys, 1906, *s.v.* 'Persephone').

There is another early instance of the association of St. Bridget with Candlemas in Maxwell's *Bygone Scotland* (p. 153):

'30th Jan. 1510. It is ordanit that on Candlemas Day, as is the yerlie ryt and custom of the burgh, in the honor of God and the Blissit Virgin Mary, there shall be the processioun of craftsmen, twa and twa togidr, socialie, als honourabily as they can. And in the offering of the Play, the craftsmen sal furnyss the Pageante; . . . wobstaris and walcaris, Symeon, goldsmiths, the three Kingis of Cullane; the litstaris, the Emperor; . . . the tailyours, Our Lady Sanct Brid and Sanct Elene . . .'

'Our Lady Sanct Brid' here takes an important place in the Candlemas pageant, and it therefore seems reasonable to associate the Blessing of the Fire on Candlemas Day with the ancient Fire of St. Bridget.

The Carrying of the Candles has also its early associations, which were taken up by the Church in honour of Him who came to be the Light of the World, 'Lumen ad revelationem gentium.' The myth of the rape of Persephone has reference to the changes of the seasons. 'In spring, when the seeds sprout up from the ground, she rises to her mother [Demeter]' (Seyffert, *op. cit.* p. 472). Both she and her mother Demeter are represented with a lighted torch (*ib.* 473, 178). The Eleusinian Mysteries were celebrated in honour of Demeter and Persephone, and the return of Persephone to the light was celebrated at the Lesser Mysteries, which were held in the month Anthesterion, which corresponds roughly with February. In these Mysteries the carrying of torches was a marked feature in the rite. The Scotch custom of calling for Bridget on Candlemas Eve, and the solemn carrying of candles at Candlemas, are only different methods of giving expression in folk-custom and religion to the ancient myth of the spring return of Persephone. Baronius accepts the principle of consecrating pagan mysteries to the glory of Christ:

'Putamus usum illum superstitionis Gentilium sacris ritibus expiatum, ac sacrosanctum redditum, in Dei Ecclesiam esse laudabiliter introductum' (*Mart. Rom.* p. 88).

The idea of purification is emphasized in the *oratio ad pacem* of the Mozarabic rite. Baronius regarded this as being the immediate cause of the introduction of the Festival into Rome. He refers to the treatise of Gelasius against the Senator Andromachus on the abuses of the Lupercalia, which was held at Rome on Feb. 15th (*ib.* 87), and he gives the letter in full in his *Annals* (*sub ann.* 496). It was a festival favoured by the women of Rome, who looked for virtue from the thongs cut from the skins of the goats sacrificed to Juno Februalis. The whole purpose of the Festival was purification (Varro, vi. 3, 55). February thus became the month of purification, and the Festival itself was a red-letter day for the women of Rome. It is certainly not an accident that Candlemas Day was called in the North of England 'the Wives' Feast Day,' and it was an inspiration of the Church to consecrate the February Festival to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mother of our Lord: 'Gaude, gaude, gaude, Maria.' Nor was it an accident that the Candlemas Procession at Rome was representative of the whole city, and gathered at the church of S. Adriano, the ancient Curia on the Forum of Rome, the meeting-place of the 'plebs.' It is this to which allusion is made in the Collect 'Erudi, quaesumus, Domine, plebem tuam . . . gratiae tuae lumen concede.'

5. The Candlemas customs did not altogether die out in England with the Reformation. Peter Smart, a Prebendary of Durham, in 1628 alludes to the practice of Cosin, Bp. of Durham:

'On Candlemass Day last past, Mr. Cozens, in renuing that Popish ceremonie of burning Candles to the honour of our Ladye, busied himself from two of the clocke in the afternoone till foure, in climbing long ladders to stick up wax candles in the said Cathedral Church' (Brand, *op. cit.* i. 47).

George Herbert in his *Country Parson* (1675) speaks of an 'old custom of saying, when light is brought in, "God send us the light of Heaven"; and the parson likes this very well.' In a note to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1790, a gentleman visiting Harrogate said that at Ripon, a few years before, 'on the Sunday before Candlemas, the collegiate church, a fine ancient building, was one continued blaze of light all the afternoon from an immense number of candles' (Hone, *Every-Day Book*, ed. 1830, vol. i. p. 205).

Herrick in his *Hesperides* alludes to the customs of Candlemas, which was still the end of the Forty Days of Christmas:

'Down with the Rosemary, and so
Down with the Baies and Misletoe:
Down with the Holly, Ivie, all
Wherewith ye drest the Christmas Hall:
That so the superstitious find
No one least branch there left behind:
For look how many leaves there be
Neglected there (Maids, trust to me),
So many Goblins you shall see'
(Brand, *op. cit.* i. 49).

Sir Thomas Browne sums up Candlemas weather in the proverb,

'Si Sol splendescat Maria purificante,
Major erit glacies post festum quam fuit ante'
(*ib.* 50).

This proverb is best Englished in the Scotch lines:

'If Candlemass Day be dry and fair,
The half o' winter's to come and mair;
If Candlemass Day be wet and foul,
The half o' winter's gane at Yule'
(Chambers, *Book of Days*, i. 214).

Box might take the place of holly at Candlemas:

'Down with the Rosemary and Bayes,
Down with the Misleto;
Instead of Holly, now up-raise
The greener Box (for show)'
(Herrick, in Brand, p. 49).

And the old idea of the continuity of the Sacred Fire and Light is shown in the burning of the Christmas Brand and its preservation till the coming Christmas:

'Kindle the Christmas brand, and then
Till sunne-set let it burne;
Which quencht, then lay it up agen,
Til Christmas next returne.

Part must be kept wher-with to teend
The Christmas Log next yeare;
And where 'tis safely kept, the Fiend
Can do no mischiefe (there)'
(*ib.* p. 50).

The 'teending,' or lighting, of the Christmas Log with the Christmas Brand laid up from Candlemas, is an echo of the sanctity of the Sacred Fire. These customs and rites show the continuity in folk-lore and religion of the earliest religious ideas. To quote George Herbert, 'Light is a great blessing, and as great as food, for which we give thanks: and those that think this superstitious neither know superstition nor themselves.'

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THOMAS BARNS.

CANNIBALISM.

i. **Origin of cannibalism.** — 1. Cannibalism, anthropophagy, or man-eating, is a custom which at once inspires horror in the civilized mind. But, though the present range of the practice is somewhat restricted, it was much wider within even recent times, and there is every probability that all races have, at one period or another, passed through a cannibalistic stage, which survived occasionally in ritual or in folk-custom, or was remembered in legend or folk-tale. Even now extreme hunger will drive members of the most civilized races, as well as those peoples who live always on the borders of starvation, to the practice, however much they may instinctively abhor it. But there is every reason to believe that such abhorrence was not originally instinctive, but arose through a variety of causes, so that, in the beginning, man-eating may have been as natural to primitive men as is the eating of animal-flesh to ourselves. The word 'cannibal' is derived from *Carib.* When Columbus visited Cuba he heard of the 'Canibales' (Caribs) as man-eaters. At Hayti they were called 'Caribes'—the difference being caused by the interchange of *l*, *n*, and *r* in American languages. The name of this particular man-eating people was then extended as a popular term for all man-eaters, or for any bloodthirsty race, the Spaniards erroneously connecting it with Sp. *can*, and Lat. *canis*, 'a dog.' By the end of the 16th cent. the word was in common use as a generic term; *e.g.* Bonner is called a cannibal by Foxe (*Acts and Mon.* iii. 739), and Shakespeare makes Queen Margaret call her son's murderers 'bloody cannibals' (*3 Hen. VI.* Act v. Sc. 5, line 61). 'Anthropophagy' is directly derived from ἀνθρωποφάγος, while 'man-eater' was already in use as a Teutonic feminine appellation (*mannætta*) for both male and female sorcerers (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 1081).

2. *Cannibalism among animals.* — Among the lower animals eating of their own kind occurs as an habitual or occasional practice with most of the carnivores, feline and canine, and with some rodents, the young or weak falling victims to the rapacity of the others. This has been noted mainly in the case of captive animals, but in some cases also among animals in their wild state. With very few exceptions, *e.g.* the horse, animals seem to show no shrinking from the dead of their own kind. When, however, we come to the higher apes, no evidence of their eating their own kind is yet forthcoming, and some have inferred from this that man's immediate precursor as well as primitive man himself was not a cannibal. Some, indeed, have gone so far as to deny that the higher apes and even primitive men were carnivores. It is quite certain, however, that most, if not all, of the higher apes in a wild state eat small and possibly large mammals, while in captivity they show no distaste for flesh food. Though mainly frugivores, they are by no means exclusively so, and all of them seem to be omnivorous in their tastes and habits. As to primitive man, the argument appears to be based mainly on the form of his teeth, which indeed differ but slightly from those of modern men who are omnivorous. He could quite well have eaten flesh food as we do, without possessing the teeth of a carnivore, which tears its food with its teeth in order to consume it. The analogy of the lower savages, who are by no means exclusively vegetarians, and many of whom devour flesh greedily, tends to show that primitive man, like the men of the Quaternary period (the refuse of whose food shows strong flesh-eating propensities), was not a plant- or fruit-eater exclusively. (On the cannibalism of beasts see Brehm, *Thierleben*[2], 1878.)

3. *Primitive cannibalism.*—Primitive man and even man's immediate precursor were already far in advance of the higher apes. One line of advance is to be seen in their growing ability to supply their rapidly extending needs, and there can be little doubt that they desired and obtained a more varied and a more regular food supply. If, as is certain, the higher apes were already omnivorous, the increasing development of primitive man would make him more so, through his increasing adaptation to a more varied diet. At the same time, increasing skill as a hunter of his prey, increasing wariness, and the use of stone or cudgel as weapons would cause him to master even large mammals, whose flesh would be used as food. There would be a growing taste for flesh food, and there seems no reason to suppose that any discrimination as to the kind of flesh eaten was exercised. To eat human flesh need not have seemed to primitive man or to his immediate precursor any more disgusting than to eat any other kind of flesh. When other flesh was wanting, the sight of a dead human being would but excite the flesh-hunger. In this connexion Steinmetz has shown (1) that the fear of the dead body could have been no hindrance to the eating of it, since even now, where ghosts are feared, savages show little fear of the corpse, handling it indifferently, remaining with it, subjecting it to various indignities (from our point of view), and also eating it; (2) that the natural disgust which civilized man has at cannibalism does not exist among cannibalistic savages, while many low races, even without the pressure of hunger, eat the most revolting things; (3) that the æsthetic refinement of civilized man is hardly discoverable in the savage. *A fortiori*, then, man, when just emerging from the bestial stage, must have been as the savage (*Endokannibalismus*, ch. 20).

To this it may be added that the satisfaction felt after a meal of flesh of whatever kind, as well as the pressing claims of hunger, were little calculated to make primitive man discriminate as to what he ate. The dead body of friend or foe was but an addition to the primitive larder, and would be readily eaten, when other flesh food was wanting, by one who was at all costs bent on satisfying his hunger. Since cannibalism, which seems to have once existed universally, must have originated at some time, there seems no good reason for crediting primitive man with greater refinement of feeling than his successors who do practise it, or for denying that it originated with him. The earliest men of whose habits we have any actual knowledge, viz. the men of Palæolithic times, were cannibalistic, and we can hardly suppose that the practice began with them. Better that it should have begun at a time when there existed no ethical or æsthetic reason to hinder it, and that, with increasing civilization, men should have begun to give it up, than that we should seek its origin in a later age, when its commencement would involve the shifting of already formed higher feelings. There was a time when cannibalism was natural to man, as there was a time when other things, shocking to our moral sense, *e.g.* incest, were natural to him. It was man's privilege, in becoming more conscious of his manhood, to shake them off and to rise in doing so to a higher ethical plane. Thus Schurtz's dictum that cannibalism is a sickness of childhood, which often overcomes the strongest peoples, is scarcely relevant as regards primitive

man. It assumes that cannibalism, *in its origin*, was pathological, whereas it seems, under the circumstances, perfectly natural. Only when the feelings which now make it abhorrent to us are overcome through madness or gluttony, can it be called pathological, and these are happily the least wide-spread causes of cannibalism. Few maniacs, indeed, whatever other perversions they exhibit, are known to become cannibalistic.

The question of pre-historic cannibalism—Palæolithic and Neolithic—has been much discussed. The arguments for Palæolithic times are mainly these—the presence of human bones, charred, broken, and calcined, mixed with animal bones, ashes, and charcoal, in Quaternary deposits; some of these are split as if to obtain marrow, as in later savage cannibalism; others show traces of scraping with flint instruments as if to scrape off the flesh; or, as in the grotto of Gourdan, fragments of skulls show cutting marks, and in one instance the pericranium is broken with a stone hammer, as if to extract the brains. As no other bones were found, Piette supposes a tribe of head-hunters to have inhabited this cave, who used a similar method to that of the head-hunters of Luzon (*BSAL*, 1873, p. 407). In late Palæolithic interments, *e.g.* those of Baousses-Rousses at Mentone, the custom of removing flesh from the bones before interment—a common savage custom—had been followed, and may indicate cannibalism. Quaternary man also made necklaces of human teeth, as many cannibalistic savages now do. It has been thought too, that, as the flesh of the larger mammals may not always have been available through the poverty of Palæolithic man's weapons, he may frequently have been reduced to hunger, and may thus have been driven to anthropophagy. Against all this it has been contended that the charring may have been accidental; that fractures on human bones bear no resemblance to those on animal bones, and may have been caused through the weight of the superincumbent layers; and that there was abundance of flesh food available. There is, however, no *a priori* reason why Palæolithic man should not have been an occasional though not an habitual cannibal; and if cannibalism through hunger arose in still earlier times, he may have practised it already from some other motive also. Neolithic cannibalism rests on similar evidence, as well as the presence of human bones in refuse heaps or kitchen middens. The Palæolithic evidence rests mainly on caves in Belgium and France; the Neolithic, on deposits in Egypt (where Petrie suggests cannibalism with the motive of obtaining the virtues of the deceased), Iberian Peninsula, Palmaria, and Keiss and Ardrossan in Scotland. The Neolithic lake-dwellers in Switzerland used the skulls of enemies as drinking-cups (Gross, *Les Protohelvètes*, 1883, p. 107). See reports of discussions at Inter. Congress of Anthropol. at Paris (1862), Brussels (1872), Lisbon (1880); papers in *BSAP*, 1866, and following years; Dawkins, *Cave Hunting*, 1874; Sergi, *Mediterranean Race*, 1901, p. 93; Munro, *Prehist. Scotland*, 1899, p. 82; Thurnam, *Archæologia*, xlii. 161; Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 1877, p. 543; Nadaillac, *Prehist. Peoples*, 1892, p. 51; Vogt, *Lect. on Man*, 1864, p. 346.

Cases of cannibalism during famine, siege, or shipwreck are well known. In these cases the overpowering, through raging hunger, of the civilized man's natural disgust at eating human flesh, rather than actual madness, gave rise to it. Some cases of cannibalism through madness, cited by Bergemann, are of doubtful authenticity (*Verb. der Anthropophagie*, p. 2). Steinmetz (*op. cit.* ch. 23) could discover no instances of it, and the works of modern alienists do not refer to it. Plutarch cites a confused story of the daughters of Minyas, who went mad with desire for human flesh and slew one of their children (*Quæst. Gr.* 38).

4. The most satisfactory hypothesis of the primitive social group is that which makes it analogous to the family groups of the higher apes, viz. the sire, a number of females, and their younger progeny. From this group, *ex hypothesi*, the sons, as they grow up, are driven off by the sire through the influence of sexual jealousy. They are thus forced to seek mates by capture from some other group (Lang and Atkinson, *Social Origins: Primal Law*, 1903). Assuming, then, as we have reason for doing, that the members of such a group had omnivorous tastes, and through hunger ate their fellows as well as the other mammals, whom would they eat—members of the group, or outsiders (foes), or both? Such love as may have existed between the sire and his mates or progeny was little likely to hinder him from eating them when dead, especially as no other reason kept him from it, and the practice was as yet natural. To the sons who had been driven out he was hostile; if he killed them while attempting to interfere with his wives, again nothing hindered their being eaten. Finally, the members of all other groups, being hostile, would, when killed, afford a food supply. Thus relatives and enemies alike would be eaten. Hence it is impossible to assume, as some writers (*e.g.* Steinmetz) do, the priority of endo-cannibalism (viz. the eating of relatives) over exo-cannibalism (the eating of non-relatives). Cannibalism existed without these distinctions first of all, and the desire for food made no distinction between relative and enemy. Or the distinction may have been thus far suggested, that, while an enemy might be killed in order to be eaten, a relative would be eaten only when dead. The sons, though relatives, were strictly in the position of enemies. The distinction between friend and foe, so far as forming a possible food supply was concerned, would, of course, exist, whatever was the form of the earliest human or semi-human social group.

Bordier (*BSAP*, 3me sér., xi. 67) used the words 'exo-anthropophagy' and 'endo-anthropophagy'; Steinmetz (*Endokannibalismus*, p. 1) prefers the forms 'exo-cannibalism' and 'endo-cannibalism' to these and to the usual English forms 'exophagy' and 'endophagy,' which are also used for the ordinary food restrictions of totemistic peoples.

5. *Totemism and cannibalism.*—The earliest cannibals were thus unconsciously both endo- and exo-cannibals. The distinction between eating a relative and eating an enemy, with the consequent tabu against eating a kinsman, could have arisen only with the growing sense of kinship. Man soon discovered that there were certain persons whom he must not marry, viz. those of kin to him—not, however, in our sense of the word. Whether an exogamous tendency existed before totemism is uncertain; if it did, totemism made it absolute. Was there also a growing dislike of endo-cannibalism which totemism also made absolute? One result of totemism was certainly to make tabu the eating of the animal or plant which was the totem of the group of kinsmen, because, in effect, it was a kinsman. This tabu, aided by the increased sense of kinship and the customary laws which it involved, as well as by the growing dislike of endo-cannibalism (if such existed), may quite conceivably have made tabu the eating of a human kinsman. Frazer has pointed out that 'the further we go back we should find how much the less the clansman distinguishes between conduct towards his totem and towards his fellow-clansmen' (*Totemism*, p. 3). If it is wrong to kill and eat one's totem-animal because it is of kin to one, it is equally wrong to eat a kinsman. And in actual practice we find that among totemistic peoples it is generally considered wrong to kill a kinsman. In Mangaia, to kill a fellow-clansman was regarded as falling on the god (totem) himself, the literal sense of *ta atua* (to kill a member of the same totem-clan) being 'god-killing' (Gill, *Myths and Songs*, 1876, p. 38). The animal kinsman being tabu, not to be killed or eaten, the human kinsman must have been so too. Conceivably, then, a man might eat his wife (just as he could eat freely of her totem-animal), since she was bound to be of a different totem kin and class from himself, and yet would be breaking no law forbidding endo-cannibalism. But he could not eat his sister, or brother, or mother, since these were within the list of forbidden degrees and of the same totem kin. The tabu against eating relatives may possibly be seen in the savage custom of not eating in a house where a dead man is lying, lest his ghost should by accident be eaten. Why then are relatives sometimes eaten among present or earlier totemistic peoples? Totemism is now generally a declining institution, and its sanctions are frequently not observed. Hunger might impel to the eating of a dead kinsman, as it does sometimes, even in Australia, to the eating of a totem animal. So affection or some powerful animistic or semi-religious motive

might here and there overcome the totem cannibal tabu.

Strictly speaking, the words 'exo-cannibalism' and 'endo-cannibalism' should be used only where totem clans practise cannibalism, since a man may eat another who, from our point of view, is a relative, and yet from the totem point of view is not a kinsman (not of the same totem). But in actual use this is overlooked, and the eating of relatives, or even more loosely of tribesmen, is spoken of as endo-cannibalism, and that of any others as exo-cannibalism; whereas endo-cannibalism should be confined to the eating of totem kinsmen where it occurs. This (which resembles the loose use of the word 'exogamy') is partly due to the fact that observers of cannibalism seldom state what relatives are eaten or by whom. This is important, since, even where totemism as an institution has passed away, its restrictions frequently remain (see below). But, using the terms in their wider sense, we find, from a survey of information given by travellers and missionaries, that many peoples who eat enemies also eat, on certain occasions, fellow-tribesmen or 'relations.' A closer investigation might have shown that the latter were often not kinsmen in the totemistic sense. As far as most cannibal areas are concerned, since so many peoples have abandoned the practice, the time for this has gone by. A closer scrutiny of existing cannibal tribes may bring fresh information to light.

Among actual totem peoples some data exist to show the truth of our contention. From the Australians we have a few recorded facts by observers who have connected totemism and cannibalism. Some tribes eat only enemies, *e.g.* the Kurnai and Maneroo (Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 1880, pp. 214, 218, 223). Spencer and Gillen report of North Central Australia that Gnanji eat enemies and probably their own dead; with the Binbinga tribe, men of a different class from the dead man eat him; in one case cited from the Anula tribe, the woman was eaten by four men, two of them her own 'tribal fathers,' and of the same class as she, and two of a different class, but all of a different totem from the woman (Spencer-Gillen[b], pp. 545, 548). Other tribes eat only relatives; but we seldom hear what the relationship is, save among the Dieri, with whom 'the father does not eat the child or the child the father, but mother eats child and child eats mother, while brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law eat each other' (Curr, *Aust. Race*, 1887, ii. 63). The Dieri do not count descent through the mother, however, and eat their own totems. In other cases in Australia the restriction as to eating the totem is sometimes overcome, especially through hunger, as among tribes in N.W. and W. Australia and in the south (Wotjobaluk, Buandik, Wonghibon [Eyre, *Journals*, 1845, ii. 228; Howitt, *S. Aust.* 145]). In Victoria there seems to be no objection to eating the totem; in Central Australia, while it is not eaten by men of the kin, yet old men may eat it, and kinsmen try to increase the numbers of their totem so that men of other kins may eat it (Howitt, p. 145; Spencer-Gillen[b], pp. 167, 321). Among some Central Australian tribes the totem is eaten ceremonially. It is thus evident that there is a tendency to break down the earlier restriction on eating the totem animal, and the same tendency may explain the eating of kinsmen. Hunger and the strong influence of other motives would certainly tend in this direction (ii. § 12). With the American Indians, also totemists, extreme hunger alone drives isolated tribes to eat relatives; elsewhere only enemies are eaten, and for magical reasons (ii. § 17). Of the Caribs and other tribes Im Thurn says: 'tribal feeling is always very strong among Indians, so that they cannot be suspected of feeding on individuals of their own tribe' (*Ind. of Guiana*, p. 418). In New Caledonia, Fiji, and the New Hebrides, where a past totemism has left a legacy of food restrictions, the eating of relatives is certainly occasional; while in the New Hebrides and Duke of York Island the bodies are sold or exchanged (Powell, *Wanderings*, 1883, p. 93; Nadaillac, *BSAP*, 1888, p. 34).

In Fiji, where an earlier totemism had given rise to the idea of the gods being incarnate in certain animals which must never be eaten by the worshippers, we find that 'some were tabu from eating human flesh, because the shrine of their god is a man' (Williams, *Fiji*, 1858, i. 220). Here, probably, an earlier totem restriction on the eating of kinsmen has become, with the curious local development of the institution, a tabu against eating any human flesh where the clan god had a man for his shrine. Another suggestive case is found among the Maoris, formerly totemists, according to Maclennan. When some of the natives fought with the English against their fellows, after the fight some of the young men proposed to eat the fallen of the other side. But others forbade this, because the fallen and the victors were all 'Ngapuhi' together (*i.e.* of the same clan), and to eat a relative was a deadly sin (*Old New Zealand*, 1893, p. 229). So in a Maori myth, when Maui's grandmother was on the point of devouring him, she suddenly discovered him to be a relative, and her desire ceased; while one family who devoured their near relatives became cowards as a consequence (Grey, *Polyn. Myth.*, 1855, pp. 34, 131).

In Africa no eating of relatives occurs in the south (Bechuanas, etc.), where there are totem-animal restrictions; while most remarkable of all is the reluctance of the worst cannibals in the world—those of Central Africa—to eat relatives, whose bodies are invariably sold or exchanged. Here, too, the presence of an earlier totemism has been found (Maclennan, *Studies in Anc. Hist.*[2], 1886, chs. xxii.–xxv.).

In support of the theory that totemism tabued the eating of kinsmen is the parallel (noted by W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 1885, p. 307) drawn by certain peoples between cannibalism and the eating of tabued animals. Porphyry says the Egyptians and Phœnicians would rather have eaten human flesh than that of the cow (*de Abst.* ii. 11). Generally, even by cannibals, there is a distinction drawn between eating of enemies and eating of relatives—the former out of revenge, etc., the latter generally for ceremonial purposes. Livingstone reports that the people of the Zambesi were shocked at the idea of eating a donkey (presumably a totem-animal): 'it would be like eating man himself' (*Zambesi*, 1865, p. 335). The Solomon Islanders, who have exogamous clans, never eat the body of a member of the same tribe (*L'Anthrop.* x. 492).

6. Taking the word 'endo-cannibalism' in the wider sense of eating members of the tribal group, we may make certain deductions from the data. (1) Endo- and exo-cannibalism frequently coexist, especially where some motive other than hunger underlies man-eating, *e.g.* the desire to assimilate the virtues, soul, or strength of the deceased. In these cases we may assume that the totemistic restriction has been overridden by some stronger cause. (2) Exo-cannibalism frequently exists alone, even among very low races. This may result (*a*) from totemistic traditions; (*b*) where enemies are eaten to show contempt for them or out of sheer rage—motives which obviously could not underlie the eating of relatives or fellow-tribesmen, and which would inevitably bring that to an end where it still existed. The only exception to this latter case is where the criminal, *i.e.* a member of the tribal group, is eaten as an expression of legal punishment. (*c*) Exo-cannibalism occasionally exists alone, with sheer gluttony as the motive; the bodies of relatives, as has been seen, are exchanged or sold — a proof that the strong desire for human flesh may be overruled in the case of relatives by some powerful law, even though it be only a survival. This law we hold to be totemistic. (*d*) Where cannibalism is dying out, it continues to exist mainly in an attenuated form as exo-cannibalism, as among some American Indian tribes. (3) Endo-cannibalism seldom exists alone, and this suggests the inference that at first no distinction was made between eating friend and eating foe. It was only later that the distinction arose. This is also suggested by the fact that, among races who have abandoned cannibalism and who do not possess totemism as a flourishing institution, the bodies of dead *relatives* are eaten under the pressure of famine, as among the Eskimos, and wherever cannibalism has occurred among civilized peoples.

ii. Varieties of cannibalism. — 1. *Cannibalism from hunger.*—Where cannibalism now occurs out of hunger, a distinction must be noted between eating the dead and killing the living in order to eat them. In the latter case, sometimes it is the sick and old who are killed, but usually these are put to death for another motive, as will be seen. Dead bodies are eaten among the Eskimos (though some deny this), a few isolated American Indian tribes, some S. American tribes, the Tongans, and the Basutos. Cannibal murder is found among the Australians, New Caledonians, islanders of Nuka Hiva, Marquesans, Samoans, Ainus, Sakhalin islanders, Ostiaks, Samoyeds, Tiering Dayaks, in further India, among some American Indian tribes, and among the Fuegians. With all these peoples, except the Tongans, New Caledonians, and Marquesans, cannibalism is occasional and through stress of

famine, while it is mainly relatives or members of the same tribe who are eaten. In a few cases, *e.g.* American Indians and Basutos, we find cannibalism through famine causing a taste for human flesh, and resulting in man-eating through gluttony.

The cannibalism of the Eskimos has been denied, as by Egede (*Bruchstucke eines Tagebuches*, p. 107), who says that in famine they kill their dogs as we would do horses, dogs not being usually eaten by them. Its earlier existence, however, is suggested by *Marchen*, which tell of its being practised by distant tribes, who are differentiated from the Eskimos, and are certainly in some cases American Indians, or by hags and ogres. It is also shown in the *Märchen* that it causes madness in those who are unaccustomed to it (see Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, 1875; Boas, 'Central Eskimo,' in *6 RBEW*, p. 409 ff.). Part of the body is certainly eaten for magical purposes (see below). Among the American Indians some members of the Fish tribe in B. Columbia are said to dig up and eat the dead, to the abhorrence of the others. In times of famine it occurred in Labrador. A tradition of the Nishinam (California) says they ate their dead; while the Utes dug up corpses (Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, 1862, p. 257; Hind, *Labrador*, 1863, i. 14; Powers, *Contr. N. Am. Eth.* iii. 343; Nadaillac, *BSAP*, 1888, p. 28). Some S. American tribes on the Amazon are said by Bates and Wallace to eat the dead when hunger presses (Bates, *Nat. on Am.*, 1863, p. 382; Wallace, *Travels on Am.*, 1853, pp. 347, 353, 359). If the Basutos were cannibals in the past, they had largely given it up, until, during the early wars with the British, famine drove some of them to consume the corpses of the slain. Certain of them thus acquired a taste for human flesh, and, retiring to the mountains, spared no one in their desire. A cave explored by Bowker showed evidence of recent cannibalism—heaps of bones, many of them split to obtain the marrow. Horror at these cannibals was widespread, and they or perhaps earlier cannibals appear in native *Märchen* in much the same light as the ogres of our nursery tales (Casalis, *The Basutos*, 1861; *Anth. Rev.*, 1869, vii. 121; Jacottet, *Contes pop. des Ba-Soutos*, 1895, p. 71; cf. also Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 1905, pp. 510, 558).

Certain Australian tribes, *e.g.* the Watchandi of W. Australia, kill children in time of need—the mother getting the head, the father the body; hunger occasionally drives other W. Australian tribes to kill enemies (Oldfield, *Trans. of Eth. Soc.*, N.S., iii. 245 f.), as they also eat the old after death, 'that so much good food may not be lost'; but in general the motive is not hunger. In Nuka Hiva, wives, children, and parents were killed and eaten (Krusenstern, *Reise um die Welt*, i. 258); Ellis says the Marquesans (who ate enemies) killed children in want (*Tour through Hawaii*, 1826, p. 72); the Samoans (also enemy-eaters) killed wives and children (Langsdorf, *Reise um die Welt*, 1813, i. 120). The remoter Ainu tribes are said to be 'eaters of their own kind,' the father killing the crippled son, the husband an unfruitful wife. Other tribes are certainly not cannibals (but see below), though early Japanese writers usually attributed the practice to them (Batchelor, *Ainu of Japan*, 1892, pp. 288, 305; Preuss, *Die Begräbnisarten der Amer. u. Nordostas.*, 1894, pp. 218, 298). As late as 1863 the eating of children among the Ostiaks was reported (*AA* iii. 333). Wilken says the Tiering Dayaks of Borneo kill and eat the sick through hunger. Cannibal murder in famine is confined, with the American Indians, to such tribes as the Nasquapees, Hare Indians, Chippewayans, Denés, and Utes (Hind, *Labrador*, i. 244; Waitz, *Anthrop. der Naturv.*, 1872, iii. 89; Faraud, *Dix-huit ans chez les Sauvages*, 1870, p. 38; Nadaillac, *op. cit.* p. 28). The Tinnés think that, when a man is driven to cannibalism through hunger, he acquires a taste for it; hence he is avoided and frequently killed (Hearne, *From Prince of Wales's Fort . . . to the N. Ocean*, 1796). As to the Fuegians the evidence is doubtful; Darwin (*Journal of Researches*, 1840, p. 155), Fitzroy, Snow, and others have asserted that old women are killed and eaten in time of famine, as also members of a hostile tribe after a fight; but Marquin and Hyades deny the accusation (*Bull. de la Soc. de Géog.*, 1875, p. 501; *Rev. d'Eth.* iv. 552).

In ancient and modern times, civilized societies and individuals, through stress of famine, as in siege or shipwreck, have occasionally resorted to cannibalism. Josephus (*BJ* v. x. 4, vi. iii. 4) tells this of the Jews in the siege of Jerusalem (cf. an earlier instance, 2 K 6[28]), and Dio Cassius of the Jews who revolted against Trajan (lxviii. 32). Valer. Max. (vii. 6) mentions people in besieged towns in Spain eating wives, children, and prisoners. Cannibalism occurred sporadically in Europe in mediæval times after great scarcity, in the 7th and 11th cents.; at the siege of Paris in 1590; among the Saxons at the end of the Thirty Years' War; during famine in Algiers in 1868; and during the siege of Messina (Letourneau, *Evol. of Morality*, 1886, p. 215; Bergemann, *op. cit.* p. 1 f.).

2. *Other motives.*—It has now to be shown how other motives than the primitive one of hunger influenced the practice of cannibalism, and occasionally were strong enough to override the totemistic restriction regarding the eating of kinsmen, or, assuming that they existed before the rise of totemism, prevented the application of the food restriction so far as it concerned human kinsmen.

That this is not contrary to fact is proved by the actual eating of kinsmen among some totem peoples. The permission to eat human kinsmen *plus* the restriction on eating animal kinsmen may seem a contradiction, but savage law, however strict, is frequently accommodating, and we have an analogous contradiction in this, that, while human kinsmen were absolutely forbidden to marry, the animal kinsmen must have been known to pair among themselves. Eagle man might not marry Eagle woman, but the actual Eagle had an Eagle mate. Various totemistic peoples also kill or eat their totem animal on certain solemn occasions, while other tribes who regard certain animals as sacred, and do not ordinarily kill or eat them, will do so under pressure of hunger (some African tribes) or at an annual religious festival (Todas, Central African tribes, heathen Arabs, Peruvians, Egyptians, American Indian Dog tribe in Arkansas). See Marshall, *Phrenologist among Todas*, 1873, p. 129; Frazer, *Totemism*, 1905, *Golden Bough*[2]; W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Semites*, p. 278; Réville, *Rel. of Mexico and Peru*, 1884, p. 226; Herodotus, ii. 47; Bancroft, *Native Races*, 1875, iii. 316.

Men are eaten with the purpose of acquiring their qualities, their strength, or their soul; for magical or medical purposes; out of affection; out of hatred; through gluttony; for religious or ritual, political, and social reasons. In some cases more than one of these motives exist together. Generally speaking, they have arisen later than the eating of human flesh through hunger; in many instances they have arisen directly out of it, but we must not overlook the possibility of any of them having arisen separately and apart from a taste for this food acquired in time of starvation. Each of these motives will be discussed separately, and its range and extent set forth. It should be observed that, when cannibalism has become an established custom, it exists usually quite independently of the presence or absence of plenty of other kinds of food.

3. *Cannibalism to obtain strength, etc.*—First may be noted the common savage belief that by eating a human being or an animal one acquires the qualities and virtues of such a person or animal. The strength of the lion, the ferocity of the tiger, the courage of the warrior, will be communicated to the eater of the flesh of lion, tiger, or warrior. In itself the belief is primarily a development of what must already have been patent to primitive man, viz. the strengthening power of food. Hence it was easy to believe that the qualities of a beast or man—strength, swiftness, cunning, valour, etc.—would also be acquired by eating. This sacramental transfusion of qualities and energies must have originated in early times, while it is found universally among all peoples of a low range of culture. It was also aided by the growing magical theory of things, and especially by that branch of it by which it was held that the part was equal to the whole, or could convey the qualities of the whole, since the nature of anything adheres to its parts even when they are separated from it. Hence, to eat even a small piece of the flesh of beast or man would result in the assimilation of his qualities by the eater. Even totemism itself may have assisted this belief in the assimilation of qualities, if totemistic peoples held that the life circulating in the group of kinsmen was a fixed quantity, any part of which it was dangerous to lose. Hence, if a kinsman dies, his share of the life must be received by his fellow-kinsmen to prevent its passing out of the kin. Therefore they may smear themselves with his blood or fat, or even eat a part of him (Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 80). In the same way wearing a bone or tooth of a dead man is sometimes held to convey to the wearer his properties. Thus, while totemism generally forbade the eating of relatives, it may here and there have suggested it. In the same way, when totemism was weakened, the sacred totem animal became a sacred magical animal with healing qualities when eaten (S. Reinach, *L'Anthrop.* xiv. 355; W. R. Smith, *Kinship in Arabia*,[2] p. 231). This motive has led to the eating of relatives, but especially to the eating of enemies, in order to acquire their qualities.

4. The growth of Animism, with its belief in an indwelling spirit in all things, helped this theory of transmission of qualities, and introduced some of the strongest reasons for the continuance of cannibalism. While a man's strength or bravery may not have been conceived of as a separate entity, but simply as wrapped up in the man himself, Animism, with its belief in a shadowy replica of man—his soul or spirit—gave these things a new psychic significance. Hence in actual cannibalism we find that many tribes eat a man to be possessed of his soul, which in turn makes them possessors of all the qualities of the man. His life and all its manifestations — strength, wit, courage — are conceived of as being in the soul which lurks in his flesh; and, as in the earlier theory, by eating a man one obtained his strength, so now by eating him one obtains his soul. In many cases, where the heart or liver or marrow is said to be eaten, or the blood drunk for the sake of obtaining its owner's strength, it is probable that the assimilation of the owner's soul or life is intended, since it is so commonly believed that the life or soul is in one of these parts.

5. It might be thought that Animism, with its belief in soul, or spirit, or ghost, which, when freed from the body, was held to have many additional powers or, at least, greater freedom in using them, would have caused a fear of the dead and a natural shrinking from eating the body of an enemy, whereby his soul would be introduced into the eater, and thus work him harm. In effect, Animism did give rise to the fear of the dead and of ghosts, and in many cases it was held that the soul of a man, living or dead, could work considerable harm to the body or soul of another. But as, in spite of this, the bodies of the dead and of those most likely to harm the eater, viz. enemies, continued to be eaten, it is obvious that some counter theories were strong enough, in most cases, to aid men in overcoming their fears. These were (1) that by eating a man one overcame his ghost or soul, which was thenceforth harmless, and subservient to the will of the eater, or was even destroyed. We shall find this as a working belief among Australians, Maoris, Eskimos, and in Central Africa, while it also supplies one strong motive for head-hunting, frequently associated with cannibalism (§ 14). (2) Again, the curious ideas regarding eating, viz. that it established a bond of union between persons eating together (hence to eat the food of the spirit world, later of fairy-land, or of the gods, bound one to the company of ghosts or gods), may also have assisted to overcome the fear of the dead by a kind of inversion. If persons eating together became of one kin, so also might the eater with the thing or person eaten. Thus the eater of friend or foe, as it were, became inoculated with him, and so rendered him harmless. In the case of relatives this eating may easily have come to be regarded as part of the funeral ceremonies, to neglect which would ensure the ghost's vengeance, but to fulfil which caused his continued friendship. Thus cannibalism does not seem to have been much hindered, as far as fear was concerned, by the prevailing animistic beliefs, though these may have occasionally caused it to cease in another direction (see below, iii.). Frequently the bodies of relatives are eaten in order that their souls may strengthen the eaters, or pass over into them, possibly with the notion of their being re-incarnate in the bodies of the next children born into the family. Or again, the old and sick are killed and eaten to prevent the soul becoming weak with the body. Some analogy to this negative influence of Animism is found where cannibalism, involving the handling of a dead body, prevails among peoples, *e.g.* the Maoris, to whom such handling caused uncleanness. And parallels to the idea of the ghost strengthening or helping the eater of the body are found, *e.g.*, in the Melanesian belief that arrows tipped with human bone are deadly, because the ghost to whom the piece of bone belonged will work upon the wounded person (*JAI* xix. 215), or in the Andaman custom of wearing necklaces of human bones in the belief that the disembodied spirit will shield the wearer against evil spirits, through gratitude for the respect thus paid to his memory (*ib.* xii. 86).

6. Where cannibalism occurs for the purpose of obtaining the strength or other qualities of the person eaten, it is most frequently only a part of the body which is used; hence there is seldom a cannibalistic meal. This motive underlies cannibalism in parts of Australia, in the Sandwich Islands, Torres Straits and Nagir Islands, Timor-Laut, Celebes, and New Zealand, in some parts of Asia, among some African tribes, with the majority of American Indian tribes, occasionally in S. America, and even now and then in civilized lands.

Some tribes in North Australia eat the cheeks and eyes of enemies to make them brave (MacGillivray, *Voyage of Rattlesnake*, 1852, i. 152); in Queensland enemies do not appear to be eaten, but members of the tribe are, for various reasons, including the obtaining of their qualities; *e.g.* a mother will eat her child to get back the strength which she has given it; relatives are also eaten, as well as members of the tribe who fall in battle, and honoured headmen (Palmer, *JAI* xiii. 283; Howitt, *Native Tribes*, p. 753; Finch-Hatton, *Advance Australia!*, 1885, p. 143); in N.S. Wales the fat of the fallen, to which great strength is attributed, is eaten, while at burial a piece of the flesh is divided among the relatives, out of which they suck strength or throw it into the river to nourish the fish (Waitz, *Anthrop.* vi. 748; *JAI* xiii. 135); in S. Australia, besides other motives, the acquiring of strength appears among the Kurnai, Theddora, and Ngarigo, who eat the hands and feet of enemies (Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 752); the Dieri of Central Australia eat a man and drink his blood; the Luritcha frequently kill a strong child and feed a weak one on its flesh, while most of the tribesmen, before starting on an expedition, draw blood from one or more of their members, and drink it to make them lithe and active (*JAI* xxiv. 172; Spencer-Gillen[a], pp. 461, 475). Bonwick says of the Tasmanians that a man's blood was sometimes administered as a healing draught (*Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, 1870, p. 89). In the Sandwich Islands the eating of an enemy's eye by the king at his coronation to get his strength was the reduced form of an earlier, wider cannibalism (see § 18). In the Torres Straits Islands the tongue of a slain enemy was eaten as a charm for bravery; the sweat of warriors was drunk for the same reason; the eyes and cheeks of a shipwrecked party in 1834 were said to have been eaten to 'increase their desire after the blood of white men.' Beyond this cannibalism did not exist (Haddon, *JAI* xix. 312). On Nagir Island boys were made to eat the eyes and tongue of an enemy that their hearts might know no fear (Petermann's *Mitteilungen*, vi. 96). In Timor-Laut the flesh of a dead enemy was eaten to cure impotence; in Celebes the blood of an enemy was drunk to acquire courage (Riedel, *Selebes*, 1886, p. 279). Savage tribes in N.E. Burma preserve blood of enemies in bamboo canes till dry, and then eat it in a feast to obtain courage (Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, 1889, p. 274). The Dayak head-hunters would eat a piece of the cheek-skin as a charm to make them fearless (Ling Roth, *JAI* xxii. 59). Eating the eye and sucking the blood to get strength appear with the motive of revenge among the Maoris (Taylor, *N.Z.* ch. xxi.). Among the Yakuts and Kamtchatkans, and in Liu-kiu, a mother would eat the placenta in order to bear quickly again (*Inter. Arch. für Eth.* iii. 71), while in Muzaffarnagar a barren woman is recorded as killing a child to drink its blood (*PR* ii. 172). The lamas in Tibet are said to have a craving for human blood in order to obtain vigour and genius (Landor, *In the Forbidden Land*, 1898, ii. 68). Drinking an enemy's blood is reported of the people of Dardistan (Leitner, *Tour in D.* i. 9); the brains and lungs of an enemy are eaten and his blood is drunk in Luzon (Featherman, *Races of Mankind*, 1888, ii. 501). In Africa the practice as an isolated custom is found mainly in the south. The Basutos, in Moshesh's time, ate their Boer enemies to get their courage; warriors were also painted with a mixture into which pieces of human flesh (enemy's) entered, for the same reason; some of it was occasionally drunk; the hearts of conspicuous warriors are eaten by most of the tribes (*JAI* xix. 284 ff., xx. 137). The Kāfirs will eat a human heart to obtain strength; a similar notion doubtless underlay the custom among the Ama-pondo Kāfirs at the instalment of a chief—a relative having been killed, the chief bathed in his blood and drank from his skull. The Bechuanas, though disliking the practice, also eat an enemy's flesh for superstitious reasons (Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 1902, p. 102). Tribes in East Central Africa cut out an enemy's heart and liver and eat them on the spot, while parts of the flesh are reduced to ashes and made into a broth, which is swallowed to give courage, perseverance, and wisdom (Macdonald, *JAI* xxii. 111; Buchanan, *Shirè Highlands*, 1885, p. 138). Among the

Negro tribes, who are cannibal mainly out of revenge or gluttony, this motive is occasionally found, either along with these or by itself: the Jaggas (Angola) ate men because it gave them courage, according to a 17th cent. traveller, and among the Bassongi of the Kassai men after circumcision and unfruitful women eat men's flesh to recuperate their powers; at Great Bassam (Ivory Coast) the heart and liver of a sacrificial victim, slain at the founding of a new town, are eaten by all present so that they may not die within the year; in Dahomey an enemy's heart is occasionally eaten at festivals (Wissmann, *Unter deut. Flagge*[2], 1892, p. 139; Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, 1888, i. 613-614). In N. Africa, where cannibalism has been practically uprooted by Muhammadanism, it is believed, *e.g.* among the Nubians, that every bullet they fire will kill a man if they consume the liver of an enemy (Baker, *Ismailia*, 1874, ii. 354). Among the American Indians, with the exception of the outlying tribes, who are cannibals through famine, very little of the body is eaten, and that usually to obtain the courage of a dead enemy, though occasionally through revenge. Chippewa women fed their children with the blood and pieces of flesh of English prisoners to make warriors of them. The heart was eaten by such tribes as the Crees and Blackfeet; Dakotas and Sioux are known to have cut up a prisoner into small pieces, which were distributed to all the warriors, who ate them to get his bravery. There seems little doubt, however, that more extensive cannibalism had prevailed in earlier times (Long, *Voyages*, 1791, p. 115; Faraud, *op. cit.* p. 38; Keating, *Exped. to St. Peter's River*, 1825, i. 412). Occasionally Indians have been known to eat part of a slain enemy out of bravado (*3 RBEW*, p. 272). Among S. American tribes where mainly gluttony or more purely animistic motives prevail, there is sometimes a practice of rubbing children's faces with a slain enemy's blood to make them brave; the Tarianas and Tucanos of the Amazon burn the corpse of a warrior and drink the ashes in water in order to be brave; this is also reported of the Rio Negro tribes and Ximanes (Wallace, *Amazon*, 1853, p. 374; Steinmetz, p. 10; Muller, *Amer. Urrel.*, 1855, p. 289). Survivals of the practice in civilized lands have occasionally been noted; de Maricourt 'saw two Sicilians tear with their teeth the heart of a Neapolitan just killed' (*FLJ* i. 301). We may also note the belief current in the N.W. Provinces of India, embodied in various tales, that to eat the flesh or taste the blood of a saint or of a wizard is of peculiar religious efficacy, giving the eater wisdom and mystic powers (Crooke, *Rel. and Folk-lore of N. India*[2], 1896, ii. 255; Burton, *Sindh*, 1851, pp. 86, 388).

7. *Medical cannibalism.* — Derived from the idea of obtaining strength is the belief that the flesh, etc., of the dead has medical virtues. What strengthened the body would also cure its ills; hence primitive and even later pharmacopœias occasionally prescribe some part of the dead body as a medicine. The most remarkable examples of this practice occur in China. Among the poor it is not uncommon for a member of the family to cut a piece of flesh from arm or leg, which is cooked and then given to a sick relative. Parts of the bodies of criminals are eaten as medicine; their blood is drunk as a cure for consumption. In some cases murder is committed so that the diseased, *e.g.* lepers, may drink the blood of the victim. A popular work on materia medica gives many such cannibal remedies; in general, each part of the body has some particular curative virtue. The whole superstition in China is certainly connected with the idea that the eating of the human body strengthens the eater, for this is wide-spread, and at times it is difficult to say which purpose is intended. Thus Wells Williams writes: 'It is not uncommon for him [the executioner] to cut out the gall-bladder of notorious robbers, and sell it, to be eaten as a specific for courage' (*Middle Kingdom*, 1848, i. 415; Dennys, *Folk-lore of China*, 1876, p. 69; Bergemann, p. 21). Among savages the practice is found of giving a sick man some blood to drink drawn from the veins of a relative (Australia, *JAI* xiii. 132; American Indians, Petitot, *Trad. Ind.*, 1886, p. 269). Pliny cites a number of remedies concocted from portions of human bodies and used by the sick (*HN* xxviii. 1 f.). The medical properties of human flesh were believed in throughout mediæval Europe and even in much later times. Even in the 17th cent. the Hon. Robert Boyle speaks of the curative properties of the thigh-bone of a criminal. Popular superstition still makes occasional use of such remedies in Germany, but generally the flesh is used magically, though in some cases it is eaten. Drinking out of the skull of a dead criminal or suicide has always been a favourite remedy, and is still made use of in out-of-the-way corners—cases have been reported from the Scottish Highlands within the last few years. The custom of the sick drinking water in which the relics of a saint had been washed, or from his skull, or of a stream diverted so that it might flow under the altar of a church over the bones of a saint, was a favourite practice in mediæval times, as it still is in Roman Catholic lands and in, *e.g.*, the Cyclades (Bent, *The Cyclades*, 1885, p. 122). Louville (*Memoirs*, 1818, ii. 107) cites the case of the duchess of Alva in the 17th cent., who, alarmed for the health of her son, obtained a finger of St. Isidore from the monks of Madrid, pounded it up, and made him drink part of it in a potion. Probably the idea of the value of the flesh of a criminal for medical purposes was a relic from the time when criminals or prisoners or slaves were used as human sacrificial victims, sometimes representing the divinity, and either eaten in a cannibal feast, or their flesh or blood used for healing purposes. Since criminals had frequently been chosen as sacrificial victims, it was argued that there must be some virtue in a criminal's body. Thus when human sacrifices ceased, the executed criminal was still held to possess special virtues (see an article by M. Peacock, 'Executed Criminals and Folk-Medicine,' in *FL* vii. [1896] 268, for other instances).

8. *Magical cannibalism.* — In some cases the flesh of the dead is eaten for magical purposes; here also the underlying idea is that of acquiring the powers of the deceased. In the Torres Straits Islands, where only the tongue of dead enemies is eaten in ordinary circumstances, youths at initiation into the craft of sorcery are required to eat part of a putrid human corpse; this is also done by sorcerers before practising their art. In both cases it causes frenzy, and the eater is not held accountable for his actions, even for murder (Haddon, *JAI* xix. 316, 398). In various parts of Australia this eating of the dead forms part of the making of medicine-men, but with many of the tribes initiation is held to be the work of spirits; hence, possibly, eating the dead ensures the help of the ghost. Among the Wiimbaio of S. Australia the candidates must chew the bones of a dead man, dug up for this purpose, and, as in the previous case, they then become frenzied and act as maniacs (Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 404). The same practice occurs in Africa, as among the Bantu negroes generally, who think that the person desirous of becoming a sorcerer (as well as the sorcerer himself) is a corpse-eater, either from morbid tastes, or more probably with the idea that the dead body will invest him with magical powers. In E. Central Africa it is believed that witches and wizards feed on corpses in midnight orgies, and that any one eating such food is thereby converted into a wizard (Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, ii. 578; J. Macdonald, *JAI* xxii. 107). In W. Africa witches are held to feed upon living human victims by sending their 'power' into the body; but this power is dangerous to its owner, as it may feed upon himself if not regularly fed otherwise. Similarly, witches can extract the life-soul—a less material duplicate of the victim—and feast on it in a magic orgy; its owner then sickens and dies (M. H. Kingsley, *W. Af. Studies*, 1899, p. 209; Nassau, *Fetichism in W. Africa*, 1904, p. 55). Horace refers to witch practices in his day, and describes love-philtres in which dried human marrow and liver were ingredients (*Odes*, v. v.); while Petronius and Plautus also speak of witches devouring the nerves and intestines of their victims; the former mentions images of straw substituted by them for kidnapped children (Pet. cap. 63, 134; Plaut. *Pseud.* iii. 2. 31). Similar crimes were laid at the door of witches in Christian times, and the belief still

survives in Slavonic lands, where many tales are told of how the hags take out their victims' heart while they sleep and devour it, substituting some straw or a hare's heart, and thus changing their nature (see iv. § 4 for other instances). This branch of cannibalism is closely bound up with a whole group of practices in which part of a dead body is used for magical purposes, on account of its virtues, or because the soul of the dead man will act through the part which is made use of. These are found universally among savages, and with sorcerers and witches in more civilized lands, while they have given rise to a vast series of folk-superstitions (see RELICS).

9. *Animistic cannibalism.*—The belief that by eating the dead one acquires their strength is scarcely to be distinguished from the purely animistic motive—to obtain their soul, or otherwise to influence it—and it is possible that in some of the cases already cited 'strength' is equivalent to 'soul.' Where relatives are eaten, the passing over of the soul to the eater for the benefit of the latter is mainly aimed at; but in the case of an enemy the destruction or hurt of his soul is also intended, though instances with the intention of obtaining his services and goodwill are known. This is suggested in the curious 'ritual' performed by a murderer in ancient Greece, viz. to lick up the blood and then spit it forth. This was said to be done by way of ridding himself of the pollution of murder; in reality it 'took away the force of the dead,' which was still further effected by the lopping off of his limbs (Apoll. Rhod. iv. 470 f.). The former practice is found in Australia and Tibet, in N. and S. America occasionally, and in Africa; the latter is clearly found among the Maoris, the Eskimos, the Tupis of S. America, the Ashantis, and in New Caledonia. The idea of destroying the soul through eating the body is illustrated by the Ainu belief that until the body is decomposed the ghost remains active, and the Indian idea that a man-eating tiger obtains possession of the souls of his victims; hence he walks with bent head weighed down by their souls (Crooke, ii. 211); while, generally, the belief that by obtaining or acting upon a part of any one's body—hair-cuttings, nail-parings, bones, etc.—control over his spirit for its hurt is possible, is also suggestive in this connexion.

(1) *Eating of relatives.*—The Australian instances show how easily 'strength' and 'soul' are confounded. In most cases the obtaining of strength is desired (§ 6), but the passing over to the idea of receiving the soul is seen where certain parts—kidneys, fat, etc.—as containing particular virtues, are alone eaten. That 'strength' is mainly equivalent to 'soul' is seen in W. Australian cannibalism, where the old are eaten for food, because, being old, they have no longer a soul which might cause the eater discomfort; *i.e.* weakness and want of soul are identical (Oldfield, *Trans. Eth. Soc.* N.S. iii. 248). In Tibet, the lamas first and then the relatives of the dead man eat his flesh with the idea that the spirit whose flesh has been swallowed will always remain friendly to the eater (Landor, *op. cit.* ii. 68 f.). In N. America the acquiring of strength is mainly aimed at; but sometimes, as with the Shoshones, the eater of an enemy became animated with his spirit (Featherman, *op. cit.* iii. 206). In S. America the Chavantis eat dead children that their souls may pass over to the parents, while the Yamas, now extinct, broke the bones of their dead to suck out the marrow, believing that the soul resided in it and would pass over to them (Andree, p. 89; Marcoy, in *Tour de Monde*, xv. 139). In Uganda it was held that the liver, as the seat of the soul, would, when eaten, benefit the eater (*TRSE* xiii. 218).

(2) *Eating of enemies.*—The Maoris, whose cannibalism existed mainly out of revenge, believed that in eating the enemy they destroyed his spirit, thus avoiding his posthumous vengeance, since the spirits of the slain wander about seeking to revenge themselves (*L'Anthropologie*, vi. 443). With the Eskimos a curious belief prevails. After killing a man, they must eat part of his liver, as Rink says, to prevent his ghost rushing into the murderer—possibly through the eater being now one with the victim and thus forestalling his vengeance. The heart of a dead witch is also eaten by all the community to prevent her ghost haunting or frightening the living (Rink, *op. cit.* p. 45; Egede, *op. cit.* p. 138; Crantz, *Hist. of Greenland*, 1820, gives a curious reason for eating the heart of a murderer, viz. to cause his relatives to lose their courage; Bergemann, p. 20, says the Chukchis eat the heart of a dead enemy to make his relatives sick). The East Prussians ate a piece of murdered victims so as never to remember their evil deed again, *i.e.* probably to prevent the appearance of the ghost (Strack, *Blutaberglaube*, p. 59). The taking of the name of the victim by his slayer, after eating him, occurred with the Tupis of S. America, who are cannibals out of revenge, and with the people of Marshall Island; the 'name' being usually equivalent to 'soul' or 'spirit,' it is obvious that the slayer thus acquired his victim's soul (Andree, p. 87; Chamisso, *Bemerkungen*, p. 136). With the Ashantis the fetish-priest prepares the heart of an enemy with sacred herbs, and gives it to all who have not yet killed an enemy, that the ghost, which has its seat in the heart, may not take away their courage (Bowdich, *Ashantee*, 1819, p. 402). If a Manjuema man should kill his wife in a quarrel, he eats her heart with goat's flesh, to prevent revenge on the part of her ghost (Livingstone, *Last Journals*, 1874, ii. 58). In Melanesia, the eating of human flesh is held to give the eater *mana*—a spiritual essence which circulates in all things (Codrington, *JAI* x. 285); or a man will eat part of a corpse to obtain communion with the ghost, which will then assist him against living enemies (Codrington, *Melanesians*, 1891, p. 222).

10. *Cannibalism and blood-covenant.*—In some of the cases cited, and perhaps running more or less through all animistic or strength-acquiring eating of enemies, appears the idea that eaters and eaten are now one; hence the revenge of the ghost is forestalled; hence, too, the relatives of the victim cannot harm the murderer. This seems to underlie the Chukchi, Eskimo, and E. Prussian cases; it reappears among the Hurons, who drank the blood of an enemy to become invulnerable against the attacks of other enemies (presumably his relatives); among the Botocudos, who ate an enemy to be protected from his revenge and to be invulnerable against the arrows of the hostile tribe; in New Britain; and in modern Italy, where a murderer believes he will not escape unless he taste his victim's blood (Featherman, *Aonco-Mar.* p. 60, *Chiapo-Mar.* p. 355; Powell, *Wanderings*, p. 92; *Rivista*, i. 640). In all these cases there is a dim recognition of kinship acquired with the victim and his relatives, which has doubtless been suggested by the rite of blood-brotherhood, by which, when two persons, not otherwise related, have tasted each other's blood, they are henceforth one (see BROTHERHOOD [artificial]).

11. *Honorific cannibalism.*—Other motives besides the above must be noted, especially in connexion with the eating of relatives. It is possible that an animistic reason may underlie these. In certain cases the sick or old are killed in order that their souls may not be weakened with the body; thus the soul is set free in comparative strength to animate the eater. From one point of view this is to honour the dead, and honour may well be the motive even where it is not expressly stated. We may therefore join all cases where this animistic intention is found with those in which honour to the dead is the prevailing idea, and those in which the eating by relatives ensures proper burial, or the prevention of corruption or of worms doing harm to the body or soul. Among those practising cannibalism for this reason are several peoples mentioned by classical writers, some Australian tribes, various Asiatic peoples, and S. American tribes. Thus it hardly occurs in those regions where cannibalism existed out of revenge or gluttony, save in a few notable instances.

Herodotus (i. 216) describes the cannibalism of the Massagetæ, a Scythian people living to the N.E. of the Caspian. When a man had attained a great age, his kinsmen 'sacrificed' him with cattle, boiled the flesh, and ate it, accounting this a happy death. This account is confirmed by Strabo (xi. 513). Their neighbours, the Issedones, had a similar practice when the father died, his flesh with that of cattle being cut up and eaten at a banquet by the relatives, who then cleansed the head, gilded the skull, and afterwards honoured it with sacrifices (Herod. iv. 26). Strabo also says that the Derbikes, a people of North Iran, killed and ate all old men over 70; all others (including women) were buried. He also describes the people of the Caucasus as eating the flesh of relatives. Indians called Padaioi are mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 99) as cannibals: a sick man was killed and eaten by male relatives, a sick woman by female relatives. Any who attained old age were also

killed and eaten. Other Indian peoples, *e.g.* the Kallatiai, ate their dead parents (iii. 38). These were doubtless aboriginal and not Hindu tribes. Farther west, the inhabitants of Ireland (Ἰέρνη) are said by Strabo to deem it 'honourable to eat the bodies of their deceased parents' (iv. 5); Diodorus Siculus also refers to their cannibalism, but mentions only the eating of dead enemies (vi. 16). There seems no reason for throwing doubt on these assertions, especially as they are paralleled by recent or existing customs not only in Asia but elsewhere. The Weletabi or Wilze, a Slavonic people, are said by Notker to have eaten their old parents (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* iii. 1081); and the same is related of the Wends in ancient chronicles (Steinmetz, p. 24). In *Australia*, honour to dead relatives and the conferring of a benefit upon them are mentioned as motives among tribes on the Mary River (Queensland) and in Western Victoria. In the latter case only those dying not by illness are eaten; and brothers and sisters do not eat each other (*JAI* ii. 179; Dawson, *Aust. Abor.*, 1881, p. 67). In the Turbal tribe, when a man is killed at the ceremonial initiation fights, his tribesmen eat him 'because they knew him and were fond of him, and they now knew where he was, and his flesh would not stink' (Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 753). In *Asia*, the classic example of cannibalism is found among the Battas of Sumatra, who practise legal cannibalism on enemies and criminals, but also eat the sick and old out of respect—an unusual combination of contradictory motives. It is probable that they are the people mentioned by Marco Polo and others as dwelling in the kingdom of Dagroian. Marco Polo's account is that when any one is ill a sorcerer is sent for, and if he foretells that the patient will not recover, the sick man is put to death and eaten by his kinsmen. They are careful to leave nothing lest it should breed worms, which would die for want of food, and the death of these worms would be laid to the charge of the deceased man's soul (Yule's *Marco Polo*, 1871, ii. 275). Leyden, in 1805, gave a slightly different account. Aged and infirm relatives are eaten as a pious ceremony. They invite their descendants to kill them. The victim ascends a tree, round which the others assemble singing a funeral dirge —'The season is come, the fruit is ripe, and it must descend.' He then descends, and is put to death and eaten in a solemn banquet. The custom existed sporadically among the wilder tribes of Eastern Asia within recent times. The wild people of Arakan eat the old (Yule, *op. cit.* i. 281); some of the Gonds of Central India, *e.g.* the Binderwurs, killed and ate the sick and the aged, 'thinking this an act of kindness and acceptable to the goddess Kali'; so also did the Birhor and the Gonds in Oudh (Yule, ii. 281; Sartori, 'Die Sitte der Alten- und Krankentodtung,' *Globus*, 1895, p. 126). The Kweichans were said by the Chinese to eat old relatives, as also did the people of Uei-Po with old men; women were exempt. The same was asserted of the Tibetans in the case of the old, 'honourable burial' being reported as the motive (Yule, i. 292); while the Samoyeds and Ostiaks ate them with shamanic ceremonies, so that their condition after death might be improved (*Inter. Arch. für Eth.* iii. 71). For some of the *S. American* tribes, with whom this motive appears, the evidence is conflicting, as they are also accused of eating enemies out of revenge or gluttony. This is true of the Botocudos, with whom the old father is said to implore his children to eat him, and the mother eats a dead child out of tenderness (Preuss, *Begräbnisarten der Amerikaner*, p. 219; Waitz, iii. 446); of the Miranhas, said to eat the sick and old (Marcoy, in *Tour du Monde*, xv. 139); and of the Kashibos, said to eat their elders from religious motives (*Anthrop. Rev.* i. 38). Surer ground is reached with the Mundrucus, who kill and eat the sick and old out of kindness; the Capanahuas and the Cocomas, who eat the dead out of honour, because it is 'better to be inside a friend than to be swallowed up by the cold earth'; the Mayorunas and the tribes on the Orinoco, with whom the reason is that it is better to be eaten by a friend than by worms; and the Acumas on the Maranon, who ate dead relatives (Markham, *JAI* xxiv. 248, etc.; Spencer, *Prin. of Ethics*, 1893, i. 330; Steinmetz, p. 18 f.). Tapuya mothers eat their dead infants as well as the placenta (Nieuhof, *Gedenk. Brasil. Zee- en Lantreize*, Amsterdam, 1682, p. 216).

12. Closely akin to the above motive is that of *morbid affection*, eating the dead out of sheer love, which is found with many Australian tribes. The idea is clearly that of obtaining communion with the dead, which is also effected in Australia, Timor-Laut, New Britain, etc., by smearing the body with the decomposed matter of the corpse; or, in Australia and the Andaman Islands, by a near relative carrying about the skull or bones. It is expressed in two different ways by the Australian tribes. (1) Among the coast tribes of north central Australia, the flesh of the dead is eaten as part of the burial rites, apparently out of affection, and always by certain definitely arranged persons (Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 547 ff.). Other writers refer to the so-called 'love-feasts' of east central tribes, in which, when a young woman dies, her male relatives and men with whom she has had sexual relations eat parts of her body (Steinmetz, p. 11). With these tribes, the bones are the object of the utmost care and the most minute ceremonial. (2) A curious motive is that of the relatives eating the dead in order that they may no longer be sad. This occurs among tribes on the Peak Flood river (along with other motives). They eat dead children, else they will for ever mourn them; the mother gets the head, while the other children are given part in order to strengthen them (Andree, p. 45). With the Dieri, the fat adhering to the face, thighs, arms, and stomach is eaten according to strict rules of relationship, and in order that the relatives may not be sad or weep: this is also the case with other tribes of S. Australia—the Yanrorka, Yantruwunta, Marula, and Tangara. The latter eat the flesh also, carrying the remains about and eating a piece whenever their grief overcomes them (Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 449, 751). The custom is not unknown even among Christianized American Indians in British Columbia, instances being known of some of the blood or juices of the corpse being rubbed on the body or swallowed in a frenzy of grief to obtain union with the beloved dead (Allison, *JAI* xxi. 316). Precisely the same idea of morbid affection is found in the story of Artemisia, who drank the ashes of Mausolus out of love for him (Aul. Gell. x. 18). Civilized Greek and savage Australian were at one. It was possibly also a custom among the ancient Celts, since in the heroic cycles we read how Emer, the wife of Cúchulainn, after her husband's head had been cut off, washed it, pressed it to her bosom, and sucked in the blood (Hyde, *Lit. Hist. of Ireland*, 1899, p. 352). Déirdre also lapped the blood of her husband when he was slain (*ib.* p. 315). The custom is also referred to in much later Gaelic poetry, while Spenser saw a woman drink the blood of her foster-son at Limerick (Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, 1900, ii. 282).

13. *Cannibalism through revenge.*—Probably at a later stage an entirely new motive arose with respect to the eating of enemies, though it may always have been more or less latent in this practice, and, where it prevailed, it put a stop to the eating of relatives (where that existed) or fellow-tribesmen, except for one particular reason. This is probably a late motive, since it seems mainly to affect savages at a higher stage of civilization, while it also prevails with those who are most cruel. Here enemies are eaten out of rage, and in order to glut revenge and cause their lasting contumely. The dead enemy was treated with the utmost contempt, and finally eaten with every mark of degradation. It is obvious that, where the eating of relatives out of honour still continued, the rise of this motive must have soon put an end to it. For eating the dead could not signify in the one case contempt and in the other honour. And, in fact, where enemies are eaten for this precise reason, the eating of fellow-tribesmen does not exist except where gluttony, as in certain Polynesian cases, causes all loss of distinction between friend and foe, or in cases of extreme hunger (Marquesas Islands) when an enemy is not available. The motive of revenge, however, gave an impetus to the eating of fellow-tribesmen in a new direction, viz. as a punishment, and produced legal cannibalism. The criminal was eaten, as elsewhere he is executed. In certain cases the motive of sheer gluttony coexists with this motive of contempt, and here also mainly among higher savages. Raids are made on surrounding tribes, and cannibalism causes a regular trade in bodies, which are bought and sold in the market as meat is in a butcher's shop.

14. The eating of enemies out of rage or contempt, with its correlate, legal cannibalism—the eating of criminal members of the community—has a comparatively wide range, and mainly among higher savages and barbaric races. In some cases

it is connected with the idea of obtaining the enemies' strength, while it cannot always be dissociated from the motive of gluttony. In many cases, however, the eating is reduced to a minimum, and becomes a mere formal act of revenge. Its connexion with actual head-hunting—a practice which extends eastwards from India, through Malaysia, to Melanesia, and which is mainly concerned with showing contempt for enemies—as well as with the cutting off and preservation of the head or skull or scalp, after the cannibal meal, as a trophy, should be noted; while we must distinguish between this latter custom and the preservation of a relative's head out of honour or for the purpose of a definite cult. The cutting off and preservation of the head as a trophy must have originated early, as in Neolithic graves headless bodies are frequently found (*JAI* v. 146). While rage and contempt are clearly indicated in the custom, actual head-hunters now believe that the ghost of the slain will become the victor's slave in the next world, or will become his guardian and benefactor—an animistic motive which doubtless underlies the practice wherever found, while it recalls the already noted instances of subduing the ghost through eating (Dayaks [Ling Roth, *Nat. of Sarawak*, 1896, ii. 140; *L'Anthrop.* xiv. 96]; Lushais [Woodthorpe, *Lushai Expedition*, 1873, p. 136]). Cannibalism out of contempt, whether associated or not with head-hunting, occurred among the ancient Celts and Scythians. It is found among a few Australian tribes; in E. Asia; in Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia; it is common in Africa and also in S. America.

Of the Irish *Celts*, Diodorus Siculus (vi. 12) says that they ate their enemies; while it is certain that the heads of enemies were cut off, and carried at the girdle, or otherwise preserved. In some cases the victor tore the features with his teeth, as did the Prince of Leinster in Fitzstephen's time (Girald. Cambr. *Conq. of Irel.* bk. i. cap. 4; cf. also Hyde, *op. cit.* p. 295; *Rev. Celt.* viii. 59, x. 217). The heads of slain warriors were dedicated to Morrigu, the Irish war-goddess, or were considered her property (Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries*, 1862, p. xxxv). The *Scythians* drank the blood of slain enemies, stripped off the scalp and hung it on the bridle-rein, and made a drinking-cup of the upper part of the skull. This was also done to relatives with whom they were at enmity (Herod. iv. 64 f.). Strabo speaks of the *Karmanians*, a people west of the Indus, among whom none may marry till he cuts off an enemy's head and brings it to the king, in whose dwelling it is hung up; the tongue is mixed with flour, cooked, and eaten by the slayer and his relatives (xv. 727). *Asia; Pacific.*—The Garos of Bengal eat the fruit of a tree with the juice of an antagonist's head after a family feud, the tree having been planted by both parties for that purpose (*JAI* ii. 396). Cannibalism is associated with many of the head-hunting ceremonies among the wilder Dayaks, and probably was once more widely prevalent, the motive being revenge (St. John, *Forests of Far East*, 1862, i. 123–124). The brains, palms of hands, and flesh of the knees were eaten as tit-bits. It also prevailed among the wild tribes of the Philippines at the time of their discovery, the heart of an enemy being eaten with citron juice out of revenge. Later this custom seems to have been restricted to the priest, who opened the breast, dipped a talisman of the gods in the blood, and ate a piece of heart and liver (Semper, *Die Philippinen*, 1869, p. 62). Some head-hunters eat the brains of the enemy; this is also done in Luzon, though here the motive is rather to obtain courage, but the skull is kept in the house as a trophy (Andree, p. 20; Featherman, *Races*, 2nd div. pp. 501–502). The head-hunting tribes of the interior of Celebes were also cannibals out of revenge, though occasionally from gluttony, begging the bodies of condemned criminals from their more civilized neighbours (Bickmore, *Travels*, 1868, p. 70). The Battas of Sumatra eat prisoners of war to show their contempt for them. They bind the victim to a pole, throw lances at him till he is killed, and then rush forward and hack him with their knives, roasting and eating the pieces with salt and citron juice (Marsden, *Sumatra*, 1811, p. 390; Miller, in *Phil. Trans.* lxviii. 161). The heads are preserved as trophies in the village-house (Featherman, *op. cit.* p. 335). Marco Polo asserts the eating of a war prisoner in Zipangu (Japan) if he was too poor to buy his freedom; while Sebastian Münster describes the roasting and eating of prisoners, and the drinking of their blood, by the Tatars (*Cosmographia*, p. mcxlvii). Mediæval chronicles assert similar things of the Tatar invaders of Europe; but the evidence must be received with caution, as such stories are common in time of war regarding dreaded enemies. *Melanesia.*—In some islands of the Torres Straits group, *e.g.* *Muralug*, the heads of enemies were cut off, placed in an oven and partially cooked. The eyes and parts of the cheeks were eaten by the victors to make them brave; the skull was then kicked along the ground and afterwards hung up near the camp (MacGillivray, *Voyage of Rattlesnake*, ii. 4–7). In the *Solomon Islands* both revenge and gluttony lead to the eating of war-prisoners, who are cooked in a pit with hot stones, and eaten with frantic joy. The scalp and hair are put on a coco-nut and hung in the common hall; canoe-houses are also adorned with enemies' skulls (Verguet, *RE* iv. 214; Woodford, *Nat. among Head-Hunters*, 1890, pp. 92, 152; Guppy, *Sol. Is.*, 1887, p. 16). The same mixed motives are found in the *New Hebrides*; some refer it to an unnatural taste after revenge; others, to gluttony, as plenty of food exists in the islands. In some cases the crimes of an enemy are alleged by the natives as their reason for eating him; in other cases the bodies are supplied by the chief to the villages as a feast. The practice now exists only in the interior, and members of another tribe are asked to cut up the body (Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, 1861, p. 83; *L'Anthrop.* x. 360; Steel, *New Heb.*, 1880, p. 25). In *New Caledonia* the ferocity of the natives is well known, one group attacking another neighbouring group, murdering and devouring them. Man-eating is here ascribed by the natives themselves to the lack of animal food, but revenge also enters into it to a large extent. The smallest pretext is used for fighting, and revenge is not complete until the slain have been devoured. It appears to be mainly the privilege of the chiefs, who even eat their own tribesmen, causing a tumult to be raised and eating the offenders as a punishment, and inviting guests to share in the meal (Lang, *Social Origins*, p. 167; De Rochas, *Nouvelle Caled.*, 1862, p. 206; *BSAP*, 1860, p. 414; Montrouzier, *ib.* 1870, p. 30). In *Fiji* revenge and gluttony as well as religious motives have caused cannibalism. One of the victims was usually offered by the priest to the war-god, or sacrificed at the building of a temple or the launching of a canoe; in the latter case the bodies were used as rollers. Cannibalistic feasts on bodies of enemies were common, and 'as tender as men's flesh' had passed into a proverb. Chiefs sent bodies of the victims of war to each other, or kept a register of the numbers they had eaten—in one case this reached 872. The skulls were sometimes used as drinking vessels. Ovens and pots in which the dead were cooked, and the dishes from which they were eaten, were *tabu* (Williams, *Fiji*, 1858, *passim*; Miss Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 1881, p. 134; Erskine, *Western Pacific*, 1853). In the *Marquesas Islands*, as in *New Zealand*, cannibalism in great part showed contempt for the slain enemy, and this was further marked by the semi-animistic motive already mentioned—the satisfaction at destroying the enemy's soul. The religious aspect of cannibalism in these countries will be referred to later. In the former, cannibalism was latterly restricted to chiefs (descendants of the gods) and priests—the heart and eyes being eaten and the blood drunk. In the latter, gluttony was also a motive, and the circumstances of the feast were most gruesome. The head was placed on a pole and the oven was *tabu* (*L'Anthrop.* vi. 443; Miss Clarke, *Maori Tales and Legends*, 1896, p. 126 f.; Andree, p. 68; Bergemann, p. 36). In *Tonga* the liver of a slain enemy was eaten through hate (Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, 1817, i. 321); in *Samoa* the motives were also hatred and revenge, 'I will roast thee' being the greatest insult which could be offered to a Samoan, while, even after the practice was given up, captives, in token of submission, would offer burning wood, and say, 'Kill and cook us when it seems good to thee' (Turner, *Polynesia*, p. 194); in *Micronesia*, cannibalism was reduced to eating part of a great warrior out of hate, the eaters taking his name (Andree, p. 71). Instances from *Africa* are usually connected with gluttony; in *Manjuema*, as also among some tribes of the Niger delta, enemies are eaten mainly out of revenge; skulls of enemies decorate the houses and villages. Robertson Smith has shown that cannibalism existed among the early Arabs to the extent of eating the liver or drinking the blood of an enemy; drinking wine from the skull is also referred to, and the wearing of necklets, etc., of noses and ears (*Kinship*², p. 296). In *S. America* the Mesayas kept a prisoner for some time, giving him a wife. At the end of 3 months he was sent to gather wood for the oven; warriors then selected, by painting with a mark, that part of his body which they would eat. A dance took place by night, after which the prisoner was slain and eaten; the bones were split for the marrow; the head was painted and placed in the hut of the bravest warrior. Revenge was the motive, and warfare between neighbouring tribes was frequent (Marcoy, in *Tour du Monde*, xv. 135). Blood revenge was attributed as the motive of Miranha cannibalism (Martius, *Beitr. zur Eth. Amer.*, 1867, p. 538); also among the Columbian Indians; the Botocudos (head stuck on a pole and used as a mark for arrows); probably the Coroatos (enemy's arms eaten during a dance of warriors); and the Araucanians (head chief and other chiefs suck blood of hearts) (Andree, p. 82 f.; Neuwied, *Reise nach Brasil.* ii. 49; Smith, *The Araucanians*, p. 274). With the Tupis, dead enemies were eaten, while their children were brought home and cared for till the age of 14, when they were slain and eaten. This was also done to young women; while to male prisoners were given wives. They were then kept till a festival was arranged, which was carried through according to strict ceremonial. The prisoner had to light the fire at which he was to be roasted; he was slain with a special club, round which women had sung and danced all night. All took part in the eating. The motive was revenge, the prisoner being told that he was thus treated because he had killed and eaten his captors' friends. If a child had been born to the prisoner, it was also eaten, and was held to be of the same flesh and blood as their enemies (Hans Staden, cited in Andree, p. 85 f.; Southey, *Hist. of Brazil*, 1819, p. 299). With civilized peoples eating part of an obnoxious enemy or ruler has occasionally occurred on the part of rough soldiers or the mob. Christian soldiers are said to

have roasted and eaten Turkish prisoners at the siege of Antioch (Bergemann, p. 18); at Florence, in the 14th cent., citizens ate the flesh of their rulers (Machiavelli, ii. ch. 8); and in the French Revolution eating the heart of victims of mob violence was not unknown (for the Scots instance of Lord Soulis see Scott, *Minstrelsy*, 1839, p. 462, and cases cited there).

It is obvious from many of these cases that head-hunting was, in its origin, closely connected with cannibalism, while it forms one of a series of practices in which the remains of dead enemies are treated with contumely or regarded as trophies, or worn to increase the wearers' strength. For Celtic and Scandinavian instances of making trophies of heads, see Elton, *Origins of Eng. Hist.*, 1882, p. 112. For American Indian scalping, see paper by Burton in *Anthrop. Rev.*, 1864, and Friederici, *Skalpieren und ähnliche Kriegsgebrauche in Amerika*, Brunswick, 1906. The Botocudos, people of New Hebrides, Niam-Niams, and Ashantis wear teeth of victims as necklaces, in some instances to obtain their courage (Keane, *Man Past and Present*, 1900, p. 437; Beecham, *Ashantee*, 1841, p. 76; see other references above). Some of these also wear bones, as the Tshis make trophies of jawbones (Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 1887, p. 266). The Maoris made utensils and vessels of their victims' bones. Cf. also the frequent use of the skull as a drinking vessel in the instances cited. In New Guinea (natives of Mowat and Dandai, *JAI* xix. 462) the penis of warriors is believed to possess great virtue; it is cut off and worn, as is the vagina of women. Among the Chinese the ear is commonly cut off (*JAI* xxii. 172 f.); the ancient Celts cut out the tongue (*Rev. Celt.* i. 261); and the Mexicans flayed an enemy's or victim's body.

15. *Legal cannibalism* is found among the Battas, who treat their evil-doers and criminals precisely as they do enemies (*vide supra*, p. 200*a*, § 9 (2)), eating them as an ignominious punishment (see *Geog. Jour.*, June 1898). Marco Polo describes the eating of dead malefactors among the Tatars of Xandu, and the people of Fo-kien and Kiang-si (Yule, p. 207). Thieves and assassins were eaten in Bow Island as well as enemies, and in Francis Island thieves were consumed (Letourneau, *op. cit.* p. 212; Turner, *Samoa*, 1884, p. 300). Among the Maoris, adulteresses and murderers were eaten and their bones made into utensils; the eyes were swallowed raw by the Ariki (Shortland, *N.Z.*, 1851, p. 230). Wrong-doers were not eaten by their own tribesmen in Duke of York Island, but killed and sold to another tribe (Powell, *Wanderings*, p. 93); murderers or particularly detested enemies are eaten in Lepers' Island in anger and to show ill-treatment (Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 344); evil-doers are killed and eaten by order of the chiefs in New Caledonia (Andree, p. 58, citing Garnier); witches were sold for food as a punishment in New Georgia (Woodford, *Head-hunters*, p. 150); while in Fiji a whole tribe would be condemned to be eaten for offending the paramount chief (Keane, *Man Past and Present*, p. 137).

Among the *African Negroes* the practice is common, sorcerers being generally killed and eaten by all the tribes (*L'Anth.* xiv. 91). The *Mambanga* eat murderers or those asserted to be so by an oracle (Andree, p. 39); the *Ba-Ngala* occasionally eat debtors (Coquilhat, *Sur le Haut-Congo*, 1888, p. 337); the *Tupende* and *Tukette* are said to eat malefactors (Wissmann, *Im Innern Afrikas*, p. 98). Among the *Kissama* a debtor or criminal is eaten as a punishment (Hamilton, *JAI* i. 187); dead rebels are eaten in *Concobella*, and murderers are killed, torn to pieces, and eaten in *Bonny*; while among the *Agni* of the Ivory Coast those condemned to death as criminals were eaten (Steinmetz, pp. 21-22; *L'Anthrop.* iv. 424). In *E. Africa* an offender is sometimes made to eat one of his own members cut off for the purpose (*JAI* xxii. 110). The *Eskimo* custom of eating a witch's heart (already noted) may be regarded also as a legal punishment. Two *S. Australian* tribes, the Mukjarawaint and the Jupagalk, kill men marrying within the forbidden degrees, and part of the body is eaten by members of the same totem-clan (Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 247).

16. *Cannibalism through sheer gluttony*—the worst form of all—is found mainly in Africa, along the Guinea Coast, southwards into Congo-land, and eastwards to about 30° E. longitude. Captain Hindes, at the meeting of the British Association in 1895, said, 'The Negro takes human flesh as food purely and simply, and not from any religious or superstitious reasons.' To this, however, there are some exceptions. It also occurs among the Negroes of Hayti, apart from their religious cannibalism. It is found among a few N. American and several S. American tribes in a particularly odious form, in New Guinea sporadically, and in Melanesia.

In the Guinea coast region and the Niger delta, cannibalism through gluttony appears to be dying out, and only a few tribes here and there within recent years are accused of it—the people of Calabar, the Obotschi and Onitscha on the Niger, Bambaras, Quaquas, and Bourbonris (Hutchinson, *Ten Years among Ethiopians*, pp. 48, 58; F. du Langle, in *Tour du Monde*, xxvi. 374). In Ashanti and Dahomey it has become a mere formal rite. In French Congo the worst offenders are the Fans, who, however, are becoming ashamed of it (du Chaillu, *Eq. Africa*, 1861, p. 74 f., *Tour du Monde*, xii. 308; Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, 1873, ii. 18). But the greatest seat of gluttonous cannibalism is in Central Africa, especially in the regions untouched by Muhammadan influence. The tribes in and around the Congo Free State—Niam-Niams, Monbuttus, Mam-banga, Manjuema, Bongos, Balutu, Bassanje, and others—are mentioned by Stanley (*In Darkest Africa*, 1890), Schweinfurth, and other explorers, as inveterate cannibals. Among all these gluttonous cannibals it is mainly enemies who are eaten. Earlier writers speak of some of them eating their own dead, but this is probably a mistake. Modern authorities lay particular emphasis on the fact that relatives are not eaten, through an existing horror at eating the flesh of blood relations, but their bodies are frequently sold or exchanged to neighbouring villages or tribes. With many of the tribes, raids are regularly undertaken to obtain prisoners, who are then sold, living or dead, in the market-places as butcher meat. Prisoners are kept till required; dead bodies are frequently salted down or dried; but the Manjuema are most disgusting and depraved, soaking the body in water till putrid, and eating it raw. The Yokomas, Bougous, and others also eat putrid human flesh (*L'Anthrop.* vii. 119, xii. 78). Among the Niam-Niams the children born to slave women are killed and eaten. In all cases human flesh is regarded and treated exactly as the flesh of animals would be elsewhere. The skulls of victims ornament the villages; their teeth are worn as necklaces; the fat is used to feed lamps. Occasionally cannibalism is found as one of the principal objects of a secret society, like that of the Leopards in Sierra Leone, every person entering which must provide a human victim, who is secretly murdered; the liver and kidneys are eaten by the 'kings' of the society, while the body is devoured by the other members. All of them rub the fat on their faces and hands, as well as on the fetish, which is the property of the society (*L'Anthrop.* vii. 621). A similar society of ghouls exists in Uganda, although cannibalism is otherwise little known in E. Africa; the herding of victims in pens, to be slaughtered as required, is, however, described in 1586 (*JAI* xxii. 99). The members of this society are called Basezi, and have their headquarters mainly in the Sese islands on Lake Victoria. They kill their victims secretly, and also disinter and devour corpses. Both of these societies are abhorred in their respective districts (Sir H. Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 692). In Hayti, Vaudoux cannibalism is doubtless a survival of African man-eating, and occurs through gluttony as well as from a religious motive (see below). Murder for this end is frequent; midwives are accused of killing children in order to eat them; while human flesh is said to have been exposed for sale in the markets (St. John, *Hayti*, 1884, p. 223 f.). Analogous to the African societies is one which formerly existed among the Indians of Vancouver Island and the coast district near it, called the Hametze, and composed of those of the highest rank. The preparation for admission lasted four years; at the end of it the candidate had to drink human blood, which he did by attacking and biting the first person he met. At the feasts of the society, slaves and prisoners were killed and eaten. The British rule put an end to the custom, but the eating of corpses is alleged to have still continued (Jacobsen, *Reise*, 1896, p. 47 f.).

S. America.—The witness of travellers, as well as the existence of shell-mounds with human bones split for the extraction of the marrow, proves that the Caribs of the Antilles were cannibals, raiding other islands and the coast to obtain victims of their gluttony. The other tribes still retain a traditional fear of this ferocious people (Im Thurn, *Indians of Guiana*, p. 418; Brett, *Legends of B. Guiana*, 1880, p. 100; cf. Andree, p. 72). The Kashibos of Peru make war on neighbouring tribes in order to get prisoners to eat, and are detested by them for this practice (Tschudi, *Trav. in Peru*, ii. 222; Marcoy, xi. 220). Similar statements are made of the Cobens (Wallace, *Amazon*, p. 498). Other tribes are accused by old travellers of gluttonous cannibalism; thus Herrera says of the Colombian Indians that 'the living are the grave of the dead, for the husband has been seen to eat his wife, the brother his brother or sister, the son his father; captives are also fattened and eaten roasted' (Herrera, in Purchas, pt. 3, p. 890); but all these statements must be received with caution. The Catios, a branch of the Chocas in Columbia (now extinct), were also said to fatten captives for the table, while their Darien neighbours cohabited with female prisoners, and brought up the children of such unions till they were fourteen, when they and the mother were killed.

The doors of chiefs were here decorated with men's skulls (Cieza de Leon, in Hakluyt Soc. p. 60 f.). The eating of the offspring of a captive to whom one of their own women had been given among the Tupis has already been noted. In parts of New Guinea, *e.g.* in the south-east, human victims were and are eaten as 'the best possible nourishment'; some of the tribes were constantly at war for the sake of a feast off the prisoners taken (Chalmers and Gill, *New Guinea*, 1885, pp. 44, 188, etc.). Elsewhere the practice is abhorred, or exists only for other reasons (see above). In New Ireland the people glory in cannibal banquets, and many bodies are to be seen in the houses ready for eating (*Roy. Geog. Soc. Report*, 1887; Bergemann, p. 31). For the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands see above; the gluttonous motive of the former is confirmed by Steel (*New Heb.*, 1880, p. 25), who says appetite sometimes leads them to capture victims; while Woodford (*Nat. among Head-hunters*, 1890, p. 157) speaks of cannibalism as a daily practice in the Solomon Islands. In some parts of New Ireland a tribe will hire itself out for fighting, the only payment required being the bodies of the slain. A society in New Britain, the Duk-Duk, whose main purpose is the secret administration of justice, has occasional feasts in which (as in the African and American Indian societies) human flesh is the principal dish (Deniker, *Races of Man*, 1900, p. 254; Powell, *Wanderings*, 1883, p. 63).

17. *Religious cannibalism.*—Religion as a motive for cannibalism exists more or less wherever the animistic motive or the desire of honouring the dead is found. There is here, however, a blending of magic and religion, since, though honour to the ghost of the dead may suggest the practice, there is also the intention of assimilating the qualities or the soul of the deceased. It is mainly where enemies are eaten that cannibalism as a strictly religious rite exists, and usually in connexion with the sacrifice of the victim to the gods. This suggests that the religious aspect of cannibalism is a late one, more especially as in such comparatively civilized countries as Mexico and Nicaragua cannibalism was entirely ritual and religious. The eating of prisoners would naturally be only occasional; hence it would become a festival with a religious aspect. The question of the relation of human sacrifice to cannibalism requires consideration. Did human sacrifice arise through an earlier cannibalism, viz. on the principle that, as men ate human flesh and liked it, therefore they could offer nothing better to the gods—sacrifice being primarily a feeding of ghosts or gods? Or did human sacrifice have a separate origin to which divine cannibalistic ideas were transferred by human cannibals? The former is much more likely, as the gods are universally believed in early times to *eat* the sacrifice. We may also note instances of human sacrifices to animal divinities who actually eat the victims. It could only then have been at a later time that the worshipper shared in the human victim with the gods or ghosts at a sacrificial feast. We cannot therefore seek the origin of cannibalism in such a feast. It presupposes cannibalism; instances of it are rare, and are found only among higher savages; while cannibalism is not always associated with human sacrifice, and sometimes exists, as with the Australians, where sacrifice of any kind is unknown. The human victim may sometimes have been eaten as in a common meal in which gods and men shared, or, to judge by several actual instances, as himself representing the divinity of whose life men partook by eating the human representative. But such a view certainly does not belong to the earliest stages of religious thought. Religious cannibalism is found to have existed among the Maoris and Melanesians; possibly among the Dayaks; in Central Africa and sporadically in other parts of the continent; in Hayti; among the higher races of N. America; occasionally in S. America; in India; among the Greeks and other ancient peoples.

Maori cannibalism has already been described; the first enemy slain was offered as a propitiatory sacrifice to the Atua; the hair was offered to the war-god. The ear of this victim was eaten by the female Ariki or priestess; the heart by the male Ariki (sometimes by the priestess); the second enemy slain was reserved for the priest; all other bodies fell to the warriors (Shortland, *op. cit.* p. 247; *JAI* xix. 105). In *Tahiti* the eye of sacrificial victims was given to the king as 'the eye of the people.' In later times he did not eat it, but offered it to the gods. Much the same procedure as in N. Zealand was followed in *Fiji*, one of the prisoners being offered to the war-god by the priest before the feast began (Williams, *Fiji*, i. 147). Garnier says that in *New Caledonia* old people were killed by their own desire, offered to the gods, and eaten (*Tour du Monde*, xvi. 11). In the *Marquesas Islands* cannibalism had a strong religious aspect. The victims were called 'food of the gods,' and the chiefs, being descendants of gods and therefore divine, had a first right to a part of the feast. When the victims were enemies they were tortured by the priests, who received the heads; and the whole feast was accompanied by religious chants. Human sacrifices, however, were offered also without a cannibalistic feast (*L'Anthrop.* vi. 443, 449). The use of sacred hymns at cannibalistic war-feasts in the *Solomon Islands* is also suggestive of a ritual and religious aspect (Bergemann, p. 32). *West Central Africa.*—Among tribes on the Guinea coast, as at Great Bassam, at the founding of a new town a victim was offered in sacrifice. The priests gave auguries from the entrails, after which the heart, liver, and other parts were cooked with fowls, a goat, and fish; all present partook of the feast, lest they should die within the year (Hecquard, *Reise*, p. 49). There is some slight evidence that in *Dahomey* the frequent human sacrifices were accompanied in earlier times by a cannibal feast. Norris asserts this in 1772, and some proof of it exists in the custom of the king's dipping his finger in the blood and licking it. Probably this is a survival of an earlier feast (Labarthe, *Reise*, p. 238). The eating of an enemy's heart in *Ashanti* after it had been cut out by the priest had also a ritual significance (see above); it was eaten with sacred herbs. In *Bonny*, where enemies were eaten out of revenge, they were first offered to the Ju-ju; in another case which was observed, the entrails were given to the iguana, the guardian animal-god (Andree, p. 26, citing Bp. Crowther; Hutchinson, *Ten Years' Wanderings*, p. 66). The *Kimbunda* of Portuguese West Africa eat the flesh of enemies to acquire bravery, but the diviner first cuts up the body, tears out the entrails, and divines with them (Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, 1859, i. 275). Among the Kassanje, the human victim of the Sambamento feast was received with the same honour as a chief. The headman then stabbed him, tore out his heart and ate a piece, while his attendants allowed the blood to stream over his body. The flesh was then eaten by all in due order along with that of animals (Valdez, *Six Years in W. Africa*, 1861, ii. 159). In *Hayti* these African practices are still continued by the cannibalistic Vaudoux sects among the Negroes. St. John, citing trustworthy witnesses and the evidence produced at murder trials, shows that at the obscene orgiastic meetings connected with the worship of a serpent, a sacrifice of a child or adult, 'the goat without horns,' frequently takes place to propitiate this serpent-divinity, either for particular purposes or at stated festivals. The *papaloi*, or priest, having slain and offered the victim, the skin and entrails are buried, and the flesh is eaten cooked or raw, amid singing of sacred chants and dancing. The victims are usually children who have been kidnapped, but sometimes women are drugged and, after having been buried, are exhumed and sacrificed (St. John, *Hayti*, ch. 5). The typical example of religious cannibalism is found among the ancient *Mexicans*, who, in spite of their civilization, had a taste for human flesh little different from the gluttonous Negro, although it had the sanction of religion. The victims were invariably enemies or slaves, and were offered before the images of the gods. The priest cut open the breast with an obsidian knife, tore out the heart, and offered it to the gods; then he sprinkled his assistants and the offerers with the blood. After this a cannibalistic feast on the body took place, priest and offerers partaking. Dressing in the skin of the victim was usually a part of the ceremony. On particular occasions the victim had been kept for a year beforehand and treated as a prince, and there is reason to believe that he then represented the divinity, so that the worshippers, in eating his flesh, sacramentally partook of their god through his representative. In other cases paste images of the god Huitzilopochtli were mixed with human blood and eaten sacramentally. Early writers estimate these cannibalistic sacrifices by thousands yearly, and there seems little reason to suppose much exaggeration in their accounts (Bernal Diaz and Sahagun give the best accounts; cf. Jourdanet's *Étude sur les sacrifices humains et l'anthropophagie chez les Aztèques*, in his edition of the former Paris, 1877). Mendieta reports a rite similar to the Mexican sacrament from Vera Cruz among the Totonacs. Every three years children were killed, and their hearts' blood was mixed with the sap of a tree, herbs, and dough. The mixture, called *toyolliaytlaqual*, was eaten every six months by women over sixteen and men over twenty-five (*Mexico*, bk. ii. cap. 16, 19). Cannibalistic sacrifices were common among the *Central American* tribes, *e.g.* in Nicaragua. To obtain rain from Quiateot, the rain-god, children and adults were sacrificed to him and his images were sprinkled with their blood. Caciques and priests then feasted on the bodies of men; children's bodies were buried. Here, too, the victims were prisoners of war or slaves (*Trans. Amer. Eth. Soc.* iii. 138; Bancroft, iii. 492). Acosta, in his *History of the Indies*, 1590, says that the victim represented the god, as in the Mexican instance. Among the wilder tribes of Peru, human sacrifices with cannibalistic feasts are said to have prevailed till the coming of the Incas (Cieza de Leon, *Chron. of Peru*, 1864, pt. i. ch. xxxviii.), who, according to Garcilasso de la Vega, put an end to both (*Royal Commentaries*, 1688, p. 137 f.), thus showing themselves in a more amiable light than the Mexicans. The custom was to offer the heart and blood of a captive to the animal-gods, while the worshippers feasted on the flesh of the sacrifice (de la Vega, ii. 344).

As in nearly all these cannibalistic sacrifices the victims were enemies, it is far from unlikely that, in many cases where the eating of enemies for various motives—to obtain strength, out of revenge or gluttony—is reported, without any mention of a religious rite, this also existed, so that cannibalism with a ritual aspect would have a wider range (cf. the case of the Philippine islanders, § 14).

The cannibalism of the *Aghorī*, a sect of Śiva, which continued in India until lately, appears to have been partially religious and by way of self-abnegation. Corpses of those who had been slaughtered or had died a natural death were eaten, and frequently stolen for that purpose (Balfour, *Cycl. of Ind.*³, 1885, i. 42; Tod, *Rajasthan*, 1832). The sect, which flourished in mediæval times, was accustomed to buy human flesh in the open market as late as the 17th cent.; but the eating of the dead has now practically disappeared, and the sect is much reduced (see AGHORĪ).

To the instances of orgiastic cannibalism and eating the victim who represents the god may be added certain cases in *ancient Greece*. In later times a fragment of human flesh, probably representing an earlier human victim, was placed among the parts of animal victims sacrificed to Zeus Lycæus in Arcadia, and, in the feast which followed, the man who ate this fragment was believed to become a werwolf (Plato, *Repub.* viii. 565). This is undoubtedly a survival of an earlier cannibal sacrificial feast. It is still more marked in the Dionysiac rites, especially in Crete, where, in order to be identified with the god who had himself been torn and eaten by the Titans, the worshipper tore and ate the raw flesh of a bull or goat (ὠμοφαγία; cf. Plutarch, *de Def. Or.* xiv.; Porphyry, *de Abst.* iv. 19). But occasionally a human victim represented the god and was similarly treated. Porphyry says Dionysos Omadius exacted such a human victim in Chios and at Tenedos; and Pausanias says that formerly a child was the victim in Bœotia (*de Abst.* ii. 55; Paus. ix. 5. 2); while a vase painting shows a Thracian tearing a child with his teeth in presence of the god (*JHS*, 1890, p. 343). Fragments of an epic poem recently discovered and dealing with Bacchic subjects refer to the eating of a human victim disguised as a stag. The tearing and eating of animal flesh is known to have occurred among the heathen Arabs, and the eating of a sacrificial animal which represented the god was common. These may be extensions of totemism; but possibly, as in the Cretan rite, behind them may lie the eating of a human victim. We may compare with the Cretan rite that of the Khoṇḍs, where a girl representing the goddess Tari was sacrificed and torn limb from limb by the worshippers, eager to obtain a piece of the deified victim (Reclus, *Prim. Folk*, 1891, p. 304), or that of the Marimos, a S. African people, who strewed the blood and ashes of brains and skull of a human sacrifice on the field to make it fruitful, and consumed the remainder (Schneider, *Rel. d. afrik. Naturvölker*, 1891, i. 175).

Reference may also be made to the employment of human blood in ritual ceremonies by the Ostiaks, and the use of a child's blood in the Sacrament among the Christian sectaries of Great Russia (*L'Anthrop.* v. 508).

18. *Political and social cannibalism.*—Cannibalism has also political and social aspects, though both, probably, are connected with religion. The former is most marked in certain African coronation rites, as at Darfur, where, even after the introduction of Islām, two boys were sacrificed and their flesh eaten by the Sultan and his nobles. He who did not eat was regarded as a traitor (Munzinger, *Ostafrik. Stud.*², 1883, p. 558). Another instance is that of the Ama-pondo Kāfirs, with whom the new chief bathed in the blood of a relative and drank out of his skull (Bergemann, p. 39). In the Cameroon district a new chief must kill one or more men and divide the flesh among his relatives and the other chiefs (Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, 1885–88, i. 613). Compare the survival at the coronation of a king in the Sandwich Islands. The left eye of a human victim was given him to swallow, so that an accession of strength might be his (Turnbull, *Travels*, 1840, p. 240). The social aspect of cannibalism appears in the rites of blood-brotherhood (see BROTHERHOOD [artif.]), where the covenanting parties mingle their blood and drink it, and in those of initiation (*q.v.*), where the candidate tastes or drinks the blood of the older men of the clan, or is smeared with it. Both these customs are very marked with most Australian tribes: 'The drawing and also the drinking of blood on certain special occasions is associated with the idea that those who take part in the ceremony are thereby bound together in friendship, and obliged to assist one another' (Spencer-Gillen ᵇ, p. 598; cf. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 658, 668, 670; Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 45). They are thus analogous to the drinking of a friend's blood in sickness (see above, § 7), or as a mark of affection, as among the Celts (§ 12). Eating of the flesh of a fallen enemy by both contending parties after a fight, as a token of entering on a covenant of peace, is akin to the blood-brotherhood rites, and is found among the Liu-kiu islanders and the Garo hill-tribes (Steinmetz, p. 3, and see § 10). In Timor-Laut, bonds are sealed by both parties eating a slave (Bergemann, p. 22). Both Sallust and Tertullian mention the drinking of human blood to strengthen a bond between contracting parties among the Romans (*Catil.* xxii.; *adv. Gnost. scorp.* vii.).

19. *Lowest peoples and cannibalism.*—Evidence thus goes to show that the worst forms of cannibalism do not occur among the lowest savages, but among barbaric races (Battas, Negroes, Maoris, S. Americans) with a certain amount of culture. Among other races of that grade or next above it (American Indians, S. African races, some Polynesians) it tends to disappear, or occurs through other motives than gluttony, and often in a reduced form. Among the lowest savages the worst forms are never found, and it is doubtful whether cannibalism now exists among some of them. The Australians are cannibals from a variety of motives, never through gluttony; the cannibalism of the Tasmanians and Andamanese, asserted by early travellers, is denied by later authorities, though the North and Little Andaman Islanders are accused of it by their fellows (Ling Roth, *Abor. of Tasmania*, p. 97; E. H. Man, *JAI* xii. 117 ff.); the Bushmen and Hottentots do not seem to be cannibals, though one tribe (considered by some to be an earlier people than the Bushmen) have cannibalistic traits, eating the placenta after birth (Stow, *Races of S. Africa*, 1905, pp. 20, 51, 336), while the Dwarfs of Central Africa 'repudiate the idea with horror,' though they eat animal flesh freely (Sir H. Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 540); the Negritoes of the Malay Archipelago (Aetas and Sakkas) are doubtful (see *Fasc. Malay Anthrop.*, 1903, i. 20; Semang interment shows no evidence of the head being eaten, as has been said to be done, and the authors failed to obtain evidence of cannibalism among the Semangs, though the true Semangs are said by the Hami to eat men).

Ainus, Eskimos, and Fuegians all seem to have been occasionally cannibals. We can hardly, however, argue that the non-cannibal peoples referred to were not formerly cannibals. Their present reduced numbers, the pressure of more cultured tribes upon them, and the presence in some cases of a higher civilization, may have altered earlier customs, and have made the slaying and eating of enemies difficult, and in any case a matter of secrecy. It is possible also that fear of the dead, which exists strongly among some of these peoples, *e.g.* Tasmanians and Sakkas (the former 'never name the dead' [Roth, *Abor. of Tas.* p. 97]), may have hindered cannibalism. Their case cannot, therefore, be alleged in proof of cannibalism's being non-existent in primitive times when man was on their own or a still lower level. Palæolithic man was already higher in culture than they. All that can be said is that cannibalism is an occasional custom rather than a fixed habit among the lowest races.

The weakening of cannibal customs is seen in cases where the people but rarely take part, and the act is restricted, in a more or less formal manner, to the chief, king, or priest, as among the Araucanians, in Ashanti, Dahomey, and Cameroon, in the Philippines, Marquesas Islands, New Caledonia, and Sandwich and Society Islands, and in the N. American cannibal societies (see above). It is obvious that, where certain selected portions of the flesh have been the special privilege of chief or priest as a result of their natural pre-

eminence, when the custom was dying out among the people it would still be kept up by those privileged persons out of pride or as an honorific act. Thus the eye as the seat of the soul was eaten by the chief in New Zealand, the Society and Sandwich Islands, and in the Marquesas group, where, even after their conversion to Christianity, the priests kept the name of *aimata*, 'eye-eater' (Letourneau, *op. cit.* p. 208 ; Taylor, *N.Z.*, 1885, ch. xxi. ; *L'Anthrop.* vi. 443 ; cf. § 17). In New Zealand the priest ate the heart, and the warriors ate selected portions ; the heart and entrails fell to the priests and his assistants in Kimbunda ; to the chief in Kassanje ; to the bravest in the W. India Islands ; in Tangale (Guinea) the Sultan received the breast ; in Monbuttu (C. Africa) children captured in war were reserved for kings ; among the Shekiam people of Senegal the fetish-priest received the liver as a tit-bit (§ 17 ; du Tertre, *Hist. gén. des Antilles*, 1671, ii. 401 ; Andree, p. 27 ; Schweinfurth, *op. cit.* ii. 98 ; Bergemann, p. 47). These selected portions would certainly continue to be eaten by the persons privileged to do so after the general custom had ceased. The same idea of privilege is seen where priest or chief eats first, and not till he has done so may the others take part in the feast.

20. *Women and cannibalism.*—Women sometimes occupied a curious position in cannibalistic customs. While the head was occasionally regarded as a special portion, in some places, as in Tangale, it was considered the worst part, and was given to women to consume. This part was also given to women among the Wakhandi of W. Australia, and among the Peak River tribes of S. Australia. With several peoples women were not allowed to take part in the cannibalistic meal ; it was tabu to them. We find this tabu existing among the Maoris (with certain exceptions) and Tonga islanders, in Fiji, and the Marquesas Islands ; among the Manjuemas, Fans, Ba'ngalu, and Bassanje in Africa ; and in Nicaragua. Children were forbidden to take part among the Bassanje and Fans, and in the Marquesas Islands ; men not tatued could not take part in the last-mentioned place. The prohibition against women's eating human flesh is doubtless nothing but an instance of that universal sexual tabu in connexion with eating which forbids men and women to eat together or to eat the same kind of food (see Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 167 f.), and which is known to exist in most of the districts referred to. In the Solomon Islands women and children must not be present when the body is cut up, but a portion is sent to them (*L'Anthrop.* x. 492).

A similar extension of the sexual tabu, which regards woman as potentially or actually dangerous to man, will also explain the fact that, while the flesh of men is freely eaten, that of women was abhorred or regarded as poisonous in New Zealand, with the Manjuemas, the Kashibos, in Nicaragua, and probably in other places where the custom has not been referred to by observers. It may also explain why women were not eaten by their relatives while men were, among the Derbikes, as reported by Strabo (see § 11). Elsewhere the tabu does not exist, and certain parts of female flesh, breasts, hips, etc., were regarded as tit-bits.

21. Some cannibals, while eating freely of their own kind, or of black people, abhor the flesh of white men. The Tongans thought it a wicked and dangerous practice, some Tongans having died after it ; in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia it was thought too salt ; among the Fans it is thought to be poisonous, and other Negro cannibals dislike it ; the Botocudos mutilated but did not eat the bodies of white men ; certain Australian tribes also thought it salt, while it produced nausea (Mariner, *Tonga Is.*, 1817, i. 321 ; Turner, *Polynesia*, p. 83 ; De Rochas, *Bull. soc. d'Anthr.* 1860, p. 414 ; Andree, pp. 30, 88 ; Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 273).

iii. Present range of cannibalism.—At the present time, cannibalism as a regular custom exists only among isolated S. American tribes, in West, Equatorial, and Central Africa, in Malaysia, some of the South Sea Islands (mainly in Melanesia), and in Australia. Excluding Australia, it is thus confined to a belt of land extending to little more than 10° N. and S. of the Equator. Beyond these regions, of which the worst is Central Africa, it occurs only through hunger, or in an attenuated form for magical or medical purposes. What have been the causes of this gradual weakening of a once extensive and probably world-wide custom? Increasing civilization has everywhere played its part, and this appears in the mythology of various peoples. Orpheus was held to have weaned the Greeks, Osiris the Egyptians—cannibals in Neolithic times (see i. § 3)—and the divine Aioina the Ainus, from their earlier cannibalism (Hor., *Ars poet.* 391 ; Diod. Sic. i. 14 ; Batchelor, *Ainu and their Folk-lore*, 1901, p. 2). Even among savage peoples may be noted an out-growing of or disgust at the custom, or an attempt to put it down on the part of chiefs or priests, often quite apart from outside influences. In several of the Pacific Islands (Hawaii, Tahiti) it was dying out at the time of their discovery, and shame at the practice was arising ; in the Fiji Islands several pagan chiefs tried to stop it but unsuccessfully, while Marquesan priests protested against it in the name of the gods ; among the American Indians the custom seems to have become much diminished through a gradual dislike of it ; in Africa among the southern tribes there was a general disgust at those who had relapsed into man-eating, and Moshesh tried to extirpate it ; the Riamba cult, with its practice of hemp-smoking, has uprooted it among some Central African tribes, *e.g.* the Tuschilange (Andree, pp. 61, 63 ; Turnbull, *Travels*, p. 204 ; Wake, *Evol. of Moral.*², 1878, i. 427 ; Wissmann, *Im Innern Afrikas*, p. 152). We must also note the part which totemism has played in forbidding the eating of near relatives (see i. § 5). Animism, too, by furthering the idea of the dignity of the soul, suggested also the idea of the dignity of the body which contained it, and thus may have had a certain influence in forbidding the eating of relatives where no stronger religious motive impelled to it. This is suggested by the fact that enemies are frequently eaten out of contempt, and where this happens relatives are seldom eaten (see ii. § 13). The presence of a higher civilization, and especially of a higher religion, and the spread of commercial relations among lower races, have usually a beneficial effect in putting an end to anthropophagy. Even in the worst man-eating districts the feasts are frequently held in secret. The case of the Inca rule in Peru has already been considered (ii. § 17). The higher ancient religions doubtless had similar effects among the wild tribes of Asia. Muhammadanism has extirpated or reduced the once universal cannibalism of the Negro tribes of North and East Africa, in Sumatra, and other parts of the Malay Archipelago, not only among those professing it, but among other tribes bordering upon them. Christianity, together with other European civilizing influences, has also put an end to it in many parts of S. America, in New Zealand, and many islands of the South Seas, once hotbeds of cannibalism, as well as in large tracts of the African continent. With the further spread of civilization and religion over the cannibalistic zone, there is little reason to doubt that the custom will soon become little more than a memory.

iv. Folk-lore survivals.—The former univer-

sality of cannibalism is suggested by the existence of occasional ritual practices, as well as of myths and *Märchen* among peoples who are scarcely if ever cannibals, and also among higher races who have long since abandoned cannibalism. Such things have descended from a time when they did practise it, or were borrowed by them from cannibalistic peoples at a time when they themselves were not far removed from the custom.

1. *Folk-custom.*—Hartland has suggested by comparison of a large range of customs at funeral feasts, that such feasts may have replaced an earlier honorific eating of dead relatives. Especial links of connexion are eating the food across the corpse (England), on the table where the dead has lain (Abruzzi), or at the grave (ancient Greeks and Romans, Albania); the use of special food, *e.g.* corpse-cakes (Bavaria), or some form of pulse which is often identified in folk-belief with human flesh (France, Italy; cf. Pliny, xviii. 30); the impression of a human form on the cakes (Albania; cf. sweetmeats stamped with images of skulls, etc., eaten in Italy on All Souls' Day; the custom is called 'eating the dead'); the use of pious exclamations while eating, or of conversation about the virtues of the deceased; the idea that the corpse-cake actually contains the virtues and strength of the deceased through the dough having been laid on his body (Bavaria); the custom of the 'sin-eater'—some person eating food which had been placed in contact with the dead, thus becoming responsible for his sins (Wales; cf. similar practices in India). Although in some cases these feasts are also survivals of earlier feasts in which part of the food was laid out for the dead, the idea of communion with the dead runs through all of them, and the various points noted are certainly suggestive of an earlier eating of the dead (Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, 1895, ii. 287 f.; Gomme, *Ethnol. in Folklore*, 1892, p. 116 ff.).

2. *Myths.*—Even a cultured people like the Greeks had myths which prove that in some far distant time their ancestors had been cannibals. It has already been seen that orgiastic cannibalism and ritual survival existed even down to late times. The saga of Tantalus and his descendants is a curious instance of persistent cannibalism. He, wishing to test the knowledge of the gods, set before them his son Pelops whom he had slain, but all of them save Demeter refused the ghastly meal. Later, Pelops' son, Thyestes, having debauched his brother's wife, had two children by her; these his brother killed and served up to him. A like punishment befell Tereus, who unwittingly ate his son Itys. Athenæus preserves a story of the glutton Cambleta, king of the Lydians, who cut his wife to pieces and ate her, while in the *Odyssey* the Polyphemus saga of man-eating giants dwelling in caves is itself suggestive of the quaternary cave-dwelling cannibals. Here, too, the cannibalism of gods and semi-divine beings was told of in myth. Pindar (*Ol. Odes*, i.) refuses to tell the tale of the cannibalism of the blessed gods, but others were less discreet. The myth of Cronus swallowing his children was well known, and has been compared with similar 'swallow' myths from all parts of the world which attribute a like action to divinities, human beings, and sometimes animals. Though some of these may be Nature-myths—the heavenly bodies appearing to swallow their children, the stars—they were obviously suggested in a cannibalistic age. The eating of children was also attributed to Lamia, the prototype of the Lamiæ of ancient and modern Greece, also cannibals. The human sacrifices to Zeus Lycæus on Mt. Lycæum (Paus. viii. 38. 6) had given rise to a cannibalistic myth. That the sacrifice had arisen at a time when the god was supposed to eat the victim is clear from the myth of Lycaon's setting human food before Zeus, while the belief that those who tasted part of the sacrifice were changed to wolves implies a former cannibalistic banquet. Such local titles of Zeus as Laphystius (according to Suidas, 'the glutton'), or of Dionysus as 'the raw-eater,' are doubtless explainable through human sacrifices which the gods were supposed to devour, just as, among the Polynesians, the god Tane was called 'the man-eater,' and his teeth were stained with the blood of his victims (Gill, pp. 30, 263). Finally, the myth of Dionysus, slain and eaten by the Titans, though it may be ætiological, explaining the origin of the Dionysiac rites, none the less reflects actual cannibalism among those who invented it. That this is true of all these myths is found by comparing them with precisely similar myths existing among actual cannibals. In Polynesia, where human sacrifices were common, the gods were believed to eat the victims, if not actually, at least in essence, and the title 'man-eater' is applied to some of the gods (as in Greece) in several of the islands. The gods were held to eat and digest the spirits of the dead, people of higher rank being eaten by the higher gods, and common people by a deity in the shape of a bird, in which form also the gods ate the human sacrificial victims (Ellis, *Pol. Res.*, 1830, i. 396 f.). The mythology is full of these accounts, and in one myth we hear of the escape of the hero Ngaru from the oven of the hag Miru, queen of Hades, who cooked and ate her victims precisely in the manner of the cannibal ogres of European *Märchen* (Gill, *Myths and Songs of the Pacific*, p. 229). In the Marquesas Islands the chiefs, as descendants of gods, had a right to select portions of the human victims—the 'food of the gods' (*L'Anthrop.* vi. 443). Such divine eating of human victims is also shown wherever at a cannibal feast, as in Fiji, part of the slain is first offered to the gods. Among the ancient Celts the Morrigu, or goddess of war, and her attendants were believed to feast on the slain; while the Greeks held that a demon in Hades called Eurynomos gnawed the flesh of the dead (Paus. x. 28. 4). Similar myths also linger on among low races who have more or less abandoned cannibalism, as well as among some who still practise it. The Mintira of the Malay peninsula and the Hos of N.E. India have myths in which the sun and moon are conceived of as human, and as devouring their children the stars (Tylor, *Prim. Cult*, i. 356; for other instances, see Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*[2], 1899, i. 130, and *Custom and Myth*[2], 1893, p. 53 f.). The Malays think that the *badi* of a dead man feeds on the soul (or liver) of the living, while certain sea-spirits feed entirely on dead men (*Fasc. Malay. Anthrop.* i. 81, 101). A mythical being among the Eskimos is called Erdlaveersissok, 'the entrail-seizer.' She resides on the way to the moon, and takes out the entrails of all whom she can make laugh; while akin to the myth of the Polynesian gods is that of a god who devours the bowels of the ghosts (Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p. 48). The Haidas think that the god of the clouds seeks human victims on days when the clouds are low; any one caught out on such a day dies in six months to furnish a meal for this god. He draws out the man's spirit, and then sends it to fetch his body to be eaten. If the spirit refuses, it is eaten, and, in consequence, is annihilated (Harrison, *JAI* xxi. 16, 18).

3. *Folk-lore.*—In the various horrible man-eating ogres of races who have abandoned cannibalism we may see memories of earlier cannibalistic practices. They represent the man-eating gods of earlier paganism, now appearing as demons, or they reflect later opinion of man-eating ancestors, or they may have been suggested by hostile races

who devoured their prisoners and made war on non-cannibalistic peoples. The Rakshasas and Rakshasis or Yaks of the East, the Cyclops, Drakos, and ogres of European *Märchen*, the Greek Lamiæ, and the Russian Baba-Yaga are typical forms. They are the dark shadows of actual cannibals of an earlier time, and are paralleled by more nearly human forms in the folk-tales of lower races who are themselves, or who live among, cannibals. Other dark figures of folk-lore have also been, in part at least, suggested by earlier cannibalism. Vampires, dead people come to life again who suck the blood of the living, are mainly believed in by the Slavs, Celts, and Scandinavians; but a similar being occurs in Negro Vaudoux belief, the offspring, probably, of the West African *Uvengwa*, a self-resurrected human being, thirsting for human blood; and among the Melanesians who believe in the Talamaur, the soul of a living person which goes out to eat the dead—a reversal of the usual Vampire belief. The Ghouls of Arab belief have a certain resemblance to Vampires; they are demons who take various forms and eat the dead, or are simply cannibals. The Werwolf, also, a human being, witch or wizard, or their victim, who takes the form of a wolf or some other animal and eats human beings, is frequently connected with the Vampire in folk-belief, and its existence as a superstition is also largely due to cannibalism. The belief is an early one, and was known in classical times; it is found in all European countries, as well as in India, China, Malaysia, Africa, and N. and S. America. See the articles VAMPIRE, LYCANTHROPY, and cf. the Australian belief that sorcerers (*boyl-yas*) can invisibly enter their victims and consume their flesh (Grey, *Journals*, 1841, ii. 339).

4. *Märchen* which contain a cannibalistic episode may be divided into definite classes—(1) Those in which a man-eating ogre, demon, or witch is outwitted in various ways by the hero he intends to eat (Odysseus and the Cyclops, Hansel and Grethel, and Mally Whuppie types). There are countless European variants of this tale, as well as Lapp, Kirghiz, Indian, Persian, Karen, Ainu, Eskimo, Malagasy, E. African, American Indian, and Melanesian variants.—(2) Those in which a person, who is married to a cannibalistic husband or wife of another tribe, or who has fallen into the clutches of such a tribe more or less human, escapes. This version is found among the Kāfirs, Eskimos, Chinese, Japanese, American Indians, and Malagasy, as well as in civilized European and Asiatic lands. Both classes are evidently the reflexion of an actual state of things, viz. of the horror with which a race which had given up cannibalism would look upon others still cannibals with whom they were in actual contact or had been so traditionally. Where such tales occur among the lower races the cannibals have human traits, but, advancing higher, we find them becoming less and less human, till finally the ogre proper is arrived at. Actual instances of such feelings of fear and horror at neighbouring cannibal races causing them to be regarded with various repulsive traits are found, *e.g.*, among the Eskimos with respect to the American Indians, whom they call Irtkily, cannibals with dogs' heads; among African tribes with respect to their man-eating neighbours; among the Savage Islanders with respect to the Tongans. The same order of facts underlies the charges brought, *e.g.*, by Greeks against most barbarians; by Hindus against the 'goat-nosed' Turanians; by pagans against Jews and primitive Christians; in mediæval times against Templars and Jews, in modern times against gipsies and (in Russia) the Jews.—(3) In another class of *Märchen*, as well as in actual folk-belief, witches figure as cannibals, stealing newborn babes or enticing away older children to eat them either privately or at the Sabbat. In Teutonic lands this belief seems to have been especially strong; the folk-tales are full of descriptions of cannibalistic witches (cf. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 1081, 1625); and at witch-trials the charge of cannibalism was commonly made. The Russian Baba-Yaga is also a cannibalistic witch, who steals, cooks, and eats her victims, and has her house ornamented with skull and bones—a frequent practice among savage cannibals; and the same is true of the Greek *strigæ*, mysterious women who swoop down as birds on their sleeping victims and suck their blood or devour them. It is possible that the mediæval witch may have succeeded to the inheritance of earlier pagan priestesses who presided over the orgiastic rites of a goddess of fertility to whom children were sacrificed and afterwards eaten. The great mortality among children in the Middle Ages, and the fact that midwives were frequently accused of witchcraft and held responsible for causing the death of children for sinister ends, would all serve to strengthen the traditional stories of witch-cannibalism. Reference has already been made to cases of actual anthropophagy in mediæval times, but it is probable that the tradition of earlier cannibalism, quite as much as these, caused the general belief and led to the condemnation in the Salic Law of witches who eat men for magical purposes. Pieces of a corpse were, however, actually used in witch-magic, as among the Australians and others.—(4) A frequent incident in *Märchen* is that of the child being sent out by the parent to be killed, while the assassin is ordered to bring back the victim's heart, liver, etc. Out of pity he slays some animal instead, and the parent is frequently represented as eating it under the impression that it is the child's. Grimm's story of Snow-White is a typical instance. Here we may see a reminiscence of the practice of eating heart, liver, etc., in order to acquire the strength or soul of their owner.—(5) In some Cinderella tales the mother of the heroine is changed to a beast by the second wife, slain, and eaten; the daughter refuses to eat, knowing that it is her mother. But in Greek and Dalmatian variants the jealous elder daughters kill and eat their mother, the youngest again refusing. Is there here some confused memory of actual parent-eating as well as of an early rule forbidding the eating of one's own kin? (The stories will be found in Miss Cox, *Cinderella*, 1893.)—(6) Two other well-defined groups of tales exhibit cannibalism as a perverted taste. The first of these is the story of the mother who kills her child and sends it cooked to the father (Grimm's story of the Juniper-Tree, common in Europe, and with a Malagasy variant); in the second the interest circles round a person—frequently a woman—who suddenly becomes a cannibal, and will thenceforth be contented with nothing but human flesh. Of this story there are versions from all parts of the world. Both groups reflect what has been frequently seen in actual practice—the lapse into the customs of the savage past through desire or during famine.—(7) Lastly, fairies were sometimes believed to eat children whom they stole or inveigled from their parents, *e.g.* in Welsh folk-lore. Rhŷs (*Celtic Folklore*, 1901, ii. 694) is inclined to equate these with the man-eating Atecotti; and, so far as fairies reflect an early race, this may be correct.

5. *Myths of the origin of cannibalism.*—In a few cases such myths are found among actual cannibalistic peoples. The Mesayas say that in early times a band of their hungry ancestors found a Umana asleep, and killed and ate him. A bird told this to the Umanas. Hence arose endless

feuds in which all prisoners were slain and eaten (Marcoy, in *Tour du Monde*, xv. 135). The Tupis ascribe the origin of cannibalism to the murder of a youth, whose mother rushed upon one of the murderers, bit a piece out of his shoulder, and ate it. He showed the wound to his people, who forthwith began to eat the flesh of enemies (Andree, p. 84, citing Pigafetta). The Fijians say that the coming of cannibalism took place through their ancestors eating, instead of burying, king Tue Dreketi, lest he should rise again. Hence arose the eating of enemies in battle, a story which suggests the animistic motive of destroying the soul (Bergemann, p. 34). In New Zealand, as with the Tupis, the origin is ascribed to the first murder. Hauriki killed Hotua, and Hotua's friends killed Hauriki and his friends. They presented Hauriki's heart to the high priest, who ate it, after which all feasted on the body. The blood of his friends was offered to the gods, while the bodies were cooked and eaten (White, *Anc. Hist. of the Maori*, 1887–89, i. 43). It is remarkable how the consciousness of cannibalism as a violent act runs through these tales, only one of which speaks of hunger as the motive.

A curious myth, perhaps hinting at early Iranian cannibalism, occurs in the Persian *Bundahiš* (West's *Pah. Texts*, pt. i., *SBE* vol. v.), regarding the first human pair, Mashya and Mashyôi, to whom two children were born, and who 'out of tenderness for offspring' devoured them. This 'tenderness' was then taken from them by Aûharmazd. This eating of their children is evidently regarded as part of their 'fall.'

LITERATURE.—R. Andree, *Die Anthropophagie*, Leipzig, 1887; P. Bergemann, *Die Verbreitung der Anthropophagie*, Bunzlau, 1893; H. Gaidoz, articles in *Mélusine*, vol. iii., Paris, 1886–1887; A. Lang, Introduction to Perrault's *Popular Tales*, Oxford, 1888; Sir J. Lubbock (Lord Avebury), *Prehistoric Times*[4], London, 1878; J. A. MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, ch. x. ('Cannibalism in *Märchen*'), London, 1905; R. S. Steinmetz, *Endokannibalismus*, Vienna, 1896; A. Sutherland, *Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*, vol. i., London, 1898; E. B. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*[3], London, 1878, and art. 'Cannibalism' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*[9].

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CANON (Buddhist).—See LITERATURE (Buddhist).

CANON (Christian).—See BIBLE.

CANONIZATION.—The earlier part of this subject is dealt with in the article BEATIFICATION. The cult of martyrs and of persons eminent for their virtues goes back to very early times, and began in popular reverence, which came to be authorized by bishops or by local councils. But the history of the process of veneration took a different course in East and West. It will be necessary, therefore, to treat separately of the Western and Eastern Churches.

1. The West.—Canonization, while it was not distinguished from beatification, remained for a long time in the power of the local episcopate. It is asserted as at least probable, by Ferraris (*Prompta Bibliotheca*, Rome, 1766, t. vii.), that Leo III. in 804 began the rule of requiring the submission of a name to the Pope; but the letter he refers to is probably not authentic. (The matter is further discussed in Benedict XIV., *de Servorum Dei beatificatione*, etc., Rome, 1787, t. i. lib. i. cap. 7.) It is also stated that the rule was begun by John XV. in the case of St. Udalric, in 993 (*MGH* iv. 377–428). There is no doubt that at the beginning of the 12th cent. Urban II., Calixtus II., and Eugenius III. claimed that the power could not be exercised by bishops, but that cases, if not decided by the Popes themselves, should be submitted to councils, and, if possible, general councils. Eugenius III. himself canonized the Emperor Henry II., and Alexander III. canonized Edward the Confessor, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and others (see Benedict XIV., *op. cit.* lib. i. cap. viii. and cap. x.). A decree of Alexander III. in 1170 (see art. BEATIFICATION) reserves the right to the Roman See. Some maintain that this is a new departure; others see in it merely a formal declaration of ancient custom and right. But Benedict XIV. shows strong reason to believe (as is indeed natural) that the local episcopate could never cause veneration throughout the Catholic Church (*op. cit.* lib. i. cap. x.). The exercise of the power locally by bishops remained, however, untouched till at least that date (cf. *AS*, Julii, i. 587; Junii, vii. 556). The decree of Alexander III. was renewed by Innocent III. in 1210 (*Decretal.* lib. iii. tit. xlv. cap. ii.); but it was some time before it became fully effective, local veneration and popular 'canonization' continuing in some parts of Europe till a much later date (instances are the case of Simon de Montfort, for whom an office was written, and whose veneration, though condemned by the Popes, was long unsuppressed [cf. 'Dictum de Kenilworth,' ch. 8, in Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 1895, *Carmen de bello Lewensi*, ed. Kingsford, 1890, and Halliwell, *Miracula Simonis*, 1840]; and of Thomas of Lancaster [cf. *Anecdota ex codicibus hagiographicis J. Gielemans*, 1895, pp. 80–100]). Indeed, it was not until the decree of Urban VIII., July 5, 1634, that the whole process was finally and authoritatively declared to belong to the Roman pontiff, to the exclusion of every other person or power whatever. From this date we find canonization to be recognized as a formal act of the Pope, giving a definitive sentence by which the name of a person who had been beatified is placed in the ranks of the saints, as already having entered into the bliss of heaven, and his memory is to be celebrated on a given day throughout the whole Church. Churches and altars may be erected freely in his name (Benedict XIV., *op. cit.* lib. i. cap. xxxix. 10).

As in the case of Beatification (*q.v.*), there is a distinction between formal and equivalent or equipollent canonization. Urban VIII. declared that the formal process should not prejudice the case of those who were already the objects of a general cult arising from general consent, immemorial custom, the testimony of the fathers, or the tacit consent of the Holy See. Such cases were from time to time legalized without the long formal process (Benedict XIV., *op. cit.* lib. i. cap. xli. 4). Prominent cases are those of St. Wenceslas of Bohemia (*ob.* 929), whose equipollent canonization dates from 1729; St. Romwald (*ob.* 1027, can. 1595); St. Stephen of Hungary (*ob.* 1038, can. 1686); Gregory VII. (*ob.* 1085, can. 1728); St. Margaret of Scotland (*ob.* 1093, can. 1691); and there are many others. Under the class of equipollent canonizations come also all those of infants (among them a number of those, such as St. Simon of Trent, St. Hugh of Lincoln, and St. William of Norwich, who were supposed to have been murdered by Jews), because they are not martyrs in will (Benedict XIV., *op. cit.* lib. iii. cap. xvi. n. 6). A remarkable case is that of Charles the Great, canonized by the anti-Pope Pascal III., but accepted by the Holy See (cf. art. BEATIFICATION and *AS*, Jan., iii. 490, 503).

In formal canonizations it is claimed that the Pope is infallible (the matter is discussed at length in Vacant and Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, fasc. xv., Paris, 1905, col. 1640–1642), but that it is 'not of divine faith but of ecclesiastical faith' that the person canonized is already in heaven (*Salmanticensis Cursus theolog.*, t. xvii., 'de Fide theologia,' Paris, 1870–81, xi. 275).

The actual process of canonization in the Roman Church may now be briefly sketched. The growth

of the present system is traced in Benedict XIV. (*op. cit.* lib. i. cap. xx. xxiii.; lib. ii. cap. xxxv.). The first step is a public statement by the ordinary of a particular place of the public regard for the person in question. This is followed by a prohibition of public veneration. The bishop then considers, with evidence of repute and of miracles, the claim for public veneration, and if satisfied transmits it to Rome. If the sentence of the ordinary is approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, the writings of the person are submitted to a rigorous examination with a view to discovering if there is any taint, however small, of heresy or unsound teaching. This is the work of several theologians, working separately, and a report is submitted to the cardinal whom the Pope has charged with the preliminary investigations. This report is submitted to the Sacred Congregation. The advocate of the cause, if the decision is favourable, then sends a formal petition, through the Sacred Congregation, to the Pope. If the Pope agrees to the continuance of the process, he writes *placet* on the petition, the person whose case is submitted receives the title of 'venerable,' as one whose public fame is saintly, and the formal introduction of the cause takes place. The commission visits the scenes of the life and miracles, and collects and tests evidence, which is again examined by the Sacred Congregation. Evidence need not be oral or documentary: for example, at the beatification of the 'English Martyrs' by Leo XIII., Dec. 29, 1886, the evidence of a book of engravings, showing that in some frescoes, long destroyed, in the Church of the English College at Rome, they were placed among canonized saints, was regarded as justifying equipollent beatification (Dom Bede Camm, *Lives of the English Martyrs*, London, 1904, i. xvi ff.). Three sessions are necessary for the discussion of the virtue and miracles of the person, the third of which takes place in the Vatican, under the presidency of the Pope. The case is argued by the postulator and the promoter of the faith, and if the decision is favourable the Pope issues a decree of beatification.

Before the process of canonization is opened, it is necessary to submit evidence of miracles since beatification was accepted by the Congregation of Rites. The Pope again issues a commission, and there is a local examination as before, followed by a triple session of the Sacred Congregation; and afterwards in three consistories, separated by some lapse of time, but not interrupted by a vacancy of the Papal See. The question is then submitted to the whole college of cardinals, to patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops at Rome, and to bishops of the neighbourhood. A private meeting of the Sacred College is next consulted, and its assent is followed by a solemn and public consistory, in which the claim is pleaded by a consistorial advocate. A third consistory then takes place, at which all prelates present in Rome appear and give their advice to the Pope, the bishops thus preserving their ancient rights (Benedict XIV., *op. cit.* lib. i. cap. xxxiv. n. 9). The Pope now names the day for the formal canonization, which since the end of the Great Schism has always taken place in Rome. As a rule, several saints are canonized on the same day, and in the basilica of the Vatican. The Pope himself completes the process of canonization by declaring that the persons are saints, and that he inscribes their names on the roll of saints, and requires the Universal Church to celebrate their memory yearly on a fixed day (Benedict XIV., *op. cit.* lib. i. cap. xxxvi.). A formal act is registered, the *Te Deum* is sung, and the Pope recites the names of the new saints in prayer. The canonization is now complete.

A few words may be added on the *rationale* of canonization. It is a recognition of the solidarity of the Church based on the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. Originating in the fundamental human admiration for heroic virtue, it was adapted and developed by the Church, under continual popular pressure, till it became first a theological and then an ecclesiastical system. In its main principles it is rooted deep in universal feeling and supported by continuous tradition in the Church. This applies to the 'unchanging East' as well as to the West, and we may now trace the Eastern history of the subject.

2. The East.—Down to the 11th cent. the history of canonization follows on the same lines in the East as in the West. Local saints were elevated in popular reverence, were accepted by bishops and councils, and were locally venerated; but geographical barriers prevented much interchange of this sentiment between East and West (see, however, the case of St. Maria Antiqua, *Proc. of the Brit. School at Rome*, vol. i., No. 1, London, 1902; and the history of the veneration of St. Anne, whose cult probably reached the West from the East through the Crusades, is of considerable interest). In the greater part of the East the custom remained unaltered. The episcopate retained the authority to place the saint on the diptychs, and to sanction the creation and veneration of images (icons). In the separated Churches (Armenian, Syrian, etc.) the same custom was observed, with some local differences. In Russia, owing to the special history of that Church, more significant differences occurred. At the present time three distinct groups are recognized among those whose cult is permitted: (1) those venerated, by order of the supreme ecclesiastical authority, throughout the whole Russian Church; (2) those whose cult is approved for a particular part of the Church, a district, a monastery, or a church; and (3) those who are venerated by popular feeling, with tacit sanction of ecclesiastical authority, although not yet canonized. These classes to some extent correspond to those whom the Roman Church styles 'canonized,' 'beatified,' and 'venerable.' The earliest Russian saints, Boris and Glyeb, were inscribed in the calendar within a short time of their martyrdom (or political murder), and the *Chronicle* of Nestor (ed. Leger, Paris, 1884) shows that miracles were attributed to them, while the chronicler Jacob, in describing the institution of their festival, states that its formal institution, which was equivalent to canonization, was preceded by a period of popular veneration and pilgrimage to the tomb to which their bodies had been translated (Golubinski, *Hist. of Canonization of Saints*[2], p. 45 f.). In 1108, Theodosius Pecherski was admitted by all the bishops, it would seem (there was certainly a petition to that effect, through Svjatopolk, the ruler of the Russians), to commemoration in the Synodik throughout Russia (*ib.* p. 51); *i.e.* his name was inserted in the list of saints commemorated in the festal *litia*, sung at the end of vespers. There are other, but not numerous, instances which point to a general cult, before the Councils of 1547 and 1549 under the patriarch Macarius. At those councils the list of saints universally venerated received large additions, and additions were made also to those whose local veneration was permitted. These 'canonisations en masse' have been attributed to the new position of dignity which was assumed by the Russian Church when the Mother Church fell under the domination of the Turks (*Dict. de théol. cath.*, fasc. xv., Paris, 1905, col. 1660); but the date hardly supports this view, and the step was more likely due to the growing political strength of the monarchy and the sense of unity which it

diffused, and to the efforts for reform which culminated in the 'Council of a hundred chapters' at Moscow in 1551. From 1517 to 1721, when the new constitution of Peter the Great, the Most Holy Synod, took its beginning, there were only fifteen saints canonized for universal veneration; and since then there have been but six. It should be added that, during the period of the separation of the church of Kiev from that of Moscow (1458–1685), 141 new saints were introduced into the calendar of the former. The number of saints universally venerated (*i.e.*, in a strict Western sense, canonized), therefore, remains small; but saints who are locally venerated have their own offices, festivals, veneration of relics, and icons. The third class of persons venerated consists of those on the anniversary of whose death special services are said in which their intercession is invoked. It is from this commemoration, it would appear, that in almost every case the higher steps in veneration have arisen (cf. the case of the veneration of the martyrs John, Stephen, and Peter, killed by pagan Tatars, begun by Hermogenes of Kasan in 1592 [Golubinski, *op. cit.* p. 272 ff.].

For canonization, the attribution of miracle to the person venerated, as well as peculiar sanctity of life, or martyrdom, is practically essential. The incorruption of the body, on special inquiry, was also an important point in the evidence submitted. This applies to the cases mentioned above, SS. Boris and Glyeb and Theodosius Pecherski; but St. Vladimir, the typical Slavonic hero and saint (972–1054), who was 'canonized' by the creation of his festival in 1240, was not declared to have wrought miracles. It appears that the new saints of 1547–49 were all designated as 'thaumaturges,' and that miracles wrought by their intercession were regarded as the evidence of their sanctity. In 1690, when application was made for the canonization of Germanus, one of the founders of the monastery of Solovetz, it was answered that, besides the consent of the Czar and the Patriarch, a severe inquiry establishing the holiness and miracles of the person was necessary (*ib.* p. 428 f.). A further class of hiero-martyrs is, however, known; and for admission to this miracles would not seem to be necessary. The incorruptibility of the body, again, is not regarded as essential to canonization, as has been formally declared on the canonization of St. Seraphim of Sarov in 1903, by the Metropolitan Antonius of St. Petersburg (*Tserkovnyja Vjêdomosti* [official journal of the Synod], St. Petersburg, June 28, 1903). This is contrary to the view taken by Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1682 (cf. Golubinski, *op. cit.* p. 406 f.).

The right of canonization exercised by local bishops was generally, if not always, subject to the sanction of the Metropolitan (*ib.* p. 295). The Metropolitans also acted independently or with the support of a synod, and up to 1547 these commanded universal veneration on their own authority. The intervention, or sanction, of the Sovereign was, however, frequent if not essential (see the case of Svjatopolk in regard to St. Theodosius Pecherski, in Nestor's *Chronicle*, ed. Leger, p. 223). The canonization of 1547–49 was the work of the Metropolitan and the council of bishops. After that the Metropolitan is again found acting independently, as well as with the counsel of his synod, though the consent of the Patriarch and the Czar seems to have been regarded as essential (cf. case of Germanus of Solovetz above). At least from 1667, when a council insisted on an examination of the cause by the assembled bishops, the final decision was in the hands of the Patriarch, with the concurrence of his synod and of the Czar. A typical case is the canonization of St. Anne of Kashin (*ob.* 1368), which was completed in 1650 (Golubinski, *op. cit.* p. 167 f.). The case is a very curious one in many respects, as the canonization was quashed by the Patriarch Joachim in 1678. From the time of Peter the Great, canonizations are issued formally by the Holy Synod, local veneration (or beatification) being without any formal proclamation, though approved by the Synod. The process of canonization begins with the submission of the cause by a bishop, with testimony as to miracles, to the Holy Synod; but there are exceptions where the petition has been begun by civil authority. The Holy Synod then appoints a commission of investigation, which considers, *inter alia*, the state of the body and the evidence for miracles. The inquiry as to the life of the person is embodied in a document issued after the canonization by the Holy Synod, with a view to its public use in commemorations. At the conclusion of the inquiry the Holy Synod may decide to continue the process immediately, or, as is more generally done, to defer it for about two years, and then to seek further evidence. A further commission then reports to the Holy Synod, which issues a statement, submitted to the Imperial authority for sanction, which places the person in the list of saints, and orders an exposition of his relics, the composition of an office, the creation of a festival, and the publication of this decree for the instruction of the faithful. This is followed, if possible, by a translation and veneration of the relics, with special solemnity, under the authority of the Holy Synod and in the presence of some of the highest prelates. It includes the final recitation of special prayers for the repose of the soul of the saint, and for all those who have taken part in the ceremony. At the time of the translation a special office in honour of the saint is recited and the relics are exposed. From that moment prayers are no longer said for the soul; his intercession is invoked instead. The festival is prolonged, with special masses and sermons, for several days: that of St. Seraphim of Sarov lasted from July 16 to July 21, 1903.

The points in which Russian canonizations differ from those of the rest of the Eastern Church are those involved in the position assumed by the Christian Sovereign and by the Holy Synod; throughout the rest of the East, where these special features do not exist, the ancient custom, which leaves the whole process in the hands of the bishops, still obtains. In the Roman Church the system is more complex and exact, and depends on the Papal authority. In the Anglican Church, though churches have been dedicated in the names of modern persons of holy life, nothing approaching to a custom of canonization exists. The nearest approach to it is the insertion of the name of Charles I., 'King and Martyr,' in the calendar of the English Church by the authority of the Crown, the Convocations, and Parliament, and the compilation of a special office, for use on Jan. 30, which was removed from the Prayer Book (by royal authority only) in 1859. Protestant Churches have no parallel custom. It may be added that, while canonizations tend to increase in the Church of Rome, in the Eastern Church generally the cases of additions to the list of saints in modern times are rare. Though the Russian Church is perhaps becoming more generous in this regard, the Orthodox Church as a whole, and especially in Constantinople, is very chary of adding to the roll of those whom she formally declares to have attained to the highest bliss.

LITERATURE.—Benedict XIV., *de Servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, 1st ed., 4 vols., Bologna, 1734–38,

completed in his *Opera Omnia*, Venice, 1767 (the ed. used for the purpose of this art. is that in 15 volumes, Rome, 1787–92); Ferraris, *Prompta bibliotheca canonica*, Paris, 1884 (another ed. is Rome, 1766); Gardellini, *Decreta authentica sacrorum rituum*, Rome, 1898–1901; Vacant and Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, fasc. xv., Paris, 1905. There is a large number of earlier authorities, but practically all that they say will be found summarized in the books named above. On Eastern canonization, see Golubinski, *Istoria Kanonisatsii svatykh v russkoi tserkvi* ('History of the Canonization of Saints in the Russian Church')[2], Moscow, 1903, which has a full bibliography (pp. 3–10); Martinov, *Annus ecclesiasticus græco-slavicus*, Brussels, 1863. On the *rationale* of canonization and some theological doctrines involved, reference may be made to W. H. Hutton, *The Influence of Christianity upon National Character*, etc. (*BL*, 1903), and A. C. Headlam, *The Teaching of the Russian Church*, London, 1897, with references there given. The writer's grateful thanks are due to Mr. W. J. Birkbeck for most valuable help in regard to Russia.

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CANON LAW.—See LAW (Canon), LAW (Muhammadan).

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

CAPPADOCIAN THEOLOGY.—i. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.—It is only in a limited sense that we can speak of a 'Cappadocian Theology.' The term does not denote a formal system of doctrine, but represents in a more general way the contributions to theology of three Christian Fathers who were united by a common connexion with the Church in Cappadocia, and who brought to the defence of the Christian faith the inspiration of the same religious ideals and the same intellectual interests. The literary activity of the three Cappadocians — **Basil of Cæsarea**, his friend **Gregory of Nazianzus**, and his brother **Gregory of Nyssa**—covers the period 362–394. It thus coincides with a momentous period in the history of the Church. As champions of the Nicene cause in the closing years of the struggle with Arianism, the Cappadocians were the successors of Athanasius, and completed the victory over Arianism in the East. Under their guidance the fresh questions which were coming to the front in their time—the Divinity of the Holy Spirit and the formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity—received a solution. Again, they were called upon to deal with the Christological controversy in its earlier stage, as represented by the teaching of Apollinaris; and here too they rendered services which prepared the way for later theologians. But their place in the history of thought is due also to another cause. They were devoted students of Origen, and, like Origen, they sought to enlist in the service of Christian theology the best philosophical thought of their time, in order to present the Christian faith to the culture of their age in the form of a scientific theology. This dream of 'a league between Faith and Science' (Harnack) is shown in their presentation of the doctrine of the Trinity by the help of conceptions derived from the thought of Plato and Aristotle. But it appears in other directions as well, in the publication by Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus of the *Philocalia* (a selection of extracts from the writings of Origen), in the *Hexaemeron* of Basil, above all in the three treatises of Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Soul and the Resurrection*, *On the Making of Man*, and the *Catechetical Oration*.

The last-named Father was a more thoroughgoing student of Origen than either of the other two. He traverses almost the whole field of problems which had been dealt with by Origen, and seeks to present the Christian religion in relation to the plan of the Universe and human history. The questions of which he treats include the providence of God, the creation of matter, the origin of the soul and its relations to the body, the source and nature of evil, the resurrection of the body, and the eschatological problem. In this way he was the successor of Origen, and the first Father after him who attempted to create a system of thought based upon Christianity. In his speculative idealism he goes beyond Origen in explaining away matter. On the other hand, he does more justice than Origen to the sensuous side of things in his assertion of the interdependence of spirit and matter in the constitution of man. And yet again there is a strain of mysticism in his thought, which gives him a place in the line of mystics between the Alexandrians and pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (on Gregory's mysticism see Diekamp, *Die Gotteslehre d. hl. Greg. v. Nyss.* p. 90 ff.; Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium*, p. 205 ff.). This breadth of interest shows how many and various were the elements which he had incorporated from the thought of his time.

Another feature of the Cappadocians is the spirituality of their religious conceptions. This again shows the influence of Origen, and marks a point of contact with the best non-Christian thought of the time, which had been profoundly influenced by Neo-Platonism. The Kingdom of Heaven, says Basil (*Ep.* 8), is 'the contemplation of realities.' 'This the Divine Scriptures call blessedness. For "the Kingdom of Heaven is within you."' 'Likeness to God' is the goal set before man (Basil, *de Spir. Sanct.* i. 2, cf. ix. 23). The image of God is shown to us in Christ by the Holy Spirit, and thus through the Spirit and the Son man ascends to the Father (*ib.* xviii. 47). Thus their defence of the Divine unity is inspired by a religious interest.

Side by side with this spirituality of conception there appears in Gregory of Nyssa a tendency to realism, which is exhibited especially in his exposition of the redemption through Christ (see below) and in his language on the Sacraments. In this respect he shows the influence of Methodius. See the present writer's edition of the *Catechetical Oration*, Camb. Patristic Texts, p. xxv ff.

The interest of the Cappadocians in furthering the cause of spiritual religion attracted them to the ascetic movement in the Church, represented by monasticism, in which the age sought to express its ideal of practical piety. Basil's interest in monasticism, of which he was the chief promoter and organizer in the East, communicated itself to the two Gregorys, and the writings of all three are affected by the ascetic ideal, which finds its apologist in Gregory of Nyssa. In his early work *On Virginity*, asceticism is expounded as a philosophy of life, and interpreted as the detachment of heart which enables a man to enjoy the vision of the uncreated Beauty.

The connexion of Amphilochius, Bp. of Iconium, with the Cappadocians has been treated by K. Holl (*Amphilochius v. Ikonium*). While maintaining their Trinitarian and Christological doctrines, Amphilochius does not share their interest in Origen's philosophy or their speculative bent. But as a popular teacher he helped to give currency to the doctrinal formulas which took shape among the Cappadocians.

ii. SOURCES OF DOCTRINE.—1. **Authority of Scripture.**—The supremacy of Holy Scripture was fully recognized by the Cappadocians (see esp. Basil, *de Fide* 1, *Hom. adv. Calumn. SS. Trin.* 4). In their exegesis they were influenced by Origen, though Basil was fully conscious of the dangers of Origen's allegorical method (*Hex.* ix. 1), and often prefers a strictly literal interpretation. In this respect he has points of contact with the school of Antioch. Gregory of Nazianzus makes a moderate use of the allegorical method, which is defended at length by Gregory of Nyssa (*in Cant.* [*PG* xliv. 756]), and more freely employed by him than by either of the other two. In this way he explained the early chapters of Genesis (*Or. Cat.* v., viii.), while he deals (*de Comm. Not.* [*PG* xlv. 181]) with the συγκατάβασις ('accommodation') of the language of Scripture after the manner of Origen.

At the time when the Cappadocians wrote, the allegorical method was beginning to fall under suspicion; and the contest with the Arians, who had been trained in the literal methods of the school of Antioch, showed the need of a more scientific treatment of Scripture. Even Gregory of Nyssa expresses his desire to adhere, wherever possible, to the literal sense (*Hexaemeron* [*PG* xliv. 68]; cf. *in Cant.* [*PG* xliv. 756]). In dealing with the typology of the Old Testament, Basil approximates to the later teaching of the school of Antioch, and exhibits a reserve which is wanting to the more imaginative mind of Gregory of Nyssa. In other respects the Cappadocians show a conscientious desire to bring out the full grammatical sense of Scripture. They appeal occasionally to the Hebrew, and they

quote from other versions than the LXX. See, further, Weiss, *Die grossen Kappadocier . . . als Exegeten* (1872).

2. Tradition.—Next to Scripture, the Cappadocians recognize the importance of tradition. They start from the Church tradition of their time (see Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxxiii. 15; Greg. Nyss. *Ep. iii. ad Eustath. et Ambros.* [*PG* xlvi. 1024]), and exhibit especially the influence of the Creed of their local saint, Gregory Thaumaturgus (see below). In a passage of the *de Spir. Sanct.* (xxvii. 66) Basil makes a distinction between written and unwritten tradition, and claims for the latter an Apostolic origin. In one passage (*Or.* xxxi. 25 ff.) Gregory of Nazianzus assumes a gradual development in revelation, in order to explain the reticence of Scripture on the subject of the Holy Spirit. In another passage he propounds the idea of a 'disciplina arcani' (*Or.* xl. 45).

iii. THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.—The Cappadocians are unanimous in asserting the mystery of the Divine Being. 'We know that He exists, but of His essence (*οὐσίας*) we cannot deny that we are ignorant' (Greg. Nyss. *contra Eunomium* [*PG* xlv. 933]; cf. Basil, *Ep.* 234). The writers of Scripture 'lead men, as by the hand, to the understanding of the Divine nature (*φύσεως*), making known to them the bare grandeur of the thought of God; while the question of His essence (*οὐσίας*), as one which it is impossible to grasp . . . they dismiss' (*ib.* p. 945; cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxviii. 5, 7, 17). But, though the 'being' or 'essence' of God is unknowable, God may be known mediately by His energies and operations (Basil, *Ep.* 234. 1), and in Creation those energies are translated into a language that we can understand (Basil. *adv. Eunom.* ii. 32). Basil escapes the dilemma propounded by Eunomius, that either man can know the essence of God or he cannot know God at all, by maintaining that the incompleteness of our knowledge does not deprive it of truth (*Ep.* 233. 2). The Universe exists to manifest the Creator, and from the exhibition of beauty and wisdom which it presents the mind is led to grasp by analogy the Divine Wisdom and the uncreated Beauty (Greg. Nyss. *de Infantibus qui praem.* [*PG* xlvi. 181]). This habit of seeing affinities and analogies between the visible and invisible worlds shows the influence of Origen and Plato. It led the Cappadocians to that profound delight in natural scenery which is characteristic of their writings (see esp. Basil, *Hex.* iii. 10, vi. 1; Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxviii.; Greg. Nyss. *de Infantibus, Ep.* 20 [*PG* xlvi. 181, 1079]. The same feature appears in Plotinus). But it is especially in the human soul that we may find analogies to the Creator, for the soul is a mirror, which reflects the traits of its Divine archetype (Basil, *Hex.* ix. 6; Greg. Nyss. *de An. et Res.* [*PG* xlvi. 41], *de Mortuis* [*ib.* p. 509]). Hence both Gregorys employ the psychology of human nature to illustrate the doctrine of the Trinity (see below). The more complete knowledge of God, however, is unattainable without the light of faith, and in the Old Testament this faith was still incomplete. The Law and the Prophets were like the 'window' and the 'lattice' (Ca 2^9), which admitted only a ray of truth, whereas in the Incarnation the true light itself is revealed (Greg. Nyss. *in Cant.* hom. v. [*PG* xliv. 865]).

iv. THE INCARNATION.—None of the Cappadocians sets forth the purposes of the Incarnation so fully or so adequately as Athanasius had done in his treatise *On the Incarnation.* In Basil the predominant thought is the revelation to man of the image of God in Christ and the restoration of the Divine image in man (*Epp.* 236. 3, 38. 8, *de Spir. Sanct.* ix. 23). In Gregory of Nazianzus the same conceptions appear, but the characteristic idea is the 'deification' (*θέωσις, θεοῦν, θεὸν γενέσθαι*) of man in Christ (see esp. *Orr.* i. 5. xxxix. 17, xl. 45. The same idea appears in Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, and may be traced to the influence of earlier writers, *e.g.* Origen and Athanasius. See Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. iii. 164 n. 2). Gregory of Nyssa, while giving a place to both these conceptions, develops the redemptive aspect of the Incarnation in a manner which recalls the earlier treatment of Irenæus, although in its actual form it finds its closest parallel in the teaching of Methodius (see above). The purpose of the Incarnation was to arrest the process of dissolution in man's nature, which was a result of sin. Death had been ordained after the Fall (the 'coats of skin' in Genesis represent this state of mortality, *Or. Cat.* viii.) as a merciful provision for removing the evil which had been mingled with man's physical nature. Christ assumed humanity as a whole (similarly Methodius), in order to knit together in an inseparable union the elements of human nature (*i.e.* body and soul) which had been severed by death. His redemptive work accordingly was only completed by His resurrection, through which He becomes a new principle of life to all mankind (*Or. Cat.* xvi., xxxv.). This exposition exhibits the realism which has been noticed above as a characteristic of some parts of Gregory's teaching.

Gregory of Nyssa is the only one of the Cappadocians who attempted a formal treatment of the Incarnation, which occupies the larger part of his apologetic work, the *Catechetical Oration.* His object in that treatise is to show the reasonableness of a belief in the Christian religion. He adopts many of the arguments of Athanasius, and appeals to the Gospel history and the rise of the Church as exhibiting the Divine power of Christianity. He justifies the idea of the Incarnation by an appeal to the immanence of God in creation, and by showing that the plan of redemption was consistent with the attributes of God, displaying at once His power, righteousness, wisdom, and goodness. No external remedy would have sufficed, for man needed to be touched in order to be cured (xxvii.). The death of Christ was necessary in order that His assumption of humanity might be complete. For his fuller treatment of the death of Christ, see below. In the latter part of the treatise he shows the relation of the Sacraments to the Incarnation.

v. THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.—Among the local influences which helped to shape the theology of the Cappadocians must be reckoned the teaching to which currency had been given by the labours of Gregory Thaumaturgus. The Creed of Gregory (see Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*[3], 1897, p. 253), which contains a clear assertion of the unity and eternity of the Three Persons of the Trinity, and closely associates the Holy Spirit with the Son, appears to have formed the starting-point of the Cappadocian theologians, and even to have moulded their language to some extent (see Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium*, p. 117 ff.; and cf. Basil, *Ep.* 204, *de Spir. Sanct.* xxix. 74; Greg. Nyss. *Vita Greg. Thaumat.* [*PG* xlvi. 912]). In the Creed of Nicæa they recognized a natural development of such teaching and the starting-point for the still further developments which were forced upon them by their opposition to the advanced Arian teaching of Eunomius and by the controversy on the Holy Spirit. The complete vindication of the Deity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit was one part of the task which lay before them. The other was the settlement of the terminology in which these results were to be expressed, the treatment of the immanent relations of the three 'Persons,' and the manner of their co-existence in the one Divine Being. This latter task, to which they were led by the need of giving scientific precision to the results attained through the controversies of their time, constitutes their chief importance in the history of Christian theology. (At the same time it marks an epoch in the history of thought as a serious attempt to grapple with the conception of personality.) The distinction between the terms *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* marks the starting-point of this later development. Currency

was now given, largely through the influence of the Cappadocians, to the formula *μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, to denote the coexistence in the one Divine Being of three subsistences or spheres of conscious being ('Persons' in later terminology).

In this task of formulating the doctrine of the Trinity, Basil was the pioneer. The two Gregorys depend upon him, though they advance beyond him and complete his work. To Basil is due, on the one hand, the definition of the terms *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*, and, on the other hand, the beginnings of the attempt to discover the characteristics (*γνωρίσματα, ἰδιώματα, ἰδιότητες*) of each of the *ὑποστάσεις*, and their relations to one another in the Godhead. In the former task the other two Cappadocians advance little beyond Basil. In the latter they develop and complete his work, especially in regard to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. At the same time they were more alive than Basil appears to have been to the dangers of tritheism, and they exhibit a stronger interest in defending the Unity of the Deity and in refuting the charge of Tritheism. Both of them insist that the unity of the three Persons is no mere abstraction or generic unity. That which constitutes it, the Godhead, is identical in all three Persons. There is one Godhead in three subsistences or Persons. This unity was further secured by a discussion of the 'modes of being' (*τρόποι ὑπάρξεως*) of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. The Father is the source of Deity, while the Son has a derived Godhead (*γεννητός, μονογενὴς θεός*). The Holy Spirit 'proceeds' (*ἐκπορεύεται*) from the Father through the Son (*διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ*). Finally, the idea of a *περιχώρησις* ('co-inherence') of the three Persons was put forward to express their inseparable will and activity. These results were commended to the thought of the time by an attempt to show that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity was the mean between Judaism on the one hand and Hellenism on the other (Basil and Gregory of Nyssa), and an attempt was made to illustrate the immanent relations of the three Persons and their unity in the Godhead from the analogy of human nature (Greg. Naz., Greg. Nyss.).

The following points deserve attention, as illustrating the particular contributions to the doctrine of the Trinity made by each of the three Fathers.

Basil prepared the way by a careful distinction, based upon 'a popularized Aristotelianism' (Holl), of the terms *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*. The term *οὐσία* 'has the same relation to *ὑπόστασις* as the common has to the particular.' It is 'common, like goodness or Godhead, or any similar attribute; while *ὑπόστασις* is contemplated in the special property of Fatherhood, Sonship, or the power to sanctify' (*Ep.* 214). Basil also contributed to the discussion of the relations of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. He uses the term 'modes of being' (*τρόποι ὑπάρξεως*; on the history of the expression and its use by Basil and Greg. Nyss. see Holl, *Amphilochius*, p. 240 ff.) to denote the manner of derivation of the Son and Holy Spirit from the Father. The relations of the Father and the Son are expressed by the terms *πατρότης* and *υἱότης* (less commonly *ἀγέννητος* and *γεννητός*). But he could not arrive at any conclusion as to the 'mode of being' of the Holy Spirit, which he confessed to be ineffable (*de Spir. Sanct.* xviii. 46). The Holy Spirit is from God. He is also called the Spirit of Christ, is 'attached to' Christ and 'intimately associated' with Him (*de Spir. Sanct.* xviii. 46: *contra Sab. et Ar.* [*PG* xxxi. 609]). Though Basil is not so concerned as the two Gregorys to defend the Unity, he is not wanting in clear statements which show his mind on the subject. He rejects the terms 'like' and 'unlike' as applied to the Son, and maintains the identity of nature (*ταὐτότητα τῆς φύσεως*) and oneness of being (*ὁμοούσιον*) of the Father and the Son (*Ep.* 8), and in another passage (*Ep.* 52) he refutes the idea that *οὐσία* denotes a substance anterior to or underlying both. The Father is the source of Deity and the first principle of existing things, 'creating through the Son and perfecting through the Spirit' (*de Spir. Sanct.* xvi. 38), although in the experience of life we ascend from the Holy Spirit, through the Son, to the Father (*ib.* xviii. 47).

Gregory of Nazianzus, starting from Basil's teaching, completed his definitions by giving currency to the term *ἐκπόρευσις* to denote the 'procession' of the Holy Spirit. His ruling conception of the *ἰδιότητες*, or 'characteristics,' of the three Persons is that the Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten, while the Holy Spirit 'proceeds' (*ἀγεννησία, γέννησις, ἐκπόρευσις*). The procession through the Son is only indicated; it is not clearly defined. Gregory has a clear statement of the Divine unity, which is characterized by 'equality of nature, unanimity of judgment, identity of action, and concurrence of the other two Persons with the One from whom they are derived; so that, though there is a numerical difference, there is no division or separation in being' (*Or.* xxix. 2). 'There is one God, because there is only one thing that can be called Godhead.' The Persons derived from the One source are referred back to the One, though we believe them to be three (*Or.* xxxi. 14). At the same time he safeguards the unity from being regarded as a mere abstraction or generic unity. Peter, Paul, and John are not *ὁμοούσιοι* ('of one substance or being') in the same sense as the Persons of the Trinity (*Or.* xxxi. 19). Elsewhere he uses almost Sabellian language to express the closeness of the relations of the Son and Spirit to the Father (*Or.* xxix. 2).

Gregory of Nyssa starts, like Gregory of Nazianzus, from the standpoint of Basil; and develops in an independent manner his own thought upon the subject. Like Gregory of Nazianzus, he has a strong interest in maintaining the unity of the Godhead. In place of the terms *γεννητός* and *ἐκπορευτός* to denote the modes of being of the Son and the Spirit he prefers the expressions *μονογενής* (or *μονογενὴς θεός*) and *διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ* (in this latter expression we see the influence of Gregory Thaumaturgus). But his most suggestive treatment of the relations of the three Persons in the Godhead is contained in the two treatises, *de Communibus Notionibus* and *Quod non sint tres Dii*, in which he refutes the charge of tritheism. He starts from the objection that, if Peter, James, and John are three men, why may we not speak of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as three Gods? To this he replies that the word 'God' denotes 'being' or 'essence,' not 'person.' Strictly speaking, in referring alike to God and man we ought to maintain the oneness of their *οὐσία*, or 'being,' in each case. It is only by an incorrect manner of speech that we use the plural and speak of 'three men,' seeing that the *οὐσία*, 'man,' is one and the same in all three cases. Similarly in the case of the Godhead the *οὐσία* of the three Persons is one and the same. (This conception of the unity of human nature exhibits the realism of Gregory.) Again, he urges, individual men are distinguished sharply by the varying relations of time and place and circumstance, whereas the Persons of the Godhead exhibit a constant causal relation.

There are I. *τὸ αἴτιον*, the cause = the Father,
II. *τὸ αἰτιατόν*, the caused, either
(*a*) immediately (*τὸ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου*), *i.e.* the Son,
(*b*) mediately (*τὸ διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου*), *i.e.* the Holy Spirit. (Cf. also *de Spir. Sanct.* [*PG* xlv. 1304], *ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστί, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστί.*)

Thus Gregory of Nyssa advances beyond the other Cappadocians in his clearer definition of the procession of the Spirit through the Son, and in this respect he represents the final stage of development attained in the Eastern Church. Another contribution made by him in the *Quod non sint tres Dii* is the clear statement of the *περιχώρησις* ('co-inherence,' 'interpenetration') of the three Persons. The operations of the Godhead are conducted by all Three, acting together without mark of time or distinction of separate action, 'so that there is one motion of, and disposition of, the goodwill which is communicated from the Father through the Son to the Spirit.' Lastly, we may notice (see Holl, *op. cit.* p. 220) that Gregory's insistence on the unity of the Godhead is bound up with his speculative interest and his Origenism, which led him to seek a single Principle as the source of the evolution of the world and human history.

Some distinguished German theologians (Harnack, Zahn, Loofs) have in recent times attempted a fresh reading of the work of the Cappadocians in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity. According to this view, the Cappadocians modified the sense of the *ὁμοούσιον* and secured adherence to their new interpretation, by which it came to denote likeness (or equality) of substance rather than unity of substance. In this new development the Cappadocians are supposed to have been influenced by the theology of Basil of Ancyra. According to their reading of *ὁμοούσιον*, the terms *οὐσία* ('being') and *φύσις* ('nature') became nearly equivalent, and it was permissible to believe in three hypostases of like nature which together form the Godhead, instead of one Godhead existing in three distinct spheres of conscious being. By this view the Church became committed to an interpretation which is really tritheistic. But this theory appears to have gained ground from the weight of the authorities by which it is supported rather than from its intrinsic merits. It introduces confusion into the careful language of Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa, and on its presuppositions the argument of the latter in his *Quod non sint tres Dii* becomes unintelligible. Nor does the theory receive any adequate support from the less complete treatment of Basil. A careful study of the theological stand-

point of all the Cappadocians (especially the two Gregorys) shows how vital to their whole view of religion was the belief in the unity of the Godhead.

For the theory itself, see Zahn, *Marcellus v. Ancyra*, 1867; Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Eng. tr. (1894-99); Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Stud. der Dogmengeschichte* (1893); and art. 'Gregor. v. Naz.' in *PRE*³, vol. vii. (1899). For a careful criticism of the theory, see Bethune-Baker, *Texts and Studies*, vii. (1901) n. 1; and for a general treatment of the Cappadocian theology, see Holl, *Amphilochius v. Ikonium* (1904). Cf. also Ullmann, *Greg. v. Naz.*² (1867), p. 341 ff.; Dorner, *Doctr. of Person of Christ*, Eng. tr. (1861-63), I. ii. 506 ff.

vi. CHRISTOLOGY.—The Christological problem was discussed by the Cappadocians in connexion with the teaching of Apollinaris. Beyond a few passing notices, Basil does not deal with the theories of Apollinaris, which are, however, treated of at length by Gregory of Nazianzus in his two *Epistles to Cledonius* and in his *Epistle to Nectarius*, and by Gregory of Nyssa in his *Antirrheticus adv. Apoll.* and his *Epistle to Theophilus*. Their influence on later speculation is seen in the following directions:

(1) Gregory of Nazianzus employed, and gave currency to, the expression 'two natures' (δύο φύσεις, used earlier by Origen), while emphasizing clearly a principle of unity in Christ.

(2) Both Fathers prepared the way for future discussions by emphasizing the reality and completeness of the human nature assumed by Christ. Especially valuable is the appeal of Gregory of Nyssa to the portrait of Christ in the Gospels and its exhibition of a human will, human ignorance, growth in knowledge, submission to temptation, sorrow, and dereliction (see esp. *Antirrh.* 11, 14, 24, 32). In this respect he has affinities with the Antiochene theologians. The vindication of the existence of a rational soul in Christ (against Apollinaris) was further prompted by the interest of both Fathers in the doctrine of redemption. If Christ had no human soul, the soul of man was not redeemed (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* i. *ad Cled.* 7, *Ep.* ii. 4; Greg. Nyss. *Antirrh.* 11, 17, *Ep. ad. Theophil.*).

(3) In dealing with the central problem raised by Apollinaris, 'How is the existence in Christ of two complete natures compatible with the unity of His Person?' both Gregorys tended towards the idea of a transmutation of the human nature into the Divine. They employ, as earlier writers had done, the terms 'mixture,' 'blending' (μίξις, κρᾶσις, σύγκρασις, ἀνάκρασις), to denote the union of the two natures. But, further, they speak of the human nature as 'deified,' and 'transmuted' into the Divine. Gregory of Nyssa appears to regard the unity of the human nature with the Divine in Christ as a progressive unity, which was fully accomplished only at the Ascension, when the humanity ceased to retain its own characteristics, and was blended with the Deity 'like a drop of vinegar with the ocean' (*Antirrh.* 42, *Ep. ad Theophil.*). In this way he was able to meet the objection of Apollinaris that, if Christ's humanity was complete, 'the triad (or Trinity) was expanded into a tetrad'; but his language exhibits a tendency which is perilously near to that which afterwards produced Monophysitism.

(4) Neither of the two Gregorys fully reached the solution of later theology, which maintained the impersonal character of the humanity of Christ. In a few passages Gregory of Nyssa appears to allow a relative independence to the humanity, and even employs the term 'person' (πρόσωπον) in connexion with it as well as with the Divine nature (*c. Eunom.* ii. [*PG* xlv. 504]; *Antirrh.* 2, 27). Similarly, both Fathers occasionally use language which has a Nestorian ring (see Masson, *Five Orations of Greg. Naz.*, 1899, Introd. p. xvi ff.; and cf. Greg. Nyss. *Or. Cat.* xvi., xxvii., xxxii.). On the other hand, Gregory of Nazianzus clearly anticipates the later language of Cyril of Alexandria, when he speaks of the union of the two natures as an 'essential' union (συνάπτεσθαι κατ' οὐσίαν, *Ep.* 101, where κατ' οὐσίαν is opposed to κατὰ χάριν). Similarly his interest in the redemptive work of Christ led him to attribute to the Divine Person the human acts and sufferings. Thus he freely uses the terms θεοτόκος, θεὸς παθητός, and similar expressions (see Holl, *op. cit.* pp. 179, 190 ff.). Lastly, both Gregorys expound the idea of a *communicatio idiomatum* (see Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxx. 8; Greg. Nyss. *Ep. ad. Theophil.*). In this way they make approaches towards the later Alexandrian theology.

The question raised by Apollinaris, 'How could Christ have assumed human nature in its completeness and yet be without sin?' is only indirectly treated of by Gregory of Nyssa. He affirms (1) the reality and completeness of our Lord's human nature; (2) the completeness of the union between the Divine and human natures in Christ. Scripture affirms that Christ became sin for us, 'that is, that He united to Himself the sinful soul of man' (*Antirrh.* 23). 'He endured not to repel from communion with Himself our nature, fallen though it was as the result of sin' (*ib.* 53). But 'though He took our filth upon Himself, yet He is not Himself defiled by the pollution, but in His own self He purifies the filth' (*ib.* 26). This purification was effected at the very moment of the conception of the Virgin. The Divine nature was present in both the body and the soul of Christ from the very first, and rendered each of them sinless (*Antirrh.* 54). Christ shared our human feelings and weaknesses, but did not share our tendency to sin or disease of will (*c. Eunom.* bk. vi. [*PG* xlv. 721]; *Ep. ad Eustathiam* [*PG* xlvi. 1020, 1021]). 'Immediately the man in Mary . . . along with the coming upon her of the Holy Ghost, and the overshadowing of the power of the Most High became what that overshadowing power in its own nature was' (*Ep. ad Eustath. ib.*). See, further, *JThSt* vii. 434 ff.

In his treatment of the participation of the Godhead in the human experiences of Christ, Gregory approaches the later treatment of Cyril of Alexandria. Though God cannot suffer, 'He was in Him who suffered, and made His suffering His own.' See *Antirrh.* 54, 55, and cf. Cyril's *2nd Epistle to Nestorius*.

vii. THE CREATION OF MAN AND THE FALL.—(1) Though the Cappadocians rejected definitely Origen's theory of the pre-existence of souls, their doctrine of human nature exhibits, especially in the two Gregorys, lingering traces of Origen's influence. All alike represent the primal condition of man as almost angelic in character (see Basil, *Hex.* viii. 2, ix. 2; Greg. Naz. *in Ps. cxviii.* iv. 2; Greg. Nyss. *de Hom. Op.* 16, 17). Both Gregorys allegorize the coats of skin in Genesis, and see in them the type of the sensuous life and the subjection to mortality, which were results of the Fall (Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxxviii. 12; Greg. Nyss. *Or. Cat.* viii., *de Virg.* 12, *de An. et Res.* [*PG* xlvi. 148]). Gregory of Nyssa even regards human generation as a consequence of the Fall (*de Virg.* 12; cf. *de Hom. Op.* 16, 17), though in his later work, the *Oratio Catechetica* (c. xxviii.), he gives up this view.

(2) As to the origin of the soul, while Gregory of Nazianzus shows himself a Creationist (*Or.* xxxviii. 11), Gregory of Nyssa uses language which implies a Traducianist conception (*de Hom. Op.* 28, 29, *de An. et Res.* [*PG* xlvi. 125 ff.]). The soul is not created before the body, nor the body before the soul. There is one beginning for soul and body alike, and the powers of the former unfold gradually with the body's growth. Just as a seed contains in germ all future developments, so does the principle of life in man (*de Hom. Op.* 29). The closeness of the intercommunion between soul and body is a characteristic feature of the teaching of Gregory of Nyssa. In other respects Gregory of Nyssa advanced interesting speculations on human nature. He has a realistic conception of the unity of the race (see above, §§ iv., v.), maintaining that the whole of humanity was created ideally beforehand by God (*de Hom. Op.* 16, 17). This conception, by which Adam represents the whole of mankind, presents points of contact with Philo on the one hand and Methodius on the other. Again, he dwells upon the idea that man is a microcosm, the meeting-point of the two worlds of matter and spirit (*Or. Cat.* v.; cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxxviii. 11). Hence he employs the terminology 'intellig-

ible' and 'sensible,' or 'invisible' and 'visible' to denote the constituents of human nature, in preference to Origen's trichotomy—'body,' 'soul,' and 'spirit.'

(3) All the Cappadocians emphasize man's possession of free-will. This again marks a point of contact with Origen, and was further developed in face of the fatalism of Greek thought and through the opposition to Manichæism. The possession of free-will was a consequence of man's creation in the image of God. Sin was the result of the misuse of man's free-will in departing from what is good. The Fall only weakened, it did not destroy, man's freedom (see, *e.g.*, Basil, *de Spir. Sanct.* ix. 23, *Ep.* 233; Greg. Naz. *Or.* ii. 17, xvi. 15, xxxvii. 13; Greg. Nyss. *Or. Cat.* xxx., xxxi., *Antirrh.* 29). In this respect the Cappadocians represent the general attitude of Greek thought as contrasted with the later teaching of Augustine.

(4) In their conception of the negative character of evil the Cappadocians exhibit the influence of Plato and Origen (so also Athanasius). Evil has no substantive existence. It springs from within and is 'a disposition in the soul opposed to virtue.' It arises through man's free-will, when the soul departs from good. See Basil, *Hex.* ii. 4; Greg. Nyss. *Or. Cat.* v.

(5) In their treatment of the effects of the Fall, the Cappadocians mark an advance beyond the position of Athanasius. The idea of a transmission of sin and death appears in Basil (*Hom. in famem et sicc.* 7, *Sermo de renunt. sæculi*, 7). Gregory of Nazianzus speaks of Adam as having involved all men in condemnation through his sin (*Or.* xxxviii. 4, xxxix. 13. 16). He also speaks of the defilement attaching to human nature, and regards the Virgin-birth as delivering man from 'the fetters of his birth' (*Or.* xxxviii. 17). Gregory of Nyssa goes further, and appears to teach the idea of an inherited moral taint. He speaks of man's nature as 'sinful' (*de Vita Moysis* [*PG* xliv. 336]), and as having 'fallen into sin' (*ib.* p. 337). 'He who partakes of Adam's nature, partakes also of his fall' (*de Oratione Dom. Or.* v. [*ib.* p. 1184]). Sin is born in our nature (*in Psalmos* [*ib.* p. 609]). The adversary of man 'through his deception mingled evil with man's will and succeeded in extinguishing and obscuring in a way the Divine blessing' (*Or. Cat.* viii.). By baptism man is released from his connexion with evil (*Or. Cat.* xxxv.). For further reff. see Tennant, *The Fall and Original Sin*, 1903, pp. 316–323. In these respects Gregory of Nyssa develops the later (as opposed to the earlier) teaching of Origen, and approximates towards the teaching of Augustine on Original Sin.

viii. THE ATONEMENT.—Theological reflexion on the death of Christ and its relation to the work of man's redemption in the period preceding the Cappadocians had emphasized two ideas. (1) Christ's death was a sacrifice to God. This idea had reached its fullest expression in Athanasius. (2) Christ's death was a ransom paid to Satan. The chief representative of this thought was Origen. The former idea was not systematically developed by the Cappadocians, who appear to have been influenced but little by the teaching of Athanasius on the subject.

Basil scarcely deals with the question, which had not been made a subject of controversy (see, however, on the sacrifice to God, *Hom. in Ps. xlviii.*; and on the deception and defeat of Satan, *Hom. xx. de Humilitate*, 2; see, further, *Ep.* 261).

Gregory of Nazianzus exhibits a more profoundly religious interest in the question than either Basil or Gregory of Nyssa, and approaches more nearly than they to Athanasius in the spirit of his teaching. Christ's death delivered us from the curse of sin. The Atonement was the work of God (hence the phrases θεὸς παθητός, θεὸς παθών), and yet the sacrifice could only be made by One who was a member of the human race. Hence he insists on the representative and vicarious character of Christ's sufferings in a way which anticipates St. Bernard's teaching on the suffering of the Head for the members (see esp. *Or.* xxx. 5). He criticizes existing theories (*Or.* xlv. 22), and indignantly repudiates the idea of a ransom to Satan. But he will not commit himself to say in what sense the sacrifice was offered to God, beyond suggesting that, though the Father had not asked for it or required it, it was perhaps due to the 'economy' of God. The necessity of the sacrifice is not, in fact, made absolute by him. Man's deliverance from Satan and man's sanctification required it, and, further, it was offered in honour of the Father (*ib.*).

Gregory of Nyssa does not dwell upon the thought of a propitiation at all. But he develops in a crude and repulsive manner Origen's idea of a ransom paid to Satan, and of an act of deception practised upon the latter. Man had freely sold himself to Satan, and, in delivering man, God could proceed only by methods of strict justice, *i.e.* by a bargain such as would be acceptable to the adversary. Christ was the ransom price. But the veil of the humanity hid from Satan the Godhead of Christ, and thus, by an act of strict retribution, the deceiver was in turn deceived (*Or. Cat.* xxiii.). The idea of a deception practised on Satan appears also in Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* xxxix. 13), while the whole conception of Gregory of Nyssa is found in his contemporary Amphilochius of Iconium (see Holl, *op. cit.* p. 98 ff.). The theory thus developed by Gregory of Nyssa became widely current in both East and West, and proved a fatal legacy to the Church.

ix. THE SACRAMENTS.—The only important developments in the doctrine of the Sacraments to be found in the teaching of the Cappadocians are contained in the *Catechetical Oration* of Gregory of Nyssa (chs. xxxiii.–xxxvii.), where he treats of Baptism and the Eucharist. The main points in his teaching are as follows:—

(1) Gregory appeals to the immanence of God in support of the principle of a Divine operation through sacramental channels, while he urges that the assurance of God's presence and operation rests upon His promise to be present in this way when invoked (chs. xxxiv., xxxvi.).

(2) Gregory clearly states the idea that the Sacraments are an 'extension' of the Incarnation, in that the process of 'deification' effected once for all in the humanity of Christ, through its union with the Personal Word, is progressively effected in humanity as a whole by participation in Christ through the Sacraments (xxxv., xxxvii.).

(3) Gregory distinguishes between the effects of Baptism and the Eucharist by saying that in Baptism the soul is united to the Saviour through faith, while in the Eucharist the body is brought into the same union, though here again only through the faith of him who partakes of the Sacrament (xxxvii.).

(4) Gregory teaches an objective change of the elements (effected through the prayer of consecration) into the Body and Blood of Christ, and he represents the manner of the change in a striking and original way. Anticipating the later problem of the 'ubiquity' of the Lord's Body, he sets himself to solve the question how the one Body can be given whole to thousands of believers. He employs the Aristotelian distinction of 'form' and 'matter,' and draws a parallel between the change of food and drink into the human body through digestion, and the change of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. The 'constituent elements' (στοιχεῖα) of bread and wine in each case are re-

arranged under a new 'form,' although in the one case it is through the process of digestion, in the other immediately 'by the power of the Word' (xxxvii.). This statement of Gregory is the first attempt to propound a theory of the conversion of the elements. Gregory gave a direction to Eucharistic doctrine, which eventually led in the West to the theory of a transformation of substance in the elements. But Gregory himself is far removed from such a theory. His language is of the nature of an illustration, and even while applying his analogy from physiology to the Eucharist he shows signs of hesitation. (See Batiffol, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*, 2ième série [1905], p. 260 f., and the present writer's ed. of the *Oratio Catechetica* in *Cambridge Patristic Texts*, p. xxxviii ff. and notes on ch. xxxvii. There is an interesting later parallel to Gregory's theory in Descartes' letters to Mesland on the Eucharist.) Gregory's teaching exercised considerable influence on John of Damascus, and through him on the later Eastern Church.

As a contrast to the treatment of the Eucharist exhibited in the language of Gregory of Nyssa just quoted, Basil's language in *Ep.* 8. 4 deserves attention. In accordance with his spiritualizing tendency (see above, § i.), he says (commenting on Jn 6^{57}): 'We eat His flesh, and drink His blood, being made through His Incarnation and His visible life partakers of His Word and of His Wisdom. For all His mystic sojourn among us He called flesh and blood, and set forth the teaching consisting of practical science, of physics, and of theology, whereby our soul is nourished and is meanwhile trained for the contemplation of actual realities.'

x. ESCHATOLOGY.—Gregory of Nyssa is the only one of the Cappadocian Fathers who exhibits any considerable interest in eschatological problems, and it is here that he shows himself a most thoroughgoing disciple of Origen. His chief contributions are: (1) his treatment of the resurrection of the body; (2) his theory of the purification of souls by fire after the Resurrection; and (3) his idea of the restoration of all spirits, Satan included, to final blessedness.

(1) The first of these is discussed in his treatise *On the Soul and the Resurrection* (cf. also *de Hom. Op.* 27). The theory which he propounds is a modified form of the spiritualistic view of Origen. As in his discussion on the Eucharist, he employs the Aristotelian terms 'form' (εἶδος) and 'elements' (στοιχεῖα). The 'constituent elements' (στοιχεῖα) of the body, having once received the impress of the soul, are recognized by it at the time of the Resurrection, and are received back again from the common source. By death, however, the body is purged of its sensuous character, and in the Resurrection is of a more subtle and ethereal character.

(2) The idea of a purifying fire, derived from Origen, and found also in a passage of Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* xxxix. 19), has its source in Plato. According to Gregory, the soul stained by sin finds its remedy in the practice of virtue in this life and in the sifting judgment and refining fire of the after-life (*Or. Cat.* viii.). Elsewhere he says that for those who have not received the grace of baptism there waits a purification by fire hereafter (*ib.* xxxvi.). This doctrine, which, like the rest of Gregory's Origenistic speculations, was quietly dropped by the Eastern Church, has little resemblance to the later Western doctrine of Purgatory, inasmuch as it applies to a different time (after, and not before, the Resurrection), and is intended to benefit not the good but the evil.

(3) The doctrine of an ἀποκατάστασις, or universal restoration of all souls, is another indication of the influence of Origen upon Gregory of Nyssa. In both writers this belief is bound up with their theodicy, which was based on the thought that the world-process must result in God becoming 'all in all' (1 Co 15^{28}; cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxx. 6); while evil, having no subsistence of its own, cannot be eternal. Satan himself will be purged, and from all Creation there will arise a chorus of thanksgiving (*Or. Cat.* xxvi.; *de An. et Res.* [*PG* xlvi. 72]). In later times, after the condemnation of Origen's teaching, the theory of an interpolation of the works of Gregory of Nyssa by the Origenists was employed to get rid of this idea from the writings of one who was a canonized doctor of the Church. But there is no justification for such a suspicion.

General Summary.—The one permanent service rendered to Christian thought by the Cappadocian Fathers was their formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity. In this respect their theology remained the standard of faith for the Eastern Church, which refused to accept from the West in later times the *filioque* clause. But their influence in this respect was not limited to the East. Through Ambrose, who was a diligent student of Basil's writings, the theology of the Cappadocians was imported into the West, and influenced the later developments of Trinitarian doctrine found in Augustine. In other respects their work was of a tentative or preparatory character. They helped to shape some of the terminology of the later Christological definitions, and they prepared the way for a careful statement of the reality of the two natures in Christ. Their attempt to re-introduce into the Church a modified form of Origen's theology met with only slight success, while the more pronounced Origenistic speculations of Gregory of Nyssa were entirely dropped. The Origenists of the fifth and sixth centuries appealed to their authority, while the mystical and pantheistic tendencies of Gregory of Nyssa received fresh developments in the teaching of the later Monophysites and of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Their attempt to create a scientific theology was not altogether without results. For a few generations they succeeded in enlisting the best culture of the time in the cause of Christianity, while by the spirituality of their religious conceptions and their devotion to the practical ideals of monastic piety they arrested for a time the inroads of the cruder and more materialistic forms of popular religion which were already invading the Eastern Church.

LITERATURE. (1) On the place of the Cappadocians in the history of Christian thought, see Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. (1894–99) vols. iii. and iv.; Dorner, *Doctrine of Person of Christ*, Eng. tr. (1861–63) div. I. vol. II.; Neander, *Church History*^{3} (1841), vol. iv.; Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*^{3} (1893); Schwane, *Dogmengeschichte*^{2}, vol. ii. (1895); Ottley, *Doctrine of Incarnation*, vol. II. (1896); Bethune-Baker, *Introd. to Early History of Christian Doctrine* (1903).

(2) On the Cappadocians generally, see Fr. Böhringer, *Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen*^{2}, vol. viii. (1876); Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium* (1904). On their exegesis of Scripture, see H. Weiss, *Die grossen Kappadocier als Exegeten* (1872).

(3) On Basil, see E. Fialon, *Étude hist. et litt. sur St. Basile* (1869); Klose, *Basilius der Grosse nach seinem Leben und seiner Lehre* (1835); Krüger, art. 'Basilius von Cäsarea' in *PRE*^{3}, vol. ii. (1897); Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*^{2} (1901); R. T. Smith, 'St. Basil the Great' in *Fathers for English Readers* (1879).

(4) On Gregory of Nazianzus, see Ullmann, *Gregor von Nazianz*^{2} (1867); Loofs, art. 'Gregor v. Naz.' in *PRE*^{3}, vol. vii. (1899); Bardenhewer, *Patrologie* (1901).

(5) On Gregory of Nyssa there is a copious literature. The more important works are: I. C. Bergades, *de Universo et de anima hominis doctrina Greg. Nysseni* (1876); F. Diekamp, *Die Gotteslehre des hl. Greg. v. Nyss.* (1896); G. Herrmann, *Greg. Nysseni sententiæ de salute adipiscenda* (1875); St. P. Heyns, *Disputatio historico-theologica de Greg. Nysseno* (1835); F. Hilt, *Des hl. Greg. v. Nyss. Lehre vom Menschen* (1890); A. Krampf, *Der Urzustand des Menschen nach der Lehre des hl. Greg. v. Nyss.* (1899); W. Meyer, *Die Gotteslehre des hl. Greg. v. Nyss.* (1894); E. W. Möller, *Gregorii Nysseni doctrinam de hominis natura et illustravit et cum Origeniana comparavit E. W. M.* (1854); J. Rupp, *Gregors, des Bischofs v. Nyssa, Leben und Meinungen* (1834); J. N. Stigler, *Die Psychologie des hl. Greg. v. Nyss.* (1857); Al. Vincenzi, *In S. Greg. Nyss. et Origenis scripta et doctrinam* (1864); W. Vollert, *Die Lehre Gregors v. Nyss. vom Guten und Bösen* (1897). See also Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*; Loofs, art. 'Gregor v. Nyss.' in *PRE*^{3}, vol. vii. (1899); and Prolegomena in translation of Gregory's works in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ser. ii. vol. v. (1893).

J. H. SRAWLEY.

CAPRICE.—Lexicographers are in general agreement that the word 'caprice' is derived, through Ital. *capriccio*, from the stem of Lat. *caper*, 'goat.' In the literal sense, 'caprice' is, therefore, an unexpected movement, seemingly without motive or purpose, like the frisky antics of a goat. In the metaphorical sense, 'caprice' is used of mental movement, and means 'a sudden change or turn of the mind without apparent or adequate motive' (*OED*). True to the fundamental idea is the use of *capriccio* as a musical term signifying a species of free composition, not subject to rule as to form or figure. As applied to human action, the word 'caprice' connotes conduct which appears purposeless, if not motiveless—either inconsistent with, or indicating fickleness of, character. The solution of the ethical problem involved must be sought by studying psychologically the relation of will to desire. As applied to Divine action, the word 'caprice' implies an imputation of arbitrary procedure to God; as when, for example, capriciousness is ascribed to the Heavenly Father who has promised to hear and answer His children's prayers. The solution of the religious problem involved must be sought by reverent study of the relation of the Divine will to the Divine nature.

1. Caprice in human action.—When human actions are said to be due to mere caprice, nothing more may be intended than a reflexion upon a general fickleness of character. Emotional natures are often 'unstable as water.' As the pregnant phrase expresses it, they 'cannot be depended upon.' It is, however, only lack of knowledge that compels observers to explain such conduct as caprice. Even to intimate friends a capricious person's actions may be quite unaccountable as well as altogether surprising, but deeper insight would reveal the fact that they are only '*seemingly* without motive or purpose.' All that can be said with certainty of the man who is double-minded, and therefore is unstable in *all* his ways (Ja 1[8]), is that, because he has no fixity of purpose, no unity of aim, it is uncertain how he will act on any given occasion. The true psychological estimate of all such characters is given by McCosh:

'People of whom this chameleon liability to change of affection is characteristic . . . appear very inconsistent, and so they are, and they do not gain our permanent confidence. But they are, after all, acting consistently with their character, which goes by impulses and jerks, and not by steady principle' (*Psychology: The Motive Powers*, 1887, p. 185 f.).

Determinists, who contend that human actions are always and necessarily decided by the strongest motive, have, in the course of the free-will controversy, charged indeterminists with asserting that it is possible for men to act from mere caprice, or, in other words, to make 'an unmotived choice between motives.' T. H. Green, in his profound analysis of human personality, has shown that, when 'motive' is accurately defined and distinguished from 'desire,' there is no such thing as unmotived choice. But he insists that it is the 'Self' that decides which desire shall prevail and become the motive to action. The will is free, because it is determined by motive, and is not swayed hither and thither by chance desires (*Proleg. to Ethics*[3], 1890, bk. ii. ch. 1). It follows that the explanation of what is usually called caprice will be found in the weakening of the will. Psychological analysis may rule out caprice as insufficient to account for human action, but the activity of the Self may be reduced to a minimum, so that there may be little or no interval between the uprising of the desire and its acceptance as a motive by the will. In such a case the resultant action may not improperly be described as capricious. But after the consciousness of an impulse to act, the mind has the power to pause and to consider the consequences likely to follow from yielding to the impulse. It is on the cultivation of that power—which enables the mind to attend to other considerations and to reinforce, it may be, weaker impulses—that the elimination of caprice depends. An absorbing interest is the psychological condition of unity of purpose, and therefore of consistency of conduct (cf. W. James, *Principles of Psychology*[2], 1901, vol. i. ch. 11, 'Attention'). The highest application of this principle is in religious experience. 'This one thing I do' means that diverse actions all tend to a single goal (Ph 3[13]); and the reason why caprice has become impossible is that all other desires have been subordinated to the permanent motive: 'For to me to live is Christ' (Ph 1[21]). For a lucid statement of the reasons why 'unchartered freedom or the introduction of sheer caprice' is not implied in the somewhat misunderstood phrase 'the will to believe,' see art. BELIEF, ii. 462[b].

2. Caprice ascribed to God.—The permissibility of arguing from human to Divine personality is recognized by Theists generally as a legitimate philosophical procedure. Therefore, the bearing of what has been said in the earlier section of this article will be evident. In the single statement 'God is love' the possibility of His acting from caprice is excluded. His will can never be purposeless, inasmuch as it is determined by His nature, and 'His nature and His name is love.' Dorner succinctly states the essential truth involved in the Christian view: 'God can be thought neither as fate nor mere law, neither as absolute indifference nor as caprice' (*Syst. of Christian Doctrine*, Eng tr. i. 447). Theistic doctrines which do injustice to the revelation of God in Christ are: (1) the Scotist view of the Middle Ages, which represents the Divine will as arbitrary, because it finds 'the essence of personality in the power of unrestricted choice'; and (2) the teaching of the earlier Calvinists, who made 'grace a synonym for arbitrary choice.' Theories which hide the Divine Fatherhood leave men in uncertainty as to the Divine purpose, and lead them to regard the Divine action as capricious. But a false dualism is involved in the attempt to assign qualities to the Divine will which are not conceived to be attributes of the Divine nature.

'The ethical in God cannot be exclusively attributed and ascribed to His Will to the exclusion of His Being. . . . Such a will, because undetermined by the Essence and Being of God, would be ethically absolutely undetermined—that is to say, it would be mere caprice and absolute power (*supremum liberum arbitrium*)' (Dorner, *op. cit.* i. 315).

Primitive conceptions of the Deity as arbitrary and lawless account for the identifying of the miraculous with the mysterious, the inexplicable, and the capricious. But again the thought which eliminates caprice from the Divine action is that of a unifying and adequate purpose. The revival of ancient teaching on the immanence of God has altered the aspect of the problem. The *unity* of Nature is accepted as a more adequate description of the world than the *uniformity* of Nature. 'Unity is essentially a spiritual conception . . . since spirit is the only unifying agent that we know'; therefore, according to the Christian view of the world, miracles may be in accord with, and may throw light upon, God's one increasing purpose. Miracles are no longer held to be antecedently impossible, for, 'if nature is sustained only by its intimate union with spirit, it is no wonder that the processes of nature should be modified for an adequate spiritual end' (Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*, 1898, p. 106).

The comparative study of religion has made us familiar not only with the Science of History, but also with the Philosophy of History. The latter expression cannot imply less than that rational principle, and not caprice, guides the development

of tendencies and the progress of events. God's choice of Israel, for example, is seen to be no capricious favour, when it is viewed in the light of His redeeming purpose and His love towards all mankind. But to affirm that there is a revelation of God in history is to assert that the world is the scene of the Divine providence. His purpose concerning individuals may, indeed, at times be difficult to discern. But, conscious that we behold only 'part of His ways,' we may find comfort in the truth, to which Science and Scripture alike bear witness, that

'God's method is a method of *law*; that is to say, it is not arbitrary or irregular, but consistent, and in its great principles unchanging. . . . God's method is a method of *progress*. . . . We think of Him as ever at work, forming, training, and perfecting the moral personalities whom He has designed for union with Himself' (W. Adams Brown, *Christian Theology in Outline*, 1907, p. 217 ff.).

As belief in law does not hinder, but rather helps men to trust in God's providence, because He does not work arbitrarily and capriciously, so belief in law presents no difficulties to those who have a worthy conception of prayer because they have true thoughts of God. Nevertheless, there is a view of prayer which, as Rufus M. Jones says,

'takes us . . . into a world of caprice. It introduces a world in which almost anything may happen. . . . It is a low, crude view of God—a Being off above the world who makes "laws" like a modern legislator and again changes them to meet a new situation' (*The Double Search*, 1906, p. 80 f.).

But the Christian view of prayer implies neither ignorance of the facts of science nor expectation of answers to petitions by violation of Nature's laws. True prayer is spiritual communion. It is the child's fellowship with Him who is made known by Christ and in his own experience as 'the Father who seeth in secret'; in His presence all wants and wishes are made known, and according to the intimacy of the communion is the degree of confidence that the blessings asked for are not contrary to the Father's will. Yet, in whatever direction the surface ripples of desires may flow, the deep, strong yearning of the praying spirit is 'Father, Thy will be done.' If that will could be swayed by what men call caprice, true prayer would be impossible. But there is 'no sealing of the lips in the presence of the discovery that all is law.' When this is understood, the Atonement of Christ will be seen as the supreme manifestation of the Love which is law, and as the Father's own drawing near to His children, in order that, when in Christ He has reconciled them unto Himself, they may confidently approach, asking for the forgiveness of their sins in the name of Christ. 'Forgiveness is not a gift which can fall upon us from the skies, in return for a capricious request. . . . The deep cry for forgiveness must rise out of a forgiving spirit' (Rufus M. Jones, *op. cit.* p. 101).

LITERATURE.—Full references are given in the body of the article. For the first division of the subject handbooks of Psychology should be consulted, and for the latter division handbooks of Theology. The following works will also be helpful: Arthur, *On the Difference between Physical and Moral Law*, London, 1883; D'Arcy, *A Short Study of Ethics*, London, 1895; Dykes, *The Divine Worker in Creation and Providence*, Edinburgh, 1909. The delightful parable, frequently used by Professor Henry Drummond, deserves special mention: Finlayson, 'Law, Miracle, and Prayer,' *Expositor*, 1st series, vol. v. [1877] p. 235 ff.

J. G. TASKER.

CARLYLE.—1. Life and writings. Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881)—essayist, historian, critic, modern prophet—was born on 4th Dec. 1795 at Ecclefechan, Annandale. He was the son of James Carlyle, a mason, born in 1757. James Carlyle's first wife was a cousin, and died after giving birth to one son, John. Two years after her death (1791) he married Janet Aitken. Thomas was the first child, and was followed by three sons and a daughter. Thomas was educated at the Grammar School of Annan, and afterwards at Edinburgh University. This he left in 1814 without taking a degree, but having distinguished himself in mathematics. At this time he intended to enter the ministry, and went up twice a year to deliver addresses at the Divinity Hall, Edinburgh, while teaching in the school at Haddington. Divinity and Law having failed to satisfy him, his mind turned in the direction of Literature. His early days were full of the struggles involved in getting a footing in this precarious profession. The salient points of that struggle may be noted.

From 1820 to 1825 he contributed sixteen articles to the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* under the editorship of Sir David Brewster.

In May or June 1821, Edward Irving introduced Carlyle to Miss Jane Welsh. About the same time the inward illumination took place which is recorded in *Sartor Resartus* (bk ii. ch. vii.) as the transition from the Everlasting No to the Everlasting Yea. The plain meaning of this was that disbelief in Divine or human justice, freedom, and immortality had been dismissed in favour of a steadfast determination to live in God's world as a servant of Truth.

The following publications mark his rise into public attention: (*a*) a Life of Schiller in the *London Magazine* in 1823-1824, which in 1825 was published separately in book form, and in 1830 translated into German at the suggestion of Goethe; (*b*) *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, which appeared in 1824-1827, one of the best translations into English of any foreign author. (*c*) In 1827 elaborate and extensive criticisms of European literature established Carlyle as the English purveyor and critic of European culture. Among his well-known contributions of this order are an article on Voltaire, a finished and memorable sketch of Novalis, two papers on Jean Paul Richter in the *Foreign Review*, a review of Schiller in *Fraser's Magazine*, and of Goethe's works in the *Foreign Quarterly*.

On 17th Oct. 1826, Jane Welsh and Thomas Carlyle were married. They began married life normally at 21 Comely Bank, Edinburgh, and continued it abnormally (1828) at Craigenputtock, a farm belonging to the Welsh family. Carlyle was by temperament unsuited for domestic life, and his wife was as ambitious and as keen intellectually as himself. At Craigenputtock his life became a monologue on literary and ethical subjects, and hers for six years a bitter experience of household drudgery. Among the visitors to Craigenputtock were the Jeffreys (1829-1830), and Ralph Waldo Emerson, who began in this way a life-long friendship with Carlyle. In 1831, Carlyle went to London to negotiate the sale of *Sartor Resartus*, which was eventually published in *Fraser's Magazine*. Hardly any one but Emerson recognized that the 'articles by the crazy tailor' were really 'a criticism of the age in which we live, exhibiting in the most just and novel light the present aspect of religion, politics, literature, and social life.'

In 1834, Carlyle moved to 24 Cheyne Row, Chelsea, near the Thames. It was a bold venture to attack the metropolis on a reserve fund of from £200 to £300, but it was successful, and Cheyne Row was his home for 47 years. The first eight years were years of severe struggle on narrow means, but they produced the *French Revolution*, the *Lectures on Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History*, and *Chartism*. At the end of this time the death of Mrs. Welsh brought pecuniary relief.

The next decade (1842-1853) was a time of vigorous literary production, which gave to the world the *Life and Letters of Cromwell*, *Past and Present*, *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, and *Life of John Sterling*.

From 1853 to 1866, Carlyle was at the zenith of his fame. He published his monumental *History*

of Frederick the Great, and gratified even his wife's ambition for him by being elected to the Lord Rectorship of Edinburgh University, where he delivered a notable rectorial address.

In 1866, Mrs. Carlyle died, and after this Carlyle's life went haltingly. The years till 1881 are best regarded as a long eventide. His comments on public questions, such as the recall of Governor Eyre and the Reform Bill of 1867 (*Shooting Niagara*), show him as a resolute critic of democracy. He dictated a historical sketch of the Early Kings of Norway and an essay on the Portraits of John Knox. In 1874 he accepted the Prussian 'ordre pour le mérite,' and refused a pension and a distinction offered by Disraeli. Money came freely when he could no longer use it except by bequeathing it, and friends when he could no longer reciprocate friendship. The appointment of James Anthony Froude as his literary executor and Froude's discharge of that trust led to a keen controversy, not yet finished, on the real character of Carlyle and his relations with his wife. At the end he was almost absolutely alone, and died on 4th Dec. 1881.

2. **Teaching.**—Carlyle's teaching was not sufficiently self-consistent to bear exact analysis as a statement of ethical and religious truth. Letters and conversations are sometimes at variance with judgments expressed in his books. But the general outlines of his teaching may be indicated.

(1) *Concerning God.*—It may be said of Carlyle, as he said of Frederick of Prussia, 'To him, as to all of us, it was flatly inconceivable that intellect and moral emotion could have been put into him by an entity that had none of its own.' *Sartor Resartus* is a vigorous and resounding counterblast to materialism. In the discussions of the time, Carlyle's theism was commonly classed as pantheism; but no classification is adequate for an author who wrote or spoke as he saw truth, but who saw different aspects of truth in different moods. He teaches that the universe is perpetually formed and renewed by the Spirit of God, not that matter is God, but that it is the 'living garment of God.' The universe is the vesture of God as man's body is the vesture of his spirit. As man claims personality for himself, he may logically assign to the Spirit of God that personality, consciousness, intelligence, which are the highest attributes of the spirit of man.

His belief in the essentials of religion is combined with a distrust of its formulas. In *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (no. viii.) he makes a protest against what he calls the gospel of Ignatius (*i.e.* Loyola),

'that God can be served by believing what is not true.' 'That to please the supreme Fountain of Truth, your readiest method, now and then, was to persist in believing what your whole soul found to be doubtful or incredible. That poor human symbols were higher than the God Almighty's facts they symbolized; that formulas, with or without the facts symbolized by them, were sacred and salutary; that formulas, well persisted in, could still save us when the facts were all fled.'

Other quotations, more emphatically negative, might be made from writings in later life, when the negative mood grew more marked. Yet he comes very near attributing moral personality to God in His government of the world.

'No world, or thing, here below, ever fell into misery without having first fallen into folly.' 'Nature would not treat weakness as vicious unless weakness were necessarily vicious.' 'The first principle of moral government is that, where guilt is deliberate, undoubted, and wilful, punishment ought to be inflicted. This pillar of the moral universe in human affairs rests not upon mere social expediency, but upon those authoritative instincts of our spiritual nature in which we hear the voice of God.' 'The law of England, in dealing with criminals, must correspond to the law of the universe' (*Latter-Day Pamphlets*, no. vi.). 'The moral nature of a man is not a composite factitious concern, but lies in the very heart of his being, as his very self of selves. The first alleviation to irremediable pain is some conviction that it has been merited, that it comes from the All-just—from God' (Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: Hist. of First Forty Years of his Life*, ii. 86).

'The free man is he who is *loyal* to the Laws of this Universe; who in his heart sees and knows, across all contradictions, that injustice *cannot* befall him here; that except by sloth and cowardly falsity evil is not possible here. The first symptom of such a man is not that he resists and rebels, but that he obeys' (*Latter-Day Pamphlets*, no. vi.).

(2) *Concerning man.*—Carlyle's optimism about the universe is combined with pessimism about human nature. Something of this may be put down to Calvinism, and something to temperament. He believed that 'God's in His heaven,' but not that 'all's right with the world.' At Craigenputtock he wrote:

'What is Hope? a smiling rainbow
Children follow through the wet;
'Tis not here, still yonder, yonder!
Never urchin found it yet.

What is Life? a thawing iceboard
On a sea with sunny shore.
Gay we sail—it melts beneath us!
We are sunk, and seen no more.

What is man? a foolish baby;
Vainly strives, and fights, and frets;
Demanding all—deserving nothing!
One small grave is what he gets.'
(Froude, *op. cit.* ii. 420.)

His fundamental scepticism about human nature and the prospects of the race is closely connected with his disbelief in democracy. Democracy depends on and requires an optimistic view of man and his destiny, and implies ultimately that *vox populi* is *vox Dei*, which Carlyle emphatically denied. His criticism of democracy rests on the discovery that

'in democracy can lie no finality; that with the completest winning of democracy there is nothing yet won—except emptiness, and the free chance to win! Democracy is, by the nature of it, a self-cancelling business; and gives in the long-run a net result of zero.' 'In Rome and Athens, as elsewhere, if we look practically, we shall find that it was not by loud voting and debating of many, but by wise insight and ordering of a few, that the work was done—so it is—so will it ever be.'

Nevertheless he does not depreciate the real task of politics; 'society is a wonder of wonders, and politics (in the right sense far, very far, from the common one) is the noblest science' (Diary, Froude, *op. cit.* ii. 86).

(3) *Religion.*—Carlyle conceived religion as universal and spiritual. It is everywhere an expression of man's relationship to a spiritual God, dimly or vividly realized. Many of his sayings are more in keeping with the results of the modern study of comparative religion than with any order of thought existing in his own day.

'The early Nations of the world, all Nations, so long as they continued simple and in earnest, knew without teaching that their History was an Epic and Bible, the clouded struggling Image of a God's Presence, the action of heroes and God-inspired men. The noble intellect that could disenthral such divine image, and present it to them clear, unclouded, in visible coherency comprehensible to human thought, was felt to be a *Vates* and the chief of intellects. No need to bid him sing it, make a Poem of it. Nature herself compelled him; except in Song or in Psalm, such an insight by human eyes into the divine was not utterable.'

'Every Nation, I suppose, was made by God, and every man too. Only there are some Nations, like some men, who know it; and some who do not. The great Nations are they that have known it well; the small and contemptible, both of men and Nations, are they that have either never known it, or soon forgotten it and never laid it to heart' (*Latter-Day Pamphlets*, no. viii.).

'To the last,' says Froude, 'he believed as strongly as ever Hebrew prophet did in spiritual religion,' and approved of prayer as a 'turning of one's soul to the Highest.'

Carlyle's belief in immortality grew in intensity, but after his wife's death he describes himself as

'bankrupt in hope and heart, as good as without hope and without fear' (*Correspondence of Carlyle and R. W. Emerson*, ii. 337).

In 1835 he wrote to Emerson on the loss of his brother:

'Sorrow not above measure for him that is gone. He is in very deed and truth with God, where you and I both are' (*ib.* i. 392). 'What a thin film it is that divides the living from the dead' (*ib.* i. 37).

On his father's death he wrote (Froude, *Carlyle: First Forty Years*, ii. 248–260):

'Man follows man. His life is as a tale that has been told; yet under time does there not lie eternity? . . . Perhaps my father, all that essentially was my father, is even now near me, with me. Both he and I are with God. Perhaps, if it so please God, we shall in some higher state of being meet one another, recognize one another. . . . The possibility, nay (in some way) the certainty, of perennial existence daily grows plainer to me.'

On the death of Mrs. Welsh he wrote to his wife:

'We shall yet go to her. God is great. God is good.'

In 1869, after the death of his wife, he wrote:

'I occasionally feel able to wish with my whole softened heart—it is my only form of prayer—"Great Father, oh, if Thou canst, have pity on her and on me, and on all such!" In this at least there is no harm' (Froude, *Carlyle: Life in London*, ii. 387).

Carlyle's most positive contribution to a religious conception of life is to be found in vivid, eloquent, and memorable passages describing the spiritual universe. Nothing shows better than these passages how, to Carlyle, life was shot through with spiritual relationships, and set in a framework of a spiritual cosmos. In the Diary (Froude, *Carlyle: First Forty Years*, ii. 86) he exclaims:

'I have strange glimpses of the power of Spiritual union, of association among men of like object. Therein lies the true element of religion. It is a truly supernatural climate; all wondrous things from a Pennenden Heath or Penny-a-week Purgatory Society to the foundation of a Christianity or the (now obsolete) exercise of magic take their rise here. Men work God-like miracles thereby, and the horridest abominations.'

In judging of his attitude to religion, we ought to give weight to his serious work rather than to casual utterances. The lecture on 'The Hero as Prophet,' and his appreciative estimate of Muhammad and the influence of Islām, show how Carlyle understood the nature and function of religion.

Carlyle's positive attitude to religion and his negative attitude to Christianity are among the paradoxes which perplex his readers. He fails to recognize in Christianity, as he finds it, the supreme form of the religious powers which he reveres elsewhere.

(4) *Ethic.*—Carlyle's ethic is essentially the ethic of Puritanism—that is, his ideal of the conduct of life is an ideal conceived under the overwhelming impression of the righteousness of God. Man is ever in the great Task-master's eye. If men do their duty and faithfully obey the laws of God, living soberly and justly, God will do the best for them in this life. Duty is to him Wordsworth's 'stern daughter of the voice of God.' It involves surrender to the 'vast soul that o'er us plans'—and continually in the present it means work. Do the duty nearest to hand—*Laborare est orare*. The only honourable thing is work, whether with sword or plough or pen. Strength is the crown of toil. Action makes men.

The paradoxical working of Carlyle's mind comes out in his inconsistent acceptance and rejection of parts of mutually related truths. He insisted on the community of the race, and poured scorn on the man who said, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' Yet he failed to discover that this solidarity is the key unlocking the mystery of the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus Christ, which he entirely rejected. He believed that good and evil were absolute opposites, yet rejected the only way in which good can overcome evil, *i.e.* when good is returned for evil. He revered the character of Jesus Christ, yet talked incessantly of the 'Exodus from Houndsditch,' failing to see that the life history of Jesus is only to be understood as the culmination of a national history in which the Spirit of God is manifestly active, and working to this climax. He believed in God as revealed in that larger Bible—the history of the human race—but did not see that universal revelation was the basis which makes reasonable the special revelation in the history of Israel. He believed in no historical Resurrection or Ascension, yet he vindicates in impressive eloquence the existence of a spiritual universe, and declares that a thousand million ghosts are walking the earth openly at noontide. 'O Heaven, it is mysterious, it is awful, to consider that we not only carry each a future ghost within us, but are in very deed ghosts.' He imposed an infinite duty on a finite being, but did not see that the assertion of our weakness and deficiency is the 'fine innuendo by which the soul makes its enormous claims.' It is clear that this mingling of negative and positive teaching has nothing final or conclusive in it. It is a half-way house, where no one would think of stopping but the man who built it.

In spite of his pessimism about human nature in general, Carlyle had an intense belief in the greatness of personality raised to its highest power. Much light is thrown on the development of his mind by comparison with Nietzsche. Just as Nietzsche's reverence for personality led to belief in the superman as the hope of the race, Carlyle's led to Hero-worship. In both cases the belief was accompanied by contempt for those who fail to attain personality, and in both it may be connected with the failure to see that full personality in man is dependent on dealing with God as fully and effectively personal.

(5) *Concerning history.*—Carlyle's absorbing concern with personality was partly cause and partly consequence of his historical studies, and it made his work the recognized standard for one method of writing history. The supreme interests of history, whether modern or ancient, lie in the biographies of men and women and the history of movements, and for Carlyle the first is more central; for there is no movement which does not enter history through a life. 'Great truths are portions of the souls of men.' Reforms, institutions, eras, and even constitutions are to be interpreted through the men who lived in them, and in whom they lived. The modern school of scientific historians has introduced methods which modify the first impression made by Carlyle's historical work, but its essential truth is not to be shaken, and a reaction in favour of his view of history is to be expected, for 'by-gone ages were actually filled by living men, not by protocols, State papers, controversies, and abstractions of men.'

The charge that Carlyle confounded right with might is not true as it stands. Its basis is his conviction that the history of a man or a nation is the Divine judgment of the man or nation. If a man succeeds and prospers, the cause must have been adequate to the effect. History and life alike contain their own laws, and supply their own principles of judgment. Men are powerful in proportion as they build on facts and see truth. The prophet who sees and the hero who acts appear to be a law unto themselves, only because there is no higher human authority. It is the wisdom of the mass of men not to question or judge them, but to follow them and go where they lead. There is truth in all this, but it is a truth which only a history of all time can vindicate. The historian would require omniscience to judge correctly of success and failure.

3. **Influence.**—Carlyle's influence was provocative rather than constructive. He challenged the conventions of his time in thought and in act as much as he challenged its literary conventions by his style. His message worked like a leaven in the general culture of two generations. He moved men by antagonism rather than leadership. He threw them back on the saving facts of life. He made realities in life and history stand out as greater things than the conventions that commonly conceal them. His influence may be compared with that of a prophet in ancient Israel. His summons

to men was to repent and put away the evil of their doings. His words burned and stung rather than healed and helped those he influenced most.

His function, in spite of all his strenuous thinking, was the purification of feeling about life by fear and reverence, scorn, indignation, humour, and tenderness. His books have the sentiment and effect of a Gothic cathedral, expressing, with all the purpose, ingenuity, and elaborate care of a mediæval craftsman, the awe of the natural man in the presence of God's universe.

LITERATURE.—Literature about the Carlyles is constantly growing. It consists chiefly, however, of fresh estimates of the original material contained in Carlyle's own books, and the publications which contain his letters, such as: (1) *Reminiscences*, published by J. A. Froude in 1881; the same author's *Thomas Carlyle: a History of the first forty Years of his Life*, 2 vols., 1882, and *Thomas Carlyle: a History of his Life in London*, 2 vols., 1884; (2) *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, prepared for publication by Thomas Carlyle, and edited by Froude, 3 vols., 1883; (3) *Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and R. W. Emerson*, 2 vols., 1883, and *Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle*, ed. C. E. Norton, 1887.

Of other literature the following may be noted: Leslie Stephen, art. 'Carlyle,' in *DNB*; J. Martineau, *Essays, Reviews, and Addresses*, i. [1890] 219; T. P. Walter, 'Thomas Carlyle and his Message,' in *Meth. Rev.* xc. [1908] 574; J. Clifford, *Typical Christian Leaders*, 1898, p. 175; R. S. Craig, *The Making of Carlyle*, London, 1908; A. S. Arnold, *Story of Thomas Carlyle*, London, 1903; W. Howie Wylie, *Thomas Carlyle: the Man and his Books*, London, 1881; D. Masson, *Carlyle personally and in his Writings*, London, 1885.

D. MACFADYEN.

CARMATIANS.—The Carmatians were a religio-political sect of Shī'ites that took its rise about the middle of the 3rd cent. of the Hijra, and developed a tremendous strength, which, more than anything else, undermined the power of the Khalifate of Baghdad. The name was given to them by their adversaries. They called themselves Fāṭimids, from Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet and the spouse of 'Alī; or Ismā'īlīs, from Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far, a descendant of Ḥusain, son of 'Alī and Fāṭima, and, by his great-grandmother, of the last king of Persia, representing thus not only the Prophetic, but also the Kingly right to the Imāmate, or Supremacy (cf. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, p. 130).

The religious system of these sectaries, which in its principal features is still that of the Druses (*q.v.*), seems at first sight very extraordinary. On closer examination we find it composed of elements borrowed from various sources. Guyard, in his art. 'Un grand maître des Assassins' (*JA*, 1877, i. 327), said truly:

'In this Orient, where everything has been thought, the atmosphere is, so to speak, impregnated with the most diverse conceptions; none is lost; scattered for a moment, they gather again around some new germ. Magianism, Judaism, Christianity, Gnosticism, philosophy thus lent some of their elements to the small sects which each imām of the race of 'Alī saw come to light under his eyes and in his honour.'

The man who originated this system, or rather adapted it for his purposes, was a certain 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn, of Persian origin and an oculist (*qaddāḥ*) by profession. He is often spoken of by the name of al-Qaddāḥ. He lived about the middle of the 3rd cent. of the Hijra in 'Askar Mukram, a town of Khūzistān, where he had some possessions; and he combined with a great aversion for the Arabs and their religion a boundless ambition. His ultimate aim seems to have been to subvert the Khalifate of Baghdad, to undermine Islām, and to restore the old Persian religion, the religion of light. He himself and his sons were to be the leaders of this campaign, and, after having accomplished its purpose, were to become the rulers of the new State.

The basis of the doctrine is pure Neo-Platonism. From God, the mysterious Being who is wholly incomprehensible to mankind and cannot be defined by any attributes, emanated by His will (see Goldziher's able study on the *amr allāhi* in *REJ* vol. iv. pp. 32–41) the Universal Reason, which produced the Universal Soul, the creator of Primal Matter, Space, and Time. These are the five constituents of the Universe, and consequently of man, the microcosm. But, as every emanation has a tendency to return to its source, man's object in life is perfect union with the Universal Reason. This, however, would be wholly unattainable by him without heavenly help. Therefore the Universal Reason and the Universal Soul have manifested themselves to the world in human shape, the one as prophet-legislator, the other as his assistant and supporter. So appeared successively Adam and Seth, Noah and Shem, Abraham and Ishmael, Moses and Aaron, Jesus and Peter, Muhammad and 'Alī. After the disappearance of the prophet-legislator, the assistant continues his work, and is the *imām*, or leader, the sole interpreter of the true meaning of the Divine Word. He is followed by six other *imāms*, after the death of the last of whom a new incarnation takes place. 'Alī was succeeded by his son al-Ḥasan; he by his brother al-Ḥusain; then followed 'Alī the son of al-Ḥusain, Muḥammad the son of 'Alī, Ja'far the son of Muḥammad, and Ismā'īl the son of Ja'far. Muḥammad the son of Ismā'īl is the seventh incarnation. His assistant is 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn, who, with his successors, has to preach and promulgate his law, till with the reappearance of the last of these as the *mahdī* the end and scope of human life will be reached. All these legislations, though each in succession is better than its predecessor, so that the last is the most perfect, are in reality one, only adapted to the understanding of the men of each period. Moreover, it is always the same Being that incarnates itself in different forms; even as the soul of each *imām* passes into the body of his successor.

The main object of this system, of which the preceding description gives only the outlines, was to place unlimited power in the hands of 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn and his descendants. Ismā'īl, the son of Ja'far, died in his father's lifetime. Ja'far died in A.H. 148, leaving a son Muḥammad, who, according to the Ismā'īlīs, fled to India from the persecution of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, and is said to have died there about A.H. 180. In the belief of the Ismā'īlīs he became merely invisible, to remain so till the time of his reappearance as the *mahdī* should come. In the meantime the *imām* is invested with the supreme authority, which he exercises by his deputies and missionaries. Whatever the ultimate designs of 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn may have been, his immediate object was to lay hold of the minds of a great many followers, who were bound to unlimited obedience to his orders, and were ready to furnish the means necessary for promoting the cause. Mystery has for most men a great attraction. Therefore, every one who was to be admitted as a member of the sect had to pledge himself by oath never to betray any secret of the community. Nor were they admitted before they had given sufficient proofs of the earnestness of their desires. For the same reason, the *imām* himself was said to be hidden and to communicate with his followers only by his deputy, who in fact was the *imām* himself or his son, and who, backed by this mysterious authority, could speak with double stress. It was he who chose and instructed the *dā'īs* (lit. 'those who call or invite'), or missionaries.

'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn instituted, we are told, several grades of initiation. The accounts we have of the higher ones are confused, and it is difficult to see what could have been their practical use. It is quite certain, however, that even the chief missionaries did not know them. These were, without question, men of fervent zeal, devoted to what they thought to be the sacred truth. The

missionary established himself by preference in a populous country in the character of a merchant or physician, in order to come into contact with many people, whom he sought, first of all, to impress with admiration for his abstemiousness, the devoutness of his living, his charity, and his irreproachable, if somewhat mysterious, conduct. Aided by his superior knowledge, he could often give good practical advice, by which he gained the confidence of the people; and one or two marvellous tricks procured him the reputation of possessing supernatural powers. The missionaries of the Fāṭimids were evidently able jugglers, and knew how to perform miracles. By means of carrier-pigeons, for instance, they often received information of an event many days before it could be known in the country by the ordinary means of communication. So they could make a prediction that must certainly turn out to be true. Moreover, they were generally versed in astronomy. But their principal strength lay in the cordial love of all believers for the house of the Prophet, which, since the tragic death of al-Ḥusain, had been everywhere revived and reanimated by the missionaries of the 'Alids and 'Abbāsids. Against these latter, the means which they had employed to undermine and destroy the dominion of the Umayyads were turned with success, when it had become evident that their government had in no wise brought the period of peace, justice, and general prosperity that had been promised. In order to get rid of the Umayyads, the 'Abbāsids had promulgated the principle that the family of the Prophet had incontestable rights to the throne, whence it followed that the Umayyads were usurpers. The 'Alids, descendants of the daughter of the Prophet, while the ancestor of the 'Abbāsids was only his uncle, did not fail to turn this principle against the 'Abbāsids who had supplanted them. It was, therefore, easy to inspire the people with the hope that the saviour, the *mahdī* (the man 'guided' by God, who alone is able to show the right path), would come forth from the house of 'Alī, and to find, by an allegorical interpretation, the announcement of his coming in the sacred book itself. Thereby the way was prepared for the acknowledgment of this *mahdī* as a superior being whose word is Truth, and to whom is due unlimited obedience. For that end it was not necessary to attack the authority of the Qur'ān; only its literal interpretation was rejected, and with that the dogmas founded on it, and also the religious ceremonies, as having only a symbolical value. All this was replaced by the doctrinal authority of the true *imām*, because he knew better than anybody else the veritable religion. One of the first uses he made of that authority was to prescribe to his followers, as their principal duty, to be full of that devotional disinterestedness which enables men spontaneously to make the greatest sacrifices.

The funds needed for the organization of the mission were furnished, in the first instance, by a high-placed Persian officer, who, according to some authors, was a descendant of the old Persian kings. But soon the contributions of the new adepts commenced to flow in. The two principal offerings required of them were one for the founding of a kind of house of government, called *Dār al-hijra* (House of refuge), and a communal treasure out of which the poor could get assistance and the general expenses could be paid; the other, destined for the *imām*, consisted in a fifth part of all property to be paid once, and a fifth part of all revenues to be paid yearly. By this latter contribution the believers were linked by the strongest bands to the cause of the *mahdī*, whose triumph could be the only means of bringing a compensation for the great sacrifices they had made.

But the paying of contributions was not the only act of devotion expected from the believers. Their chief duty was to lead a life of purity and brotherly love. The morals preached by the Fāṭimid missionaries have been called evangelical. They explain the charm exercised by the doctrine on many men of high understanding, and the fact that the Carmatian communities and States were, as a rule, excellently organized and administered. The *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis*, published by Guyard, contain sufficient proofs to stamp all that has been said about the looseness of their morality as mere slander.

The first *dā'ī* in 'Irāq was Ḥamdān, surnamed Qarmaṭ, after whom all followers of the new faith were nicknamed Carmatians. Just as each prophet has his assistant, each *imām* his deputy, so every *dā'ī* has a coadjutor. That of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ was his brother-in-law 'Abdān, who was the author of many of the sacred books of the sect. The district in which they began their preaching was that part of the province of Kūfa where Babylon lies, and here the Dār al-hijra was built, in A.H. 277. The author of the *Fihrist* says (p. 187) that Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ established himself in 261 at Kalwādha, between Baghdad and Madā'in. It is probable that this took place at a later date. But it is certain that even then the Carmatians had attained to significance. For at the time when the rising of the negro slaves in the south of 'Irāq was at its height (*i.e.* before 267), Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ had a meeting with the chief of the slaves, who gave himself out for a descendant of 'Alī, of which he himself gives the following report (Ṭabarī, iii. 2130)—

'I went to the chief of the negroes and said to him: "I profess a doctrine and have 100,000 swords under my orders. Let us compare our tenets. If they agree, I will join you with all my men. If not, you must give me your word to let me return to my place unmolested." That he promised, and we conversed till noon, by which time it had become clear to me that we could never agree. He rose then for prayers, and I slipped away from his town and went back to the land of Kūfa.'

As long as the war against the negroes lasted, the government of Baghdad took no notice at all of the Carmatians. After the suppression of that terrible insurrection, the governor of western 'Irāq contented himself with levying a tax of one *dīnār* on each member of the sect; and, as this procured him a good revenue, he opposed the taking of any hostile measures. It was not till 284 that the government at Baghdad began to have some misgivings about this movement, and discovered that the sect had adherents in the capital itself. This led to a persecution, in which a certain number of their chief men were killed (288), but which was soon stopped, the governor being afraid that it would ruin the land, as they were its farmers and labourers. About the same time the Khalīf seems to have found out who was the real head of the sect. In 270 the government had been informed that there lived in 'Askar Mukram in Khūzistān a very dangerous man called 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn al-Qaddāḥ; and orders were issued to apprehend him. 'Abdallāh escaped to Baṣra, where he lived some time in hiding. Thence he went to Salamīya in northern Syria, where a son of his had established himself about 255, and which remained the headquarters of the family till 287, when 'Ubaidallāh, 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn's grandson, fled from that place to Egypt and thence to the far west of North Africa, whence he reappeared at Kairwan, the African capital, in 297, as the *mahdī*, the first Khalīf of the Fāṭimids. The mission to Yemen, organized in 'Irāq in 266, began its preaching in 268, and had great success. In 293 news reached Baghdad that the Carmatians had conquered nearly the whole province, and that the inhabitants of Mecca were in great anxiety. The final reduction of Ṣan'ā, the capital, in 299,

made them absolute masters of the country. From Yemen the mission to North Africa was planned. In 280, Abū 'Abdallāh, surnamed al-Muḥtasib, because he had been inspector of markets, entered it and within the space of a few years founded the empire of the Fāṭimids. Far more dangerous for the Khalifate of Baghdad at the time was the rising of another Carmaṭian State in Baḥrain, the north-east province of Arabia, founded between 280 and 290 by Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī. In 287 this chief routed an army sent against him by the Khalīf, but did not pursue that advantage, as he needed all his energy to make himself master of Central Arabia, of 'Omān, and of the desert roads. The great disasters that befell the Khalifate at the hands of these Carmaṭians happened between the years 311 and 320. In 315 a great army, intended to make an end of the dominion of the Carmaṭians, was utterly defeated by Abū Ṭāhir Sulaimān, the son of Abū Sa'īd, and Baghdad itself was seriously threatened. Next year, Mecca was taken and plundered; even the sacred black stone was transported to Laḥsā, the residence of the Carmaṭian princes, where it remained till 339, when it was restored to the Ka'ba.

It is not surprising that the fiction of the Grand-master of Salamīya about the hidden *imām* was not always accepted without some distrust. When he had fled for his life, probably without having been able to regulate his affairs, and was for a while cut off from intercourse with the *dā'īs*, this distrust increased. The ambitious head of the mission in western 'Irāq and the Syrian desert, Zikrwaih, caused his son to give himself out for the *imām*. As long as the energetic Khalīf al-Mu'taḍid lived, he did not dare to undertake anything. But from 289 till 294 he and his sons did much damage in Syria and the borderland of the Euphrates, and it required the greatest efforts to get the better of them. As for Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ and 'Abdān, we know for certain that they separated themselves from 'Ubaidallāh; but this happened, in all probability, later, when he had proclaimed himself the *imām*, the expected *mahdī*. Apostasy, by the laws of the Carmaṭians as well as by those of Islām, is punished by death. Abū 'Abdallāh, who had conquered the empire for 'Ubaidallāh, was murdered, together with his brother, because, the conduct of this prince not corresponding to their ideal, they doubted whether the man they had fought for was really the *mahdī*. This happened near the end of 298. When the murderer lifted up the weapon, Abū 'Abdallāh said, 'Do not, my child.' He answered, 'He whom thou hast ordered me to obey, and to whom thou hast given the empire after having conquered it, has ordered me to kill thee.' 'Ubaidallāh wrote then to his followers in the East: 'Ye know what a high place Abū 'Abdallāh and Abu-l-'Abbās occupied in Islām (*i.e.* the true religion, that of the Carmaṭians), but Satan caused them to slip, and I have purified them by the sword. Peace be with you.' About the same time, 'Abdān—and probably also Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ—was assassinated.

The same thing happened in Yemen. Ibn Faḍl, the head of the mission, cast off his allegiance to 'Ubaidallāh and proclaimed himself *imām*. In 303 he perished, poisoned by a mysterious stranger. We are not quite sure about Abū Sa'īd, the Carmaṭian ruler of Baḥrain, but the fact that he was slain in 301, together with several of his principal officers, combined with the apparently trustworthy information that he was reverenced like a superior being, and the saying of the Yemenite chief that he followed the example of Abū Sa'īd (Omāra's *History of Yemen*, ed. Kay, 1892, p. 202), makes it probable that he also had refused to acknowledge 'Ubaidallāh as the *imām mahdī*. Henceforward, however, till the conquest of Egypt by the Fāṭimids in 358, the Carmaṭians of Baḥrain were the firm supporters of 'Ubaidallāh and his successors.

The intercourse between the two parties could take place only very secretly. If the subjects of the Fāṭimid Khalīf could have had the least suspicion that all the atrocities that filled the breast of every Muslim with terror and horror, for instance the sack of Mecca by Abū Ṭāhir—the pillage of the temple and the carrying off of the sacred black stone to Laḥsā—had been committed in the name of their master, he would not have occupied the throne a single year. On the contrary, it was indispensable in the empire of the Fāṭimids to condemn openly the proceedings of their Carmaṭian friends. Thus, for instance, the well-known traveller, Ibn Ḥauqal, though a fervent partisan of the Fāṭimids, and knowing that the Carmaṭians acknowledged them as *imāms*, speaks (p. 211) of Abū Ṭāhir with indignation, and curses him for his crimes; he has not the slightest suspicion that this prince did nothing but execute the rules laid down by his revered chiefs, or rather their formal orders. The author of the *Fihrist* (p. 189) says that he cannot understand the fact that in Egypt, in the empire of the Fāṭimids itself, the doctrine preached by the Fāṭimid missionaries is not practised at all. Lastly, the famous poet and traveller Nāṣir ibn Khusrau, who had embraced the faith of the Fāṭimids with his whole heart, and who spent a long time in Egypt, whence he returned to Persia as head of the propaganda, is entirely ignorant of any relations between them and the Carmaṭians, whom he knew also, having visited them at Laḥsā (Schefer, *Sefer Nameh*, p. 225 ff.).

But, however necessary this secrecy was for the dynastic interests of the Fāṭimids, it could not fail to have a bad influence on the harmony between the two parties. There were still people amongst the chiefs of Baḥrain who questioned the alleged descent of the Fāṭimid Khalīfs from Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, and who asked themselves whether the rising of this upstart family had done aught for the realization of their ideals. The triumph of this party in 358, though it was overthrown a few years later, broke for a time the admirable union of these Carmaṭians, and did great harm to their power. They had a short period of revival in the first half of the 5th cent., and it was with their aid that, in 450, the Fāṭimid Khalīf Mustanṣir was proclaimed Khalīf in Baghdad. But in 474 their dominion came to an end, though the Carmaṭian faith continued to have many adherents for a long time thereafter.

The State of these Carmaṭians is the only one about which we have any trustworthy information. The government was not strictly monarchical. Abū Sa'īd was assisted by a council composed of his principal supporters and called *al-'Iqdānīya*, that is, 'having the power to bind and to loose.' Later, this council consisted of twelve members, six of whom belonged to the reigning house, with the title of Sayyids, and six to the other principal families. In time of war one of the Sayyids was appointed as commander. If, however, this man had a strong personal character, as in the case of Abū Sa'īd himself and his son Abū Ṭāhir, he had almost the power of an absolute monarch. In the period of the last-named prince, the Carmaṭian State had large revenues, so that the fifth destined for the *imām* amounted to 300,000 *dīnārs*. It is probable that this fifth replaced that required originally of each individual member of the sect. For Nāṣir ibn Khusrau tells (p. 227) that the citizens had no tribute or tax whatever to pay. On the contrary, if poor or in debt, they got assistance from the State. The tilling of

the land and every kind of mechanical work was done by negro slaves, a great many of whom were the property of the State. The citizens themselves were educated chiefly for military service. Monogamy seems to have been the rule, and women did not wear a veil. This seems to have given rise to all the accusations of immorality that their enemies invented. The use of wine was strictly forbidden. The religious prescriptions of Islām—daily prayers, Friday-service, fasting, etc. —had been abolished. Even the flesh of animals declared impure by Islam was sold in the market and eaten. Therefore the Muslim proverb says: 'Thinner than the saliva of the bee and the religion of the Carmaṭians.' It is not easy to say whether they had any religious ceremonies of their own. Certainly, they never performed the fifty daily prayers, said to have been prescribed by Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ. We know only that they had regular meetings for teaching the Ismāʿīlian doctrine. The Qur'ān had not lost its sacred character with them; but it was to be read according to its spiritual meaning. They dressed in white and had white banners, symbolizing the religion of light which they professed and the purity of life required of its fellowers.

It is most regrettable that it is impossible not only to paint, but even to sketch, the religious and social life of the Carmaṭians. From themselves we have nothing but a few dogmatical and parænetical tracts. The accounts that have reached us are from their bitter enemies, and are usually full of obvious slander. But the few glimpses we get of their internal life from such less biased authors as Ibn Ḥauqal and Nāṣir ibn Khusrau suffice to make us form favourable opinions about them. They had an ideal, for the realization of which they were ready to make the greatest sacrifices, and which seems to have influenced, if not governed, their whole existence. For purity of life was required of each member of the community. And as for their social state, the above-cited authors attest their admirable union, their excellent administration, and their institutions on behalf of the poor. But there is no chance of ever being able to find the details we want.

Not many years after the final overthrow of the Carmaṭian empire in Baḥrain, there rose another branch of the Ismāʿīlīs, known by the name of the Assassins (*q.v.*), who during two centuries filled the world with the rumours of their sinister exploits, though they are commonly painted in much blacker colours than they deserved. The first centre of their power was 'Alamūt in the neighbourhood of Kazvīn, south of the Caspian Sea; a second centre was Masyāf in the Lebanon. Their dominion was annihilated by the Mongol prince Hūlāgū, the conqueror of Baghdad, and this is perhaps the only feat for which history has to thank him. Since then there has not been another rising of the Ismāʿīlīs. Yet there are adherents of this doctrine in various parts of the East, living as quiet citizens, and known by the name of Khōjas, in Syria, Arabia, and Zanzibar, Persia, Kirmān, and India. They are also in communication with each other and have an acknowledged chief. This was until lately the well-known Aghā-Khān in Bombay, a very rich man, whose father and grandfather had been governors of Kirmān, and who himself was son-in-law of the Shāh of Persia. His lineage goes back to the princes of 'Alamūt, who themselves pretended to descend from a Fāṭimid prince. Baron von Oppenheim, who gives some details on the Khojas in a note to his *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, 1899 (i. 133), told the present writer that still every year an embassy sets out from Salamīya in Syria for Bombay to bring to the *imām* the contributions of the faithful.

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M. J. DE GOEJE.

CARNIVAL.—On the Sunday before Ash Wednesday, *i.e.* at the commencement of the great fast by which the Roman Catholic Church makes preparation for Easter, there is observed in many countries a popular festival which, while exhibiting great variations in the character and order of its celebration, is yet, in every locality where it passes under the name of 'Carnival,' a recognized occasion for exuberant mirth and unrestricted freedom, combined with masquerade, jesting, and burlesque. It is a fact worthy of notice that the name 'Carnival' and the manner of observance referred to have alike come to prevail in the regions which have been most permanently under the domination of Rome, viz. France, Italy, and the Rhenish provinces. In Teutonic countries generally, on the other hand, the festival preceding Lent is called 'Fastnacht,' popularly—and at one time universally—'Fasenacht' or 'Fasnacht.' But the observance of Fasnacht and that of the Carnival, while presenting apparently similar features, show at the same time so many points of contrast in conception and procedure as make it impossible to trace the celebration to a single direct source. Pagan, Teutonic, and Roman elements may all be recognized, though greatly modified by Christianity. In Romance countries and in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, therefore, the Carnival has acquired its present character under Roman influence, and so far shows a decided contrast to the corresponding Teutonic festival.

The name 'Carnival' is of obscure origin, and admits of various interpretations. A widely received explanation is that which emphasizes the influence of Christianity upon either name, 'Carnival' or 'Fastnacht.' Here 'Carnival' is said to be derived from *carne vale*, i.e. 'flesh, farewell,' an apt enough appellation for the day on which the unconstrained indulgence of the senses was permitted for the last time before the great Lenten fast. Of similar character is the derivation from the name first applied by Pope Gregory to the last Sunday before Lent, viz. 'dominica ad carnes levandas.' This was shortened to 'carnes levandas,' thence passing, it is said, through the forms 'carnelevamen,' 'carnelevale' to 'carneval.' If this etymology be correct, the Teutonic term 'Fastnacht' (Fastens-even, Fasterns-e'en) would signify practically the same thing—the Lenten feast, Lenten-*eve*, according to the Teutonic practice of commencing the day with the evening. In Germanic lands, and especially in the Rhine district, the term 'Fastelovend' is locally used, *Ovend* being a vernacular form of *Abend*. 'Fastnacht' would accordingly apply to the day which, in view of the approaching Lent, was given up to feasting and carouse.

But this explanation, well as it accords with the interpretation of 'Carnival' just indicated, fails to harmonize with the name still given by the people, and in the Middle Ages by all classes, to the Teutonic festival, viz., 'Fasenacht' or 'Fasnacht,' from the root *fasen*. The dialectic word *faseln* means 'to talk nonsense,' 'to drivel,' and 'Fasnacht' would thus denote a feast of folly, revelry, licence. This corresponds well enough with many customary features of the

Carnival, but has no other link of connexion with Christianity.

This is also true of a further derivation of 'Carnival'—one which carries us back to the classical ages, first of all, indeed, to Athens. Certain Greek vase-paintings of the 6th cent. B.C. show a procession of masked figures moving to the strains of music. An Attic vase now in Bologna represents the god Dionysus on the way to his ship. This vessel is furnished with wheels; and, as a matter of fact, we learn from Greek writers that a ship of this kind, dedicated to Dionysus, was driven through the streets of Athens, and that satirical songs were recited from this 'currus navalis.'

We would here remind the reader that it was from the scurrilous and satirical songs in honour of Dionysus, once they had become venerable by ancient usage, that Greek comedy was at length developed. Aristophanes himself, indeed, is not so very far from this starting-point. It was the opinion of Aristotle that comedy attained its initial form in spontaneous popular merry-making, and later writers state explicitly that it took its rise in the sarcastic songs recited from the chariot. In the later history of Greece we still hear occasionally of 'ship-carts' in connexion with processions in honour of gods and goddesses. We learn that during the closing years of the Roman period a naval procession in honour of the Egyptian Isis was held at the annual re-opening of navigation in spring, a 'ship-car' being used for the occasion. There is evidence to show that a similar custom obtained in ancient Germany. Tacitus (*Germania*, 40) speaks of the processions of Nerthus, *i.e.* Hertha, the Teutonic 'Earth-Mother,' and states that her image was carried about the country in a 'vehiculum.' Of this 'vehiculum' he gives no further particulars, but the customs he thereafter refers to seem to indicate that it was a ship-cart—a theory which finds further support in the fact that the procession of the goddess set out from her sacred grove in an island of the ocean. Sometimes a plough took the place of the image as a symbol of the Earth-goddess. A monk of the Abbey of St. Trond makes mention of a spring festival in the district of Jülich, in Lower Germany. Here, in the year 1133, a ship was constructed in the forest, and then taken upon wheels from Aix-la-Chapelle to Holland, attended by a great procession of men and women. With hair dishevelled, and with a shirt for their only garment, the women danced, says the monk, 'in devilish wantonness' around the ship-cart, and the strange cortège was received everywhere with rejoicing. Our monastic chronicler inveighs passionately against this 'pagan' festival. We find repeated references to the use of such ship-waggons in German towns during the Middle Ages. At that period, moreover, the itinerant waggon often carried a plough. A minute of the town-council of Ulm, dating from the beginning of the 16th cent., contains an injunction against carrying the plough or the ship about the city. Sebastian Brandt, a German satiric poet who lived towards the close of the mediæval period, published in 1494 a work entitled *Narrenschiff* ('Ship of Fools'), and it appears from the book itself that its leading idea was suggested by some standing custom—more especially as the author often speaks of the ship as a 'cart' (*Karren*). In Styria and Carinthia it was the custom for women and girls to drag a plough across the landmark in spring.

We may therefore infer that, as in Greece and probably Italy as well, so also in Celtic and Teutonic lands, it was the practice in springtime to drive through the country a ship-waggon bearing an image or other symbol of a deity. Promiscuous dances and masquerades were performed as acts of worship. Just as in Athens the sarcastic songs recited from the ship-cart developed into comedy, so in Teutonic countries the procession attendant upon the waggon, with its masquerades, and its burlesque and ribald ditties, gave rise to the dramatic representations for which, according to numerous references in mediæval writings, the Carnival waggon formed the stage. From these performances, again, arose real Fastnacht plays, in the composition of which even dignitaries of the Church did not disdain to engage. Hans Sachs, the famous Meistersinger of Nuremberg, wrote numerous pieces of this kind, which in his own day were performed in the market-place. These Fastnacht plays were the forerunners of the drama, and remained in vogue till the 17th century. The ship-cart of the goddess still finds a place in the Carnival as now observed. When the festival was re-constituted at Cologne in 1823, the ship-cart became once more a permanent accessory of the procession. The dancing women, who in their masquerade of scanty clothing formed part of the train accompanying the ship-cart in Lower Germany, have now become the 'fair youths and maidens' of the Carnival of Cologne. Arrayed in antique garb, they lead off the procession with dances.

We are now confronted with the question as to the origin of these processions. It has been very commonly believed that their prototype is to be found in the cult of Isis, and that the ship-waggon of Teutonic and Celtic countries was simply borrowed from the festivals associated therewith. This theory, however, fails to take account of the procession of Dionysus and the 'ship-cart' portrayed on Attic vases, as also of the 'vehiculum' mentioned by Tacitus in the passage cited above. It would be more accurate to say that, when the Isis cult, as diffused amongst the Greeks and the Romans, at length reached Gaul and Germany, it found in all quarters not only a form of ship-waggon, but also something analogous to the root-idea of the festival. The derivation of the word 'carnival' from *currus navalis* (Romance *carnavale*) has thus a good deal in its favour.

As indicated above, the Athenian processions with the ship-cart were held in honour of the god Dionysus. The worship of Dionysus had its Roman counterpart in the Bacchanalia, as also in the Saturnalia and Lupercalia—festivals which in the later Roman period were characterized by wanton raillery and unbridled freedom, and were in a manner a temporary subversion of civil order. This general spirit, together with certain special features, was transmitted to the Carnival in particular, and this explains why that festival has assumed its peculiar character in regions where Roman civilization reigned supreme. We must not infer, however, that the Græco-Roman festivals were orginally of such a nature. The mysteries of Dionysus, as well as the Bacchanalia and the Saturnalia, had a substratum of religious ideas. It is a well-known fact that, in the 2nd cent. B.C., the Roman Senate resolved upon an extensive persecution of the Bacchanalia. The adherents of these mysteries were currently charged with the grossest offences against morality and against the State. The persecution was particularly ruthless in Southern Italy, and succeeded not only in practically suppressing the cult, but also in completely paralyzing the influence of Hellenism in that region. We have here, in fact, an early precedent of the policy according to which in the Middle Ages the Jews, the Templars, and others were first of all traduced, and then maltreated, on the ground of their assumed guilt. Recent investigations have shown the groundless character of the charges preferred against the Bacchanalia (Salomon

Reinach, *Cultes, mythes, et religions*, 1905–1908). Alike in the Bacchanalia and in the Saturnalia we can trace a basis of animistic mythology. During the Saturnalia slaves ate with their masters; every householder kept open house, and invited to his table as many guests as he could find; garlands of ivy were donned, and mirth and frolic were indulged in without restraint. Such doings were in the first instance, no doubt, an expression of the inherent human need of occasionally breaking the monotony of use and wont, and as such we find them also in the spring festivals of the Teutons. But all this hardly touches the essential element in the festival.

The earliest phase of religious development is doubtless to be found in animistic ideas, which again are closely connected with the cult of the dead, and, in fact, derive their origin therefrom. In course of time the fundamental conceptions of Animism took on an accretion of mythical ideas. The Romans believed in Lares, Larvæ, and Lemures—all originally the spirits of the departed. The *lares* came at length to be regarded as good-natured, kindly-disposed household gods, the *larvæ* as ghosts that terrify and injure human beings. The latter character was borne also by the *lemures*, which were worshipped and propitiated in special festivals known as the 'Lemuria.' Now, in the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia, celebrated just after the turn of the year, it was the custom to impersonate the *larvæ*. This was regarded as an effective means of conciliating these evil spirits and of warding off their malevolence—an idea which, in its connexion with the cult of the dead and the derivative belief in ghosts, can still be traced in so many surviving customs and practices of all countries. The impersonation, or even the symbol, of a spirit could work with magical results. The impersonator wore for the time white garments, *i.e.* dead-clothes, and a mask for the face. From the latter were subsequently derived the masks of actors in the theatre, while the disguise as a whole formed the starting-point of the masquerades in Græco-Roman celebrations. A similar development is found in Celtic and Teutonic countries. Here, too, the masquerade had a place in the spring festivals. The principal figures in the celebrated Carnival of modern Rome—the Pulcinello and the Pierrot—are dressed in white, as required by the traditions of antiquity. Numerous superstitions specially connecting spirits and ghosts with the Carnival season may be traced without difficulty in usages still maintained. This 'popular belief' has not, of course, survived to the same extent in every locality, and it is only by making a mosaic-like combination of all the ideas and practices prevailing in various districts that we can discover the link with the past. Thus, for instance, during the Carnival gifts are collected by children, or in some cases even by adults, who go about singing certain songs; and a common feast is made of the materials thus received. Single families also have their great and merry feasts, and during the Middle Ages such family festivities were famed for their long duration, and are frequently mentioned in books. A special loaf was baked, and a portion thereof set apart for the 'poor souls,' *i.e.* spirits, on the evening before the Carnival (or at the beginning of the ancient festival). Grimm (*Deutsche Mythol.*, p. 896) gives the following excerpt from a mediæval chronicle: 'To eat flesh on Tuesday in the Fastnacht, or to let other foods stand upon the table during the whole night of the first Sunday in Lent, is a rude, irreverent, *heathenish* superstition.' In some parts the 'poor souls' are spoken of as 'the dear little angels,' and a portion is devoted to them as such. This transformation of spirits into angels took place also among the Slavs. An old Czech weather-adage says that 'the feast of all angels' should be celebrated on Carnival Tuesday. In the 'good little angels' we recognize once more the Roman *lares*. During the festival, therefore, the spirits take up their abode in the house, and share in the festivities. Hence no work must be done; it was indeed popularly believed in ancient times that, if one sewed at this season, the fowls would not lay; and that, if one knitted, contentions would arise. During the festival days, again, energetic dancing and leaping must be indulged in, so that the flax crop might prosper. The amount of superstition that gathers around all sorts of actions during the Carnival—as recorded by Grimm and other investigators—is simply enormous. In Chemnitz, for example, old wives' philosophy declares that any one who takes soup in the Fastnacht will have a dripping at the nose; that, if millet be watered at that season, it swells into money; that a person whose body is then observed to cast no shadow by moonlight is marked for death; and much more of the same kind.

Security against the machinations of ghosts, or evil spirits, again, is to be gained at the Carnival season in particular by various operations of a special kind. Large fires are made, locally called 'Halefeuer.' The materials, straw and wood, are gathered by young men; and a living cat, a doll, or a cross is made fast to the top of the pile, and consumed in the flames. In some localities the fire is called 'the witch-burning.' The moment before lighting the fire is given to silent devotion, and then, when the flame leaps up, there is great shouting and uproar. The young men jump through the flames, and roll fiery wheels—symbols of the sun—down the mountain-side. These are either actual wheels, with straw twisted round them and set on fire, or flaming disks of wood, which, having a hole in the centre, are hurled away by means of a stick. The fire and the smoke, according to popular notions, bring fertility to the fields, and secure them against the ravages of hail, while they also shield the people from all injuries that might otherwise be wrought by evil spirits. In some districts, again, a pair of lovers take their stand in front of the bonfire, and this act is regarded as lending a sanction to their relationship.

To water also, equally with fire, important functions were assigned at the time of the Carnival. The practice of worshipping water in the springtime was universal at an earlier day. In Munich the ceremony called the *Metzgersprung* ('butcher's leap') took place on Carnival Monday. Those who had newly become members of the craft were required on that day to plunge into the basin of the fountain in the Marienplatz. A similar custom prevailed also in Austria, Switzerland, and even Hungary.

As we might well expect, the various customs referred to, and in particular the making of bonfires and the burning of an animal, a doll, or the like, underwent manifold changes. In the neighbourhood of Düsseldorf, for instance, those who gather the gifts at Fastnacht are splashed with water by little girls. On the Rhine, the children who act as collectors carry a cock—or, as in Holstein, a dead fox—in a basket. These things are but the aftermath of the ancient sacrifices. It is here and there the custom to carry about a straw doll, which is at length either burned, or buried, or thrust under water—an act which, according to present-day practice, brings the festival to a close. In Essen this is called the 'burying of Bacchus.' In the famous Carnival of Venice likewise we find a 'burying of Bacchus,' which was carried out in the Piazza di San Marco. All these customs are, in the last resort, traceable to the desire of protection against evil spirits. In Cologne, during the Carnival, little brooms, specially made for the

occasion, are sold in great numbers. Armed with these, the young people march about the town, brandishing them aloft, and now and again using them to brush the backs of those walking in front. The broom, as is well known, plays a great part in the belief in witchcraft. When witches travel to their secret rendezvous on the Blocksberg, they ride by night upon broomsticks. In this case, as in so many others, the instrument of possible evil becomes a talisman; the broom acts as a protection against witchcraft, or—what according to primitive ideas was the same thing—the machinations of evil spirits. Hence the custom, in some Teutonic countries, of using a broom to sweep the way behind a coffin, so that the spirit may not return to the place where the deceased had lived. Accordingly, the practice of going about with brooms during the Carnival at Cologne had its origin in the notion that the power of evil spirits could in this way be rendered innocuous.

With the customs of the Carnival, moreover, are intermingled ideas of a mythological character, which find expression in the cult of a particular goddess. This has already been shown in our account of the itinerating 'ship-car' (in which we found the explanation of the term 'Carnival') bearing the image of the goddess, who is, in reality, the Earth-mother, Nerthus, or Hertha, now sometimes called simply 'die Frau,' 'das Weib.' Her cult had its origin in ancient Rome and Germany. In Rome it was represented by the mysteries of the 'Bona Dea,' from which all males were stringently excluded. Analogous features are still found among the customs of the Carnival season. In Cologne the Thursday before Fastnacht is known as 'Weiberfastnacht.' It begins at 12 o'clock noon, and formerly the women used to exercise absolute authority for the day. As the custom gave occasion for many excesses, however, it was formally proscribed in the 19th cent., though traces of it still survive. In some parts of Rhineland the women meet together, hold a court, and then cut down a tree, defraying the expenses of their celebration from the proceeds of the timber. At the Carnival season in the Alpine country is held the Perchta-race—Perchta, or Bertha, being simply the ancient Earth-goddess. Those who take part in the race wear masks of a special kind, called 'Perchtelmasken.' In the Rhine district the youths who collect the Fastnacht gifts are named 'Zimbertsburschen.' The word 'Zimbert' is a corruption of 'Sankt Bertha,' *Sankt* being pronounced dialectically as *Zim* or *Zin*. As 'Saint Bertha' or 'die Frau,' it was an easy matter for the Earth-goddess to hold her place in popular thought. In an ancient chorus sung at the time of the Carnival, and containing many reminiscences of primitive ideas, we find the words: 'Morge wolle mer de fru obsetze.' This recalls once more the ship-car with the image of the goddess. It was not without good reason that the Roman Catholic Church appointed a festival of the Virgin Mary for the month of February—the season associated with processions in honour of the Earth-mother. Mary simply took the place of the heathen divinity. At this festival—*Marie Lichtmess* (Candlemas [*q.v.*], Feb. 2)—an image of the Mother of God is carried through the church in a solemn procession illuminated with candles, as is to this day the practice at Cologne. Here, accordingly, we have a survival of the primitive Indo-Germanic custom of carrying the Earth-goddess about the country. By way of effecting a desirable change in the character of long-established popular festivals which could not be summarily abolished, the Church adopted the plan of providing them with Christian motives—a procedure which was very largely adopted in the case of the Carnival festivities.

Mention may also be made of a curious article made use of in the Carnival procession at Cologne. This is the so-called 'Streckschere,' or stretching-shears, formed by nine crossed pairs of laths as in a line of trellis-work. The laths are jointed at the ends and the points of intersection by wooden pegs, so that the whole can be easily and quickly stretched to a great length and as readily drawn in again. Nowadays this 'shears' is employed for the purpose of passing bouquets and the like to the ladies, and indeed, even apart from the procession, it is used during the Carnival as an instrument of general trickery. Originally, however, it must have had a different purpose. In the Perchta-race of the Alpine country a leading part is played by the so-called 'tailor,' who, though dressed in ordinary garb, is marked out from others by his huge pair of shears. This is likewise a 'stretching-shears,' and by its means the 'tailor' divests the unwary bystander of his head-gear. A counterpart of this article is found among the Hopis of Arizona. It is stated by J. W. Fewkes (*21 RBEW* [1903], p. 90; cf. Hein, *Correspondenzblatt der deutschen anthr. Gesellsch.* 1899) that at the summer festivals observed by this tribe their god Püükoñ appears on the scene with a long wooden pair of stretching-shears. The writer named believes that the shears represent the lightning-flash hurled by the god. The summer festival of these Amerinds is regarded as a means of ensuring the fertility of their land—an idea which, as we have seen, had a place in the Teutonic Fastnacht. In connexion with the latter, again, the custom of seizing hats with the shears underwent a further development in most localities, including the Rhine district. Those in the crowd suddenly snatch off each other's head-dress and throw it in the air, or pull each other's hair. This buffoonery is practised on the Thursday before Fastnacht, and accordingly that day is sometimes called 'Mötzefastelovend' (Germ. *Mütze*, 'cap').

Recapitulating in brief our whole inquiry, we note, first of all, how many sources have contributed to the development of the Carnival. In ancient Greece and Rome, as among the early Celts and Germans, the first approach of spring was heralded by festivals which derived their origin from the cult of the dead, the belief in spirits, and the desire of security against their malevolence, and which, moreover, in course of time, assimilated certain mythological elements. The festivals thus observed in various lands were originally very much alike in their fundamental ideas, and therefore also in the manner of their celebration, as was but natural in the case of peoples belonging to the Indo-Germanic stock. In Greece and Rome they assumed a special form of development as Mysteries, and generated at length a peculiar type of festival. In this distinctive form they were carried across the Alps by the Romans, and spread rapidly on their new ground. This transplanting was rendered all the easier by the fact that there already existed in the Transalpine district festivals of a similar character, though developed in a different way. Within this region, therefore, it is only in Gaul and Rhineland that we find the Carnival with its distinctively Roman features, while in other parts of the Teutonic area the native festivals retain their ancient character with but little change. When Christianity at length penetrated to these lands, it was unable, with all its efforts, to suppress entirely either the indigenous festivals or those which had to a greater or less extent come under Roman influence. In certain cases it succeeded in rendering the festivals innocuous by associating them with Christian ideas; in others, by a rigid arrangement of the Christian year, it strove to take away all opportunity for their celebration. To the season after Christmas, therefore, the Church assigned a

when it is needful for him to be fully persuaded in his own mind—when he reverts to his clergyman or lawyer for advice. In them likewise the broader casuistry has an office to perform, even although we do not so designate it. Probabilities and possibilities have to be considered before the fact; after it, unforeseen sequels may well raise questions of blameworthiness. Now, lawyer and physician, and, in a different way, the clergy, can refer to a fixed or external body of knowledge, of customary writ, whence to set out. The moralist is hardly in the same situation, so casuistry too often comes to possess a different meaning when his advice is required. Jeremy Taylor's definition of conscience shows why: 'Conscience is the Mind of a Man governed by a Rule, and measured by the Proportions of Good and Evil, in Order to Practice; *viz.* to conduct all our Relations, and all our intercourse between God, our Neighbours, and ourselves: that is, in all moral actions' (*Ductor Dubitantium* [1660], bk. i. rule i.). The bare terms of this strange definition—Rule, Good, Evil, Relations, God, Neighbours—demand extensive elucidation; whereupon the broader casuistry arises.

(2) In the narrower and more technical sense, casuistry presupposes (*a*) the existence of external rules, nomistic opinions, or systematic prescriptions (especially the last); and (*b*) individual cases, peculiar to separate persons at particular times, when the approved sanctions seem doubtful or silent, or require elucidation with a view to the justification of exceptions. It deals here with means of action in relation to ends, and there is no reason why it should confine itself to abnormalities, as many seem to suppose. This procedure may lead readily, however, to that over-subtle discussion of the 'rightness' or 'wrongness' of single acts, with reference to minimum requirements of an ecclesiastical or other code, which has come to be associated with casuistry as its distinguishing (and dangerous or pernicious) feature. The present writer records it as a personal opinion that, owing to the whole nature of the ethical theory approved within the Latin obedience, this tendency can hardly be eradicated; some Roman Catholics lean to this view themselves. Hence the sinister implications of the term 'casuistry,' as in the parallel case of 'sophistry.' For, without doubt, these prudent, mechanical analyses or adjustments of pros and cons, with their mental reservations, probabilities, and expectations that ends may justify means, may descend easily to the level of verbalism or hair-splitting, and result in a relaxation of principle distasteful to the moral standard of an age, and calculated to confuse the sense of right which governs the plain man almost automatically in the ordinary relations of life (cf. 'The Sorbonne Condemnation,' in the *Corpus Doctrinae*, ed. by C. M. Pfaff, 1718). This, in turn, may offer justification of acts in conflict with the conscientious scruples of the community. The reference to the ideal becomes obscured, and, this stage reached, anything may happen. But this is reducing the matter to the level of a practical art. Thus the dubious associations of casuistry, especially for the modern mind, arise: it is held to depend upon an appeal to external sanctions.

Taken in this, the narrow ecclesiastico-technical sense, casuistry can be no more than an appendage of ethics, a purely secondary or, at best, supplementary division. It does nothing to elicit or formulate the nature of ethical principles, nothing to elucidate the psychological character of motive, nothing to ground or guarantee the objective validity of norms, nothing to clarify the basis of responsibility and obligation; in a word, it presupposes theological ethics, and, this done, confines itself to subjective and individual considerations, in the light of a pre-existent system. Now, ethics, as such, may formulate itself so as to leave little, if any, room for technical casuistry, as has been the fact with the main body of scientific ethics, particularly since Kant. On the other hand, ethics may eventuate into a department of theology, and become a kind of translation into human language of laws regarded as given by an extra-mundane creator-judge. This view maintains itself in the Latin Church, and offers scope for technical casuistry in the sense now under consideration. Here, once more, circumstances alter cases profoundly; for, thanks to the practical needs of the Counter-Reformation, we may trace even a third, and narrowest, acceptation of the term. When the fourth Lateran Council (1215) made confession of sin obligatory upon the faithful at least once a year, the necessity for a 'science' which would adjust cases to 'penance' or to guiltiness became clamant. Hence Moral Theology was developed in the Latin Church, and casuistry took its place as the most important element in what might be termed, without offence, the science and art of the confessional. As a direct consequence, there arose in the 17th cent. the great controversy between 'Rigorists' and 'Laxists,' which brought casuistry into disrepute as a bulwark of tergiversation, and an incentive to, or at least justification of, evil-doing. The need to win men back to the bosom of the Church intensified this movement. Obviously enough, an outsider cannot pronounce with decision on the practice of an organization so extensive and complex as the Latin Church, wherein many shades of usage and theory may co-exist. Nevertheless, it is probably true that the present position within the Latin obedience dates from 1803, when the Congregation of Rites, confirmed by Pope Pius VII., found the *Theologia Moralis* (1756) of St. Alphonsus (Alfonso Maria de Lignori, 1696–1787) free from matter deserving censure, that is, of 'extrinsic' probability. While there is room for divergence—by less or by more—from his equiprobabilism (as by J. H. Newman; cf. his *Apologia* [London, 1882], p. 273 f., and note G), it may be said that, in the Latin obedience, casuistry has proceeded with reference to Liguorian norms. In any event, he was the last writer on Moral Theology to be canonized (1839), and declared a Doctor of the Church (1871).

The objections to the Latin view raised by other Christians, especially outside Anglicanism, may be put very summarily as follows: In its *form* the Latin conception is held to be external, and legalistic—therefore, necessarily fragmentary, or devoid of unitary inner principle. In its *content* it is held to be ascetic, or based upon a dualism between the spirit and the flesh. Consequently, it is negative in its attitude towards the world; and equivocal, because it contemplates a twofold standard—one for the average man, another for the 'perfect.' As a result, it is said to entangle itself in a maze of prescriptions that interpose between the individual will and God's will. Quite obviously, the two conceptions proceed from antagonistic theories of the nature of the Christian religion as a whole. The Latin position affirms that the proper regulation of moral activity lies with an institution designed supernaturally to aid individuals, to be the keeper of their conscience, because the sole depository and interpreter of the only possible, the only Divine, authoritative norms. The Reformation contention is that personal subjection to the will of God bestows that self-devotion from which alone right moral action can proceed. The non-Catholic Christian

cannot admit that two contrary actions can be duties equally; nor can he do more than his duty (cf. SUPEREROGATION); nor can he entertain the idea that some actions are unmoral—without moral import (cf. ADIAPHORISM). Hence the need for technical casuistry disappears.

To sum up: whenever men realize their separation from, or conflict with, the operative norms of the social whole, and, in their strait, appeal to 'conscience,' it may be affirmed that 'conscience' and casuistry, on a broad scale of ideal reference, become correlative, even although no method of casuistical procedure with reference to particular cases may have emerged on the basis of reflective or dogmatic system. Reference to a moral ideal appears in practice, and this after no merely utilitarian fashion. Accordingly, the narrower interpretations of our term would appear to depend upon a more or less marked collocation of institutional issues in a civilization, rather than upon definite reference to an ideal. Means come to throw ends into the shade. In a word, the more self-conscious casuistry grows, the more its dangerous qualities tend to assert themselves. A glance at the history of moral effort in this connexion may suffice to illustrate this. Prior to the Christian era, casuistry in the broad sense dominates the field, except in Judaism. After the solidification of the organization of the Church, the broad sense maintains itself still, but with tendencies to the narrower and more technical procedure, which culminate, under the influence of inner movements and of external historical events, in the 17th century. Thereafter, in modern thought, the broad, ideal sense reasserts itself.

2. Historical outlines.—(*a*) *Greek.*—Casuistry, in the narrow theologico-moral sense, could not play any distinctive rôle during the characteristic periods of Greece, because the conception of 'conscience' (*συνείδησις*) did not achieve determinative development before the age of Stoicism. The *γνῶθι σεαυτόν* of Heraclitus, and even *σωφροσύνη*, fall short of the self-condemnation integral to 'conscience.' It is true that 'moral consciousness,' in something more than the Aristotelian sense of recognition, may be traced sporadically from time to time; *e.g.* in Homer (*Il.* vi. 417, xvii. 254; *Od.* ii. 138), and in the Orators, especially Antiphon (*e.g. Or.* ii. γ. 3, iii. δ. 9); but the attitudes are incidental rather than normative. Casuistry (cf. Plato, *Euthyd.* 7 E), in the broad sense described above, reared its head only when the older polytheistic religion had sunk with many to the level of superstition, and when, therefore, the search for another ideal began (5th cent. B.C.). Aristophanes, the Sophists, Socrates, Euripides, Plato, and their circles, furnish the illustrative material. The Nomothetæ and the poets (*e.g.* Simonides) were the traditional authorities (cf. Homer, *Il.* xvi. 386 f.; Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 225 f., 275 f.; Theognis, 205 f.; Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 6 f.; Xenophon, *Symp.* iii. 5). By the 5th cent. the force of their teaching abated, because it lacked the pliancy demanded by unprecedented circumstances and situations (cf. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, 1901, iii. 436 f.). It had been deterrent rather than originative, and its uninspiring utilitarian reference palled (cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* xi. 52 f.; Plutarch, *Solon*, 27). Similarly, its intimate relation with, almost dependence upon, written law (cf. Æschines, *c. Tim.* 6 f.; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1137 A, 16; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 8 f.) tended to stereotype it. New developments gave rise inevitably to the idea of a higher, unwritten and ideal, law, which appeared in the dramatists (cf. *e.g.* Æschylus, *Supp.* 707; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1130, 1343, *Œd. Tyr.* 863 f.), and was presented on a large scale in *Antigone* (cf. Xenophon, *Mem.* IV. iv.). Hence, by an easy transition, we come to the doctrine of the Sophists, that laws, with morals as their appanage, are no more than conventions. And the fountainhead of 'conscience,' in any sense understood by the Greeks, is to be found in the opposition between *φύσις* (nature as the basis of law) and *νόμος* (convention as the basis of law). When, with the great philosophers, investigation passed from the cosmos to man, the problem of ultimate sanctions could not but emerge, and the utilitarianism of the old view offered a point of departure by lending colour to the aphorism, 'Justice is the interest of the stronger.' 'Law is the tyrant of mankind, and often forces us to do many things contrary to nature' (Hippias, in Plato, *Protag.* 337 C; cf. Xenophon, *Cyrop.* I. vi. 31 f.). The casuistry of opportunism ensued among the Sophists, especially, in all likelihood, the Eristics. Nevertheless, the hints dropped by the greater Sophists about the necessity for system in morals, as about the *inner* and *outer* factors of the ideal, occasioned lively discussion, thoroughly casuistical (after the broader sense) in principle. Doubtful issues were conceived clearly with reference to the basis of the ideal; the fact of opposition in morals became a common-place, as we can see plainly from Euripides (*e.g.* how reconcile his statements in *Ion*, 884 f., frag. 49, frag. 86, and frag. 511? Cf. *Bacchæ*, 882). Thus the idea of a *φύσις ἀνθρωπίνη* was precipitated. Casuistical questions were ventilated, about the State and the family, friendship, worldly goods, slavery, suicide, lying, oaths, and the like, but, as a rule, with the object of attaining some fresh interpretation of the ideal. It was not a simple case of conflicting rules, each enjoying the same universality. Possibly, Plato's *Gorgias* indicates a turning-point (cf. Gomperz, *Gr. Denker*, ii. 277 f. [Eng. tr., 1901, ii. 342 f.]). Morality is now illuminated by reason, and man is shown that the origin of ideals lies in his own nature, like their sanction. Thus there is a self-likening to the Divine (cf. Plato, *Theæt.* 176 A). Alcidamas (4th cent.) refers to some such ideal when he says, 'The Deity has made all men free; Nature has enslaved no man' (cf. Gomperz, i. 324 [Eng. tr. i. 403]). Thanks to Plato, the most real has become the most knowable (*Rep.* 477 A), and so the highest activity of the spirit furnishes the guarantee that casuistical questions can occur only when more explicit development of the ideal is in progress (Plato, *Prot.* 343 A, *Laws*, 875 D, 965 D). Life is not tortured by that absolute separation between 'ought' and 'is' which leads to the conception of morality as embodied in a number of rules all equally authoritative and universal. And so, apart from questions (*e.g.* Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*, bk. iii.) that seem *to us* as if they savoured of narrow casuistry (like the position of women, personal purity, slavery), the absence of dislocation between the ideal spirit and the real career, so evident in the Greek *ethos* (cf. Aristotle, *Met.* 982*b*), restricts casuistry in the main to those larger vital problems that must accompany further definition of the ideal itself (Plato, *Rep.* 500 C f.).

(*b*) *Hebrew.*—Having regard to the position occupied by the Law in Judaism, it is not surprising that casuistry resulted, and wielded extensive influence from time to time. For, in Judaism, the Law may be said to fill a place parallel with that of dogma in Christianity. But the primary sources for the subject are so vast and tortuous, and demand such special linguistic knowledge, that no more than general hints are feasible here. It seems fair to say that, on the whole, Jewish casuistry provides an admirable example, on a large scale, of the possible oscillation between reference to a living, ethical ideal, and minute, often clever, sometimes puerile, interpretations of

traditional rules. At the present time, the leaders of Reformed Judaism represent the former, while Conservative, in many ways reactionary, Rabbinism represents the latter. Similarly, the view of the operation of the Law in Palestine when Jesus appeared, held by such scholars as Schürer (*GJV*[4] ii. §§ 22–30) and Bousset (*Rel. des Judent.*[2] 1906), emphasizes the narrower casuistry; that insisted upon by Jewish investigators, like Schechter (*JQR* xi. 626 f.) and F. Perles (*Bousset's Die Religion . . . kritisch untersucht*, 1903), illustrates the higher casuistical principle in the developmental movement always associated with the expression of an ethical ideal (cf. J. Elbogen, *Die Religionsanschauungen d. Pharisäer mit besonderer Berücksichtigung d. Begriffe Gott und Mensch*, 1904; Chwolson, *Das letzte Passamahl Christi u. d. Tag s. Todes*[2], 1892, App.; Friedländer, *Die relig. Bewegungen innerhalb d. Judenthums im Zeitalter Jesu*, 1905). The Law, as the embodiment of the ideal, is formulated in many OT passages (*e.g.* Jer 31^{33}, Ps 37^{31} $119^{33\text{ff.}}$). The central conception is that human insight fails to suffice either for solution of the problems inseparable from life or for the decisive revelation of the Divine will. As a consequence, these recurrent problems must always be re-interpreted in the light of the norm which remains supreme from age to age; and, as a corollary, the ideal itself is the subject of continuous, and more explicit, affirmation. On the other hand, the vicissitudes of the Jewish people, after their deportation to the Euphrates-Tigris region, and, later, after the destruction of the national theocracy by Titus, produced circumstances favourable to minute elaboration of the Law, and to its use as an external framework to preserve the religious and racial unity of the scattered folk. Thus casuistry arose and, according as concomitant events varied, played a greater or a lesser rôle. Provisions, conformable to changed conditions of life, were heaped up endlessly, and experts were needed to render ethico-judicial decisions. Thus a vast amorphous mass of regulations and decisions grew, by accretion, during centuries. Following Aristotle's ethical principles to a large extent, Maimonides (1135–1204) attempted to call order from this chaos, especially with regard to personal conduct in relations with others; and he may be said to have reinstated the idealistic reference. However successful at the moment, his methods were not destined to full fruitage till Spinoza, Solomon Maimon, Moses Mendelssohn, and the contemporary Reform movement. Indeed, they stimulated the half-opposition of Nachmanides (1194–1270), who paved the way for the domination of the French school, which held casuistical study of the Talmud to be an end in itself. The extreme development of hair-splitting casuistry dates from Jacob Pollak (1460–1541), the chief originator of the procedure known as *Pilpul*, or 'spicing' the Law by ingenious disputation. This was essentially a method of dialectical interpretation, fertile in far-fetched analyses and combinations, often productive of pitiful sophistry, and, as a rule, pursued for its own sake, without distinctive reference to moral ends. Although it doubtless arose from that renewed interest in the Law due to the less hopeless condition of European Judaism after the middle of the 15th cent., its theoretical (often anti-cultural) tendencies became stumbling-blocks to Jewish development; it can hardly be alleged that they operated to the same practical consequences as Jesuitical casuistry. Yet, in spite of this, the ideal ethico-religious conception of the Law never died out—the intrinsic value of the person asserted itself as superior to external regulations (cf. Travers Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, 1903, p. 7 f.).

'It was the study as well as the fulfilment of the Law which prevented the Jews from sinking in the scale of manhood, throughout the middle ages, intellectually and even morally. Like every other ideal, it had its evil side, and was capable of lamentable perversions: ideally, the study of the law is equivalent to the study of perfect truth: practically, it is often the study of puerilities: the evolving of juridic hair-splittings upon the one hand, and fantastic and disordered imaginings upon the other' (Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures* [1892], p. 496; cf. Schechter's Appendix).

From the 18th cent. *Aufklarung*, where Moses Mendelssohn's influence was pivotal, a return to the higher principle must be traced. And, for Reformed Judaism, the Law is an ideal which, like other ideals, is the subject of progressive interpretation, thus involving the broader principle of casuistry. Reason, in the form of goodness, alone prefigures the Divine norm.

(*c*) *Muslim.*—Like Judaism, Muhammadanism embodies an elaborate system of casuistry applying to all sides of life. This is to be found in the development of Muslim law. Although the Prophet's position as God's representative made any decision of his absolutely valid, local conditions left a wide margin for opportunism, and Muhammad was an eclectic in these matters. Local usage at Medina necessitated certain abatements; so too did the Rabbinical-Roman law observed by the Arabian Jews, the commercial law of Mecca, and so forth. Thus, after his death, when the Muslim law came to be codified, all the conditions productive of accommodation were gathered together. For, if the Qur'ān failed, decisions of the Prophet, preserved by his disciples, might avail; if not, then the common law of the community was there; and if none of these availed, then the judge might place his own construction upon the case. Accordingly, interpretation, probable and speculative, of the usage of the Prophet came to be a 'science,' and conflict of 'sayings' formed the basis of casuistical procedure. Later, a broad opposition arose between those who appealed to tradition and those who desired to systematize the law. This in itself prepared the way for familiarity with compromise. And, as Muslim conquest widened, the operation of Roman law had to be taken into account. With the advent of the Umayyad dynasty, the old law of Muhammad came to be more and more a religio-ethical system, governing the personal lives of good Muslims. Under the Abbāsids the four great schools arose which formulated the norms that still rule the Muhammadan world. The general result has been that there is a casuistical code applicable to private affairs, and, alongside this, the law of the land. The former is sacred, and provides the definite prescriptions from which the necessity for casuistical interpretation proceeds. The situation is not unlike that of mediævalism, where the canon law and the king's law furnished what might be called private and public codes, and the more private application of the former rendered it inevitably more casuistical in the moral sense. That is to say, it governed relations primarily moral rather than legal. Cf. LAW (Muham.).

Further information may be found in the following: I. Goldziher, *Muham. Studien*, i. and ii. (1889–90); E. Sachau, *Zur ältesten Gesch. d. muham. Rechts* (1870); Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de Kennis van de Moham. Wet* (1903, Germ. tr. 1909); von Kremer, *Culturgesch d. Orients unter d. Chalifen*, i. 470 f. (1875–77); Hughes, *DI*, p. 285 f. (1896); M. Hartmann, *Der Islam* (1909); the best review of the subject is to be found in D. B. Macdonald, *The Development of Muslim Theology*, 65–117 (1903); see also art. 'Mahommedan Law,' in *EBr*[10]; further bibliography in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Jan 1907.

(*d*) *Christian.*—Thanks to its Judaistic origin, we find casuistry in Christianity from the beginning (cf. *HDB* i., *s.v.* 'Conscience'). But the several NT issues (*e.g.* Mt $5^{21\text{ff.}}$ $6^{1\text{ff.}}$, Lk $14^{3\text{ff.}}$, 1 Co $7^{8\text{ff.}}$ $8^{1\text{-}6}$) presuppose the existence of that higher ideal whose principles St. Paul states (Ro 12^{1}). The urgency of casuistical difficulties

admits of little doubt, as we know from the outbreak of Antinomianism (*q.v.*) in the primitive communities of Asia Minor and Greece, which vexed the Apostle's soul (cf. Jowett, *St. Paul's Epp. to the Thess., Romans, Gal.*, 1894, i. 76 f., ii. 338 f.). As the *Epistle of Barnabas* says, a little later (*c.* 78 A.D.), the Lord chose for Apostles those who neglected the Law, and were above all sin (ch. v.)—a view which blossomed in the Gnostic societies (cf. E. von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, 1904, ch. xvi.).

The practical problems of sin and repentance agitate Tertullian (cf. *adv. Jud.*), an early rigorist, whose strong ascetic tendencies were such that his opposition to luxury (cf. *de Spectaculis*) and laxity (cf. *de Poen.*) witnesses to an incipient growth of moral-theological decisions. The lives and works of Fathers and saints, like Gregory Thaumaturgus (d. 270), Peter of Alexandria (martyred 311), Basil (d. 379), Gregory of Nyssa (d. c. 395), and especially Augustine (d. 430), exhibit penitential decisions based on the opposition between inward worth and overt deed. And, as the ecclesiastical organization consolidated, papal and diocesan decisions, conciliar decrees, and the like furnished instances of the practical application of prescribed rule to moral life. The development went so far that Johannes Jejunator (d. 596) was able to produce a guide for confessors; while Gregory the Great (*c.* 582) wrote his celebrated *Moralia in Job*, in which the seven deadly sins, being regarded as dependent upon psychological conditions, already furnish material for casuistical interpretation; his *Regula Pastoralis* (*c.* 600) provided a moral code for the clergy. 'Penitential Books,' digests of canons, decisions, and sentences also made their appearance (cf. the *Penitential* [or enumeration of penances] of Theodore of Canterbury [602?-690] in Haddan and Stubbs' *Eccles. Documents*, iii. 114 f.; and the *Poenitentiale* of Bede [673-735], *ib.* 226 f.). Manuals of this sort seem to have sufficed till the time of Abelard (1079-1142), whose *Scito te ipsum* and *Sic et non* mark the rise of a new dialectic. As St. Bernard said: 'The human mind usurps all, no longer leaving anything to faith . . . it forces rather than opens the holy places' (cf. *Introd. ad theol.* c. 1121). Petrus Lombardus (d. 1164) carried the dialectic operation further in his *Libri quatuor sententiarum*, particularly bks. ii. and iii., endeavouring to reconcile the contradictions which Abelard had been content to state. With him the first period closed: casuistry has been sporadic, casual, and without definite system grounded in conscious principle.

The second phase of the development dates from the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) till the Council of Trent (1545-63), and may be called the age of the Summists. The new importance of auricular confession raised the casuist to a position of relative equality with the older canonist.

The type was formulated early in the period (*c.* 1235) by Raymund de Pennaforte, general of the Dominican Order (1238), in his *Summa de Poen. et Matrimonio.* In the same age, the great scholastic systems, especially that of Thomas Aquinas (1227-74), crystallized the attitude in which moral questions were to be approached. 'To teach morality without dogma, is to build a house without foundations: to teach it without an infallible substratum of positive theology, is to build upon the sand' (R. B. Vaughan, *Life and Labours of S. Thomas of Aquin*, 1871-73, ii. 907 n.). The dogmatic and logical basis whence casuistry is to proceed is thus laid down. And this definite work is accomplished in the *Secunda Secundae* of Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, which subjects human nature to minute analysis, in the form of a discussion of the theological virtues (faith, hope, charity), and of the cardinal (prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance). The method and primary content of Moral Theology are provided here, once for all. Whatever may be thought of Aquinas' procedure in its theological bearings, as a contribution to ethics it takes rank with Aristotle. Only when this is understood and admitted can its vast influence be appreciated. At the same time, its form is systematic, not practical. So, meanwhile, following the direction taken by Raymund, a Franciscan of Asti in Piedmont published his *Summa Astesana* (1317); the Dominican, Bartholomew, of San Concordio, his *Summa Pisana* (*c.* 1340); and Angelus, of Genoa, his *Summa Angelica* (1486). Meanwhile, the Nominalist controversy, symptomatic of the decline and fall of Scholasticism, raised doubts concerning the basis of the whole moral-theological structure, as may be gathered from the determinist tendencies of Buridan (Rector of the Univ. of Paris, 1327) in the free-will controversy, and from Gerson's (1363-1429) leaning to mysticism. Nevertheless, practical questions in morals continued to receive systematic presentation, as in the *Summa Confessionalis* and *Summa Confessorum* of St. Antoninus of Florence (d. 1459), who has established a title to rank as the founder of Moral Theology in its later casuistical development. This phase ends with the *Summa Sylvestrina* (1515) of the Dominican, Sylvester Prierias, an alphabetical compilation from other works.

The third period originates in the wide-spread displacements connected with the Reformation. A *corpus* of rules, traditional and authoritative, came into collision with circumstances which demanded a fresh interpretation of the meaning, and particularly of the limits, of obedience. The activity of the Society of Jesus was directed in large measure to the solution of this problem, and the great age of casuistry began, with the result that external rule, modified with exquisite subtlety to suit particular cases, and directed frequently to the practical end of restoring penitents to the Church, took the place of ideal principle, and ran to such lengths that, even within the Latin obedience, strong protests were raised (cf. JANSENISM). The famous *Letters* of Pascal (*q.v.*), which were translated speedily into the principal European languages, drew the attention of the Western world to the situation; in a word, the controversy over Probabilism had entered its acute stage.

The Moral Theology of which casuistry was an appanage developed chiefly among the Spanish Jesuits.

Luis Molina (1535-1600), whose work, *Liberi arbitrii*, etc. (1588), seemed to the Dominicans to make human will the medium of Divine action, and to substitute Pelagian for Augustinian doctrines, influenced Suarez (1548-1617), the last eminent scholastic, who produced a system of congruism in theology, and taught God's supremacy in political, juridical, and ethical law—theories which he elaborated with extreme ingenuity. Kindred views, especially on the question of political sovereignty, were advocated by Juan Mariana (1537-1624), whose *de Rege et Regis Institutione* (1599) is a classic in political casuistry; its teaching may be studied comparatively with that of Machiavelli (*q.v.*). Possibly by inadvertence, he also exhibited the inner tendencies of Jesuit casuistry as early as 1625 (cf. *De las Enfermedades de la Compañia de Jesú*, which should be considered alongside of Pascal's *Provinciales* and Antoine Arnauld's *Morale pratique des Jésuites*, 1669-94). In contrast with these speculative writers, Sanchez (1551-1610) dealt more directly with practical cases of casuistry, though in the same general spirit (cf. *de Sacramento Matrimonii*, 1592). Another Spanish production, the *Institutiones Mor., in quibus universae quaest. ad conscientiam recte aut prave factorum pertinentes, breviter tractantur* (1616-25) of Azor (1533-1603), was used widely, and earned the praise of Clement VIII. But the author who became most distinguished as a casuist was Escobar y Mendoza (1589-1669), whose *Summula Casuum Conscientiae* and *Universae Theol. Mor. Problemata* proclaim their contents by title, and offer the most representative illustration of the Jesuit moral-theological methods of their period. His *Liber Theol. Mor.* (1646) enjoyed such vogue that forty editions were called for before his death. The Moral Theology movement had prominent representatives in France, of whom E. Bauny (1564-1649), an eminent teacher of the Laxist school (*Theol. Mor.* 1640), ought to be mentioned. It flourished vigorously in Germany, where Hermann Busenbaum produced the *Medulla Theol. Mor.* (1645), which became an accepted Jesuit manual and, later, the starting-point of St. Alphonsus, whose re-interpretation, extension, and further systematization of it have won a place as a most authoritative treatise on the subject. Paul Laymann's (1575-1635) *Theol. Mor.* (1625) was also a work of great repute. Eusebius Amort (1692-1775), who is sometimes characterized, in the Latin communion, as the most eminent German teacher of theology in the 18th cent. (*Theol. Mor. inter rigorem et laxitatem media*, 1739; *Eth. christiana*, 1758; Lat. tr. of *Dict. des cas de conscience* of Pontas, its rigorism modified by the translator, 1733), was a correspondent of St. Alphonsus, who admired his cautious views. In Italy V. Figliucci (1566-1622), who was singled out for attack by Pascal, produced his *Mor. quaest. de christ. officiis et casibus conscientiae* (1626); while Pietro Ballerini (1698-1754), an acute commentator on Augustine, and a defender of Probabiliorism, edited the *Summa* of St. Antony (1740), and of St. Raymund (1774). In Holland, L. Lessius (1554-1623), who fell into Pelagianism during the controversy concerning Bajus (1587), wrote *Libri IV. de Justitia* (1605). Later still, in Germany, B. Stattler (1728-97) produced *Eth. christ. universalis* (1782 f.), and came into collision with nascent modern idealism in his *Anti-Kant* (1788); while, in France, the *Compendium theol. mor.* (1850, 1875) and the *Casus conscientiae* (1863) of the Jesuit father J. P. Gury (1801-75) aroused lively criticism, of the kind familiar in Pascal, by their reversion to laxity.

Although Luther burned the *Summa Angelica*, it was not possible for those who repudiated the authority of the Pope to be rid forthwith of casuistical traditions, which maintained themselves for a time in the Lutheran, Calvinist-Puritan, and Anglican communions. In the Lutheran communion, after Melanchthon's (1497-1560) mediating *Unterricht der Visitatoren*, Balduin attempted a purified casuistry (*Tractatus de Casibus Consc.* 1628), in the shape of a *corpus* compiled from Roman books. Loose in form, it is thoroughly mediæval in character, and filled with curious superstitions.

Other Lutheran exponents of casuistry were J. F. König (1619-64), professor at Rostock (*Theol. positiva acroamatica*, 1664); Konrad Dannhauer (1603-66), one of Spener's teachers at Strassburg (*Theol. Conscientiaria*); Joh. Olearius (1639-1713), professor at Leipzig (*Introd. ad theol. mor. et casuisticam*); and V. E. Loscher (1673-1749), the last representative of strict Lutheran orthodoxy (*Timotheus Verinus*, 1718-22). Like Loscher, A. H. Francke (1663-1727), a powerful practical force in ethics, illustrates the influence of Pietism (*q.v.*)—a fresh evangelical movement destined to make an end of a casuistry reminiscent of Romanism. Spener's (1635-1705) *Pia Desideria* (1675) marked the dawn of a new epoch, notwithstanding the venomous opposition represented by such works as *Die Christlutherischen Vorstellung* (1695) by Deutschmann, and other Wittenberg enemies of Halle; his *Einfaltige Erklarung der christl. Lehre* (1677), and *Tabulae catecheticae* (1683) also exercised influence in the direction of substituting the idea of a priesthood of the laity, accompanied by personal godliness of life, for the approved subtleties of doctorial casuistry, although they also encouraged certain perfectionist aberrations. But the works most effective in compassing the disappearance of Latin casuistry were the *Instit. Theol. Mor.* (1711), and *Isagoge Hist. ad Theol. Universam* (1727), of J. F. Buddeus (1667-1729).

Lutheran casuistry tended to be mild, if not lax; mediated by Pietism, it gave place to Christian ethics in the sense now current. Meanwhile, casuistry of a stricter type, and more penitential in reference, grew up in Calvinistic-Puritan circles.

Its first representatives were Lambert Daneau (Dannaeus), of Geneva (1530?-95), author of *Eth. Christiana* (1577), and William Perkins (1558-1602), of Christ's College, Cambridge, whose *Armilla Aurea* (1590) precipitated the Arminian controversy; his casuistical writings, *A Case of Conscience* (1592), and *A Discourse of Conscience* (1597), prepared the way for *The whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience* (1606), which enjoyed favour on the Continent. Perkins felt that confessional casuistry was superficial, and, consonant with his Calvinism, tried to make edification a dominant motive. His pupil, William Ames, better known as Amesius (1576-1633), despairing of success in England, migrated to Holland, became a professor at Franeker, and produced *Medulla Theol. de Conscientia, ejus Jure et Casibus* (1633), generally regarded as the best Protestant manual on the subject. To the Reformed development belong also Joh. Wolleb (1586-1626), professor at Basel (*Compend. Theol. Christ.* [1626]); and J. H. Alstedt (1588-1638), a member of the Synod of Dort (1618), who wrote *Theol. Casuum* (1621), and *Encycl. septem tomis distincta* (1630).

The casuistry of the Reformed Churches passed into New England by a natural sequence, the religious atmosphere of the colleges favouring this kind of ethical instruction till the middle of the 19th cent. (cf. Thomas Clap, *The Religious Constitution of Colleges, especially of Yale College*, 1754; G. Stanley Hall, in *Mind* [O.S.], iv. 89 f.).

In 1730 the works of Ames and Wolleb 'were the established standards of orthodoxy' at Yale (I. W. Riley, *Amer. Philosophy: the Early Schools*, 1907, pp. 64, 248; cf. W. Walker, *Ten New Eng. Leaders*, 1901, p. 220 f.). Although no formal casuistry is to be found in Jon. Edwards (1703-58), his exposition of the 'dialectic of the heart' (*ib.* 126) operated in this direction, inducing an attitude comparable with that of Bishop Butler. His *True Virtue* (1778) illustrates the outlook vividly. In circles where deistic and materialistic influences were felt, tendencies similar to those of Paley may be noted, *e.g.* in Thomas Clap (1703-67), the opponent of Whitefield, and in Cadwallader Colden (1688-1776), whose *Ethica* (1752) and *Reflections* (1770) exhibit the utilitarian trend. Perhaps the best example of formal casuistical instruction is afforded by Francis Wayland's (1796-1865) *The Elements of Moral Science* (1835), which displaced Paley as an approved text-book in the United States to such an extent that 60,000 copies were sold ere its author died. Book ii., 'Practical Ethics,' is thoroughly casuistical in matter. One of Wayland's few surviving pupils, President James Burrill Angell (1829-), once an undergraduate at Brown University (1845-49), informed the present writer that casuistical instruction in Ethics was 'axiomatic' in his time. The atmosphere of theological authority in which it flourished may be judged from Wayland's own statements: 'I have endeavoured to make known the ways of God to man. Lord God of Hosts, I commend to Thee, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, this work. May it promote the cause of truth, of peace, and of righteousness' (F. and H. L. Wayland, *A Memoir of the Life and Labors of Francis Wayland*, i. 381 f.); of similar intent is Wayland's *Limitations of Human Responsibility* (1838), where the casuistical vein is quite conscious (cf. J. O. Murray, *Francis Wayland* [1891], 209 f.). In Mark Hopkins' (1802-87) Lowell Lectures *On Moral Science* (1863), especially Lect. ix., kindred tendencies may be traced, though they are expressed with far less system; and the overt statement is reduced finally to a small magazine article, doubtless reminiscent (*New Englander*, xxxii., 1873), by an aged minister, H. N. Day (1808-90). In the United States, as in Europe, modern ethical developments have eventuated in other problems; but it is interesting to note that the old paths were followed later in the new country (cf. F. H. Foster, *A Genetic History of New England Theology* [1907], especially chs. ix., xii., and xvi.).

In the Anglican communion, early casuistry is concerned, naturally enough, with political issues. Omitting the divorce literature relative to Henry VIII., a point of departure may be found in Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), bishop of Winchester, whose *Tortura Torti, sive ad Matthaei Torti Librum Responsio* (1609), written in reply to Cardinal Bellarmine's (1542-1621) attack upon the oath of allegiance imposed upon Roman Catholics after the Gunpowder Plot, embodies juridical rather than ethical casuistry. It is interesting because indicative of the scholastic atmosphere still prevalent in England. It might be characterized as the Anglican counterpart of Mariana's *de Rege*, the common subject being the papal doctrine of the deposing power.

The principal writers in the more strictly ethical line are: Joseph Hall (1574-1656), bishop of Norwich (*Resolutions and Cases of Conscience*, 1650); Jeremy Taylor (1613-67), bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, whose *Holy Living* (1650) and public eloquence gave vogue to his extensive casuistical work, *Ductor Dubitantium, or the Rule of Conscience in all her General Measures* (1660)—an acute treatise, evincing great intellectual quickness and subjective subtlety, but not notable either for profound thought or for systematic grasp of ethical principles. Thomas Barlow (1607-91), eventually bishop of Lincoln, a notorious political trimmer, wrote several casuistical tracts during his Oxford career, which were published posthumously as *Cases of Conscience* (1692); perhaps the most representative is *Mr. Cottington's Divorce Case*, written in 1677. The most eminent Anglican casuist was Robert Sanderson (1587-1662), bishop of Lincoln, whose *de Obligatione Conscientiae* (1647) is generally regarded as the strongest book on the subject; he wrote also *Nine Cases of Conscience occasionally determined* (1678).

With the birth of the 18th cent. ethical interest shifts its centre; thanks to the Deistic controversy and the advance of science, the venue changes with Hobbes (1588-1679) and Cudworth (1617-88), whose *Treatise on Eternal and Immutable Morality* (1731) illustrates the new issues. No doubt, subjective discussion of conscience is maintained, as may be seen from Joseph Butler's (1692-1752) *Sermons on Human Nature* (1726); but the famous passage on probability as the guide of life, at the beginning of the *Analogy* (1736), has no specific casuistical reference.

Similar subjectivity may be traced in Thomas Rutherforth's (1712-71) *An Essay on the Nature and Obligations of Virtue* (1744), but, as a reply to Samuel Clarke (1675-1729), its central interest is theoretical. Philip Doddridge (1702-51) manifests kindred tendencies in the ranks of Dissent not unfriendly to the Church (*The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, 1745); finally, the stream loses itself in the prolixities of Tucker (1705-74), a leisured layman (*The Light of Nature Pursued*, 1765-77), and in the academic, utilitarian prudences of Paley (1743-1805) and Whewell (1794-1866).

In the early years of the Oxford Movement the Bampton Lectures on 'Scholastic Philosophy,' by R. D. Hampden (1793-1868), which refer to casuistry incidentally, stirred up a hornets' nest (cf. R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement*[3], 1892, p. 152 f.), and led to acrimonious discussion marked by no little intellectual casuistry (cf. Introduction to *BL*[2] [1832]; *Edin. Rev.* lxiii.; *Dublin Rev.* xvii. [1868]; *Theol. Rev.* viii.), which, moreover, concerned the whole authoritative basis of casuistical guidance as conceived in Moral Theology. *The Conscience, Lectures on Casuistry* (1868), of J. F. D. Maurice (1805-72), is by no means a profound work. Henceforward the Anglican development may be said to turn upon the accompaniments and results of the 'Anglo-Catholic' movement. While these are a continuation of the tendency within the Church, dating from the 17th cent., to maintain the chief traditions of pre-Reformation teaching, their contemporary manifestation begins with Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-82). The renewed practice of confession goes back to the publication of his two sermons, *The Entire Absolution of the Penitent* (1846). Prior to this there should be mentioned *The Churchman's Manual* (1833), by the Tractarian coterie at Oxford, and *Tracts for the Times* (especially No. 80, 'On Reserve in Communicating

Religious Knowledge' [1837], by Isaac Williams [1802–65]). Moved by the outcry over *The Priest in Absolution*, Pusey produced *Advice for those who exercise the Ministry of Reconciliation through Confession and Absolution* (1878). It is based on the *Manuel des Confesseurs* [10] (1872), by the celebrated French casuist, Abbé Jean Joseph Gaume (1802–79). The historical introduction gives a careful account of opinion in the Anglican Church, while the body of the book has been so revised and worked over as to be practically Pusey's rather than Gaume's (cf. H. P. Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey*, 1893–94, iv. 303 f.).

Among significant works in which the movement has crystallized are: William Gresley, *The Ordinance of Confession* [2] (1852); *The Priest in Absolution: A Manual for such as are called unto the Higher Ministries in the English Church* (1866); *The Church and the World*, edited by Orby Shipley (esp. Art. vii., 'Private Confession and Absolution,' 1866–68); *Tracts for the Day* (1868); *Pardon through the Precious Blood, or the Benefit of Absolution* (1870); with the exception of the famous *Priest in Absolution*, these deal mainly with the sacramental aspect of the question. The ethical and casuistical problems are discussed in the following: J. Skinner, *A Synopsis of Moral and Ascetical Theology* (1882), a work that has received warm commendation from Anglo-Catholics; John J. Elmendorf, Professor at Racine College, Wisconsin, U.S., *Elements of Moral Theology based on the Summa Theologiae of St. Thomas Aquinas* (New York, 1892); W. W. Webb (1857–), bishop of Milwaukee, *Cure of Souls* (1892), the manual commonly used in the American branch of the English Church.

Anglo-Catholics would probably admit that, on the whole question of casuistry in morals, they have been too dependent upon Roman sources. For, consonant with the English, as contrasted with the Latin, temperament, they incline to deal as simply and plainly as possible with the issues raised, avoiding too curious subtleties. The standard of a positive righteousness, rather than the attempt to explain away moral situations, best consorts with the atmosphere where English and American Churchmen are most at home. The leaders would contend, doubtless, that the importance of casuistry as an aid to conduct has been minimized unduly, and that the increasing complications of modern life render necessary the guidance of a fixed scheme for the application of general principles to particular cases.

LITERATURE.—*N.B.* With reference to the following list, two points must be remembered: (1) Outside Romanism and Anglicanism, casuistical questions involve so many general factors of accommodation that the treatment is usually incidental to other problems, often quite subordinate. As concerns accommodation, for example, the history of Galileo's or Darwin's discoveries affords admirable illustrations. (2) The literature is so vast that this list can be taken only as suggestive, not complete. In addition to the works mentioned in the text above:

I. *GENERAL*: art. 'Casuistry' in *EBr* [9], *DPhP* (and in vol. ii. pt. ii. lit. of 'Christian Ethics,' p. 874; 'Casuistry,' p. 880; 'Conscience,' p. 882), *Catholic Encyc.*, *Dict. de théol. cath.* (lit. full), *PRE* [2.3]; art. 'Development of Doctrine in the Apocalyptic Period,' *HDB*, vol. v.; art. 'Accommodation' in Hastings' *DCG*, *DPhP*, *Cath. Encyc.*, Wetzer-Welte's *Kirchenlex.* [2]; art. 'Adiaphora' in *Cath. Encyc.*, *PRE* [3], Wetzer-Welte [2]; art. 'Ablass' in *ib.*; art. 'Indulgenzen' in *PRE* [3]; artt. 'Jesuitenorden' in *PRE* [3], 'Jesuiten' in Wetzer-Welte [2]; art. 'Moraltheologie' in *ib.* (cf. Index vol.); art. 'Probabilismus' in *PRE* [3], Wetzer-Welte (cf. Index vol.); art. 'Summa' in *ib.* (cf. Index vol.); art. 'Werke, gute' in *PRE* [3], Wetzer-Welte [2].

II. *GRÆCO-ROMAN*: E. Zeller, *Gr. Phil. to time of Soc.* ii. 394 f. (Eng. tr. 1881), *Socrates and the Socratic School*, chs. i. ii. viii. (Eng. tr. [2] 1877), *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, chs. xi. xii. xx. (Eng. tr. [2] 1880); G. Dronke, *Die rel. u. sittl. Vorstellungen d. Aeschylos u. Sophocles* (1861); J. Walter, *Die Lehre v. d. prakt. Vernunft in d. gr. Philos.* (1874); H. Gilow, *Das Verhältniss d. gr. Philosophie z. gr. Volksreligion* (1876); L. Schmidt, *Die Ethik d. alten Griech.*, 2 vols. (1882); A. W. Benn, *The Greek Philosophers*, vol. i. ch. ii. (1882); G. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, ch. lxvii. (vol. viii. ed. of 1883); M. Heinze, *Eudämonismus in d. griech. Phil.* (1883); K. Köstlin, *Ethik d. klass. Alterthums*, vol. i. (1887); P. Girard, *L'Education athénienne au vᵉ et ivᵉ siècle avant J.-C.* (1889); A. Bonhöffer, *Epictet u. d. Stoa* (1890); G. L. Dickinson, *The Greek View of Life* (1896); E. Pfleiderer, *Sokrates u. Plato* (1896); A. D Thomson, *Euripides and the Attic Orators* (1898); W. Nestle, *Euripides d. Dichter d. gr. Aufklärung* (1901); A. Dyroff, *D. Ethik d. alten Stoa* (1897); W. Windelband, *Hist. of Anc. Philos.* (Eng. tr. 1899); W. H. S. Jones, *Gr. Morality in relation to Institutions* (1906, lit. full); E. E. G. and F. B. Jevons, *The Makers of Hellas* (1906); P. Decharme, *Euripides and the Spirit of his Dramas* (Eng. tr. 1906); E. G. Sihler, *Testimonium Animæ, or Greek and Roman before Jesus Christ*, esp. chs. viii. ix. xii. xviii. (1908); P. Masqueray, *Euripide et ses idées* (1908); J. Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece* (Gifford Lectures), Lects. xiii.–xvii. (1908).

III. *JEWISH*: artt. 'Accommodation of the Law,' 'Abrogation of the Law,' 'Antinomianism,' 'Gemara,' 'Halakah,' 'Legalism,' 'Midrash,' 'Moses ben Maimon,' 'Nomism,' 'Passover,' 'Philo (in relation to the Halakah),' 'Pilpul,' 'Sabbath,' 'Talmud' (with relative literature), in *JE*; art. 'Talmud' in *HDB* (vol. v.); *JQR* i. 289 f., v. 517 f., vii. 201 f., viii. 392 f., x. 1 f., xi. 626 f., xiii. 171 f., xix. 615 f.; A. O. Lovejoy, in *AJTh*, vol. xi. No. 2; '*Guide to the Perplexed' of Moses Maimonides*, tr. by M. Friedländer, 3 vols. (1885), in 1 vol. [2] (1904); S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, chs. 1–9 (1896); M. Muret, *L'Esprit juif: Essai de psych. ethnique* (1901); M. L. Rodkinson, *Hist. of the Talmud from the Time of its Formation up to the Present Time*, 2 vols. (1904); M. Lazarus, *Ethik d. Judenthums* (1898); S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, chs. viii.–xi. xiii. xviii. (1909).

IV. *CHRISTIAN*: (*a*) EARLY MOVEMENT: C. B. Hundeshagen, *Ueber d. Natur u. d. gesch. Entwickelung d. Humanitatsidée* (1852); O. Zöckler, *Kritische Gesch. d. Askese* (1863); Thoma, *Gesch. d. chr. Sittenlehre in d. Zeit. d. N. Testaments* (1879); H. J. Bestmann, *Gesch. d. chr. Sitte*, vols. i. and ii., early period (1880–85); H. H. Scullard, *Early Christian Ethics in the West: from Clement to Ambrose* (1907).—(*b*) ROMAN CATHOLIC: *Clavis Regia Sacerdotum, Casuum Conscientiæ sive Theol. Mor. Thesaurus Locos Omnes aperiens*, etc., authore R. P. D. Gregorio Sauro, Anglo, Ordinis S. Benedicti, Congregationis Casinensis (very detailed and curious, 1628); Alf. Mar. de Liguori, *Theol. Mor.*, novam ed. emendatam et opportunis notis auctam curavit M. Haringer, 8 tomi (1881); J. J. I. Döllinger and F. H. Reusch, *Gesch. d. Moralstreitigkeiten seit d. 16ten Jahrh. mit Beiträgen z. Gesch. d. Jesuitenordens*, 2 vols. (1889); A. 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Rosmini-Serbati, *Philosophical System* (Eng. tr. 1882), *Principi della Scienza Mor.* (1867), *Storia comparativa e critica de' sistemi intorno al principio della mor.* (1837), *Trattato della coscienza mor.* (1839), *Sulla definizione della legge mor. e sulla teoria dell' essere ideale* (1841), *Sul principio 'La legge dubbia non obbliga' e sulla retta maniera di applicarlo* (1850); F. Meffert, *Der hl. Alfons v. Liguori, der Kirchenlehrer u. Apologet d. 18. Jahrh.* (1901); Joseph Mausbach, 'Christlich-katholische Ethik' (in *Kultur d. Gegenwart*, Teil i. Abt. 4, 2 [2], 1909); M. Cronin, *The Science of Ethics*, vol. i. 'General Ethics' (1909, vol. ii. to follow); J. L. Perrier, *The Revival of Scholastic Philosophy in the 19th Century* (1909, lit. full).—(*c*) PROTESTANT: W. M. L. de Wette, *Chr. Sittenlehre*, esp. vol. ii. (1819–23); H. G. Tzschirner, *Prot. u. Cath. aus d. Standpunkt d. Politik betrachtet* (1822); K. F. Stäudlin, *Neues Lehrb. d. 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CATACOMBS.—The numerous ancient Christian cemeteries, better known by the generic name of 'catacombs,' constitute the most notable monument of primitive Christianity in Rome which has come down to us. Their origin goes back to the 1st cent. A.D., and is directly connected with the preaching and diffusion of Christianity in Rome initiated by the Apostle Peter. Just as the Jewish community in Rome had its places of assembly in the synagogues, and its places of burial in the Jewish cemeteries, so the Christian community in Rome had, even from the end of the 1st cent., its places for liturgical meetings called *ecclesiæ domesticæ* or *tituli*, and common cemeteries which were in close connexion with and dependence upon these same ancient *tituli*. Thus, we know that the very ancient cemetery of Priscilla, the oldest in subterranean Rome, situated on the Via Salaria Nuova, was dependent upon and connected with the *tituli* in memory of Pudens in the 'Vico Patricio,' and with those of Aquila and Priscilla on the Aventine, as has been shown by G. B. de Rossi. And, just as the primitive *tituli* had their origin in the houses of rich Christian patricians who placed at the disposal of the faithful, for their meetings, one or more halls in their palaces, so the first *cubicula* and galleries of the catacombs were excavated beneath the suburban farms of some of the faithful, who placed at the disposal of their brethren in the faith the area above and below ground of their country properties. Thus, from the very first, the Christian cemeteries were safeguarded under the protection of private possession. That this was the origin of the cemetery excavations is clearly proved by the very names of the Roman cemeteries, which almost always have a double denomination—the first consisting of the personal name of the ancient possessor of the property in which the cemetery was excavated, the second of the name of the martyrs who, in the centuries when peace prevailed, were held in especial reverence there, *e.g.* 'cœmeterium Prætextati ad S. Januarium,' 'cœmeterium Pontiani ad SS. Abdon et Sennen,' 'cœmeterium Domitillæ ad SS. Nereum et Achilleum,' etc.

The excavation of the first nuclei of the Roman catacombs must have been very restricted, and so it remained throughout the whole of the 1st and 2nd cents.; the great system of cemetery excavation which we see to-day belongs almost exclusively to the 4th cent., and the regions belonging to the 1st and 2nd cents. are rare.

At the beginning of the 3rd cent., owing to the extraordinary increase in the number of the Christians, the cemeteries underwent a correspondingly wide extension. It was precisely on this account that the catacombs were considered by the Roman authorities to be the collective property of the *corpus Christianorum*, that is, of the Christian society; and this exposed the catacombs directly to temporary confiscations by the Imperial government. This is the heroic period, so to speak, in the history of the Roman catacombs. During the storm and continous succession of the terrible persecutions of the 3rd cent., the Christian cemeteries were twice confiscated, namely, during the persecution of Valerian in the year 258, and during that of Diocletian in the year 303. Of this dangerous period in the history of our cemeteries the echoes and traces remain in the excavations themselves, as well as in the inscriptions in the catacombs. At that time, and particularly in the second half of the 3rd cent., secret and hidden entrances were opened; and de Rossi was able to verify the existence in the cemetery of Callixtus of a mysterious stairway, cut short and hanging as it were in mid-air, which must have been constructed for the purpose of escape from danger in times of persecution and of confiscation of the cemeteries. Further, the Christian epigraphy of the 3rd cent. reflects the very difficult conditions in which the society of the faithful found itself, for this epigraphy is more than ever bound by the restrictions of the *arcani disciplina* (*q.v.*), which reveals itself in an involved and enigmatic symbolism which escaped the attention of the profane.

The great persecution of Diocletian, which was the longest, the most sanguinary, and the most terrible of all, for ever ended the cruel struggle which for three centuries Christianity, with the weapons of humility and with the moral and religious force of its new principles, had carried on against a decrepit and corrupt paganism. Constantine, after his victory over Maxentius at the Milvian bridge, proclaimed at Milan (A.D. 313), together with his colleague Licinius, the edict which granted a final peace to the Church. Christianity triumphed, and its shout of victory found a faithful echo even in the obscure caves of the Roman catacombs. In the 4th cent. the excavation of cemeteries extended in a marvellous way, and subterranean architecture attained an imposing magnificence of form and of style previously unknown, so that, even in its external forms, catacomb excavation demonstrates the security, tranquillity, and peace which characterized that happy century in the history of Christianity.

The cemeteries above ground, or *sub divo*, which had been formed in modest proportions even from the time of the persecutions, were greatly developed in the Constantinian and post-Constantinian periods; they were embellished with basilicas, cells, exedræ, and porticoes, while, with this increase and spread of sepulture above ground, subterranean burial proportionately decreased. The most important and characteristic period is that of the second half of the 4th cent., and in this period stands out the grand figure of Pope Damasus. During the persecution of Diocletian some historical crypts had been concealed by the Christians in order to preserve them from the fury of the pagans. Pope Damasus, in the turbulent period of the schism of Ursinus, had made a vow that, if he were able to bring back the clergy to the wished-for unity, he would restore and adorn the crypts of the martyrs. After his triumph in that difficult crisis, Damasus kept his promise. He found again

the crypts which were hidden beneath the rubbish; he constructed new entrances, wider and more commodious, to facilitate the pious pilgrims' access to the venerated tombs; and he opened *lucernaria* to give light and air to the crypts, which he also enlarged and embellished, placing there inscriptions, for the most part in metrical form, in which he related the circumstances of the martyrdom of the saints, and at times referred to the works which he himself had executed. These epigraphs he caused to be engraved in honour of the martyrs, in a special form of calligraphy known to archæologists as 'Damasan,' or 'Filocalan,' because it was invented by Damasus's friend, Furius Dionysius Filocalus. Many were the works carried out by Damasus in the crypts of the Roman catacombs, and these were continued and brought to a conclusion by his immediate successor, Siricius.

These works of restoration and embellishment excited a lively desire among Christians to have their tombs within or near the venerated crypts. In this way there arose the so-called *retro-sanctos*, that is, regions or galleries in the cemeteries, excavated near the historical crypts, and in which the faithful strove to obtain sepulture, in order to be materially as near as possible to the tombs of the martyrs. The ardour with which this endeavour was prosecuted caused the grave-diggers to take advantage of it for the purpose of gain; and, at the end of the 4th cent. and at the beginning of the 5th, the buying and selling of subterranean sepulchres remained the almost exclusive privilege of the *fossores*, who at times sold the sepulchres near the tombs of the martyrs at a very high price.

Cemetery excavations finally ceased in the first half of the 5th cent., and thenceforward burial took place in cemeteries formed *sub divo* over the catacombs until the middle of the 6th cent., when, these cemeteries being abandoned and the funeral prescriptions of the Laws of the XII Tables forgotten, centres for burial began to be formed within the city. Thus, after the catacombs had been used for about four centuries as cemeteries, they became exclusively sanctuaries of the martyrs, and consequently the goal of devout pilgrimages. The pilgrims came from all parts of the Roman world, and especially from the northern regions of Europe; and in the so-called *Itineraries of the Pilgrims* we have vivid and very eloquent evidence of these continued visits, which went on from the 6th to the 9th century. These valuable guides to the historic sanctuaries of the Roman catacombs constitute the fundamental documents for the reconstruction of the topography of subterranean Rome; they were compiled in the 7th and 8th centuries by priests of the Roman Church, for the use of the pilgrims who came to Rome, and not by the pilgrims themselves, as the present writer has recently demonstrated (*Nuovo Bullettino d'archeologia cristiana*, 1909, p. 79 ff.). During this period many Popes set themselves to adorn the historic tombs with paintings and other ornaments, and to repair them; and we still see the traces of their labours, and sometimes we have a record of them in the biographies of Popes in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

We thus reach the 9th cent., with which terminates this first long period in the history of the catacombs. Continual invasions and raids, especially those of the Lombards, in the Roman Campagna had rendered them insecure and too much exposed to damage and ruin. The Popes, in this state of things, saw themselves constrained, however unwillingly, to remove the bodies of the martyrs from the catacombs, and to place them in security in the churches and basilicas of the city. Thus commenced the period of translation, and the translations were carried out in the case of a great number of the martyrs by Popes Paul I., Stephen III., Paschal I. in the beginning of the 9th century, and finally Leo IV. in the middle of the 9th century. With the translations of this last Pope, the catacombs were almost totally deprived of their most precious treasures; and, on this account, visits to the suburban sanctuaries gradually ceased, their chief object having come to an end. The crypts gradually came to be abandoned, and the earth, precipitated down the stairways and the *lucernaria*, slowly filled up the crypts and subterranean galleries, which thus disappeared and became hidden in the course of centuries. The oblivion into which these sanctuaries had fallen hindered a right knowledge of the topography of the Roman catacombs, and the names of individual cemeteries were confused and identified with those of contiguous cemeteries. In this way, in the course of the 10th and 11th centuries, the Roman catacombs were forgotten by every one. There remained only here and there in the Roman Campagna a few names which vaguely recalled the great historic memories of the monuments and of the martyrs of the primitive Church.

From the 10th and 11th centuries down to the first half of the 15th the Roman catacombs lay neglected and forgotten. It is with this century that the dawn of a new period begins. The first visitors to the subterranean cemeteries were the Minor Friars, who, between the years 1433 and 1482, examined a region of the cemetery of Callixtus, on the Appian Way. Only one date is anterior to this period, namely, that of 1432, connected with the name of Johannes Lonck. In 1475 the members of the Roman Academy, with the celebrated humanist, Pomponio Leto, at their head, went through some regions of the cemeteries of Callixtus, Prætextus, Priscilla, and SS. Peter and Marcellinus, not for the purpose of a pious and religious examination, but out of mere scientific and literary curiosity. The visits of the Roman Academy remained fruitless of scientific results, and found no echo among contemporaries.

At the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th cent., Antonio Bosio, who may be regarded as the real founder of Christian archæology, descended into the catacombs. He went through many of the Roman cemeteries, and diligently studied, with adequate scientific criteria, their historical records, connecting the notices of the *Acts of the Martyrs* with the topography of the cemeteries. The fruit of his immense labours appeared in a posthumous work entitled *Roma Sotterranea Cristiana* (Rome, 1632). Bosio died in the year 1629; but even from the beginning of the 17th cent. a mischievous tendency turned aside those who studied Christian archæology from the system of topographical research so happily instituted by Bosio. At that time began the search for the bodies of the martyrs, based upon criteria scientifically false; and the catacombs were compelled to undergo a deplorable, however pious, sack. In this work of anxious and feverish search for the bodies of the saints, the canon Marcantonio Boldetti distinguished himself. He had in his possession a very treasure of cemetery monuments, and during the space of forty years he examined numerous regions of the catacombs which up till then had remained intact. In his work entitled *Osservazioni sopra i sacri cimiteri dei Santi Martiri ed antichi cristiani* (Rome, 1720), he gathered together, without any scientific order, a great number of records, without troubling himself with aught save the distinctive signs and the recognition of the bodies of the martyrs. This false tendency threw discredit upon the study of the Roman catacombs, while Protestantism derided the search for relics, and Montfaucon wrote a

pamphlet to demonstrate the small number of martyrs belonging to the catacombs of Rome. The 18th cent. marks the most deplorable period in the history of the Roman catacombs; they were plundered of their most noteworthy treasures, the inscriptions were dispersed, the *loculi* were violated, and the paintings were removed.

With the commencement of the 19th cent. a new period opened in the study of Christian archæology. The names of Adami, Raoul-Rochette, and Settele, with the learned compositions of which they were the authors, mark this notable revival. The learned Jesuit, Padre Giuseppe Marchi, gave a definite impulse to this study, and published in 1844 his important work on the *Monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive nella metropoli del cristianesimo*. Marchi happily arrived at some data for a scientific system, and he had the great merit of being the master of Giovanni Battista de Rossi, the restorer of the science of Christian archæology. The young disciple at once perceived the importance of Christian epigraphy and topography. Of the former he laid down the chief canons and the fundamental laws, and, with respect to the latter, he showed for the first time the great importance of the *Itineraries of the Pilgrims*. He created, from its foundations, the science of cemetery topography, which he based upon solid and unshakable criteria, so that during his long scientific career he was able to find again many of the historical crypts of the catacombs. De Rossi published three volumes of the *Nuova Roma Sotterranea* (1864, 1867, 1877). After his death, study and research were continued by a numerous band of students, among whom the names of his disciples constantly hold the first place, and who constituted the first and true Roman school of Christian archæology. These men were worthy continuators of the work of the great master; and we may record, as a tribute of sincere praise, the names of Henry Stevenson, Mariano Armellini, and Orazio Marucchi: the first two were very soon removed by death, and to the third has now been deservedly assigned by the Commission of Sacred Archæology the compilation of some volumes of the *Nuova Roma Sotterranea*, a work which has for its purpose the prosecution of that already begun in so masterly a way by de Rossi (1st fasc. 1909).

The Roman catacombs occupy a long zone of the breadth of three miles around the city of Rome, starting from the walls of Aurelian. They had their primitive entrances upon the margin of the great consular roads, or near the small cross-ways which led off from the principal roads. These entrances were constructed in the full light of day, which proves that the Christians possessed cemeteries *æquo jure* from the first centuries of Christianity. We have a fine example of this in the monumental ingress to the cemetery of Domitilla, which opens on a cross-way of the Via Ardeatina. The excavation of a Christian cemetery was begun with a stairway which descended from the surface of the ground; directly it reached the level of the granular tufa, the first gallery, with its *cubicula*, was excavated at its foot. Thus the cemeteries arose from very limited *hypogea* of a domestic character, with stairways; and, later on, by the enlargement of the excavations, they joined one another, thus forming the immense labyrinth of the Roman catacombs. The opinion is consequently false which holds that the catacombs arose from ancient *arenaria* abandoned by the pagans.

The cemetery galleries were excavated, as has been said, almost exclusively in the granular tufa, and have a width of between 75 centimetres and one metre. To right and left, *loculi* were excavated in the walls, and these were sometimes closed by marble slabs or by tiles, and were capable of containing one or more bodies; the *arcosolia*, on the other hand, were formed by a tomb called *solium*, over which an arch was turned, whence the name *arcosolium*. Here and there to right and left opened *cubicula*, or family-chambers, which were sometimes adorned with paintings and marble, and furnished with *luminaria*. Further, in the pavement of the galleries tombs were made, known by the name of *formæ*, and these were covered with great slabs of marble with inscriptions.

The most precious monuments of the Roman catacombs, with the exception of the tombs of the martyrs, are the inscriptions and paintings, which constitute a monumental treasury of the primitive Roman Church. Christian epigraphy had its rise as early as the 1st cent. A.D., and at first was very simple and laconic in form; the primitive formulæ of acclamation and of invocation reduced themselves to short and affectionate salutations, 'pax,' 'pax tibi,' which later on became more complex—'pax tibi cum sanctis,' 'vivas, vivas cum tuis,' and the well-known salutation, 'in pace,' etc., which became very frequent, especially after the beginning of the 3rd cent., and continued throughout the 4th and 5th centuries. The primitive inscriptions are generally distinguished by the beautiful form of the character employed, by the sobriety of their wording, by the use of the most ancient symbols, as, for example, an anchor (the sign of hope in Christ), and the sign of the cross, and by the large size of the marble slabs which shut in the *loculi*, and which, in the regions belonging to the 1st and 2nd cents., are very large indeed. Christian epigraphy was developed and transformed in the 3rd cent., during which the sad conditions of the times induced the Christians to restrict the language of the cemetery inscriptions within the most rigorous limit of the *arcani disciplina*. During this century Christian symbolism attained its most lofty expression both in form and in phraseology. The dove figures the soul of the faithful who longs for the beatitude of Paradise, and holds in its beak an olive branch, which is the symbol of peace. The palm branch and the crown recall to one's thought the victories over human passion obtained during life, and the reward reserved for the faithful in heaven. The mysterious symbol of the fish, represented by the Gr. word ΙΧΘΥΣ taken in an acrostic sense, expresses the conception: 'Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour' (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ). Bread, marked with the cross, and a basket, are Eucharistic symbols. In the phrases 'percepit,' 'accepit (gratiam),' allusion is made to baptism and to chrism. With the beginning of the 4th cent. and with the 'peace of Constantine,' Christian epigraphy appears in a triumphal dress. The monogram ☧, at first employed as a *compendium scripturæ*, came to be engraved as a triumphal sign in Christian inscriptions, which became longer and more flowery. Eulogistic formulæ, perhaps not always merited, were ascribed to the dead, such as 'totius bonitatis,' 'totius innocentiae.' In the meantime inscriptions with consular dates, which in the first three centuries were rare, grew more frequent; these form a class of epigraphs very valuable for the study of cemetery chronology, and de Rossi used them in a masterly way in his study and restoration of the Imperial *fasti*.

In the second half of the 4th cent. the great historical inscriptions of Popes Damasus and Siricius appear, of which we have spoken above. In the 5th cent., cemetery epigraphy ceases; but, on the other hand, the inscriptions of the cemeteries above ground grow frequent, and these are distinguished from the others by the prolixity of their wording, by their more decayed style of palæography, and, above all, by the form and dimensions

of the slabs. In these cemeteries above ground, moreover, Christian sculpture makes a show, and this is chiefly represented by sarcophagi of marble. Sarcophagi are not common in the galleries and subterranean crypts, though they are found at times in the primitive *hypogea*, as in that of *Acilii Glabriones* in Priscilla, and in that called *Vestibolo dei Flavii* in Domitilla. But these cannot possibly be regarded as Christian sarcophagi, since there are represented upon them scenes from the cosmic and marine cycle, ornamental figures and representations of the vintage and of country and pastoral life—types, in a word, which the Christians had learned in the workshops from the pagans, and of which they took care to select those scenes which did not offend the principles of their faith or of Christian morals. True Christian sarcophagi are met with only in the 3rd and 4th centuries.

Christian art from the 4th to the 6th cent. is very rude. Upon the sarcophagi appear scenes referring to facts in the OT and NT, and these are, more or less, always repeated in the same way on this class of monuments. The conditions of Christian painting are much the same. In the 1st and 3rd cents. it contents itself for the most part with indifferent and ornamental subjects, drawn from contemporary classic art, to which it closely approaches in the exquisite beauty of its artistic execution; such, for example, are the paintings on the vault of the vestibule of the Flavii in Domitilla, and the paintings in the chambers of the crypts of Lucina in Callixtus. At the same time, we have, even from the 1st and 2nd cents., paintings with subjects and symbols which are really Christian, as, for instance, the very ancient Madonna in the cemetery of Priscilla, the scene of Daniel among the lions in the vestibule of the Flavii, and the Eucharistic symbols and the figure of the Good Shepherd in the crypt of Lucina. The great development of Christian painting took place in the 3rd and 4th centuries. The paintings of this age, especially those which adorn the *arcosolia* and the crypts, are formed according to the funerary conceptions of the so-called *ordo commendationis animae*, that is, the prayers which the priest pronounced by the bed of the dying one, in commending his soul to God. These wonderful prayers of the most ancient Roman liturgy are accurately reflected in the arrangement of the scenes depicted on the lunette and on the vault of the *arcosolium*. The prayers express the thought of the liberation of the soul of the dead, just as Isaac was delivered from the hand of his father Abraham, Daniel from the lions' den, and the Three Children from the fiery furnace; and, in fact, we see in the paintings of the *arcosolia* the scene of the Three Children in the furnace, that of Isaac, and that of Daniel. With the cessation of cemetery sepulture this first period of Christian art comes to an end, and it is followed by that characterized by paintings in the Byzantine style, executed by the Popes in the historical crypts from the 5th to the 9th century.

It will be useful at this point to make a very brief reference to these historical crypts. By historical crypts are to be understood chambers where martyrs, historically known to us, were buried; for it is certain that great numbers of other martyrs were buried in the Roman catacombs, either alone or in *polyandri*, i.e. tombs for several bodies, of whom it may be said, to employ a Christian phrase, 'quorum nomina Deus scit,' and to these Damasus at times makes allusion in his inscriptions. In their origin the tombs of the martyrs were in simple *cubicula*, or in the galleries which, as we have said above, were altered, embellished, and enlarged from the 4th cent. onwards; to this period the Byzantine paintings belong, as we have already remarked.

From the time when the exploration of the Roman catacombs commenced until the middle of the 19th cent., *i.e.* during the space of almost three centuries, only three historical crypts were found. Bosio, in 1619, discovered the historical crypt of SS. Abdon and Sennen in the cemetery of Pontianus, on the Via Portuensis; in 1720, Boldetti discovered that of SS. Felix and Adauctus in the cemetery of Commodilla, near the Via Ostiensis; and in 1845, Marchi discovered that of SS. Protus and Hyacinthus in the cemetery of St. Hermes, on the Via Salaria Vecchia. The attempt was discouraging: one historical crypt per century, and what is more, all discovered by mere chance.

De Rossi addressed himself, by means of a sure system, to the arduous work of discovering the historical crypts in the labyrinths of the cemeteries, making use, in the first place, of the *Itineraries of the Pilgrims*, and then of the data afforded by the monuments, as we shall now show. He searched those parts of the cemeteries where remains of constructions were visible, or where there were heaps of rubbish which had been precipitated from above, for these indicated the presence of some notable monument. It was in this way that he discovered the cemetery basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus on the Via Ardeatina. Another very important indication consisted in a number, more or less large, of *luminaria* arranged in series; for this was evidence that that region had been especially illuminated in order to render it accessible to the pilgrims, and was thus an indication of the existence of an historical crypt. This, in fact, he met with in the historical group of the tombs of the Popes and of St. Cecilia in the cemetery of Callixtus. Another decisive indication was found in the 'Damasan' inscriptions which were placed by Pope Damasus in the historical crypts. Finally, the presence of Byzantine paintings indicated that a crypt had been visited and frequented during the period in which ordinary sepulture there had ceased. By this happy method of divination, de Rossi was able to make numerous important discoveries in the Roman catacombs, leaving as an inheritance to his successors in these studies a wide field of scientific research.

We conclude this general exposition of the history and monuments of the Roman catacombs by expressing the fervent hope that the subterranean city of the martyrs will soon be able to hail the day in which all its monuments will come to light; they will thus constitute in their entirety the grandest collection which it is possible to desire of the primitive monuments of Christianity.[1]

[[1] While by far the most important and the best known catacombs are in or near Rome, there are a considerable number of others, not only in Italy, but also in Egypt (Alexandria), Northern Africa (Arch-Zara), Sicily (Syracuse, Palermo, Grazia di Carini, Frangapani, near Girgenti), Malta (Abbatiatad-Deyr, Tal-Liebru), Melos (near Trypiti, in the valley of Keima), Lower Italy (Sorrento, Atripalda, Cimitile, Sessa, Naples [a large number, of which the chief are those of SS. Gennaro, Gandioso, and Severo], Castellamare [the catacomb of Venosa in Apulia is most probably of Jewish origin]), Central Italy (Bazzano, Paganica, catacomb of St. Vittorino near Aquila, Monte Leone, Bolsena, Chiusi, Caere, Nepi, Sutri, Sorrino Nova, Viterbo, Vulci, catacomb of St. Entizio near Soriano, Rignano), with which must be reckoned such suburban catacombs as those at Albano, Nemi, Velletri, Gabii, and Baccano. North of the Alps there are no catacombs, properly speaking (for a full list of catacombs, with considerable description and abundant references to the literature bearing on them, see N. Müller in *PRE*[3] x. 804–813, 848–850, 852–861, 865a–866b). Many of the extra-Italian catacombs are of relatively early date, though they were formed later than those in or near Rome. The oldest portions of the catacomb of St. Maria di Gesù, near Syracuse, probably date from the 3rd cent., while that of St. Giovanni, near the same city, may be as early as 320. The catacomb of Trypiti, in Melos, dates from the 4th cent., and those in Malta mainly from the 4th and 5th centuries.

It may perhaps be worth noting that the so-called catacombs of Paris are not catacombs in the real sense of the word. They were originally merely the subterranean quarries from which building material for the city was obtained; and it was not until 1787 that they were used as receptacles for bones brought from old cemeteries.—LOUIS H. GRAY.]

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CATECHISMS (Anglican, Roman Catholic, Eastern Churches).—The words 'catechism' and 'catechize' are derived from the Greek κατηχίζειν, a factitive of κατηχεῖν (κατά 'down,' ἠχεῖν 'sound'), which means 'to resound,' 'din in.' To catechize means generally to give oral instruction, as distinct from instruction through the medium of books; and as such instruction is commonly given in the form of questions and answers, the word is especially used in the sense of systematic questioning. The ecclesiastical use of the words is very early and continuous, but they are also often used of questioning of any kind. In its ecclesiastical application, the word 'catechism' is used in two principal senses: (1) of a system of oral instruction—a method of teaching; (2) of the contents of the instruction, especially of a document, generally drawn up in the form of questions and answers, either for the guidance of the teacher, or to be learnt by heart by the learners themselves.

1. Methods of teaching.—In the very early days of Christianity many persons must have been admitted to baptism after a very short instruction and examination in Christian doctrine. But it can hardly be supposed that any one can at any time have been admitted into the Church without some sort of profession of faith, and this would imply some previous instruction. It is also quite clear that at a very early period this instruction became systematic and thorough. Its substance can be gathered only indirectly; for all the documents that we possess were written for persons who had already received oral instruction, and it is not likely that they should describe it. The books of the NT were written, without exception, for instructed and baptized Christians, and were intended for their further edification in the faith. They everywhere take for granted, but naturally do not describe, the earlier oral instruction that all their readers had received. Incidentally, however, we can gather a good deal as to its nature and extent. See art. CATECHUMENATE.

There are abundant indications that this catechetical instruction was systematically conducted and gradually developed during the first three centuries, though it is not until the 4th cent. that we find it fully described. Some account of it, as far as it could be explained to heathen readers, is given by Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 61). The importance attached to it may be gathered from the way in which the Catechetical School at Alexandria, the great centre of the intellectual life of the Church, is spoken of. The head of this school was clearly regarded as filling one of the most important offices in the Church (Euseb. *HE* v. 10, vi. 3, 14, 15, 26, 29). In the 4th cent. we have abundant information about the catechumenate, and also specimens of the actual instruction given to catechumens. The catechumenate was recognized as a definite status; those who were admitted to it were called 'audientes,' ἀκροώμενοι, and they were already regarded as in a sense Christians, though not as 'fideles,' and were allowed to be present at the preliminary part of the Mass, the *Missa Catechumenorum*, until after the sermon. Men often remained catechumens for years, and sometimes, as in the case of the Emperor Constantine, until their deathbed, though this was regarded as an abuse. In the normal course those who were to be baptized on Easter Eve gave in their names at the beginning of Lent, and went through a final course of instruction and preparation, which included the delivery of the Gospels and the Creed, performed with great solemnity. The most notable of the actual instructions that are extant are the *Catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 348), and St. Augustine, *de Catech. Rudibus*, *de Fide et Symbolo*, and *Sermo ad Catechumenos* (*c.* A.D. 400). Catechizing was recognized as one of the most important functions of the Christian ministry, but there was no special order of Catechists; the name denoted a function, not a class. St. Cyril, *e.g.*, delivered his *Catecheses* partly as a deacon and partly as a priest. Nor, as a rule, were any special places set apart for the purpose of catechizing, though the Council in Trullo (97) mentions κατηχουμένεια.

As paganism gradually disappeared in Europe, and infant baptism became more general and eventually almost universal, the catechetical system was necessarily modified. The theory, however, did not keep pace with the practice. The instruction which was supposed to be given before baptism was given after it; but the baptismal Offices, even in the 8th cent., still assume that the catechumens are adults. In the course of the Middle Ages the ceremonies which preceded baptism were greatly shortened, and finally condensed into what formed practically a single service, though it was still divided into three parts, the *Ordo faciendi Catechumeni*, the *Benedictio Aquae*, and the Baptism itself. The words 'catechize' and 'catechism' were still applied to the abbreviated interrogations which formed part of the order of making a catechumen.

For instance, Matthew Paris, in the year 1239, says in his account of the baptism of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I.: 'The bishop of Carlisle catechized the infant, the Legate baptized him, the Archbishop of Canterbury confirmed him, and by the king's desire the name of Edward was given him.' As the answers were made on the child's behalf by the sponsors, the word 'catechism' was sometimes used as equivalent to sponsorship, and it was a question much debated whether 'the catechism' were a bar to marriage (see Joannes de Janua, *ap.* Du Cange, *s.v.* 'Catechizari').

Meanwhile the substance of the actual instruction now given after baptism, and not as yet usually called the Catechism, remained much the same as it had always been. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments formed the nucleus of it; and the parish priest, when the parochial system became general, was the person who was made responsible for imparting it. Numerous injunctions of bishops and Councils insisted upon the performance of this duty. Bede in his letter to Egbert, the first archbishop of York, exhorts him to provide that all the priests in his diocese should most carefully teach the Creed and the Lord's Prayer to all the people, in Latin if they can understand it, and if not, in English (A.D. 734). The Council of Clovesho in A.D. 747 orders (c. 10) that priests should explain in the vulgar tongue the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the solemn words used in the Mass and in Baptism, and also the

meaning of the Sacraments themselves. In A.D. 1281 the *Constitutions* of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, order that all parish priests shall four times a year, on one or more holy days, explain in the vulgar tongue the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Evangelical Precepts, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, and the seven sacraments. These directions are frequently referred to in the following centuries, and insisted upon by bishops and synods, *e.g.* by Thoresby and Neville, archbishops of York in 1357 and 1466, and by Langham and Arundell of Canterbury in 1364 and 1408. These, however, are only a few examples out of many that might be cited both in England and on the Continent.

The regulations of the English Church about catechizing since the 16th cent. have been even more precise and imperative than before. The rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer order all parish priests to catechize on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and the rest of the Church Catechism on every Sunday and Holy Day after the second lesson at Evening Prayer; and all persons who have the charge of the young are ordered to send them to church for this purpose. Any minister neglecting this duty is, by Canon 59, to be admonished for the first offence, suspended for the second, and excommunicated for the third. Parents and others who neglect to send their children are likewise to be suspended, and, if they persist, to be excommunicated. The exact method of instruction is not prescribed with the same precision or enforced by so severe penalties in other parts of the Western Church, but the responsibility of the parish priest is everywhere the same. The most elaborate of catechetical systems has grown up in France during the last two centuries, and it is commonly known as the Catechism according to the Method of St. Sulpice, from the church in Paris where the system has been specially elaborated. A complete course of instruction is spread over a period of about three years, and the weekly catechism consists of three main parts—the Questioning, which is recapitulatory and intended to exercise the memory; the Instruction, which is reproduced in the course of the week in written analyses; and the Gospel and Homily, which supply the moral and spiritual application of the lessons taught. This Method of the Catechism is being extensively introduced into England (see Dupanloup, *Method of St. Sulpice*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1890, and *Ministry of Catechising*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1890; S. Jones, *The Clergy and the Catechism*, Lond. 1895).

2. **Manuals of teaching.**—Until the 16th cent. the word 'catechism' meant a system of teaching, and it was most commonly applied to the questions and answers in the Baptismal services which represented the catechetical instruction of the early Church. In the 15th cent., however, the term was also applied to the further instruction of children after their baptism, and then it was an easy step to apply it to the documents used in that instruction.

Many manuals of explanation were in use in the later Middle Ages; but, as was natural at a period when reading was not a very common accomplishment, they were more used by the clergy in preparing their instructions than by the people themselves. One of the most popular was the *Speculum Christiani*, which was one of the first books printed in England (see Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, London, 1897). Similar manuals are to be found in Continental countries. The production of such works was enormously stimulated by the religious controversies of the 16th cent., which was prolific of confessions of faith. These manuals had all kinds of titles, but the general term 'Catechism' came to be applied to them, and the word quickly assumed the sense in which it is now most commonly used—that of a manual of religious teaching for the young, especially one in the form of questions and answers. One of the earliest examples of this use of the word was the 'Catechizon' drawn up by John Colet for St. Paul's School.

(1) The *Anglican Catechism* first made its appearance in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549. The way had been prepared for it by royal injunctions issued in 1536 and 1538, which ordered, as had so often been done before in episcopal and conciliar injunctions, that parish priests should teach their parishioners, sentence by sentence, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments, and explain the same. Instructions in the form of dialogue also appeared, as in Marshall's Primer in 1534.

The authorship of the Catechism in the Common Prayer Book is quite uncertain. It has been ascribed, on insufficient evidence, to several persons: to Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely, because he had the 'Duties' inscribed on tablets in his palace; to John Ponet, bishop of Rochester and afterwards of Winchester, because he wrote another Catechism; and to Alexander Nowell, second master at Westminster School and afterwards dean of St. Paul's, because he also wrote Catechisms, and because Izaak Walton (*Compl. Angl.* i. 1) definitely states that he 'made that . . . Catechisme which is printed in our good old service books.' But this was written in 1653, and, as Nowell's catechisms were well known, he might easily have been credited wrongly with the authorship of the Church Catechism also. Walton adds that both Convocation and Parliament commissioned him to make it, which was certainly not the case. And contemporary and internal evidence is altogether adverse to Nowell's authorship. Nothing is really known about the authorship of any part of the Book of Common Prayer of 1549, except that Cranmer must have taken a principal part in it. Very probably he did almost the whole of the work himself, and, at any rate, it is quite uncertain who helped him, or how much they contributed. There is some evidence that the book was examined and approved by others, but very few details are known.

The Catechism, as it appeared in 1549, did not contain the concluding section about the Sacraments. This was added in 1604 by royal authority, in consequence of a wish expressed by the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference; and the whole Catechism, thus enlarged, was sanctioned, with some trifling alterations, by Convocation and Parliament in 1661–62. This is the only authorized Catechism in the English Church. It was intended in the 16th cent. to supplement it by more advanced manuals. A 'Short Catechism commended to all Schoolmasters by royal authority' was published anonymously in 1553, but was believed to be the work of Ponet (*Orig. Lett.*, Parker Soc. lxxi.). The royal injunction sanctioning its use states that it had been submitted to certain bishops and others. It is reprinted in *Liturgies, etc., of Edw. VI.* (Parker Soc.). In 1561 the bishops agreed that two other catechisms should be prepared, one more advanced, and one for schools. In 1563, Nowell sent the MS of his Larger Catechism to Cecil, stating that it had been approved by the clergy in Convocation; but it does not appear to have been published until 1570, when it was also translated into English. Many editions of it appeared, and it must have been very extensively used. It was re-published by W. Jacobson, Oxford, 1835. Not long afterwards Nowell published his Middle Catechism, which also passed through many editions, and was translated into Greek and English. A third work, the *Catechismus Parvus*, the earliest extant edition of which is dated 1574, closely resembles the Church Catechism, and this is one of the grounds on which Nowell is supposed to have been the author of the latter work. But it is far more probable that he simply translated the Church Catechism into Latin, with additions of his own. Overall, dean of St. Paul's, who is believed to have prepared the section about the Sacraments in 1604, made use of these earlier works. In the latter half of the 16th cent., Continental Catechisms, such as those of Erasmus, Calvin, and Bullinger, were also much used in England.

(2) The Catechism which has the highest degree

of authority in the *Roman Church* is that which is called the Catechism of the Council of Trent, or the Roman Catechism. The Council of Trent met in 1545 and ended in 1563. It passed a great number of decrees on points of doctrine, and towards the end of its sittings it ordered a Catechism to be prepared, which was to be translated into the vulgar tongue and taught by parish priests. After the close of the Council, Pope Pius IV. appointed certain distinguished theologians to prepare such a Catechism. They were Calinius, archbishop of Zara; Foscarari, bishop of Modena; Marinus, archbishop of Lanciano; and Fureiro, a Portuguese. The last three were Dominicans. S. Carlo Borromeo also assisted in the work. The Catechism was finished in 1564, and appeared in 1566, with the title 'Catechismus Romanus ex decreto Concilii Tridentini Pii V. Pont. Max. jussu editus. Romae, in aed. Pop. Rom. ap. Ald. Manutium.' This Catechism has not the authority of the Council of Trent, for it was constructed after the close of the Council; but it was intended to embody the results of the deliberations of the Council, and it was published by the authority of the Pope. It is the most authoritative document of the kind in the Roman Church. It is divided into four parts, dealing with Faith, the Means of Grace, the Decalogue, and the Lord's Prayer. It is a large doctrinal treatise, intended to be used by parish priests in preparing their instructions, and not for the use of the children themselves. Innumerable catechisms for the use of learners have been and are in use. As a rule, each diocese, especially in France, has its own catechism, sanctioned by the bishop. This system has obvious disadvantages as well as advantages, and at the Vatican Council of 1870 it was proposed that a single catechism should be prepared and authorized for universal use. It was to be in Latin, and translations were to be made for all countries. The question was debated at considerable length, and there was a good deal of opposition to the proposal on various grounds, especially because of the different needs and circumstances of different dioceses. It was also pointed out that at least three Catechisms of different grades would be required for any complete system of teaching. A considerable majority was in favour of the principle of the scheme, but no final conclusion was arrived at before the end of the Council, and no practical steps have been taken since.

(3) In the *Eastern Churches* the catechetical systems have not developed to the same extent as in the West. This may be due partly to the fact that it is not usual in the East to defer the Confirmation and first Communion of infants who are baptized, as has come to be the practice in the West. There are, however, many catechetical works in use. In 1721 the synod of the Russian Orthodox Church ordered the composition of three small manuals for the use of the young and ignorant, and there appeared by order of the Czar Peter I. the 'First Instruction of Youth, containing a Primer, and a short exposition of the Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, and Creed.' The best known Eastern catechism is that of Jeromonach Platon, metropolitan of Moscow, which was composed in 1765 for the use of the heir to the throne, the Grand Duke Paul Petrovitch. The 'Complete Christian Catechism of the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church,' which is now in common use, is founded upon this work of Platon. An English translation may be found in R. W. Blackmore, *Doctrine of the Russian Church*, 1845.

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CATECHISMS (Lutheran).—Long before Luther undertook the composition of his Catechisms of 1529, he had been active in the field of catechetical literature and practice. As early as the year 1515 we have from his pen expositions of the Decalogue and the Lord's Prayer. In 1519 he states that he was daily going over the Commandments with children and laymen ('pueris et rudibus pronuncio'). In 1520 he published a Short Form of meditation on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer.

'Three things,' he says, 'a man must needs know to be saved. . . . The Law shows man his disease . . . the Creed tells him where to find his medicine, the grace . . . the Lord's Prayer teaches him how to seek and to appropriate it.'

From Luther's letters to Nicol. Hausmann, of 2nd Feb. and 26th March 1525 (see Th. E. L. Enders, *Martin Luther's Briefwechsel*, v. 115, 144), it appears that the Wittenberg theologians had charged Jonas and Agricola with the preparation of a Catechism for the young. What became of their work is not known. In August 1525, Hausmann, in a letter to Stephan Roth, laments that the Catechism had not yet appeared, and wishes that Jonas may undertake it and bring it out speedily. In October 1525 the 'Little Book for Laymen and Children' appeared ('Das Büchlein für die Laien und die Kinder' [*Monumenta Germaniæ Pædagogica*, vol. xx.], which holds quite a prominent place in the catechetical literature of those times. It contains the five parts of the Catechism—Decalogue, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Baptism, Lord's Supper—almost exactly in the form found in Luther's *Enchiridion* of 1529. The author is not positively known, but may have been John Bugenhagen. About the same time, Luther had evidently made up his mind to undertake the preparation of a Catechism of his own, though he had not yet the time for it (see letter to Hausmann of 27th Sept. 1525, 'Catechismum differo, vellem enim uno opere simul omnia absolvere' [Enders, v. 246]). In his German Mass (*Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts*), composed in the autumn of 1525 and published in Wittenberg in 1526, he says:

'What we need first of all is a plain, good Catechism . . . for such instruction I know no better form than those three parts which have been preserved in the Christian Church from the beginning—the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer—which contain, in a brief summary, all that a Christian ought to know.' To these he adds Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar, and lays it down that these five parts ought to constitute the catechetical lessons in the matin services on Mondays and Tuesdays.

In compliance with this request of Luther, here and there in the free cities of the German Empire special services were instituted for the young, and various Catechisms were published by men like Johannes Bader, Joh. Brentius, Wolfgang Capito, Conrad Sam, Wenzeslaus Linck, Althammer, Agricola, Oecolampadius, Caspar Graeter, and Caspar Löner. Most of them found only local and temporary acceptance in the churches of the Reformation. On a larger scale and more systematic are the provisions made for the religious instruction of the young in consequence of the visitations instituted by the authorities of Church and State in the territories of the German Reformation, especially in Saxony (1527, 1528). The impression made upon Luther by these visitations is set forth in his preface to the Small Catechism:

'Alas, what misery I beheld! The people, especially those that live in the villages, seem to have no knowledge whatever of Christian doctrine, and many of the pastors are ignorant and incompetent teachers. . . . They all maintain that they are Christians, that they have been baptized, and that they have received the Lord's Supper. Yet they cannot even recite the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments; they live as if they were irrational creatures, and now that the Gospel has come to them, they grossly abuse their Christian liberty.'

There could be no further delay in Luther's own work on the Catechism. About the middle of January 1529 we find him engaged on the Large Catechism, which treats the catechetical material in the form of sermons or lectures. He writes to Martin Görlitz in Brunswick: 'Modo in parando Catechismo pro rudibus paganis versor' (Enders, vii. 43). But, while he was engaged in the composition of this larger work, he issued the Small Catechism in two sets in the form of wall charts (*tabulæ*), according to the custom of the times. The first set was ready by 20th Jan. 1529, as we learn from a letter of Diaconus Rörer in Wittenberg to Stephan Roth in Zwickau: 'Affixas parieti video tabulas complectentes brevissime simul et crasse Catechismum Lutheri pro pueris et familia.' This first set contained the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, together with the *Benedicite* and *Gratias*. The second set appeared about the middle of the month of March, when people were preparing for the Easter Communion. In a letter of 16th March, Rörer describes this set as 'Tabulae Confessionis, et de Sacramentis Baptismatis et Corporis et Sanguinis Christi' for the more advanced Christians. The contents of both sets of these *tabulæ* appeared first in book form in Hamburg, in the early part of April, in the Low German dialect. On 16th May 1529 the Small Catechism appeared in High German, in an edition furnished by Luther himself, and was soon followed by a second edition. No copies of these original Wittenberg editions have thus far been discovered. They are known only from reprints, issued at Erfurt and Marburg. Besides the material of the *tabulæ*, these editions contain the Preface, the Morning and Evening Prayers, the Table of Duties, and the Order of the Marriage Service. The third edition adds also the Order of Baptism (June 1529). Additional editions, superintended by Luther himself, and here and there revised by him, appeared in the years 1531 (containing for the first time the present form of instruction concerning Confession, and the explanation of the introduction to the Lord's Prayer), 1535, 1536, 1539, and 1542.

While Luther's Small Catechism, the *Enchiridion*, was at first simply one catechism among many, it very soon gained the ascendancy over all other text-books for the instruction of the young. In 1561 the Lüneburg Articles number it for the first time among the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church, together with the Augsburg Confession, Apology, and Schmalkald Articles. The fact that the Heidelberg Catechism by Olevianus and Ursinus (1563) was, from the beginning, recognized as one of the confessional standards of the Reformed Church may have helped to establish Luther's Catechisms as official and authoritative documents of the Lutheran Church. Both the Large and the Small Catechism of Luther were formally incorporated into the *Book of Concord* of 1580. Since then Luther's Small Catechism has formed the basis of numerous fuller expositions in questions and answers published in the different territories of the Lutheran Church.

As early as the year 1529 two Latin translations of Luther's Small Catechism appeared, the second of which, by J. Sauermann, Canonicus in Breslau, was received into the *Book of Concord*. John Mylius published a Greek translation (Basel, 1558); John Clajus prepared a polyglot edition—in German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—which appeared in 1572. In the Danish and Norwegian languages it was published in 1532, and officially introduced, with a preface by J. Bugenhagen, in 1538. The first Swedish translation was probably prepared by Laurentius Petri, in 1548. The earliest print that has been preserved is from the year 1572. Its official introduction followed in 1595, but not until 1686 do we find its general use in Sweden. In the Balto-Slavic territory the *Enchiridion* was published in Bartholomäus Willents' Lithuanian translation in 1547, in Abel Wills' Old Prussian translation in 1561, and in J. Rivius's Lettic version in 1586, besides a version in the non-Indo-Germanic Esthonian in 1553. In all these four languages the Small Catechism was the first literary monument, and it is practically the sole relic of the extinct Old Prussian dialect.

In the year 1548, Archbishop Cranmer prepared an English translation in his *Catechismus*, published by Gualterus Lynne, which is in reality an English version of the sermons on the Catechism (*Kinderpredigten*) attached to the Brandenburg-Nuremberg *Agenda* of 1533, summing up each sermon with the respective part of Luther's Catechism (see H. E. Jacobs, *Lutheran Movement in England*, pp. 314-322). The Swedish pastor and missionary, John Campanius, who preached the gospel from 1643 to 1648 at Tinicum, near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, translated the Catechism into the language of the Delaware Indians (the 'American-Virginian language'). It was published in Stockholm, at the expense of King Charles XI., in 1696, and brought to America in 1697 (see H. E. Jacobs, *Hist. of the Evangel. Luth. Church in the U.S.*, p. 82). Count Zinzendorf, the great leader of the Moravian movement, caused the first American edition of Luther's German Catechism to be printed by Christoph Sauer, in Germantown, Philadelphia, in 1744. The first American edition issued with the approval of the Lutheran pastors was prepared by Peter Brunnholtz, and printed by Benjamin Franklin and J. Boehm in 1749. The first English translation on American soil was also made by Peter Brunnholtz, possibly with the assistance of Peter Koch, a prominent Swedish Lutheran in Philadelphia, in 1749. The second was made under the auspices of the Swedish Provost Wrangel, the friend and collaborator of Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, in 1761. In 1816, Phil. F. Mayer, pastor of the first English Lutheran Church (St. John's) in Philadelphia, issued an English edition of the Catechism which, more than any other, determined the text of the accepted English version in America. It was carefully revised by C. F. Schäffer and a Committee of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania (C. F. Welden, A. T. Geissenhainer, and B. M. Schmucker), in 1854. This translation was adopted by the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1867. A more literal reproduction in the English language is given in Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, and in the *English Catechism of the Synod of Missouri* and that of the Joint Synod of Ohio—the work of E. Cronenwett, revised by the faculty of the Theological Seminary of the Ohio Synod in Columbus, O. (see B. M. Schmucker's articles on the editions and translations of Luther's Small Catechism, published or used in America, in the *Lutheran Church Review*, April and July 1886). In recent times a joint Committee of the General Synod, the United Synod of the South, the Joint Synod of Ohio, the English Synod of Missouri, and the General Council united on a carefully revised English translation, which is found in its final shape in the *Lutheran Church Review*, January 1899.

The truly conservative, catholic, and ecclesiastical character of Luther's Reformation stands out most prominently in his catechetical work. He builds on the old solid and popular foundations, found in those three principal parts—the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. He shows himself perfectly familiar with the best catechetical tradition of the Church of preceding centuries. In some details of his exposition, especially the treatment of the Lord's Prayer (the third part of the *Enchiridion*), we recognize almost literal reminiscences of the catechetical literature of the Church, as far back as Tertullian and Cyprian. It may be claimed that the whole catechetical work of the first fifteen hundred years of the Church reaches its climax in Martin Luther's Small Catechism. But, with all the conservative features which characterize Luther's catechetical work, there are some which are original with him, and for which he deserves full credit as the first great restorer of Pauline theology in the Church. Most important and significant in this respect is the order in which he arranged the popular three parts—Commandments, Creed, and Lord's Prayer, —giving the first place to the Law, as the schoolmaster to bring men to Christ, and assigning the central and dominating place to the Creed. All other Catechisms—Roman, Greek, and Reformed—differ from Luther's arrangement in this respect. Again, he gave up the traditional division of the Creed into twelve articles, based on the legend of

its Apostolic origin, which is retained to the present day in John Brentius's Württemberg Catechism. Instead of this he divided it, from a Trinitarian point of view, into three articles, and by this arrangement the second article, with its confession of Christ, the Redeemer, becomes the very heart and soul of the whole Catechism.

(*a*) The first part of Luther's Catechism treats of the Law, under the form of the Decalogue, differing in this respect also from the traditional practice of the mediæval Church with reference to the 'Mandata.' The Decalogue, however, is modified by him in the spirit of the New Testament, omitting its transient Israelitic features which belong to the Mosaic dispensation, as in the form of the First, the Third, and the Fourth Commandments, according to the Augustinian numbering of the Ten Commandments. His principal aim in the treatment of the Law is its so-called second use or 'usus elenchthicus,' to lead men to a knowledge of sin.

(*b*) The second part of the Catechism takes for its text the Apostles' Creed, which, except in the Greek Church, was always used 'ad fidei instructionem' (the Nicene Creed being 'ad fidei explicationem,' and the Athanasian 'ad fidei defensionem'). Luther's treatment of the Creed combines the objective and the subjective side of faith, the 'fides, quae creditur' and the 'fides, qua creditur.' The great works of God—Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification—are set forth as the fundamental facts of our salvation; not, however, as purely objective, abstract, doctrinal statements, but with all the fervour of personal conviction and appropriation. There is no dogmatism or scholasticism in this presentation of Christian doctrine in the 'Layman's Bible,' as the *Enchiridion* has frequently been called.

(*c*) In the third part Luther treats the Lord's Prayer as the fruit of justifying faith, the embodiment and demonstration of the new life, in the spirit of sanctification and adoption. It sets forth the life of the Christian as the life of the child of God, with all its privileges and duties, its needs and dangers, its hopes and resources.

(*d, e*) To these three fundamental parts are added the fourth and fifth, on Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar, with the connecting link, on Confession and Absolution, 'concerning which a Christian must also be properly instructed.' Here the language of the Catechism, otherwise so simply objective and thetical, becomes of necessity more antithetical and controversial, in opposition to various deviations from what Luther held to be sound doctrine on these points. But even here everything culminates in simple living faith. With the requirement of 'truly believing hearts' the fifth and last part of the Catechism closes.

LITERATURE.—*Martin Luther's Werke, Deutsch und Lat.*, Erlangen ed., 101 vols.; Th. E. L. Enders, *Martin Luther's Briefwechsel, bearbeitet und mit Erlauterungen versehen* (ten volumes have thus far appeared, covering the period from 1507 to 1536), Calw, 1884 ff.; K. Kehrbach, *Monum. German. Pædagog.*, vols. xx. to xxiii., containing 'Die evangel. Katechismusversuche vor Luther's *Enchiridion*,' 1522-1529, by F. Cohrs, Berlin, 1900-1902; J. T. Müller, *Die symbol. Bücher der ev.-luther. Kirche, deutsch und lat.*[8], Gutersloh, 1898; C. P. Krauth, *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology*, Philadelphia, 1871; H. E. Jacobs, *The Lutheran Movement in England: A Study in Compar. Symbolics*, Philadelphia, 1890, also *Hist. of the Evangel. Lutheran Church in the U.S.*, New York, 1893; C. A. G. von Zezschwitz, *System der christl. kirchl. Katechetik*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1863; C. Palmer, *Evangel. Katechetik*, Tubingen, 1851; Th. Harnack, *Katechetik*, Erlangen, 1882; R. Kübel, *Katechetik*, Barmen, 1877; F. Cohrs, art. 'Katechismen Luthers,' in *PRE*[3] x. 130 ff.

ADOLPH SPAETH.

CATECHISMS (Heidelberg and Westminster). I. The second (next to Luther's) great Catechism of the Protestant Churches is the **Heidelberg Catechism.** It was prepared by Zacharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus, by command of Frederick III., Elector of the Palatinate, and was published in 1563. Ursinus had prepared a *Summa Theologiæ* and a *Catechesis Minor*, which were made the basis of the work. The advice and co-operation of the theological faculty and of the Superintendents and court-preachers were secured, and before publication the Catechism was approved by a Synod of ministers and teachers assembled by the Elector at Heidelberg. It cannot be called a wholly original work, but was the fruit of a long catechetical development. Leo Juda's *Christliche klare u. einfalte Zuleitung in den Willen u. in die Gnad Gottes*, 1534, his *Kurtzer Katechismus*, 1535, and his *Brevissima Christ. relig. formula* of 1538 or 1539; Bullinger's *Hausbuch* of 1558, and the *Summa, Catechesis pro adultioribus scripta* of 1559; Calvin's *Genevan Catechism* of 1545, and the *Emden Catechism* of 1554—are among the sources. Traces of the influence of Löner, Urbanus Rhegius, and Morbanus have been found in it. Though avowedly written to supplant Luther's teaching, the influence of his Catechism is evident. The order of the book is due to Melanchthon's *Loci*, and Reu has traced much of its arrangement to *Eine kurtze ordenliche Summa der rechten waren Lehre*, a catechetical work published by Nikolaus Gallus in 1558. The justly famous first question 'What is thy highest comfort in life and death?' is found in previous works of this sort, and the answer may find its original in the Nuremberg Catechism-Sermons of 1533 (translated under Abp. Cranmer as *A Short Instruction into Christian Religion*, 1548):

'And this, my dear children, is our highest comfort, that Christ is our Lord, and we are His own, for therefore will He protect and deliver us, so that, though we be sinners, He will forgive us our sin, for He has made satisfaction for sin, and, though we die, He will make us to live again, for He has overcome death, and even though we came into hell, hell could not hold us, because He has burst the bonds of hell. Therefore, because we have such a mighty Lord, we cannot need anything' (*Nuremb. Kinderpredigten*, on Art. 2 of the Creed).

The Heidelberg Catechism probably aimed at being a culmination of the catechetical development of the Evangelical Church. Its rejection of the Lutheran doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ, and of the meaning of His Exaltation, is pronounced; and in the 3rd ed. an 80th question was inserted, it is said at the instance of the Elector, in which 'the popish Mass' is condemned as 'at bottom nothing else than a denial of the one sacrifice and sufferings of Jesus Christ, and an accursed idolatry.'

This Catechism was translated into many tongues, and is the most widely used of all 'Reformed' Catechisms. The best English version appeared in New York (Scribners) in 1863. It contains 129 questions and answers. Questions 3-11 treat of the Sin and Misery of Man; 12-85 of Redemption by Christ; 86-129 of the Thankful Life of the Christian. In the Second Part the Articles of the Apostles' Creed are explained under the heads God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Then follow the two Sacraments. The Commandments are explained in the Third Part under the head of Thankfulness; and this is followed by the Lord's Prayer. While the Heidelberg Catechism retains the form of a Confession in its answers to the questions, it is much more theological than Luther's Catechism; and, edifying as the answers are, they are too long and minute for the memory or use of children. On the other hand, it surpasses Luther's Catechism as a systematic presentation of Christian doctrine.

LITERATURE.—The best modern ed. is *The Heidelberg Catechism in German, Latin and English; with an Historical Introduction*, New York, 1863. The official German editions were issued in 1563, [illegible], 1595, 1684, and 1724. The Latin tr. was published in 1563 and 1566. See also P. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, London, 1877, i. [illegible] ff. and iii. 307 ff., where the literature is given fully. The best introductions are those of

J. W. Nevin, *History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism*, Chambersburg, 1847, and Reu, *Süddeutsche Katechismen*, Gütersloh, 1904.

2. Westminster Catechisms.—An English translation of Calvin's Genevan Catechism was used and repeatedly printed in Scotland. John Craig, minister at Aberdeen and afterwards at Edinburgh, prepared a Larger (1581) and a Smaller Catechism (1591). The latter explains the Apostles' Creed, the Commandments, the means of grace, and the way of salvation. It consists of short and simple questions and answers. It was finally superseded by the *Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly* (see Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, i. 728 ff.). This is the third of the great Catechisms of the epoch of the Reformation. The Larger and Shorter Catechisms were finished in 1647, approved by Parliament 15 Sept. 1648, and adopted by the General Assembly at Edinburgh in July of that year. Schaff says that the Larger Catechism was chiefly the work of Anthony Tuckney, Professor of Divinity and Vice-Chancellor at Cambridge. He adds that it is based on Ussher's catechetical *Body of Divinity*, and on the *Compendium Theologiæ* (1626) of Johann Wolleb of Basel (see Schaff, *loc. cit.*, and in *PRE*[2]). The Shorter Catechism is a condensation of the other; 'its concise and severely logical answers are traced to the Rev. John Wallis, M.A., an eminent mathematician.' It begins with the celebrated question, 'What is the chief end of man? To glorify God, and to enjoy Him for ever'; defines God, and states the doctrine of the Trinity; tells of the fall and misery of man; explains the offices and states of the Redeemer; and then analyzes the work of the Holy Ghost, effectual calling, justification, adoption, and sanctification. The Apostles' Creed is not professedly explained, but is printed after the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, at the end of the Catechism. The Commandments set forth 'the rule which God at first revealed to man for his obedience.' All the Reformed Catechisms agree with the Greek Church (against the Roman and Lutheran) in making 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image,' etc., the Second Commandment, and comprising in the Tenth both prohibitions of coveting. The 59th and 60th questions assert the Divine appointment of the first day of the week to be 'the Christian Sabbath,' forbid 'all worldly employments and recreations on it,' and command the 'spending the whole time in the public and private exercises of God's worship, except so much as is to be taken up in the works of necessity and mercy.' Under the Eighth Commandment (Q. 74) is required 'the lawful procuring and furthering the wealth and outward estate of ourselves and others.' The proper use of the Word and the Lord's Supper is insisted on. There is a brief explanation of the Lord's Prayer.

The *Shorter Catechism* is Calvinistic, not only in its formal statements of doctrine, but in every reflexion it contains of the controversies of the time: 'God having out of His mere good pleasure, from all eternity, elected some to everlasting life' (Q. 207); and 'The only Redeemer of God's elect' (Q. 21); but it nowhere urges the eternal reprobation of the non-elect. Schaff (*op. cit.* i. 787) commends and criticizes it thus:

'It far surpasses them [Luther's and the Heidelberg Catechism] in clearness and careful wording, and is better adapted to the Scotch and Anglo-American mind, but it lacks their genial warmth, freshness, and childlike simplicity. . . . It deals in dogmas rather than facts. It addresses the disciple as an interested outsider rather than as a church-member growing up in the nurture of the Lord. Its mathematical precision in definitions, some of which are almost perfect, though above the capacity of the child, is a good preparation for the study of theology.'[1]

[1] For minor Catechisms of the Reformation and subsequent periods, see art. CONFESSIONS.

LITERATURE.—Besides the literature mentioned throughout the article, see Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, i. 753 f., and the literature at art. CONFESSIONS.

EDWARD T. HORN.

CATECHUMEN, CATECHUMENATE.

—The word 'catechumen' is derived from the Gr. word *κατηχεῖν* ('instruct,' lit. = 'din into the ear'), which occurs 7 times in the NT (Lk 1^{4}, Ac 18^{25} $21^{21.24}$, Ro 2^{18}, 1 Co 14^{19}, Gal 6^{6}), and whose use in these passages illustrates its very early application to those who were subjected to careful and systematic instruction in Christian doctrine, with a view to being admitted into the body of the Church. This preparation is actually indicated in germ also by the very early insertion[1] of v.[37] into the account of the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch (Ac $8^{26ff.}$), and by vv.[31.32] in the account of the baptism of the jailer and his household at Philippi (Ac $16^{29ff.}$).[2]

Such systematic instruction in religion would be quite familiar, at least to the converts from Judaism; for not only were there schools attached to most of the synagogues, in which the young were carefully educated by catechetical methods, with the OT Scriptures for text-book, up to the age of twelve or thereabouts, but also there is little doubt that proselytes (*i.e.* Gentile converts to Judaism) received catechetical instruction certainly before, and perhaps after, their admission as such.[3]

As time went on, it would soon be necessary to develop the instruction and prolong the period of preparation, though we have but scanty records remaining to us until we reach the 3rd century. Such as we have, however, are satisfactory so far as they go. The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* provides (in its first six chapters)[4] instruction in practical rather than doctrinal subjects, and then proceeds (ch. 7): *ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε, κ.τ.λ. . . . κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.* Here, then, we have (probably in the 2nd cent.) a definite course of instruction laid down for catechumens in that portion of Christendom to which this treatise belongs, and the duty of preliminary fasting enjoined:[5] and there were probably special reasons why the practical rather than the dogmatic side was insisted on. Again, in Justin Martyr's *Apology*, i. 61, we read as follows: *ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχομένων καὶ συννηστευόντων αὐτοῖς. Ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστί.* Here similar evidence is afforded, together with the addition of prayer for forgiveness of sins, though this is really implied in fasting.

A little later than this, but early in the 3rd cent., we come upon a considerable body of evidence as to the care that was then taken with the preparation of catechumens. Converts in those days, and for some time to come, were still mostly adults, and a good many of these never proceeded to Baptism itself until they were at the point of

[1] Not later than the 2nd cent., since it is quoted by Irenæus (*Hær.* III. xii. 8).

[2] Cf. Ac 2^{38-41}. In each of the cases quoted some preliminary instruction was obviously given, though the special circumstances reduced the period to a minimum. It is to be noted also, as Frere (*New Hist. of Bk. of Com. Prayer*, p. 557) points out, that 'a large proportion at least of the early converts had already had the training of Judaism as their schoolmaster to bring them unto Christ.' The same author also suggests that 'when St. Paul says (1 Co 1^{14-17}) that it was not his work to baptize, he . . . has in view a system of teaching and training' preparatory to baptism (p. 558 n.).

[3] 'One might be tempted to find evidence of early catechetical instruction in such passages as Ps 15. $24^{3ff.}$ 34^{13-15}, Is 33^{14-16} etc. In Harnack's opinion, we have in Διδ. 1^{1-3a} 2^{2}–5^{2}, and fragments in chs. 8 and 13, a book of instruction for Jewish proselytes called "The Two Ways"' (F. C. Porter, art. 'Proselyte' in *HDB* iv. 136^{a}).

[4] Cf. *Apost. Const.* vii. 22.

[5] This is still required of adults in the English Church.

death (*e.g.* the Emperors Constantius and Constantine). No doubt, this was in part due to an exaggerated fear of post-baptismal sins and loss of innocence, but it must also be remembered that the state of the heathen world was such as to make it extremely difficult for the ordinary person to conduct himself with consistency as a Christian, and it was therefore most important that catechumens should be as thoroughly grounded as possible in Christian principles.[1] There must also have been frequent cases of relapse into sin in the ranks of the catechumens, which required punishment and postponement of baptism (see Bingham, *Ant.* X. ii. § 17). An extreme instance of the tendency to Puritanical strictness is found in the history of the early Syrian Church, where, even until the time of Aphraates in the 4th cent., baptism appears to have been 'a privilege reserved for celibates'; or, in other words, it was as a rule postponed till a period in life when men and women felt disposed to live separately.[2] Hence the Christian community consisted of baptized celibates,[3] together with a body of adherents who remained outside, and were not really members of, the body.

But our concern is chiefly with other parts of Christendom, and there by the beginning of the 3rd cent. the writings that are extant give us a clear idea upon the subject. In the first place, modern researches seem to show conclusively that there were only two grades among those who were unbaptized: (1) catechumens pure and simple, *i.e.* adherents to Christianity who were, however, looked upon as members of the community (*e.g.* *Can. Hipp.* 63, 64); (2) catechumens who sought baptism, and were therefore being subjected to a definite course of instruction with a view thereto. These latter were called *φωτιζόμενοι*, *competentes*, *electi*, and the like.[4] The proper time for their preparation was the season of Lent, so that they might be ready for the solemn administration of the sacrament of baptism on Easter Eve. But as baptism might, for one reason or another, be postponed till later on in the Easter season, and as Whitsunday was the end of that period, the latter festival was looked upon as the second great annual occasion for admission. In the East the Epiphany, which was always associated with our Lord's baptism in the Jordan, was also allowed, and sometimes in the West as well. After that, Christmas and other festivals were added, in spite of Papal disapproval.

The first portion of the preparatory period was occupied with three kinds of preparation:[5] (1) instruction in what they must give up (the renunciation) (see art. ABRENUNTIO); (2) instruction in what they must believe (the faith); (3) a series of exorcisms by which the evil spirits were to be driven out of the candidates.[6] A list of names was carefully drawn up of those who were to be admitted to this course. Then by Thursday in Holy Week those who satisfied the bishop were finally determined upon, and after fasting on Friday presented themselves on Saturday morning for the last act of preparation before baptism itself, which would normally take place that same evening. At this last preliminary service there were three ceremonies:[1] (1) the concluding exorcism, with imposition of hands over the candidates as they knelt facing the east; (2) the exsufflation, or breathing into their faces; (3) the *effeta*, each person being touched with spittle (or oil) on the mouth, ears, etc., in imitation of our Lord's action in Mk 7^{31-37}.

If we pass on one hundred years later, to the beginning of the 4th cent., we reach a period in the history of the Church when peace and the cessation of persecution naturally added large numbers to the Christian body, and produced further developments in the regulations for the catechumenate. The same outlines of preparation in the earlier and the later stages are still observed both in the East and in the West (at Rome and in 'Gallican' churches), but the whole system is more systematic and definite.[2]

During the course of instruction, a kind of examination was held from time to time, often called *scrutinium*; by the 7th cent. there were as many as seven of these *scrutinia*, which began in the 3rd week of Lent. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and other parts of Christian doctrine (*traditio symboli*) were learnt by heart. Various portions of the Scriptures were read and explained, especially from the historical and moral books (see Aug. *de Cat. Rud.*). What are now called the Apocrypha were also used for this purpose (Athan. *Fest. Ep.* 39; ps.-Athan. *Synopsis Script. sacr.*), more particularly, it seems, the Book of Sirach (*Can. Apost.* 85).[3] At Rome there was, at all events later on, a formal instruction in the four Gospels, called *apertio aurium*, and a curious ceremony of administering salt to the candidates.[4] They were also universally admitted to Church assemblies and to the first part of the Eucharist (*i.e.* up to the *missa* [=*missio*] *catechumenorum*), though actual instruction in the doctrine of Holy Communion was mostly withheld till after baptism.

It must, however, be remembered that, though these ceremonies continued and were even, as has been said, probably added to in process of time, and though the first part of the baptismal service was still called in the liturgical books *ordo ad catechumenum faciendum*, the rapid growth of the practice of infant baptism, which followed upon the establishment and spread of Christianity, soon led to the practical decay of the catechumen system. Comparatively few adults were baptized, but the rites and forms that had been elaborated for *them* were not adapted to the new circumstances, and babes in arms were treated as if they were in full

[1] To the same considerations must be attributed the multiplication of forms and ceremonies which is so noticeable in connexion with baptism in the mediæval rite.

[2] See Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, 1904, p. 125 ff. The whole question is fully discussed by him; he compares similar tendencies among the Marcionites (Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 34), the Manichæans, the Albigenses, and the Buddhists.

[3] The technical name for these baptized persons was *B'nai Q'yāmā* ('sons of the covenant'), who formed a kind of monastic order.

[4] See Duchesne, *Orig. du culte chrét.* (Eng. tr. p. 293), who quotes F. X. Funk, *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1883, p. 41 ff., as having established that the old idea of their division into four classes is erroneous. It may be added that the case of penitents is, as it were, the case of those who have been reduced to the rank of catechumens, and that the same author (see Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 436 n.) throws doubt on the universality of the four classes in their case even in the East, while in the West it was never practised at all.

[5] The deacons were specially charged with this work (*Can. Hipp.* 61), but care had to be taken that they too had been efficiently instructed: *οἱ κατηχοῦντες πρῶτον κατηχηθέντες κατηχείτωσαν ὅτι περὶ ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἔργον* (ps.-Clem. *Ep. ad Jac.* § 13).

[6] The Catechetical School at Alexandria and similar institutions elsewhere were, no doubt, in part, though not exclusively, intended for the benefit of catechumens (in the technical sense).

[1] The authorities for this description are Tert. *de Baptismo*, and *Can. Hipp.* 60–110; a little later we find Serapion's *Prayer-book*.

[2] The authorities are the *Peregrinatio Etheriæ* (a lady pilgrim's account of Church life in Jerusalem), the catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Augustine (for Africa), St. Ambrose (for Milan), etc.

[3] Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* iv.) objects to this use of *τὰ ἀπόκρυφα* and 'whatsoever is not read in churches'; but he must be taken, we think, to refer to heretical and uncanonical writings, not to the Apocrypha in our sense (cf. Dion. Alex. p. 52, ed. Feltoe).

[4] This, according to the usage of those days, was often called *sacramentum* (*e.g.* Aug. *de Pecc. Mer.* ii. 26; *Conc. Carth.* iii. canon 5). Baronius and others were mistaken in thinking that this referred to *eulogiæ* (*pain bénit*); see Bingham, *Ant.* x. ii. 16.

possession of their faculties and capacities.[1] At the present day this defect has been more or less completely remedied in the various parts of Christendom, though to a greater extent in the West than in the conservative East; and still more so in the Reformed than in the un-Reformed branches of the Church. Both the modern *Rituale Romanum* and the Prayer-books of the Anglican Communions provide separate Offices for the Baptism of Infants and of Adults, and in the Offices for the latter provision is still made for the due preparation of the catechumens. The rubric in the Roman Office requires that the adult candidate shall receive adequate instruction in faith and morals, shall receive the sacrament of baptism fasting, and, if possible, at the bishop's hands, and on Easter Eve or at Whitsuntide. The Office for the Public Baptism of 'such as are of riper years and able to answer for themselves' was not added to the English Prayer-book till 1661; the Preface thus accounts for its addition:

'Although not so necessary when the former Book was compiled, yet by the growth of Anabaptism, through the licentiousness of the late times crept in amongst us, [it] is now become necessary, and may be always useful for the baptizing of natives in our plantations, and others converted to the Faith.'

The reasons here alleged are still, of course, operative in our days, especially in many parts of the mission field, where great care has to be exercised in the selection and instruction of converts before baptism. It is to be noticed that here, too, the rubric gives directions which are on much the same lines as the Roman rubric just referred to, and follows ancient precedent:

'Timely notice shall be given to the Bishop,[2] or whom he shall appoint for that purpose, a week before at the least, by the Parents, or some other discreet persons; that so due care may be taken for their examination, whether they be sufficiently instructed in the principles of the Christian Religion; and that they may be exhorted to prepare themselves with prayers and fasting for the receiving of this holy Sacrament.'

One of the chief privileges of the catechumenate, up to the time of its practical abolition by the spread of infant baptism, was that of attendance (with penitents) at the first portion of the Eucharist. This consisted, in general terms, of the Scripture lections from OT and NT (*Prophetica*, *Apostolica*, and *Evangelica Lectio*) and the homily. After that, in the East, during the 4th cent., the catechumens first, the energumens next, then the *competentes*, and finally the penitents were dismissed[3] in this form:

'At the invitation of the deacon they offer up a silent prayer, while the congregation also prays for them. The deacon formulates this prayer, specifying the particulars of it, giving the petitions in detail. The faithful, especially the children present, answer him by the supplication *Kyrie Eleison*! The catechumens afterwards rise up, and the deacon invites them in their turn to pray, by joining with him in the form which he employs; he then invites them to incline their heads to receive the blessing of the bishop, after which they are dismissed.'[4]

As to the Roman Liturgy we have no evidence available till the liturgical books of the 8th century. By that time 'discipline in regard to catechumens . . . had been largely modified. There were no longer any adult catechumens. . . .' Duchesne is, however, of opinion that the ancient formulary of the *missa catechumenorum* was preserved notwithstanding, and occurs in the order of baptism of that date.

'On the day of the "Opening of the Ears" [or *traditio symboli*] the deacon dismissed the candidates for baptism with the words, *Catechumeni recedant! Si quis catechumenus est, recedat! Omnes catechumeni exeant foras!*'[5]

[1] Traces of this incomplete adaptation are to be observed even in the Reformed office of the Anglican Church: *e.g.* the 'Thou' and 'I' in the questions to godparents, and their answers, which the phrase 'in the name of this child' only partially sets free from awkwardness.

[2] The Irish Prayer-book retains this rubric in its entirety; the American substitutes 'Minister' for 'Bishop . . . discreet persons.'

[3] Hence the term *missa catechumenorum*, *missa* being a late word for *missio* (like *collecta* for *collectio*, *ascensa* for *ascensio*, etc.). The Roman Mass still ends with the words '*Ite, missa est.*'

[4] Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 58. [5] *Ib.* p. 171.

For the Gallican use we have the evidence of St. Germain of Paris[1] in the 2nd half of the 6th cent. adduced by Duchesne.[2] By his day

'the catechumenate had become merely a reminiscence. It was necessary then to explain the *missa* (dismissal) *catechumenorum*, of which the rite, however, continued to be preserved.[3] This ceremony took place after the prayer, as in the Liturgy of Constantinople. In the Apostolical Constitutions it is placed before the prayer. We cannot gather precisely from the text of St. Germain whether it was accompanied by special prayers. I am inclined to believe that its text has in view the prayers which I have just dealt with, but that at the beginning there were special prayers, which disappeared with the disappearance of the catechumens. Thus, at the end of the sixth century, at least in the Church of Paris, nothing more was said than some such formulary as *Ne quis catechumenus, catechumeni recedant.*'

Something has already been said about the present state of things in regard to this matter; but it may be further added that, since the prevalence of infant baptism amongst most Christian bodies, systematic instruction in the principles of the faith which, as we have seen, was the most important feature in the primitive catechumenate, is carried on after baptism instead of before; and in the case of the Roman, Anglican, and Lutheran Communions mostly before Confirmation, which has now been separated by a considerable interval from baptism, and postponed till those that are baptized have reached years of discretion. Among Nonconformist bodies this may be said to be provided for by means of Sunday school and other classes. In the Anglican communion the two final addresses to the godparents in the office of 'Publick Baptism of Infants' lay stress upon the duty of their seeing that their godchildren 'be taught, so soon as they shall be able to learn,' the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and 'all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health,' this last clause being amplified afterwards into the charge that they 'be further instructed in the Church-Catechism set forth for that purpose.' In this way the spirit of the Early Church is still retained, by which only those who have been properly instructed in the faith are admitted to full communion with the Christian society.[4]

See also the artt. ABRENUNTIO, BAPTISM, CATECHISMS, CONFESSIONS, CONFIRMATION.

LITERATURE.—Bingham, *Ant. Chr. Church*, London, 1708–22, bk. x. ch. ii.; Bona, *Rerum Liturg.*, Rome, 1671, lib. i. capp. xvi., xvii.; F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, London, 1904, Lect. iv.; Duchesne, *Orig. du culte chrét.*, Paris, 1889 (Eng. tr. *Christian Worship*, London, 1903), ch. ix.; F. Cohrs, art. 'Katechumenat,' in *PRE*[3], vol. x.; Martène, *de Ant. Eccl. Ritibus*, Antwerp, 1736–38, i. ch. i. artt. v.–ix.; Procter-Frere, *New Hist. of Bk. of Com. Prayer*, London, 1901, ch. xiv.; D. Stone, *Holy Baptism*[4], London, 1905, ch. xii.; F. Wiegand, *Symbol und Katechumenat*, Leipzig, 1899; J. Mayer, *Gesch. d. Katechumenats . . . in den ersten sechs Jahrhunderten*, Kempten, 1868 [Rom. Cath.]; E. Hatch, *Organisation of the Early Chr. Churches*, London, 1888; Bright, *Canons of the first Four Gen. Councils*, London, 1892 (esp. *Can. Nic.* 2 and 14, and *Can. Const.* 7, and the learned editor's notes, pp. 5, 55, 121).

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CATHARI.—See ALBIGENSES.

CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH.—See IRVING AND THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

CATHOLICISM, CATHOLICITY. — The meaning of these words will be best understood by examining the history of the adjective 'catholic.' The word 'catholicity' is always, or almost always, the name of a quality—the quality of being catholic, in whatever sense this may be understood; the word 'Catholicism' is generally applied to a system of faith or practice which

[1] Died A.D. 576. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 202.

[3] Cf. Council of Epaon (517), c. 29, 'cum catechumeni procedere commonentur.'

[4] In the Bull *Ex omnibus afflictionibus* (Oct. 1, 1567), Pius v. condemned the tenet of Baius, 'opera catechumenorum, ut fides et poenitentia ante remissionem peccatorum facta, sunt vitae aeternae merita' (cf. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*[10], Freiburg, 1908, No. 1018).

possesses the quality of being catholic. 'Catholicism' is sometimes, though rarely, used of the quality itself, but 'Catholicity' is never, or very rarely, used as the name of a system.

The adjective 'catholic' is derived from καθ' ὅλου, which means 'on the whole,' 'in general'; and it has an extensive non-ecclesiastical use, which need not be particularly examined. It is used of things which are universally prevalent or applicable, or even of things which are only common, and more particularly of things which are of universal use or interest, and of persons who have universal or wide sympathies. These meanings need not be dwelt upon, but it should be noted that early ecclesiastical writers freely use the word in its non-ecclesiastical sense.

The ecclesiastical use began very early, and the word was from the first specially used to denote an attribute of the Church. It was not commonly applied to persons until much later. In many early instances it is not easy to determine the precise shade of meaning which it was intended to convey. The Church, it is true, might very naturally be called 'universal' for several reasons. It might be so called as teaching a universal religion suitable to the whole of mankind, in contrast to the national character of Judaism. Or the term might be used of actual local extension, either with reference to the future literal extension of the Church throughout the world, or with reference to that actual extension over a great part of the Roman empire—the inhabited world—which took place very early in its history. Or again, the Church in general, the Christian society as a whole, might be called 'universal,' to distinguish it from the local churches, that is, from those parts of the one society which existed in particular places. All these shades of meaning came in the course of time to be associated with the epithet, but it is not clear that any one of them was the original significance. And another idea appears very early, and perhaps to some extent even in the earliest examples of the use of the word. As the true doctrine of the Church was regarded as that which was held by the Church as a whole, while heresies were partial and local, the word 'catholic' came to signify 'orthodoxy as opposed to heresy, conformity as opposed to dissent' (Lightfoot, *Patr. Ap.*, note on Ign. *ad Smyrn.* viii.). This, indeed, became the principal meaning of the word, and so it became usual to speak of the catholic Church in a particular place, in contrast with bodies of schismatics or heretics. The word came also to be very frequently used as a sort of perpetual epithet of the Church, without any more definite significance than that of the 'true' or 'orthodox' Church. The frequency of the use of the word is attested by the fact that it appeared very early in the Eastern Creeds, and somewhat later in those of the West.

The early history and the development of the meaning of the word can be best understood from an examination of some typical examples of its use. The earliest passage in which it occurs is in Ignatius (*ad Smyrn.* viii.):

> 'Shun divisions as the beginning of evils. Let all follow the Bishop, as Jesus Christ the Father; and the Presbytery as the Apostles; and to the Deacons pay respect as to the commandment of God. Let no man do anything of things pertaining to the Church apart from the Bishop. Let that be held a valid Eucharist which is under the Bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresoever the Bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus may be there is the Catholic Church. It is not lawful apart from the Bishop either to baptize or to hold an *agape*; but whatsoever he shall approve, this is well pleasing also to God.'

It has been commonly assumed that in this passage the Catholic Church means simply the Church in general, or as a whole, as distinguished from the church in any particular place; and this at first sight seems the obvious sense. But if this is the whole significance of the word in this passage, Ignatius would appear to say that the relation of the Bishop to the particular church is the same as that of Christ to the Church as a whole; and he can hardly mean this—at least not without some qualification. The drift of the whole passage is to insist on the unity of the Church, and the argument appears to be that the indwelling of Jesus is the essence of the Church, and that the visible test by which it may be seen that the community in any place is part of the Church consists in being in communion with the Bishop, who is at once the head and representative of the local church, and the link which connects it with the Church as a whole, of which Christ is the head. This is in accordance with the theory of the early Church about the episcopate; and if this is what Ignatius means, the word 'catholic' has already something of the sense of the 'true' Church.

Other early examples of the use of the word occur in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, of which fragments have been preserved in Eusebius, and of which the date may be about 150. This is addressed to 'all the parishes (*i.e.* dioceses) in every place of the holy and catholic Church,' and in §§ 8 and 19 'the whole catholic Church throughout the inhabited world' is spoken of. Here the meaning is not defined; but, if the sense were simply that of local extension, there would have been no object in adding the words 'in every place' and 'throughout the world.' In § 16, according to the old reading, 'the catholic Church in Smyrna' is spoken of; and if this is the right reading, it can only mean the true, orthodox Church. The more probable reading, however, is 'the holy Church.' At all events the sense of orthodoxy is unmistakable in the *Muratorian Fragment*, which says that the heretical writings cannot be received into the Catholic Church, and in Clement of Alexandria, who says (*Strom.* vii. 17) that it is the essential characteristic of the Catholic Church that it should agree in the unity of one faith. In the time of St. Augustine the significance of the word was further developed and commented on; and greater stress seems to have been laid on the idea of universality in the sense of extension—at all events on some occasions, as for instance in controversy with the Donatists. St. Augustine, writing about them to a correspondent, says that they maintained that the Church is catholic 'not from the communion of the whole world, but from the observance of all Divine precepts and all sacraments' (*Ep.* xciii. 23; cf. lii. 1). But the meaning of orthodoxy still prevails, *e.g.* in *de Fid. et Symb.* x.:

> 'We believe also in the Holy Church, that is to say, the Catholic Church. For both heretics and schismatics call their congregations churches. But heretics violate the faith itself by false opinions about God, while schismatics abandon brotherly charity. . . . Wherefore neither heretics belong to the Catholic Church, which loves God, nor schismatics, since it loves its neighbour.'

> So also in *Serm. ad Cat.* 14: 'This is the Holy Church, the One Church, the True Church, the Catholic Church, fighting against all heresies.'

The *locus classicus* for the meaning of the word as it was fully developed during the first three centuries is in the *Catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (viii. 23 [A.D. 348]):

> 'The Church is called Catholic because it exists throughout all the inhabited world, from one end of the earth to the other; and because it teaches, universally and completely, all doctrines which ought to come to the knowledge of men concerning things both visible and invisible, both in heaven and on earth; and because it brings into subjection to godliness the whole race of men, both of rulers and of ruled, both of learned and of ignorant; and because it universally treats and heals every kind of sins which are committed by soul and body, and possesses in itself every form of virtue that is named, both in deeds and words and in spiritual gifts of every kind.'

Here there are four kinds of universality indicated—extension in place, completeness of doctrine, adaptation to all kinds of men, and moral and spiritual perfection. In another celebrated passage St. Vincent of Lérins applies universal agreement as a test of doctrine (*Common.* i. 2). After dealing with the appeal to Scripture, he adds:

'Within the Catholic Church itself the greatest care must be taken that we hold that which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all. For this is truly and properly Catholic, as the very force and effect of the word declares, which includes all things with practical universality. But this will be found precisely in this way, if we follow that which is universal, that which is ancient, that about which there is consent.'

St. Vincent does not, however, as has been sometimes supposed, exclude all development of doctrine, for somewhat later he adds:

'As in the case of individuals, so in the case of the whole Church, at the different stages of life and age, there must be great and vehement progress in understanding, in knowledge, in wisdom.'

The Middle Ages added little or nothing to the idea of catholicity. The thought of local extension fell very much into the background, for the missionary work of the Church for several centuries was nearly at a standstill; Christianity had occupied almost all the area open to it, and had enough to do to defend even this from Muhammadan aggression. The word 'Catholic' in its ordinary use meant the opposite of heretical. It was also used as a perpetual epithet. Thus the King of France was called 'the Catholic King,' and the same title was given to the King of Jerusalem. But, after the religious convulsions of the 16th cent., the word came to be used with a greater variety of meaning. The new religious associations which became known as Protestant did not commonly claim the title of 'Catholic' for themselves; and, on the other hand, the Churches of the Papal obedience insisted more explicitly on the doctrine that communion with the See of Rome was a necessary condition of membership of the true Church, and that therefore only those who remained in this communion were entitled to be called Catholic. Hence the term 'Catholic' came to be opposed to the term 'Protestant'; and on the Continent of Europe the words are still popularly used in this way. The Anglican Church, on the other hand, retained its historical continuity, and continued to claim catholicity as being a true representative of the ancient undivided Church. Anglicans, therefore, from the 16th cent. have applied the term 'Roman' Catholic to the Churches of the Roman obedience, while claiming to be equally Catholic themselves. It may be noted that from this period the word is commonly applied not only to the Church as a whole, but also to individual members of the Church. Instances of this use are found much earlier, but it now becomes very common. See further, the article on the CHURCH.

At the present day the word is used in several significations which differ considerably from each other. The chief of them are the following:

(i.) The meaning of catholicity, as it is understood at the present day in *the Roman Church*, may be summed up in the following propositions. (*a*) The Church was intended by God to be literally universal, *i.e.* diffused throughout the world. (*b*) As applied to the Church at any particular time, this universal extension must be understood in a moral sense, whether it be simultaneous or successive. For such a moral catholicity it is not necessary that the Church should be as yet literally extended throughout the whole world, or that its members should form an actual majority of professing Christians, or that its progress in every place should be continuous and uninterrupted. It will be sufficient if it can be shown that, from its first beginnings at Jerusalem, the Church has by degrees extended throughout the greater part of the world, and founded branches progressively in all directions, all of which are united by a real and visible bond of union, that is, not only by common aims and sympathies, but by being under the same government. (*c*) This moral catholicity is a note of the Church, that is, a quality which distinguishes the Church from any other body; for it is an attribute of the Church founded by Christ, and not of a number of different bodies taken together. It implies, therefore, a common faith and a common government, for without these a true visible unity is impossible. (*d*) It is a quality which is possessed only by the Roman Church. The Eastern Churches possess historical continuity, but they are divided into several independent parts without a common government. Moreover, they claim only their own territory, and make no attempt to spread their branches over the world. Nor can they be regarded as forming collectively one part of the Catholic Church, the other part being the Western Church, because their bonds with the West are altogether broken, in respect both of faith and of government. The Protestant bodies are professedly partial and local, they have no bond of union, and they have severed all organic connexion with the historical Church. The Anglican Church claims catholicity, and at the present moment its branches have a wide extension; but this is closely connected with national extension, and even on the supposition that it retains Apostolic orders, the different branches of the Anglican communion are united merely by comity, and not by any efficient common government. It will be seen that, according to this view, the quality of the catholicity of the Church is almost merged in that of its unity. Even the question of orthodox doctrine enters into the conception only in a subordinate degree, and unity of government becomes the real test of catholicity.

(ii.) *The Anglican view* denies that an absolute centralized government is a necessary condition of catholicity, and maintains that such a government was not thought necessary and did not actually exist in the early ages of the Church, but that orthodoxy was maintained by the consentient witness of all parts of the Church. The name of 'Catholic' was given to the Church not so much because of its actual local extension at any moment, although it was destined to be spread throughout the whole world, but because it is in its nature capable of supplying all spiritual needs of all classes of mankind at all times. But it can do this only if it retains its purity and completeness of doctrine and worship; and, according to the teaching of the early Church, this is secured mainly by the continuity of the episcopate which preserves the Apostolic tradition and bears witness to the common consent of all parts of the Christian world. Hence arises the close connexion between catholicity and the episcopate, which is found as early as the passage of Ignatius cited above. The bishops were regarded in early times not as imposing doctrines upon the Church, but as witnesses to the accordant beliefs of different parts of the Church, so that by their agreement the faith of the whole might be ascertained. In the same manner also the due administration of the sacraments was to be secured (Ignat. *l.c.*). Any part of Christendom may therefore rightly be called Catholic which preserves the faith, the sacraments, and the Apostolic ministry. The catholicity of the Church is a real thing, although it is imperfect, just as its unity and its holiness are likewise imperfect.

(iii.) *The religious bodies which were formed in the 16th cent. and later* have made little use of the

word 'Catholic' except in the sense of Roman Catholic. In explaining the term as it occurs in the Creed and in ancient literature, they have generally laid stress upon the idea of local extension, and applied it to the ideal aim of Christianity. Some writers again, using 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' as opposed terms, have applied them to two fundamental religious tendencies. Inasmuch as all religion has as its object to bring men into close relation to God, the direct contact of the individual soul with God is its true concern. On the other hand, as man is obviously created for society, his relations to God imply relations with his fellow-men, and this implies a religious society, in and through which relations to God become possible. As this latter conception—the belief in the necessity of the Christian society, the importance of its orthodoxy, unity, and right government, and of its social acts, the sacraments —was greatly insisted upon in the Middle Ages, while in the upheaval of the 16th cent. there was a strong tendency to lay stress upon the relation of the individual soul to God, some writers use the words 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' to denote these social and individualistic tendencies respectively. This is not, however, the historical use of the words. In recent times the word 'catholic' has been loosely used in a manner still more remote from its original significance. In non-ecclesiastical matters it has been not infrequently or improperly used, as has been mentioned above, to express the ideas of comprehensiveness or general sympathy. Consequently, some modern writers have applied it in ecclesiastical matters to what is vague and undetermined in faith or practice. This use of the word is purely modern, although some approximation to it may be found as early as the writings of Baxter and Defoe, and nothing could be further removed from its historical significance.

There are several subordinate ecclesiastical senses in which the word 'catholic' has been used: (1) It is the title (καθολικός) of certain patriarchs or primates in the Eastern Churches. It is properly applied to a primate who is subordinate to a patriarch, but who has metropolitans under him. (2) It is used of church buildings: (*a*) of a bishop's church or cathedral as opposed to a parish church, (*b*) of a church as opposed to a private oratory, (*c*) of a parish church as opposed to a monastic church. (3) It is used of the Catholic Epistles (see the Comm. and the art. 'Catholic Epistles' in *HDB*).

LITERATURE.—The doctrine of the Church, including its Catholicity, is dealt with more or less fully in most general works on Christian doctrine, especially in treatises on the Creeds. The claims of the Church of Rome are the subject of innumerable works, controversial and constructive. The books mentioned here are merely a few specimens of their classes.

i. Patristic references: Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.*; 'Martyrdom of Polycarp,' *ap.* Euseb. *HE*; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii.; Cyprian, *de Unit. Eccl.*; Aug. *Epp.* lii. 1, xciii. 23, *Sermo ad Catech.*, *de Fide et Symb.*; Cyr. Jer. xviii. 23; Vinc. Lir. *Common.* i. 2.

ii. Works on the Creed: J. Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed*[3], Lond. 1669, and many edd.; Forbes, *Explanation of the Nicene Creed*, Lond. 1865; Kattenbusch, *Das apost. Symb.*, Leipzig, 1894-1900.

iii. Church doctrine: Möhler, *Symbolik*, 1838; Scheeben, *Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik*, Freiburg, 1874-1887; Schouppe, *Elementa Theol. Dogm.*, Brussels, 1886; Hunter, *Outlines of Dogm. Theol.*, Lond. 1895-6; Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, Eng. tr., Edinb. 1898; Dorner, *Syst. of Christian Doctr.*, Eng. tr., Edinb. 1881-2.

iv. Works on the Church: Lacordaire, *L'Église*, Paris, 1903; Mater, *L'Église catholique*, Paris, 1906; Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, Lond. 1897; Durell, *Historic Church*, Cambr. 1906; Stone, *The Christian Church*, Lond. 1905; Lock, 'The Church' (in *Lux Mundi*, Lond. 1889). Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*[4], Lond. 1900, *Roman Cath. Claims*, Lond. 1888; Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, Lond. 1897; Fairbairn, *Catholicism*, Lond. 1899; Rashdall, *Christus in Ecclesia*, Edinb. 1904; Tyrrell, *Mediævalism*, Lond. 1908; Ehrhard, 'Kath. Christentum u. Kirche in der Neuzeit' (in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, I. iv. 1, Berlin and Leipzig, 1909).

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CAUSE, CAUSALITY.

—I. *THE CAUSAL RELATION.*—1. **Content of the idea of cause.**—By a 'cause' is meant an object, event, or process, in virtue of which some other object, event, or process comes to exist or occur. In the primitive and pre-scientific conception, derived from the instinctive philosophy of the human mind in its uncritical stages, a cause is always a concrete thing or person; but such a thing is a cause only in so far as it takes effect, and at the moment in which it does so. The 'effect' of the cause is the change produced in some other thing. If, sometimes, a certain quality of the thing concerned in its causal activity is abstracted from its other (irrelevant) qualities, and called 'cause,' this is but a convenient abbreviation; for when we say 'friction warms,' we really understand that the true cause of the warmth is the body which produces the friction.

This conception of cause involves the idea of temporal succession. The beginning of the causal action is prior to the completion of the change which is called the effect: 'the cause precedes the effect.'

Further, the popular conception of causality involves, over and above succession in time, the element of 'efficient action'; the effect is 'produced.' The bullet, *e.g.*, would not have flown from the gun unless the charge had been fired; and common thought regards the bullet as having been made, or constrained, to fly. The constant concurrence of events, such as rubbing and warmth, may suggest, or be the occasion of, or create a need for, the application of the concept of causation; but it does not itself yield it. Causation is, then, in the first instance, a transaction between two things, an active and a passive; and this conception of concrete causes is used by Locke and Hume.

To look thus for the ground of one fact in another fact or object involves the assumption of discontinuity in the world-process. It implies that the world is an assemblage of 'things,' history a series of events; that reality consists of separate facts. We shall notice later the view that such breaking up of reality into things and events is arbitrary.

2. **Origin of the primitive concept of cause.**—The idea of causality is generally held to have arisen from our consciousness of voluntary action in ourselves. Our original model, says William James, in the construction of the concept of cause, is our immediate experience in moving our limbs. Similarly, Shadworth Hodgson asserts that the notion of efficient causation is got from our unanalyzed experience of ourself in action; a man's body, together with its consciousness, appears to him to be immediately perceived as a real and originating agent. (On this point, see Sigwart, *Logic*, Eng. tr. ii. 98.) It is certain that our relations with the external world are the events which most keenly excite our interest and attention, and that our volitional action and consciousness of effort measure for us our own 'efficiency.' Consequently, it is natural for us to interpret external events by ascribing to things the action and passion which we experience ourselves. Similarly, it is held, the idea of *necessity* implied in the causal relation is modelled upon and derived from the human feeling of coercion or restraint. The ordinary concept of cause is, in fact, anthropomorphic. It arose in the race from the tendency to 'introject' our own experience into objects, which especially characterized mankind in the animistic stage; and we shall see later how the empiricism of natural science regards the cruder concept of cause as a 'fetish.' But if the foregoing account of the origin of the notion of causation be correct, we can well understand that, in primitive usage, a cause should be a thing or a person—something which we can endow, by analogy, with life like our own.

The concept of 'forces,' as once used by physical investigators, to denote the (unknown) causes of changes in Nature, and of 'force,' defined as 'that which *produces* motion or change of motion,' as used in all but the most recent physical science, is, of course, but a form of the primitive notion of cause. Nowadays, both in science and in vulgar thought, it is events, rather than things or objects, of which the causal relation is predicated.

3. **Ambiguities and difficulties inherent in the popular conception of cause.**—The concept of cause necessarily involves the difficulties which belong to the several concepts—such as 'change,' 'thing,' 'activity'—which it presupposes: difficulties which have led some philosophers to regard the content of such concepts to be 'appearance' rather than 'reality.' And besides these difficulties, which inevitably arise in the application of logic, which is 'discrete,' to the time-process, which is continuous, various ambiguities attach to the words 'cause' and 'effect' on account of their usage in senses implying diverse degrees of reflexion and criticism. The meaning of statements concerning causation will depend, *e.g.*, upon how much we group together under the names of 'cause' and 'effect.' Thought can make order out of the data of experience only when it isolates, as separate 'events,' aggregates or unities whose limits in time are more or less definitely prescribable, and when it distinguishes as 'things' unities which can be easily differentiated in space. These temporal and spatial wholes are linked together, in thought which seeks to 'understand' them, by the causal means.

(*a*) *Continuity.*—As typical of the difficulties which emerge when we analyze the notion of cause, we may refer to that involved in causation as a time-process. As we have seen, both the primitive notion of cause and, generally, the more scientific forms of the concept regard it as of the essence of a cause that it *precedes* the effect. But time is continuous; we can always assert, in thought, elements of time in the time-series between any two points which we have selected to regard as next to each other in succession. And, unless causation is similarly continuous, we should have to suppose the two events which we call cause and effect to be separated by an interval of empty time. And this leads to further puzzles (see Taylor, *Elements of Metaph.* p. 173 f.). See CONTINUITY.

Again, a body, A, cannot be said to act causally on another, B, if, while A is changing, B is not. A cause is a cause only in so far as, and at the moment in which, it produces its 'effect'; just as a soldier is a target only when he is being the object of a marksman's aim. If causation is production of change, then cause and effect would seem to be necessarily simultaneous. We speak, indeed, of the swallowing of poison as the cause of a subsequent death; but, in thus singling out one event in a series and calling it the cause of a later one, we are using language which may be convenient, but which is certainly arbitrary and inaccurate. Between the act of swallowing and the cessation of life, a physiologist could distinguish many successive events, each of which may equally claim the title of cause of the final effect. Indeed, every event permits of conceptional division into parts, *ad infinitum*; it is really a system of events, and these are again systems of a higher order. Science resolves planets, for instance, into atoms, and these into electrons; a flash of light into waves caused by vibrations.

On analyzing a case of causal action, then, we find that it is only in a loose sense of the term that we can speak of a cause as preceding its effect. And this is so, whether 'cause' stands for a particular event or for the sum of empirical 'conditions.'

(*b*) *Transeunt action.*—The idea of cause involves, besides *sequence* in time, the idea of production, or of efficient action. We shall see that empirical science has eliminated this element from its concept of cause; but it has had to advance to the abnegation of the concept altogether. Cause, then, involves the notion not merely of action, but of action *upon* something, in which it produces change. This type of action is called 'transeunt.' It is important to note that transeunt action is not *perceptible.* Experience shows us one thing coming after another, but not *out of* it; observation reveals succession, and regularity of succession, but nothing more. And though efficient action does not of itself imply regularity or uniformity in the succession of effect after cause, the conception is probably motived, psychologically, by the desire to find one ground for the connected changes which we observe. The model from which the notion is derived is the effort which we experience in accomplishing volitional actions, and the restraint of which we are conscious when we are prevented. When we come to close quarters with efficient or transeunt action, we find that it also is an obscure conception; it is hard to imagine how such action is worked, and in what it consists. *Why* does a ball move when impinged upon by another (and this is the type of transeunt causality)? We simply do not know. We can form no definite conception of an 'influence' let loose from the cause and passing over into the effect; and, as Lotze points out in his exhaustive investigation of transeunt action (*Metaph.*, Eng. tr., vol. i. ch. 5), the conception would not help us if we could. *Attributa non separantur a substantiis.* This notion of a 'transference' of something from cause to effect (or rather, to the object in which the effect appears) has been productive of error in earlier philosophy. One of its consequences, *e.g.*, was the scholastic doctrine that 'like can act only on like'—which perpetuates itself in the modern theory of psycho-physical parallelism. Such a conception also presupposes that the body B which receives the 'influence' from A is purely passive in the actual causal process—a point to which we shall soon recur.

Meanwhile, it may be observed that various attempts have been made in the past to dispense with the idea of transeunt activity, in formulating a doctrine of causality, on account of the difficulties attending it. One of these was Occasionalism (see art. OCCASIONALISM). This theory denied all interaction between the so-called cause and the effect, and referred all 'efficiency' to God, who, on the appearance of an event A (ordinarily called 'cause'), was said to produce the event B ('effect'), A being the *occasional*, not the efficient or true, cause of B. Occasionalism, as in the systems of Malebranche, Geulincx, and other Cartesians, implies perpetual 'miracle.' Berkeley also reached, by another road, the view that there is no secondary causation. God is, for him, the sole cause; secondary causes are only 'signs.'

Another theory with similar purpose was Leibniz's doctrine of Pre-established Harmony, which substituted for the continual intervention of Omnipotence, which Occasionalism required, the one initial miracle of the arrangement of harmony between the elements of reality (monads) at the first. The passage from phase to phase of the activity of each monad was conceived by Leibniz as due to an immanent force expressing the nature, created once for all, of that monad; while regularity of succession in phenomena was explained as due to the harmony pre-established between the monads.

These historical attempts to dispense with transeunt action have long been abandoned. So also

has what may be called the conceptional or logical view of the causal relation, inherited by scholasticism from Aristotle, and prevalent until the 18th century—a view which may be mentioned here as not involving any implication of transeunt activity or any attempt to avoid it. According to this view, efficient causes can be known from analysis of the essential nature of their effects, and effects can be deduced from the definition of their causes—a mode of conceiving causation taken over from scholasticism by the earlier philosophers of the modern period, who used mathematical method in science where we now use induction. Descartes, Spinoza, and even Bacon, *e.g.*, used 'cause' in the rationalistic sense. The effect was regarded as 'contained in' the cause; or, as Spinoza expresses it, *aliquid efficitur ab aliqua re* means *aliquid sequitur ex ejus definitione.* The work of Hume and Kant has made it plain that the causal relation is not thus analytic, but synthetic, and indeed causality is no longer interpreted as it was before their time. But our examination of transeunt activity, in terms of which 'efficiency' is most naturally expressed, suffices to show that the ordinary notion of causation is once more lacking in clearness. Of course our inability to conceive, or to imagine the 'how,' of transeunt action between things, or indeed of the activity of living subjects whence transitive action is by analogy derived, is no proof that such action is not fact, but illusion. But so long as the cause is looked upon as what, by its action, exclusively determines the nature of the effect in a purely passive object, efficiency is perhaps impossible as well as inconceivable. The action of A on B cannot be grounded in A alone; the change attributed to A as cause must be determined in part by B also. For it depends on the nature of B how B will behave under A's action. The sun which softens wax hardens clay. The popular view of causal action, in grounding the change of B entirely in A, is therefore one-sided. The action must be reciprocal. In physics this receives expression in Newton's 3rd law of motion: 'Action and reaction are equal and opposite.' Causation, then, is *inter*action; cause and effect are simultaneous; the effect is not contained in the cause; there is not a passive factor.

Transeunt activity, however conceived, is inconsistent with any thoroughly pluralistic theory of reality. Independent substances, like Leibniz's monads, are incapable of interaction. On such a metaphysical system, we have, in any change, a purely self-determined sequence of states in one or several members of the plurality. Such 'causality' is distinguished as 'immanent.' We have referred to Occasionalism and Pre-established Harmony as devices to reduce all causality (secondary) to the immanent type; but unless 'God' is simply another term for the whole of reality, these devices do not succeed in removing the difficulties which they were intended to eliminate. Here, however, we come in sight of another explanation of causal action—one which has received exposition in the philosophy of Lotze. Lotze regards God as the ultimate ground of all change; he conceives of the transition from cause to effect as development in one and the same Being. Thus pluralism is merged in an embracing monism; the many are included in the One; transeunt activity becomes wholly immanent.

It will now be obvious that the concept of cause, as used in our practical *Weltanschauung* suffers from lack of clearness—perhaps, also, from inherent contradictions. Partly in consequence of such obscurities, and partly because of the metaphysical implications of the concept, it has undergone modification at the hands of natural science; and 'cause' is now being eliminated from scientific terminology altogether.

4. The treatment of the concept of 'cause' in physical science.—We have seen that the pre-scientific application of the term 'cause' to objects presented difficulties on critical analysis, and that the continuity of time renders it difficult to conceive of events as efficient causes.[1] We scarcely need to point out that the tendency, sometimes observable, to speak of laws of Nature as if they were causes, and 'produced' the phenomena whose behaviour they describe, bespeaks considerable confusion of thought. We have also seen that 'efficiency' and 'transeunt action' are difficult conceptions, and that they involve more than can be derived from the data of experience. From appreciation of these difficulties and metaphysical mysteries, science, and empiricist philosophy steeped in science, came to speak of an event as the cause of another only in the sense that it is a real *condition*, on the occurrence of which something else happens which would not happen without it. A cause, in fact, becomes a *sine qua non* antecedent, but does not itself necessarily 'produce' the event which is called its effect. How or why an event is a *sine qua non* antecedent, it may not be necessary for science to know or to care; but it must not be forgotten that constancy of co-existence and regularity of sequence in events imply causal relation of some kind somewhere. Similarly, a cause has been described by J. S. Mill as 'the sum-total of conditions' for the happening of an event—a definition approached by that of Hobbes: 'the aggregate of all the accidents.' Our examination of the pre-scientific notion of cause has already led us in sight of the metaphysical result that the ground of any event must be sought in *all the rest of reality*; but if the 'sum-total of conditions' be identified with 'the whole of reality,' or even with the state of the world as a whole at a preceding moment, this definition will be useless to science. There is then an end to particular causes of particular events. We note, then, the tendency of science to eliminate 'efficiency' from the concept of cause, and to reduce causation to invariable sequence; at the same time, as we shall presently see more fully, empiricism has sometimes proved anxious to retain the element of 'necessity' in the causal connexion.

Before Hume's day it had been remarked by Glanvil that 'causality itself is unsensible,' and that, in inferring from constancy of accompaniment to causal relation, we supply more than we are empirically authorized to supply. But it was one of Hume's contributions to the problem of causality to emphasize this fact, and to show that in reading into the causal relation 'efficacy'—or 'agency, power, force, energy, necessity, connexion, or productive quality,' which, he says, 'are all nearly synonymous'—the mind 'goes beyond what is immediately present to the senses.' Now, since Hume—or Mill, his constructive successor—has generally been the fountain at which the scientific investigator has imbibed his philosophical opinions, it is natural that, in the sphere of scientific thought, causality should be replaced by the very different conception—uniformity of co-existence or sequence. But the progress of science itself towards the scientific goal, *i.e.* the inherent tendency of science to become more and more identical with abstract dynamics, is responsible for a further change in the scientific usage of the causal concept. The mechanical description of the world, which science develops and uses, represents the world as wholly inert, and its total 'energy' as constant; and it sometimes repudiates the use of the term 'force' in any sense other than that of the purely mathematical quantity 'rate of change of momentum' (see

[1] Some of these difficulties were pointed out by Ænesidemus, 1st cent. B.C.

art. FORCE). Further, science regards the world as one continuous process of becoming, in which what we have hitherto called, 'with a clear trace of fetishism,' 'cause' and 'effect' are not temporally distinguishable events, but merely phases of one process. In Nature, accordingly, there are no causes and effects. '*Die Natur ist nur einmal da.*' In place of the causal relation, Science now uses the mathematical equation. She speaks only of transferences of energy—not of the action of forces—in which the loss on one side is exactly equivalent to the gain on the other. Such is the modern interpretation of *ex nihilo nihil fit*, and *causa æquat effectum*. Which side of the transaction is cause, and which effect, is immaterial. Thus is 'cause' expelled from the language of science by many of its most eminent representatives; and the rôle of science, since Kirchhoff, has more and more become identified with the description of the course of Nature in terms of the simplest possible conceptual symbols and formulæ, metaphysical implications and language being renounced.

It had been insisted by Comte that the old nomenclature which included terms such as 'cause' and 'force' was obsolete if the standpoint of empiricism were established and adopted. And indeed words implying dynamic dependence or efficient activity are out of place if the causal relation is reducible to, or is required to be replaced by, mere uniformity of sequence. Still, we cannot overlook the fact that uniformity of sequence or conservation of energy is an entirely different thing from efficient action. Efficient action does not imply regularity or uniformity, and indeed is compatible with their opposites. So, if Science uses, for her particular purpose, a descriptive language in which 'cause,' in the sense of activity, finds no place, it by no means follows that efficient action does not exist in the world. Science has not shown that causation is illusion; she has banished it from nowhere but her own vocabulary. Causes, as such, do not enter into her sphere; it is possible, and even advantageous, for her to ignore them.

II. *THE CAUSAL PRINCIPLE.*—The further discussion of the concept of cause requires some investigation of the causal principle. This principle states that 'everything which begins to be must have a cause,' or that the causal relation is universal.

1. Its history before Hume.—At the beginning of the modern period of philosophy we find Descartes, who sets out to develop a system of knowledge from the principle of contradiction alone, compelled to call in the aid of the principle of causality, which he nowhere deduces or proves. Descartes held the scholastic conception of the causal relation, according to which the effect is contained in the cause after the model of the logical connexion of ground and consequence; and he formulated the causal principle in the old terms, *ex nihilo nihil fit*. Spinoza uses the word *causa* as identical with *ratio*, and he also assumes that everything finite or particular must find its necessary place in the one all-embracing reality. But Leibniz first clearly enunciated the principle which rationalistic philosophy had as yet unconsciously assumed, and assigned it its place beside the law of contradiction. His principle of sufficient reason is sometimes stated as if it were exclusively a metaphysical or real principle; but he intended it to be also logical. Perhaps the expression of it which best represents Leibniz's full meaning is that which occurs in his *Monadologie*, 31, 32: 'Our inferences are based on two great principles, that of contradiction and that of sufficient reason, in virtue of which we hold that no fact can be true or actual, no proposition veritable, unless there be a sufficient reason why it should be so and not otherwise.' The relation between this principle and that of causality may here be briefly explained, before the history of the latter principle is resumed.

2. Relation of the principles of sufficient reason, ground and consequence, and causality.—The principle of sufficient[1] reason, in its logical aspect, is identical with the principle of ground and consequence when similarly restricted; it expresses necessary connexion *in thought*. It states that every judgment must have a ground—*i.e.* a universal ground from which the judgment necessarily follows, and which makes that judgment necessary to all thinking beings. Such a ground of truth (objective) is, of course, to be distinguished from the psychological ground of subjective certitude. By 'ground' is meant what the scholastics called *causa cognoscendi*.

The principle which bears the name of sufficient reason or of ground and consequence is thus a fundamental law of thought; it forms the basis of truths of matter of fact, just as the principle of contradiction forms the basis of self-consistent or necessary truths. It differs, therefore, from the principle of causality, which is concerned with the *causa fiendi*. It is only when the causal principle is assumed that we are enabled to apply the principle of ground and consequence in order to infer from an effect to a cause. But sometimes the principle of sufficient reason is taken to be solely metaphysical, not logical; and that of ground and consequence is sometimes construed in both senses. If we adopt this usage, then the principle of sufficient reason—or that of ground and consequence applied to the sphere of succession in time—may be regarded (as in Taylor's *Elements of Metaph.*) as an *axiom* of knowledge, equivalent to the axiom: 'What truly exists is a coherent whole.' Whether this principle is identical with the principle of causality, or whether the latter principle is less fundamental and axiomatic, depends upon whether the 'cause' of an event can be identified with the *complete* ground of that event: in other words, upon whether or not causality, or one-sided dependence of the present on the past, and of the future on the present, is a 'necessary logical consequence of the knowability or systematic character of the Real.' This, however, is a disputed point.

3. History of the principle of causality from the time of Hume.—Ground and cause had been identified in the rationalistic school, until Wolff distinguished clearly between the two concepts. It was, however, in the opposed school of philosophy—among the empiricists—that the modern problem of causality emerged. We may practically date it, in fact, from Hume's *Treatise*.

Hume points out that the most important element in causality, as generally conceived, is 'necessary connexion'; yet that this 'corresponds to no impression,' or is not given through sense. He then examines the principle of causality. This, he easily shows, is not self-evident; for its opposite is not inconceivable. The several 'proofs' of it advanced, *e.g.*, by Hobbes, Clarke, and Locke, only beg the point to be proved.

Whence, then, the necessity of the principle? Hume's answer is that the necessity by which we infer effects from causes is simply that of strong habit. Constant conjunction in the past leads to the expectation of conjunction again. We cannot penetrate into the reason of that conjunction, but we pass mentally from effect to cause through association of ideas. The principle, he implies, is a psychological, not a logical, law. Hume admits that science is based on the principle; but, as the

[1] 'Sufficient' = 'satisfying' in the mathematical sense.

principle is not furnished by reason, science is therefore not knowledge, but belief. The principle of the uniformity of Nature ('like causes produce like effects'), again, like that of causality, has no apodictic certainty; we are not strictly warranted in extending experience beyond the particular cases under observation. Such is Hume's conclusion.

Of course it is the 'constancy of conjunction' that needs to be explained; and if, for this, we are referred to association, association involves the causal nexus—which Hume, strangely enough, did not perceive.

Hume at least destroyed the ancient presupposition that the relation between cause and effect is analytic and rational. And so far Kant, for whom he prepared the way, was in agreement with him; he, too, held the causal connexion to be empirical and synthetic. But for Kant it is not the empirical result of association. It belongs to the original constitution of the human mind; though not in the sense that Reid taught in terms of uncritical 'dogmatism,' but as a necessary condition for all possible experience. Beginning at the opposite end as compared with Hume, Kant assumes that there *is* a science of experience, and seeks for its necessary conditions. One of these is the category of cause. Hume had assumed that successive perceptions are perceptions of changes in permanent objects, and not merely isolated perceptions. But Kant maintained that our sensations become part of a consciousness of objects only in virtue of a synthesis of 'imagination,' and not as they 'are given.' Take, he says, from the perceived change the characteristics we bestow upon it in recognizing it as an *effect*, and we reduce it to a mere succession of perceptions which would not represent a change at all; or, in other words, changes in one permanent object are knowable only through the category of cause.

We may admit, as against Hume's sensationism, that sense alone, abstracted from understanding, cannot yield the causal principle. In order that the passing contents of perception may be *related* as like or unlike, before and after, and so forth, a process of calling up in memory, of recognition and differentiation, of direction of attention, must occur; and this is of the nature of thought, not sensation. Still, this admission will not necessarily carry us beyond that interpretation of causality which sees in it only regular sequence. Even less does it commit us to the particular *a priori* interpretation of causality which Kant elaborated with so much ingenious but cumbrous and arbitrary artificiality. On the other hand, we may reject Kant's account of the structure of knowledge; we may be alive to its intellectualism and its undue ignoring of the volitional element in the unification of experience; we may appreciate the obsoleteness of his psychology, which sharply contrasted 'matter' and 'form,' and which assumed ready-made faculties and processes apparently invented *ad hoc*, in the light of the fact that we can now contemplate such 'ultimates' psychogenetically, and see that they have a history; we may be persuaded that what a-priorist thinkers have taken for inherent laws of thought are rather acquired habits, beginning in the spontaneous tendencies of the human mind in its uncultured state; and yet it *may* be true that the category of cause or the causal principle is necessary to our knowledge of change, and an essential condition for our 'making' of the world 'as known.' This possibility will receive further discussion.

In the meantime, our examination of the sources of modern empirical and rationalist interpretations of causality, in Hume and Kant, may appropriately be supplemented by a brief allusion to the treatment which the causal principle has received from a writer who, professedly eschewing all but exclusively empirical methods, nevertheless evinces anxiety to arrive at a result which only rationalistic systems had as yet afforded. J. S. Mill discusses only 'physical' (*i.e.* phenomenal) causation, as distinguished from 'efficient'; and he defines a cause as an 'invariable antecedent' which, moreover, is 'unconditional' or, as it is usually expressed, 'necessary.' As an empiricist Mill has obviously no right to this term 'invari*able*'; experience can inform us, with regard to any particular causal sequence, only that it has so far been unvary*ing*. This latter statement he admits; for he teaches that the principle of causality is an induction, related to all other particular inductions as *primus inter pares*, though a presupposition essential for their truth. But if the causal principle is only a general hypothesis, as it alone can be for the true empiricist, it possesses no more than problematical validity; and no amount of future experience can ever procure for it a validity of higher order. Similarly, Mill has assuredly no right, on his presuppositions, to the term 'unconditional' as a predicate of cause; empirical knowledge knows nothing of the unconditional. In straining after a necessary and universal causal principle Mill thus forsakes his empiricism, on the basis of which, as Hume had clearly seen, no objection can be established in reason against the supposition of non-uniformity in Nature, or even against that of an uncaused event, or *causa sui*. Mill has indeed served to make it plain that pure empiricism does not and cannot solve the causal problem; that it cannot establish, much less account for, invariable sequence, necessary or unconditional connexion.

The causal principle, then, is not resolvable into an induction or general hypothesis without losing its essential character. Nor has rationalism, founded on the a-priorism of Kant, succeeded in convincing the world that this principle is an *absolute* necessity for thought — for a 'pure' understanding independent of all experience. As Sigwart remarks (*Logic*, Eng. tr. i. 321):

> 'The proof that our sensations as they occur must necessarily submit themselves to the categories and *a priori* principles, leaves much room for question.'

Again, to quote Erdmann (*Philos. Rev.* XIV. iii. 299 f.):

> 'When we take into consideration the evolution of the organic world of which we are members, then we must say that our intellect, *i.e.*, our ideation and with it our sense-perception, has evolved in us in accordance with the influences to which we have been subjected. The common elements in the different contents of perception which have arisen out of other psychical elements, seemingly first in the brute world, are not only an occasion, but also an efficient cause, for the evolution of our processes of "reproduction," in which our memory and imagination, as well as our knowledge and thought, psychologically considered, come to pass. The causal law, which the critical analysis of the material-scientific methods shows to be a fundamental condition of empirical thought, in its requirement that the events stand as causes and effects in necessary connexion, or real dependence, comprehends these uniform contents of perception only in the way peculiar to our thought.'

4. The causal principle from the point of view of modern voluntarism.—Since the age of Kant, and more especially in our own generation, voluntarism has increasingly claimed recognition. There is indeed now a wide-spread tendency to assign the chief function, in the construction of our knowledge, to the interests, desires, and volitions of human subjects; to regard knowledge as practical, as well as theoretical, in origin. The category of cause has come to be referred to the active, rather than to the intellectual side of our experience; and the causal principle, like other axioms, to be regarded as a *postulate* arising from the needs of agents.

Simple observation of the course of Nature, on the part of a being with a merely passive, a purely

theoretic or intellectual, interest in it, would not reveal a regularity of sequence on any wide scale, or the uniformity of Nature implied in the phrase, 'like causes produce like effects.' Events which such a being could not calculate, occurrences which would appear to us to be 'freaks of Nature,' would be observed more frequently than those which he might discover to be orderly. The uniformity which science has found in Nature is not written there so plainly that he who runs may read it. If it were, belief in gods and demons, charms and omens, would have been less prevalent in human thought, and less deeply rooted in the human mind. Causality and uniformity are not concepts which have been thrust by the concrete world upon a passively receptive intelligence. They are rather postulates which needed first, for practical reasons such as the prediction and control of events, to be demanded, and then to be diligently sought for, before, here a little and there a little, they were found, for all practical purposes, to hold true.

The principle of causality, and also the principle of the uniformity of Nature, are, then, according to this view, regulative rather than constitutive principles of our thought. They are postulates, necessary for effort after complete knowledge, but not for experience. They are laws not, in the first instance, at least, to our sense-perceptions or to Nature, but to our own understanding, for its own regulation in investigating Nature (see Sigwart, *op. cit.* ii. 17). They originate in the collective mind of thinking and *acting* subjects. But inasmuch as the further we apply them the more verification they receive, we cannot but infer that Nature is rationally interpretable, and therefore is either herself intelligent or the outcome of intelligence.

5. **Concluding section.**—A few consequences of the preceding inquiry may now be given.

It would appear that some necessary connexion between the phases or elements of the Real is essential to our knowledge; the principle of sufficient reason is axiomatic. But the principle of causality is less general, and of a lower order of validity. The dependence which we are absolutely compelled to postulate is not necessarily that of transeunt causality; the ground of an event need not be wholly contained in the temporally antecedent phenomena or sum-total of phenomena. The one irreducible meaning we must give to cause is 'ground.' Whether causation can be 'efficient' without being also 'final' is an inquiry beyond the scope of this article. Certainly causation implies something more than the regular sequence and equivalence which are the only elements in it that concern physical science. The principle of causation is no more reducible to the principle of persistence of force than to the principle of identity—though both reductions have been attempted. The reduction of all causality to the mechanical type, which leads to mechanistic, if not materialistic, philosophy, is simply the outcome of the abstractness of scientific method and the departmental nature of scientific aims and endeavours. It does not follow, because science treats the world—the sum of the objective in universal experience—without reference to the subjective conditions and elements of that experience, that science has 'banished spontaneity,' or that, because the *concept* of activity is obscure, or incapable of resolution into a mechanical process, activity is the less an immediately experienced and irresolvable fact. *How* the effect is necessarily connected with the cause, in the metaphysical as distinguished from the epistemological sense; *what* is the fundamental element in the antecedent which determines, or helps to determine, the consequent event; *how* efficient action is to be thought: these are unsolved problems—perhaps for ever unsolvable. Causality, as W. James says, is an altar to an unknown god. It may be that the causality which we ascribe to objects or things is appearance, not reality; that the category needs to be replaced by a higher. The necessity of the indefinite regress in causal explanation perhaps implies that 'causality is not a proper formulation of the real principle of the unity of all experience,' not an *ultimate* principle of explanation (Taylor, *op. cit.*). Scientific explanation, in which one event is traced to a previous event as its cause, is, of course, but relative; and such relative explanation is not assisted or supplemented, but destroyed, when a *Causa Sui*, or God, is introduced to bridge a gap or give a start to the series of causes. Religious and scientific (*i.e.* causal) 'explanations' are by no means incompatible or mutually exclusive; but the deficiencies of the one system cannot be overcome by recourse to the other. As to the notion of a First Cause, or a *Causa Sui*, we have, on the one hand, to bear in mind that we refute ourselves in trying to establish it by extension of the application of the causal category, for causality when universalized contains a contradiction; and, on the other, to remember that the ultimate ground simply 'is': to demonstrate its existence involves reference to another ground yet more ultimate.

LITERATURE.—Hume, *Treatise of Hum. Nat.*, esp. bk. i. pt. 3; Kant, *Crit. of Pure Reason*; Lotze, *Metaphysic*, 1888, bk. i. chs. 4 and 6; J. S. Mill, *Logic*, bk. iii. chs. 3 and 5; Venn, *Empir. Logic*, Lond. 1889; Sigwart, *Logic*, Eng tr., Lond. 1890; Bosanquet, *Logic*, 2 vols., Oxf. 1888; Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, Lond. 1893, chs. 6–8; König, *Entwick. des Causalproblems*, Leipz. 1888; Taylor, *Elements of Metaphysic*, 1903, bk. ii. ch. 5; Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, Lond. 1903, pt. i. Lects. 2–6, and *passim*; also the works of Reid, Maine de Biran, Herbart, Wundt, Riehl, and the papers of Grünbaum (*Arch. f. Syst. Philos.* v. iii.), B. Erdmann (*Philos. Rev.* xiv. ii. and iii.), and Thilly (xvi. 2).

F. R. TENNANT.

CAVES.—The earliest and most natural refuge for man, wherever the physical character of the region has admitted of it, has been the caves and even the crevices of the rocks. It is true that the arboreal habit, still retained by a few living races, must be of great antiquity. But the advantages of the cave-dwelling, as a safe and permanent abode, are manifest, and must have been recognized by the most primitive types of humanity.

In a consideration of cave-dwellings, it is usual among archæologists to make some slight distinction between veritable caves, which penetrate for some distance into the rock, and those hollows or cavities in the face of a cliff which barely offer a refuge from rain and wind. It is obvious that imperfect shelters of this description would be used only where there was no actual cavern near at hand, or where such cavern was already in the possession of a stronger occupant. Such as they are, however, these 'rock-shelters,' as they are technically known to English-speaking archæologists, have often been used as dwelling-places. Tangible evidence of this fact is afforded by the remains of primitive pottery, the shells of edible molluscs, and the bones of animals still to be found by digging down to the level of the original hearth. The 19th century witnessed a great movement throughout Europe in the direction of a minute and scientific examination of the contents of caves of all descriptions, and rock-shelters have been as closely investigated as any other species of cave-dwelling.

In Italy, where the diminutive *covolo* denotes a rock-shelter, the terms *covo, covaccio, grotta,* and *tana* are applied to larger caves, often in association with the idea of a wild beast's den. *La Tana della Mussina*, in the north of Italy (Reggio Emilia), is especially deserving of mention, as there is strong presumption that it was at one time the abode of cannibals, human bones being found in an under-

lying stratum in conjunction with charcoal and the bones of lower animals. To the south-west of this cave is the *Grotta dei Colombi* in the island of Palmaria, off the Tuscan coast, which bears a similar testimony. In concluding his description of the *Grotta dei Colombi*, Boyd Dawkins remarks (*Cave-Hunting*, London, 1874, p. 261):

'We may gather from various allusions, and stories scattered through the classical writers, such, for example, as that of the Cyclops, that the caves on the shores of the Mediterranean were inhabited by cannibals in ancient times. In the island of Palmaria we meet with unmistakable proof that it was no mere idle tale or poetical dream.'

Evidence of the same kind is found in the caves of Arene Candide in Liguria, Capo Sant' Elia in Sardinia, Diavolo in the Capo di Leuca, Salomone and Sant' Angelo in the Valle della Vibrata, and Lazzaro in Sicily.

'The contents of three caves in the Iberian peninsula, referable to the dawn of the bronze age,' observes Boyd Dawkins (*op. cit.* p. 145), 'render it very probable that the use of human flesh was not unknown in those times.'

The sites thus indicated by him are the caverns of Césareda, in the valley of the Tagus, known respectively as the Casa da Maura, Lapa Furada, and Cova da Maura.

'The most abundant remains were those of man. They were to be counted by thousands, and were so fragmentary and scattered that it was impossible to put together one perfect skeleton. The long bones had lost, very generally, their articular ends, had been fractured longitudinally, and some of them had been cut and scraped. It is therefore probable that this accumulation was formed by a tribe of cannibals: the evidence that human flesh formed their principal food being precisely of the same nature as that by which the flint-folk of the Périgord are proved to have subsisted on the flesh of the reindeer. . . . The ancient burial-places of Ultz, in Westphalia, furnish a second case of the practice of cannibalism, according to M. Schaaffhausen of Bonn' (*ib.* p. 147).

In referring to this as the second instance, however, the author had forgotten that he had already mentioned (pp. 20–21) that

'in 1853, Professor Spring discovered a quantity of burned, broken, and cut bones belonging to women and children, in the cave of Chauvaux [Belgium], which he considered to imply that it had been inhabited by a family of cannibals.'

But although the evidence in all these cases points to cannibalism, it must be added that many students of this science regard that evidence as quite inadequate. They draw attention to the fact that some tribes of modern Eskimos, whom certain castes of European cave-dwellers closely resembled in their way of living, their utensils, and their art, show complete indifference as to the disposal of the bodies of their dead, whose bones are found lying about the Eskimo camps, mixed up with the bones of animals and other remains. Nevertheless those Eskimos are not cannibals. Moreover, it is pointed out by T. Eric Peet (*The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*, Oxford, 1909, p. 197), who combats the cannibal theory, that

'the rite of *scarnitura*, or stripping of the flesh from the bones, was practised among these people [in ancient Italy and Sicily], and that caves were often used as receptacles for the bones together with the remains of a funeral banquet.'

While these objections are of great importance, there seem still to be sufficient data to prove cannibalism among European cave-dwellers. A Scottish example referred to by Robert Munro is very clear. In describing the *débris* of human occupancy in a rock-shelter close to the Ardrossan Railway Station, Ayrshire, he remarks:

'It is somewhat startling to find that these people were not only cannibals but made implements of human bones. "A great many jaws with teeth," writes Mr. Smith, "and bones were obtained, all the latter which had contained marrow having been split open"' (*Prehistoric Scotland*, 1899, p. 82).

In Caithness, also, fragmentary human remains have been found which suggest cannibalism. One of these fragments, a child's jaw, was pronounced by Owen to have been

'splintered open precisely in the manner in which animal jaws are frequently opened by human agency to extract the juices of the dentary canal, and not in the way in which a dog or wolf would have gnawed the bone' (Samuel Laing, *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, London and Edinburgh, 1866, p. 29).

It would be a mistake, however, to assume from such instances as these that the habit of living in caves necessarily implies a savage condition of life. No doubt cannibalism has been found in association with a high culture, as in Central America, difficult as it may be, according to our modern ideas, to reconcile such a practice with a civilized society. But it seems clear that, on the whole, anthropophagy is repulsive to people of advanced civilization, except in occasional cases where it enters into religious ritual or observance. The deposits found in many caves would appear, to modern people, to denote that the cave-dwellers in question were civilized people. A brief examination of the data obtained by investigators will readily justify this conclusion.

But, on the other hand, it is a remarkable fact that cave life, in its crudest form, without any environment to suggest civilization even of a primitive kind, has been voluntarily adopted by many members of highly developed races. In these instances the impelling power has been religious, and its origin is Oriental. At the present day the practice is pre-eminently associated with Buddhism, of which religion it has been a feature for untold centuries. From the graphic pen of Sven Hedin, whose knowledge of the inner life of Tibet is unsurpassed by that of any European, one gains a clear idea of the anchorite life as it is practised by Buddhist hermits. On one occasion, Sven Hedin visited a cave, situated near the monastery of Linga, whose occupant was a lama who had lived there for three years, in complete darkness, and in isolation from his fellow-men. His food was brought to him daily, being pushed into his cave through a narrow tunnel. His predecessor had spent twelve years in this way, in absolute silence. And he in turn had succeeded a lama who, entering the cave at the age of twenty, lived there in the same manner to the day of his death, after forty years of seclusion. Another cave, on a mountain side, was inhabited by a hermit said to be a hundred years old. At the hermitage of Lung-ganden-gompa, a lama had lived for sixty-nine years, having been brought out only to die.

'He was all bent up together, and as small as a child, and his body was nothing but a light-grey parchment-like skin and bones. His eyes had lost their colour, were quite bright, and blind. His hair hung round his head in uncombed matted locks, and was pure white. His body was covered only by a rag, for time had eaten away his clothing, and he had received no new garments' (Sven Hedin, *Trans-Himalaya*, London, 1909, ii. 8).

These details are noteworthy, because they picture the appearance of the anchorites of the present and of the past, and are probably applicable to mediæval Europe as well as to the East. For the Buddhist ideal of a supposed sanctity obtained in this way actuated thousands of anchorites in Egypt and Syria, and thence passed westward into Europe, during the early centuries of the Christian era. It is to be observed that caves thus occupied would yield no traces of civilization to the modern investigator, who might consequently make the erroneous deduction that only the lowest savages had ever made such places their abode.

Not greatly different from one of the Buddhist caves described by Sven Hedin, although widely separated from it by distance, are two rudely-built chapels in the south-west of Scotland, on opposite sides of Luce Bay, both of which have been carefully described by Herbert Maxwell (*Proc. of Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vols. xix., xx.). In both cases small caves by the seashore have been utilized, protecting walls having been built across the entrances, with other interior embellishments,

the floor of one of them having been paved with flags. Both are associated with saints—St. Ninian and St. Medan respectively. On the stones and rocks of St. Ninian's cave are a number of incised crosses, of an early design. Of St. Medan's cave, Maxwell remarks (vol. xx. p. 88):

'What may be deduced from the scanty remains discovered within the cave, from the bones and shells mingled with pieces of stalagmite and charcoal, is that it has long been used as a human dwelling-place; that the aboriginal platycnemic race [inferred from a highly platycnemic tibia found below the floor] lived in Wigtownshire, as in other lands, either before they were extirpated or absorbed by a more powerful invading people, or before their structural peculiarities had become obliterated by a change in their mode of life. Subsequently, after the lapse of an unknown number of years, the cave fell to be occupied as a cell by a Christian preacher, who may have built, or caused to be built, the shrine outside the cave.'

It seems evident that these two cave-chapels have had similar histories, and that they have been credited with supernatural attributes for a very long period of time. St. Medan's cave, for example, has several neighbouring wells or pot-holes in the rocks, which are filled with sea-water at every tide; and it has been the immemorial custom of the peasantry—a custom not wholly obsolete to-day—to bathe in these wells at sunrise on the first Sunday of May, for the purpose of curing themselves of various diseases. A consideration of these two Scottish hermitages, which are representative of a very large class throughout Europe, shows a close similarity between the anchorites of the West and the East, in habit of life as well as in the nature of their retreats and the supposed sanctity attaching to them.

The results obtained by a scientific investigation of the caves of Europe, during the 19th century, have been instructive in the highest degree. 'In England,' observes A. H. Keane,[1]

'Dean Buckland startled the thinking public by announcing the discovery in 1821 of human relics in association with the remains of over seventy hyænas in the Kirkdale Cavern, Yorkshire, so that it was asked whether some antediluvian menagerie had broken loose in those parts. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. M'Enery, who in 1825 first drew attention to the "storehouse of antiquity" preserved beneath the stalagmite beds of Kent's Cave [near Torquay], and by the Rev. J. M. Mello, who led the way in the exploration of the no less famous Cresswell caves, Derbyshire.'

Other leading explorers in the caves of England and Wales were Godwin Austin, Pengelly, Williams, Beard, and Lloyd.

'The result of these discoveries was the proof that certain extinct animals, such as the woolly rhinoceros and the mammoth, had lived in this country in ancient times, along with two other groups of species which are at present known only to live in hot and cold climates—the spotted hyæna and hippopotamus of Africa, with the reindeer and the marmot of the colder regions of the earth' (Boyd Dawkins, *op. cit.* p. 16).

A scientific investigation of Kent's Cavern, conducted during the period 1865–80, resulted in the discovery of bones of the cave-lion, cave-hyæna, mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, wild bull, Irish elk, reindeer, grizzly bear, wild cat, horse, and beaver, intermingled with shells, ashes, charcoal, and human implements of stone and bone, the latter including two harpoon-heads made from reindeer's antler, several bone awls, and a bone needle. (Fuller details will be found in the British Association Reports, 1865–83.) The researches in the hyæna-den of Wookey Hole, near Wells, Somerset, which were begun in 1859 by Boyd Dawkins, and carried on subsequently by himself and other explorers, revealed again the presence of man, as shown by flint and bone implements, in association with the remains of these extinct mammalia. As early as 1847, Boucher de Perthes had obtained the same deduction in France, and this deduction was reinforced by the discoveries of Lartet and Christy in the caves of Aurignac and Périgord.

'From the remarkable collection of implements and weapons,' observes Boyd Dawkins, referring to these caves, 'the habits and mode of life of the occupants can be ascertained with tolerable certainty; and, from their comparison with the like articles now in use among savage tribes, it may be reasonably inferred that they were closely related in blood to the Eskimos.'

This similarity between extinct races of European cave-dwellers and existing Eskimos is of much interest. The resemblance in custom has been very clearly brought out by Boyd Dawkins (see his *Cave-Hunting*, pp. 353–59), in relation to a common style of art as well as to utensils which are almost identical in character and design. What may be called the Eskimo harpoon has also been found in a seashore cave in the west of Scotland, at Oban, Argyll (discovered in 1894). W. Anderson Smith, in considering the objects found in the cave, and the probable habits of the occupants, observes (*Scots Lore*, Glasgow, 1895, p. 97 f.):

'The large harpoon [of deer-horn], well made, with four barbs on each side, and seven inches in length, with a slot for a thong to bind it to the shaft or a float, is a weapon for a large animal. This so-called "dis-engaging harpoon" is a weapon well known among widely divided races, enabling the harpooner to keep his struggling prey in sight when it is too strong and heavy for his ordinary shaft or connexion. It distinctly presupposes a means of water conveyance by coracle or kayak.'

The writer quoted points out that this cave contains no remains of extinct or Arctic animals, and he suggests that the occupants may have been survivors of a primitive race, living contemporaneously with a ruling race of advanced civilization. This is interesting, in view of the fact that there are records of European Lapps and Samoyeds in the 17th cent. who used the skin canoe, or *kayak*, now associated with Eskimos, and whose implements corresponded in character with those used by the latter people.

The contents of European caves denote a striking variety in the degree of culture possessed by their occupants. Implements of bone and flint speak of a condition that can only, according to modern ideas, be called 'savage,' while other objects, of enamelled bronze or of iron, imply a civilized people. In some cases coins are found—Roman, mediæval, and modern. It is necessary to keep in view the fact that, in times of stress, caves offer a ready shelter to man, of whatever degree of culture. Prince Charles Edward, a representative of European civilization in the 18th cent., was for several months a cave-dweller. At the present day, caves are frequently occupied by ordinary vagrants. Deductions as to the period of occupation of any cave require therefore to be made with great deliberation, after a careful survey of all the facts ascertained.

It is also a significant circumstance that the same cave has been used for burial as well as for residence. This is known in many caves whose occupation must be placed at an early date; but even in modern Alaska, the practice is hardly obsolete of devoting one part of a dwelling to the remains of its former owner, while the kindred of the defunct continue to live in the other portion. Caves may therefore be regarded either as sepulchres or as dwellings. This twofold use is seen among the ancient Hebrews. It is quite clear that the cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre (Gn 23[8ff.]), was legally purchased by the patriarch Abraham as a family vault for himself and his posterity. On the other hand, the same record shows that caves were frequently used as dwellings.

It may be that, because they were often the graves of those noted for sanctity of life, sepulchral caves gradually acquired a sacred character, until eventually they developed into places of worship. The same result may also have been arrived at on account of the accepted sanctity of the anchorite with whom the cave was first associated. From either of these causes, cave-temples may have had their beginning. This form of temple reached a high state of development in India during the early centuries of the Christian era, when the

[1] In his Introduction to F. Smith's *The Stone Ages in North Britain and Ireland*, London, 1909, p. xvii.

Buddhist religion was acutely active. It is estimated that India possesses, or has possessed, a thousand of these Buddhist rock-temples, most of which are situated in Western India. Those of Ellora (Aurungabad) and Elephanta (Bombay) are especially noteworthy. Ceylon has also many interesting examples, the most famous being that at Damballa, which was excavated about 100 B.C. Those Buddhist rock-temples, with their elaborate architecture, sculptures, and inscriptions, form a special study, of which the best exposition may be found in Fergusson's *Rock-cut Temples of India* (1845, 1864, and 1880), and in Burgess's 'The Elura Cave Temples' (*ASWI* v. [1883]) and *The Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions* (1883).

In ancient Egypt and Nubia there were many such temples. These are divisible into two classes —the true rock-temple, or *speos*, and the *hemi-speos*, which consisted partly of an excavation in the rock, but with an exterior, open-air building in front. A notable example of the *speos* is that at Abu Simbel, in Lower Nubia, which penetrates 180 feet into the rock, and is guarded in front by four seated colossi 60 feet high. At Deir el-Bahari, in the mountains of Thebes, there is the ruin of a great temple built by Queen Hatshepsu, which, although not definitely a *hemi-speos*, presents some of the features of that order, since it is an outgrowth from the rock-shrine attributed to Hathor and the cave-tombs of kings of the XIth dynasty. This interesting temple is fully described in the Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund (London, 1895–1908).

There is a remarkable rock-temple, showing Greek influence, at Petra, in Northern Arabia; and a large number of cave-dwellings have been cut out of the adjacent cliffs. Not improbably, 'the dens which are in the mountains, and the caves,' constructed by the Israelites during the times of Midianite oppression (Jg 6[2]), were of the same description as these Arabian rock-caves. In Greece itself there is an existing specimen of the rock-temple, although of a much more primitive order than that of Petra, still in occupation. It is known as the Monastery of the Great Cave (*E Mone tou Megalou Spelaiou*), and is situated in the Achaian mountains, 3000 feet above sea-level. This monastery has been originally tunnelled out of the native rock, above which buildings of ordinary character have been erected at later dates.

Somewhat akin to the *hemi-speos* is the Convent of St. George in Palestine, an edifice reared under the shelter of an overhanging cliff above the Brook Cherith. Although not itself excavated from the rock, it obviously owes its position to the security afforded by the protecting cliff. In this respect, and indeed in its appearance, the Convent of St. George is closely allied to the cliff-dwellings of the south-west of the United States. Whether this resemblance is fortuitous, or whether these far-separated buildings may be derived from a common original, is a matter for speculation. Asia Minor also furnishes a connecting link in this species of dwelling. The cliffs of the Bakluzan Dere, in the Taurus Mountains, have, it is stated by Sterrett, of Cornell, U.S.A., who visited them,

'numerous dwellings in natural cavities, which have been walled in roughly on the outside. Some of these dwellings are high up on the sides of the bluffs, and none of them can be reached without artificial help. The entrance to the dwellings is gained by means of a long but strong and perfectly smooth pole. An agile man might easily climb this pole and reach the entrance of the dwelling; but the ascent would seem to be impossible for the aged, as well as for most women and children, without aid of some kind from friends above' (*Century Mag.*, Sept. 1900).

Any one acquainted with the cliff-houses of Arizona will see how nearly this description applies to many of them. The region in which these cliff-houses are found is several thousand square miles in area, including parts of New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah, as well as a large district in Arizona. In no part of the world is there any species of dwelling that offers a more fascinating study. Some are merely caves faced with stone-work, while others are well-built houses, usually of one storey only, but occasionally rising to two, three, and, in one case, four storeys. They are all placed on ledges, more or less cavernous, of the cliffs that line the great ravines or cañons of that region, being sometimes situated at an almost incredible height above the river-bed.

'In an encampment, one thousand feet above the valley of the Rio Mancos,' writes E. C. Hardacre in a very instructive paper ('The Cliff-Dwellers,' in *Scribner's Monthly*, Dec. 1878), 'are single houses, groups of two and three, and villages, according to the width of the shelf they occupy. They are so high that the naked eye can distinguish them merely as specks. There is no possible access to them from above, on account of the rocks that project overhead; no present way of reaching them from below, although doubling paths and foot-holes in the rocks show where the way has been of old trodden by human feet.'

One cannot but feel, in looking at the almost perpendicular sides of these cliffs, that the occupants of the dwellings perched at such a dizzy height, in modern parlance, must have been absolutely free from any tendency to vertigo. The cliff-houses have been much written about in modern times. The Marquis de Nadaillac devotes a chapter to the subject in his *Pre-historic America*, 1885.

Pictorial word-writing and hieroglyphics are found on the cave walls of some of these American dwellings. This is a detail of much interest, and not confined to any one country. It is worthy of remark, that the Bushmen of South Africa, a race very low in the human scale, used to ornament the walls of their caves and rock-shelters with paintings of various scenes, executed with iron oxides, or with ochres, mixed with fat. The most modern of these Bushman pictures are assigned to the early 19th century, while the oldest examples are believed to belong to the 16th century. The most remarkable specimens have been reproduced by H. Tongue in *Bushman Paintings*, Oxford, 1909.

Of the troglodyte dwellings in Cappadocia, represented in one phase by the American cliff-houses, there are two other varieties reported by Sterrett. One of these is found in the volcanic region of Mount Argæus. The geological conditions of this area have produced an immense number of natural pyramids of tufa or pumice-stone, rising to various heights, from 50 to 300 feet. Their number is estimated at about fifty thousand. During an indefinite period these pyramids or cones have been burrowed into by man, chiefly as habitations, although a number have been transformed, with the addition of regular masonry, into temples, churches, and chapels. Some of these dwellings in Mount Argæus approximate to the American cliff-houses, in respect that their entrance door is at a considerable distance from the ground, and is attained by notches cut in the face of the pumice-stone. The existing occupants of the Cappadocian rock-cones are the ordinary inhabitants of the district; but Sterrett (*loc. cit.*) has concluded that

'the cones of Cappadocia were well known and inhabited in the dim, distant Hittite period, at about 1900 B.C.' 'Great numbers of the cone-dwellings are used to-day,' he adds, 'as dove-cotes for the hosts of pigeons, the eggs and flesh of which are used as food by the natives. The windows of such hen-coop cones are always walled in, holes of ingress being left for the birds.'

This is interesting in view of the fact that there is a 'columbarium' in a large cave at Nottingham Park, England, while the Scottish 'doo-cave' (Fife), 'Bruce's Library' (Mid-Lothian), and Dirk Hatteraick's Cave (Galloway) present similar features. Cliff-dwellings, analogous to those of Arizona and Asia Minor, are also found in France, as at Rochecorbon, a few miles from Tours; for a description of these see Ernest Peixotto's *Through the French Provinces*, London, 1910.

The third variety of cave-dwelling found in Asia

Minor is subterranean in character. In his account of this variety, Sterrett quotes the description of the troglodytes of Armenia given by Xenophon:

'The houses were underground, with entrances like that of a well, though they were spacious below. The entrances for the animals were dug out, but the men descended by means of ladders. In these houses there were goats, cows, and poultry.'

This condition of things has a close parallel to-day in Southern Tunisia, where there are large numbers of underground houses and villages, as well as cliff-dwellings. Full information on this subject will be found in *The Cave Dwellers of Southern Tunisia*, translated from the Danish of Daniel Bruun by L. A. E. B., London and Calcutta, 1898. See also an illustrated account of the 'Troglodytes of Tunis,' in *Illustrated London News*, 4th Nov. 1882.

There is an obvious connexion between such subterranean excavations as these and the catacombs of Rome, Naples, Syracuse, and Chiusi; although this gives rise to the question as to whether the catacombs (*q.v.*) were originally intended as sepulchres. A wonderful series of catacombs in Lower Austria has been explored and reported upon by Karner, of St. Veit a/d Gölsen, his account, *Künstliche Höhlen aus alter Zeit*, enriched by numerous designs, having been published at Vienna in 1903. From such subterranean excavations as these there is a natural transition to the underground buildings of the British Isles, formerly used as habitations, of which many examples yet remain in Ireland and Scotland. These, however, although locally known as 'caves,' do not fall precisely within the category ordinarily implied by that term. But a special interest attaches to the artificial souterrain known as 'St. Patrick's Purgatory,' situated in an islet in Lough Derg, Donegal. The account given by James Ware, in his *Insulæ Purgatorii S. Patricii Descriptio* (1654), shows that this structure was one of the 'weems,' or *allées couvertes*, to which reference has just been made. The popular belief was that it was an entrance to purgatory, guarded by St. Patrick. During mediæval times many pilgrimages were made to the place, which even yet retains a sacred character.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

CECROPS (Κέκροψ).—Of Cecrops, the snake-tailed autochthon of Athens, much has been written both in ancient and in modern times; but our actual knowledge must ever remain meagre. He was traditionally associated with the oldest sanctuary upon the Acropolis, and his cult was localized there. Attic inscriptions tell us that the Κεκρόπιον was still being used by the Cecropian phyle in 334–3 B.C. as a depository for documents (*CIA* iv. 2, 563*b*, 34), and its site is indicated by the great inscription of 409–8 B.C., commemorating the erection of the Erechtheum (*CIA* i. 322, 9. 56, 62, 83). It was situated below the caryatid hall of the Erechtheum, the south-west corner of which was constructed according to a special design, so as to preserve the older building (cf. Jahn-Michaelis, *Arx Athenarum*, Bonn, 1901, plates xx. and xxi. G). Writers of late date state that Cecrops was buried there (authorities in Jahn-Michaelis, *op. cit.* pp. 27, 13), and in point of fact the Κεκρόπιον may quite well have been a tomb. The cult was attended to by the family of the Amynandrides (*CIA* iii. 1276. 8; Hesych. *s.v.*; cf. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, Berlin, 1889, p. 160); but by the historical period it had lost all significance, and its sanctuary, though preserved, was kept secret. It is thus easy to understand why Pausanias makes no allusion to it whatever. We cannot doubt, therefore, that the cult of Cecrops in Athens was very ancient, and it is equally certain that it had become obsolete at an early date. It was pushed into the background by the cult of Erechtheus.

With this agrees the witness of legend and monument. Cecrops is there spoken of as an autochthon without father or mother, and as the first king of Attica, which, it is implied, was originally called Κεκροπία. The serpent's tail with which he was depicted signifies that he was a son of earth, or rather, perhaps, a hero living in the earth. In virtue of his being the earliest of the Athenians, he was sometimes represented as the arbiter in the contest between Poseidon and Athene for the possession of Athens (Apollodorus, iii. § 179), and as a witness of the birth of Erichthonius from the earth —portrayed in the archaic clay-relief reproduced in *Archäol. Zeitung* (1872), plate 63. Cecrops had neither parents nor posterity. In the list of Attic kings no son of his own succeeds him. The three goddesses who were worshipped upon the Acropolis—viz. Agraulos, Herse, and Pandrosos—are indeed spoken of as his daughters; but the relationship is clearly a late growth, and was always rather indeterminate, as is shown by the fact that Agraulos was actually duplicated, thus becoming also the consort of Cecrops and the mother of the three goddesses. Nor is there any record of the deeds of Cecrops. So far as we can learn, the Athenians knew nothing whatever about him beyond his name, and the fact that his shrine on the Acropolis was of high antiquity. To them, indeed, he was a subject of little or no concern.

Not from the original legend, but from the antiquarian deductions and interpretations of the learned, comes all the rest of our traditional lore regarding Cecrops, *e.g.* his Egyptian origin, which C. O. Müller (*Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* [1825], p. 176) has finally eliminated, and his political and social achievements, such as the institution of monogamy, the civilization of savages, and the like. A second Cecrops, the son of Erechtheus or Pandion, is likewise an invention of the schools, designed to fill out the list of Attic kings (Kirchhoff, *Hermes*, 1873, viii. 184 ff.). The migration of Cecrops to Eubœa (Paus. i. 5. 3) and his appearance in a Eubœan genealogy are, as it would seem, rightly referred to the same source.

There remains only the remarkable statement of Pausanias (ix. 33. 1) that there was in the Bœotian town of Haliartos, on Lake Copais, a shrine (ἡρῷον) of Cecrops. This is not invalidated by the fact that Pausanias calls him the son of Pandion, as that is due to the hand of the exegete. The shrine was called simply Κεκρόπιον. We are here reminded of the tradition, noted by Strabo (ix. 407), Pausanias (ix. 24. 2), and Stephanus Byz. (*s.v.* Ἀθῆναι), that two very ancient cities, viz. Athens—founded by Cecrops—and Eleusis had been submerged in Lake Copais. This may be a mere theorizing synthesis, propounded as an explanation of certain ruins which emerged during a partial subsidence of the lake in the time of Alexander the Great. But it is inconceivable that these particular names should appear in the story without a foundation of some kind, and this may well have been the cult of the hero Cecrops in Haliartos.

The name Cecrops makes its appearance also in Thrace (Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* Κεκροπία χώρα Θρᾴκης); in Assos in the Troad (?), which, according to Stephanus (*s.v.*), was formerly called Κεκρόπειον; and in the Hellenistic settlement Thessalonica, where, according to the same authority, a certain deme bore the name. Hence the conjecture that Cecrops was of Thracian origin. The name was regarded as barbaric even by some of the ancients (Strabo, vii. 321 [from Hecatæus?]; cf. Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, Göttingen, 1905, p. 130).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works referred to in the art., see Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* ii. 1014 (1892–97); and A. S. Murray in *JHS* viii. (1887) 1 f.

E. BETHE.

CELIBACY.

American (LEWIS SPENCE), p. 271.
Buddhist (T. W. RHYS DAVIDS), p. 271.
Chinese (P. J. MACLAGAN), p. 271.
Christian (GEORGE CROSS), p. 271.
Indian (VINCENT A. SMITH), p. 275.
Iranian (L. C. CASARTELLI), p. 276.
Semitic.—See MARRIAGE (Semitic).
Tibetan (L. A. WADDELL), p. 277.

CELIBACY (American).—The practice of celibacy was not uncommonly incumbent upon the priests and shamans of pre-Columban America, and is still recognized as necessary by the medicine-men of various modern tribes. According to Padilla, Palacios, and Garcia, certain classes of the Aztec priesthood practised complete abscission of the virile parts, but all classes of priests were not celibate. The Peruvian 'Virgins of the Sun' were punished with living burial if detected in misconduct. In more modern times the medicine-men of an Algonquin tribe of the Hudson River displayed such severity in a celibate existence, that they refused to partake of food prepared by a married woman. Von Martius relates that a tribe on the Rio Negro enjoined celibacy upon their shamans because they believed that medicine would prove ineffectual if administered by a married man. Many tribes believed that circumcision denoted a symbolical sacrifice of sexuality, among others the Nicaraguans and Yucatecs, the Guaycurus, Hares, and Dog-Ribs, and certain tribes of the Orinoco.

LITERATURE.—Von Martius, *Volkerschaften Brasiliens*, 1867; Gumilla, *Hist. Orinoco*, Barcelona, 1791; Coreal, *Voiages*, Amsterdam, 1722; L. Spence, *Mythologies of Ancient Mexico and Peru*, London, 1907.

LEWIS SPENCE.

CELIBACY (Buddhist).—The Buddhist Order of mendicants was governed by the 227 rules of the *Pātimokkha*. Of these, the first four were of special gravity. A breach of any one of the four involved expulsion from the Order, and they were therefore called *Pārājikā*, rules as to acts involving defeat. The first rule is as follows:

'Whatsoever Bhikkhu (who has taken upon himself the system of self-training and rule of life, and has not thereafter withdrawn from the training or declared his inability to keep the rule) shall have carnal knowledge of any living thing, down even to an animal, he has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion.'

'Withdrawn from the training' was the technical expression for throwing off the robes, retiring from the Order, and returning to the world—a step which any member of the Order was at liberty at any time to take. There are other rules subsidiary to this, forbidding all actions of an unchaste kind, especially any act or word which might either lead to a breach of the principal rule or give rise to an impression, outside the community, that it was not being strictly observed. For instance, a *bhikkhu* is not to sleep in any place where a woman is present (*Pāc.* 5); or to preach the doctrine, in more than five or six words, to a woman, unless a grown man be present (*ib.* 7); or to exhort the sisters, unless specially deputed to do so (*ib.* 21); or to journey along the same route with a woman (*ib.* 67); on his round for alms he is to be properly clad, and to walk with downcast eye (*Sekh.* 2–7); he is not to accept a robe from a sister not related to him, or from any woman not related to him, except under specified conditions (*Niss.* 4–6); he is not to sit in a secluded place with a woman (*Aniyatā*, 1–2), much less to touch or speak to a woman with impure intent (*Samgh.* 2–5).

In a book called *Sutta Vibhanga*, i.e. 'Exposition of the Rules,' each one of these 227 rules of the Order is explained; and every possible case of infringement, or doubtful infringement, is considered from the point of view of Canon Law, and a decision is given. It is difficult to draw any conclusion from these cases as to how far the rules of the Order were observed at the time when this book was composed. Almost all the cases are clearly hypothetical, and were drawn up with a view to having a recorded decision on every possible occurrence. They are interesting mainly as evidence of legal acumen, and are of value for the history of law. The other literature does not afford any assistance. Outside of the Canon Law we do not hear of any breach of the rule as to celibacy, though we meet with several cases of *bhikkhus* availing themselves of their right, when they found the rules too hard for them, to return to the world. The degree in which the rules of Buddhist celibacy are observed, where it is now professed, will be dealt with in the articles on the various countries where Buddhism prevails.

LITERATURE.—The rules above referred to are translated in *Vinaya Texts*, by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, vol. i. (Oxford, 1881). The Pāli text of the *Sutta Vibhanga* is in Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, vols. iii. and iv. (London, 1881–82).

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

CELIBACY (Chinese).—Celibacy in China finds itself opposed not only, as elsewhere, by the ordinary social instincts, but also by the practice of ancestor-worship, which demands male heirs for its proper performance. On this ground Mencius said: 'There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them' (IV. i. 26). Public opinion, therefore, favours marriage, and that at an early age.

The reasons for celibacy, where it exists, are either economical or religious. (*a*) Improvident marriages are made in China, as elsewhere; but in some cases—few relatively to the whole population, but many in the gross—poverty postpones or even forbids a man's marrying, especially since the candidate for matrimony must provide a considerable dowry to be paid to the parents of his bride. (*b*) While marriage is favoured by the practice of ancestor-worship and by Confucian teaching, which approves of such worship while it avoids theorizing on it, Buddhism, on the other hand, forbids its monks and nuns to marry or to continue in the marriage relation (see CELIBACY [Buddhist]). Moreover, the more earnest votaries of Buddhism, both men and women, will vow a life of celibacy, without, however, becoming monks or nuns; even married persons will agree to live the rest of their lives apart, in conformity with Buddhist ideals. A like ascetic strain of teaching appears in Taoism, and is practised by some of its adherents, though celibacy is not customary even among the professional performers of Taoist rites.

No stigma attaches to widowers who marry again, though he who refuses to re-marry may be respected as an example of continence. In the case of widows, commendation is given to those who decline re-marriage; and still greater is the praise accorded to a betrothed maiden who, though her bridegroom die before their marriage, reckons herself his wife, and lives a life of perpetual virginity in the home that was his. In such cases an heir to the deceased husband is provided by adoption. Eminent examples of such chastity may be commemorated by memorial arches erected with official sanction (cf. CHASTITY [Chinese]).

P. J. MACLAGAN.

CELIBACY (Christian).—The term celibacy is from the Latin *caelebs*, 'unmarried,' 'single,' and signifies the state of living unmarried. Originally

it was applied to the virgin or the widowed state of either sex, but later usage refers it mostly to a man religiously pledged to a single life. In this article it will be treated as a religious practice, and especially of male devotees.

Religious celibacy takes its rise in the Orient, and originates in that dualistic philosophy which regards matter as the source or seat of evil, and which on its positive side views man as essentially, or, at least so far as concerns his end, a spiritual being, whose self-realization is conditioned on the extinction of those impulses which spring from the material body and its environment. Orders of celibates are found in many religious systems, but only in Buddhism and Christianity have they received full development. Our attention will here be limited to a consideration of celibacy in the Christian religion.

The historical connexion of Christianity with Judaism, and the use by the early Christians of the Jewish Scriptures as a body of authoritative Christian documents, tended to perpetuate in the new religion the traditional Hebrew regard for marriage and a numerous offspring. Even among the Jews, however, ascetical usages, from whatever source they may have come, were not altogether wanting. There were fasts, tabued animals and meats, and at least one Order pledged to a measure of asceticism, the Nazirites (Am $2^{11f.}$, Nu 6^{1-21}). There were minor restrictions of the right of marriage, in the injunctions to observe conjugal abstinence on certain religious occasions (*e.g.* 1 S $21^{4f.}$, Ex 19^{15}, Zec 7^{3}) and in the regulations forbidding priests to marry a harlot or divorced woman, or, in the case of the high priest, any but an Israelitish virgin (Lv 21^{7-14}). Though these restrictions were made much of by advocates of celibacy at certain times, they seem to have had no influence on the primitive Church. With more plausibility it has been argued that the celibacy of John the Baptist and of Jesus, and, especially, the former's rejection of civilized modes of living, imply a connexion with the Jewish Therapeutæ (*q.v.*) or the Essenes (*q.v.*),[1] but the claim is only hypothetical.

1. Primitive Christianity.—Christian advocates of religious celibacy have sought a basis for it in the NT. The language of Mt $19^{4ff.}$ (Mk $10^{3ff.}$) constitutes a general recognition of marriage as a Divine institution. The words 'There are eunuchs, which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake' (these words do not occur in Mark, and, some think, are probably a late insertion), however, countenance a voluntary celibacy. Eusebius says that Origen took them literally and carried out the supposed obligation upon his own body. When Jesus (Lk 20^{34-36}, Mk 12^{25}, Mt 22^{30}) contrasts the 'sons of the resurrection' with the 'sons of this world' by saying that the former, unlike the latter, do not marry but are 'equal unto the angels,' He is simply meeting that objection to the idea of a future life which assumes a continuance of earthly relationships. He says nothing here or elsewhere of the moral superiority of that condition, or of the propriety of imitating it on earth. At least some of His apostles were married, and their conjugal relations are endorsed by St. Paul (1 Cor. 9^{2-6}). Heb. 13^{4} commands universal honour to marriage.

From the inquiry sent to St. Paul by the Church at Corinth it is evident that the question of the propriety of Christians marrying arose early. St. Paul's answer (1 Cor. 7^{1-40}), whilst granting the general necessity of marriage, does so on the comparatively low ground of its value as a preventive of fornication (vv.$^{2.5.9}$). For himself and others who can preserve continence, whether unmarried or widowed, the unmarried state is preferable (vv.$^{8.40}$). But the reason he offers is not that there is anything impure or unworthy in conjugal intercourse, but that the imminence of the Parousia and the exigencies of the times call for freedom from the distractions which, in his judgment, the married state involves. A change in his expectations and his condition would annul this 'judgment.' His discussion of the treatment of virgins indicates his approval of the attempt to preserve virginity for religious ends, but he is careful to guard against any 'snare' that might restrict true liberty. It is clear that a movement had already begun that was to have far-reaching effects. From Rev. 14^{4} we may conclude that by the close of the Apostolic age virginity was already viewed by Christians in some quarters as symbolical of a higher spiritual life. The language of St. Paul in Gal. 5^{16-24}, Rom. 7^{14}–8^{13}, and *passim* might easily be understood to support such a view.

The development of Christian organization, and the increasing differentiation of a ministerial order, led to stringency in the rules governing the lives of those men and women who were engaged in ministering to the churches. Thus the bishop was to be a married man, but a monogamist (1 Tim. $3^{2.4.5}$, Tit. 1^{6}, 'the husband of one wife'); but whether he was to be only once married, as seems probable from the parallel case of the enrolled widow (1 Tim. 5^{9}), and as is urged by many early Fathers, or whether the passage means that he was to be clear of the loose practice of divorce so common at the time, is not certain. At any rate, if this excludes the twice-married, it also, if taken literally, excludes absolute celibacy. St. Paul's view of the relation of the human spirit, when indwelt by the Divine, to the human body (Rom. 8^{11}, 1 Cor. 6^{19} etc.) makes it certain that, if the injunctions above referred to were his, they are not to be interpreted as attributing a religious or moral value to asceticism (Col. 2^{16-23}). The institution of a celibate priesthood was not contemplated in the primitive Christian Church.

2. The ancient Catholic Church.—Two influences contributed especially to the rise of sacerdotal celibacy. When Christianity spread into all parts of the civilized world and became a religion of the Gentiles, the effect of contact with heathen ideas and customs was seen, on the one hand, in the reaction of the Christian conscience against the prevailing moral degradation in private, social, and civil life; and, on the other hand, in the stealthy and increasing influx into the Church of heathen philosophical and religious ideas, and of the practices associated therewith. This is particularly manifest in the 'heresies' of the time, especially those embraced under the general name of 'Gnosticism,' in which Pythagorean and Platonic elements favouring asceticism were allied with Oriental mythology and world-speculation. To the Gnostic, matter was essentially evil, and redemption consisted in the separation of spirit from it. Accordingly, Saturninus and Basilides (Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* i. 24) declared that 'marriage and generation are from Satan.' Tatian (Eusebius, *HE* IV. xxix. 3) 'pronounced marriage to be corruption and fornication.' Marcion (Hippolytus, *Phil.* vii. 17–19), who was not exactly a Gnostic but professedly a Pauline Christian, believed the world to be the work of an inferior God, denied the reality of Christ's physical life, and founded churches of celibates which threatened the supremacy of the Catholic movement. Bodies of 'Encratites' (Hippolytus, *Phil.* viii. 13) boasted of a self-restraint superior to that of Christians; and they were sure to be imitated by some of the latter (Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* ii. 2). The survivals of these bodies were later absorbed into Manichæism, a blending of Persian dualism and Christianity. To these we must add the influence of the religion of Isis and the worship of Mithra (Bigg, *Church's Task*, 1905, pp. 40, 54, etc.), both of which were wide-spread throughout the Roman Empire and had a powerful following in the 1st and 2nd centuries. The

[1] For these sects see Pliny the Elder, *HN* v. 17; Josephus, *BJ* II. viii.; *HDB* i. 770 f., 605, iv. 992.

former had its white-clad priests and its tonsured men and women—emblematic of a higher purity. The latter had its grades of initiation and its companies of ascetics and virgins. The similarity between their religious conceptions and some Christian ideas facilitated the adoption of their customs by Christians.

Great Christian teachers were profoundly impressed with the Oriental idea of the absolute superiority of the human spirit to its material tenement. Catholic Christians were not to be outdone by heretics and heathens in self-renunciation (Ignatius, *Ep. ad Phil* iv. ; Polycarp, *ad Phil.* ii., iv., v. ; Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 2, 3, *Sim.* ix. 11 ; Athenagoras, *Apol.* xxxiii. ; Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* v. 19 ; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 9)—so at least Tertullian urged (*ad Uxor.* iii., iv., v., vi.). The outcome was inevitable. The highest type of Christian was the celibate. When persecution relaxed, this tendency was accentuated by the need that was felt of substituting the merits of voluntary self-devotion for the merits of martyrdom. Christian teachers praised virginity, and marriage came to be in their eyes only a secondary good for those who were unable to preserve continence (Orig. *Hom.* vi. *in Num.*; Cyprian, *Treat.* i. 3 ; Euseb. *HE* iv. 29). The Latin writers, particularly Ambrose and Jerome (Ambrose, *de Virg.* i.–iii. ; Jerome, *Ep.* 127, 130, *et passim*), used most extravagant language on this point.

The practice of vowing virginity among females had grown so popular that abuses were creeping in, and this led to the passing of regulations concerning virgins at the Synod of Elvira, A.D. 306 (?). The rise of monasticism under Paul of Thebes, St. Antony, Malchus, and Hilarion co-operated with the influence of these virgin sisterhoods in exalting the worth of celibacy, while the growth of sacerdotalism strengthened the movement. The idea of the likeness of the various grades of Christian ministers to Jewish and heathen priests resulted in demanding of them a higher degree of sanctity than of other Christians, especially in the matter of sexual relations (Tert. *in Cast.* vii., ix., *ad Uxor.* ii. etc.; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii.). We have already seen that at an early date there was a sentiment against second marriages among the clergy. This sentiment increased. Athenagoras (*Apol.* xxxiii.) said, 'Second marriage is only a specious adultery'; and Hippolytus (*Phil.* ix. 8) took the same view. When Tertullian went over to the Montanists in protest against the lax discipline of the Catholics and began his agitation against the 'digami,' the Church was compelled to act.

The first official action was taken at Elvira (Routh, *Conc. Elib.* c. 33 ; Dale, *Synod of Elvira*, 1882, *in loc.*) in Spain, when the higher clergy, *i.e.* bishops, priests, and deacons, were restricted to one marriage, and conjugal abstinence was enjoined upon pain of deprivation. This was only a Western provincial Synod ; but soon afterwards a Council at Neo-Cæsarea (*Conc. Neo-Cæs.* c. 1, 8, 10), A.D. 315, and one at Ancyra (*Conc. Ancy.* c. 10), took up a similar, though less advanced, position for the East. The former deposed priests who married in orders, or any cleric living with an adulterous wife ; but the latter Council permitted marriage to deacons who at their ordination professed their desire to marry and their inability to refrain.

In the Ecumenical Council at Nicæa (*Conc. Nic.* c. 8) a more conservative position was adopted, and a motion to impose conjugal abstinence on bishops was vetoed, through the influence, it is said, of the aged monk Paphnutius, whose face, with its eyeless socket, bore testimony to his endurance of persecution, and added force to his arguments against a law that might, by excessive severity, unloose the reins of lust. 'Digami' were to be re-admitted to communion after repentance. Of course, the language of St. Paul, and the Levitical laws above referred to, were invariably cited in support of arguments for restrictions.

But the attempts to erect a celibate standard of life had already stimulated some of the evils they had aimed at preventing. The defiance to sexual lust offered by vowed virgins (Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 11) had sometimes wretched consequences when celibacy became a practice among priests. The γυναῖκες συνείσακτοι (*mulieres subintroductae* [see art. AGAPETÆ]) in the houses of the clergy were a scandal. Among the canons of Elvira against the fearful immorality of the times were several which struck at this practice and the sins of virgins and priests' wives (*Conc. Elib.* c. 27 ; Dale, *Syn. Elv.* p. 196 ; *Conc. Ancy.* c. 19). This was in accordance with Cyprian's (*Ep.* lxi. 2, 4) advocacy of stern measures in such cases. The Nicene Council (*Conc. Nic.* c. 3 ; cf. Euseb. *HE* VII. xxx. 12–15 ; Dale, *Syn. Elv.* p. 201 ; Siricius, *ad. Himer. Tarrac.* c. 13) attempted to combat the same evil ; but these bad practices of the clergy were not stopped, and were even imitated by the virgins, who had their own male 'companions.' In later times, Popes and Councils contended against the evil without success until they were supported by Imperial legislation in the time of Justinian (*Novel.* vi. c. 6, quoted by Routh, *Reliq. Sac.* 1814–18, iv. 165).

Nevertheless the sentiment in favour of celibacy for all who aspired to a holy life grew so strong in some quarters as to cause alarm, and the Council of Gangra (see Gieseler, *Ch. Hist.*, 1836, i. § 97), A.D. 362 (?), found it necessary to condemn the view of Eustathius, the founder of Monasticism in Armenia, that marriage is to be universally rejected. We are fairly safe in saying that the prevailing view as to marriage in the 4th cent. is expressed in the *Apostolic Constitutions and Canons* (*Apost. Const.* VI. iii. 17 ; *Can.* 17, 18) : no digamy among higher clergy ; no marriage at all after ordination ; no second marriage even for the lower clergy (ministers, singers, readers, door-keepers) ; none of the clergy to marry a courtesan, servant, widow, or divorced woman ; deaconesses to be virgins or once-married widows. At length, in the decretal of Pope Siricius (Siric. *ad Himer. Tarrac.*), A.D. 385, we have the first ecclesiastical canon prescribing absolute celibacy for all the higher clergy. According to the Pope's own testimony, the decretal was called forth by the dreadful immorality of vowed priests and virgins. The endorsing of this action by a succession of decrees of Popes and of Councils and Synods established the rule, and the regulations for the conduct of monks and nuns were made more stringent. A synod at Rome (Hefele, ii. 386–390), A.D. 386, imposed conjugal abstinence on bishops, priests, and deacons who were already married. The fifth Carthaginian Council (*Conc. Carth.* c. 3, c. 13, dict. 32, c. 4, dict. 84), A.D. 401, commanded the married clergy to be separated from their wives on penalty of deposition ; and the Emperor Honorius, A.D. 420, gave the rule the support of the secular authorities. Pope Innocent I. (*Epp.* ii. c. 9, 10, iii. c. 1), A.D. 404, had issued even sterner decrees than Siricius, ordering priests and Levites not to mix with their wives, and any man who declared his desire to become a cleric to promise not to marry, whilst priests and Levites violating the law of celibacy were to be deposed. Councils (Routh, ii. 61, 62) at Arles, A.D. 443, and at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, supported

the movement. But these efforts were only partially successful, as is proved by a law of Justinian (*Novel.* vi. cap. 6, quoted by Routh, iv. 165), A.D. 523, forbidding those who had taken the vows to return to the world; and another, A.D. 530, declaring married men, or men who had children or grandchildren, incapable of becoming bishops, and annulling marriages of the higher clergy. Gregory the Great (Greg. I., lib. iv. *Ep.* 26, xiii. *Ep.* 6) strenuously contended against the ordination of 'digami,' forbade the restoration of a priest after a lapse from chastity, and commanded stern steps to be taken against looseness. These extreme measures had little permanent effect. The reaction against them proved too powerful for successful resistance, and the outcome is seen in the canons of the Trullan Council (*Conc. Trull.* cc. 7, 12, 13, 48), A.D. 680, by which priests, deacons, and all inferior clergy were allowed conjugal rights, but marriage (except in the case of lectors and cantors) after ordination, or to a widow before ordination, was to be dissolved and punished by temporary suspension and incapability of promotion. Bishops were to be separated from their wives, who were to accept the monastic life or become deaconesses. 'Digami' were to be deposed, but only temporarily if repentant.

3. The Greek Church.—The decisions of the Trullan Council on this question have virtually regulated the position of the Eastern Church to the present day. Bishops are always celibates, being chosen from the monks. The parochial clergy may marry before ordination, but not after. 'Digami' are not admitted to clerical rank (Schaff, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 412; Lea, *Sac. Cel.* ch. vi.). The Nestorian Christians had previously receded from the Catholic view, but returned to the practice of depriving patriarchs and bishops of the right to marry, leaving the lower orders free. The Abyssinian and Coptic Churches follow the Trullan Council, except that they permit bishops to retain their wives.

4. The Roman Church.—The Western Church, disregarding the Trullan Council's censure, continued in its course, since it regarded the separation of the clergy from the laity as essential to the Church's safety. But the regulations made by Synods, Councils, and Popes proved generally impracticable. The spirit of independence among the new peoples of Western Europe, and their passions and political connexions, proved too strong. The very multiplicity of official utterances shows that they were a failure. Even Gregory the Great had had to make concessions, and the filling of ecclesiastical offices in France by nominees of the Mayors of the Palace—such offices being viewed as rewards to successful warriors—for a time rendered severe discipline impossible. Though the Carolingian kings offered the Popes some aid in the matter, the outcome was only the increase of concubinage and the violent resistance of the offending clergy, who received the support of the people. The confusion which followed the dissolution of Charlemagne's Empire left moral corruption rampant in Church and State. Conditions were much the same in Spain and Italy.

In the British Isles the early Church was of the St. Patrick type, and monastic asceticism prevailed among the Britons. The great British missionaries were all monks, and Columban and Gallus helped to sustain the monastic ideal on the Continent.

On the conversion of the Angles and Saxons through the mission of Augustine, it was found impossible to enforce the stern regulations of Gregory. Even the great reforms introduced by Dunstan, and supported by Edgar the Peaceable and Edward the Confessor, while they are evidences of a growing emphasis on the value of asceticism, failed to bring the secular clergy under control. The only gain made was in the enforcement of celibacy among the regulars, and in the custom introduced by Dunstan of selecting the ministers of the altar from their ranks. The secular clergy were mostly opposed to these measures. Though Lanfranc furthered Dunstan's movement by imposing celibacy on the clergy of the cathedrals and the towns, and though Anselm demanded its enforcement on all without exception, marriage was not wholly discontinued, and concubinage increased. The outcome of the struggle in Europe generally at the close of the first millennium may be summed up by saying that the marriage relation was still adhered to by large numbers of the clergy, and that the rule of celibacy, when enforced, gave rise to concubinage more or less flagrant.

The re-establishment of the Empire under Otto the Great led to the elevation of the Papacy through a succession of capable Popes, and to more thorough measures for the government of the Church. The Cluniac revival developed a spirit of asceticism among all classes, and aroused a demand for the purification of the priesthood. The laity now shared fully in the idea that true piety is ascetical, and therein is found the explanation of whatever measure of success was reached in the renewed propaganda (see Lea, *Sac. Cel.* i. 183 ff.). A series of canons passed at the Synod of Pavia, A.D. 1022, and followed by similar legislation at Synods and Councils at Bourges (1031), Mainz (1049), and Rome (1051), attest the magnitude of the task and the desperateness of the Papal policy on the one hand and of the clerical opposition to it on the other. Clerics, from bishops to subdeacons, were ordered to remove their wives, concubines, and other suspicious women from their houses at once, and to remain separate from their consorts for ever. Not only were the women to be turned adrift on the world, but the children born of such unions were pronounced slaves. The Emperors Henry II. and Henry III. supported the movement vigorously; but the real animating spirit was the famous priest, Peter Damiani, who became Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, the highest dignity in the Roman curia, and whose urgency spurred on Popes Leo IX., Stephen IX., Nicolas II., and Alexander III. to the most sweeping measures. The struggle became bitter. The most obstinate opposition came from the bishops, whose dignity and independence were threatened. Plots, riots, and murders marked the progress of the struggle. Hildebrand, who became Pope Gregory VII. in 1073, was the leader of the reform. At his instigation, Nicolas II., at a Council assembled in the Lateran in 1059, took the extreme step of forbidding all Christians to be present at a mass celebrated by a priest known to keep a concubine or female in his house. After Hildebrand's accession to the Papal throne, this legislation of Nicolas was re-enacted, and to it was added a new canon, to the effect that the laity were authorized to withdraw all obedience from the prelates and priests who were incontinent. Though this was virtually an endorsement of the ancient Donatist heresy, it served the purpose well, for the laity were not slow to avail themselves of the power which this stern policy put into their hands. Catharism, with its dualism and its rejection of all marriage, was powerful in parts of Europe at the time, and stimulated the zeal of the Papal authorities. The rebellious clergy went so far as to unite in a schism, and elected Cadalus, bishop

of Parma, anti-Pope Honorius II. The Milanese clergy were most determined in their resistance, and war followed; but Hildebrand never faltered, and the final outcome was the general abandonment of priestly marriage in those parts of Europe where Papal influence was strongest. In its place concubinage or worse prevailed; but these errors were viewed as less criminal than marriage, because they involved a lesser degree of rebellion against the Church's authority (see, further, art. CONCUBINAGE [Christian]). The victory of the Papacy was signalized by the re-affirmation of its policy, without opposition, at the great Fourth Council of the Lateran in 1215, when 1300 prelates were present, representing all parts of Christendom. Yet the curious thing is that, neither at that time nor since, was there any attempt to enforce the rule upon the Eastern Church.

But, as Lea points out (*Sac. Cel.* ii. 205 f.), all this time in the West celibacy was only a point of discipline, of no doctrinal significance, and not a matter of heresy. The Protestant movement, with its revulsion against clerical immorality and its idea of the holiness of the natural, gave rise to a wide-spread demand for a married clergy. All the Reformed bodies fell in with this demand. The reaction in the Catholic Church against this resulted in elevating the rule of celibacy to the rank of an article of faith. Though for a time the current within the Catholic Church ran so strongly in favour of allowing marriage to the clergy that the moderate party, supported by the Emperors Charles V. and Ferdinand, by Duke Albert of Bavaria, and the Gallican Church under the leadership of Cardinal Lorraine, were willing to allow priestly marriage in order to prevent schism, and though even Pope Paul III. was willing to grant dispensations to deserving priests, the power of the Jesuits, the 'counter-Reformation' party, swept the proposed concession away. The Council of Trent (Schaff, *Creeds*, ii. 193 ff., cc. 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, also *Syllabus of Errors*, viii.) elevated the rule of celibacy into a dogma. At its second last session the decision of the controversy appeared in the form of a defence of the sacredness of matrimony, followed by twelve canons in which were asserted the Church's right to establish impediments to marriage, its right to enjoin marital avoidance, the invalidation by the vow of chastity of the right to contract marriage, and the superiority of virginity or celibacy to the married state. Anathemas were pronounced on all who held to the contrary. This remains the law of the Roman Catholic Church. There have been some temporary reactions against it, the most notable of which occurred at the time of the French Revolution, but it diminished gradually after Napoleon's Concordat with the Pope in 1801. The priests have abandoned utterly the claim to the right of marriage.

5. **The Protestant Churches.**—The Protestants vigorously denounced clerical celibacy, and nearly all the great creeds and confessions of the time reflect their feelings on the question. Luther, as early as 1520, advocated allowing pastors their freedom in the matter, and denounced compulsory celibacy as the work of the devil (Erlangen ed. 1826–57, xxi. 322 ff.). In his 'Admonition' (*Vermahnung an die Geistlichen*, etc., 1530, *ib.* xxiv. 360 ff.), in connexion with the Diet at Augsburg in 1530, he said that the celibacy of the clergy was 'a popish innovation against the eternal word of God.' He says the same in his *Table Talk* (*Colloq. Mensal.* ii. 211 ff.). In his sermon *de Matrimonio*, he says human traditions on the question of the prohibition of marriage are accursed, for they have entered into the Church only to multiply dangers, sins, and evils. Calvin (*Inst.* IV. xii. and xiii.), while approving of fasting as a religious exercise, and saying, 'It is becoming that the people should be ruled by a kindlier, and, if I may so speak, laxer discipline' than the clergy, yet denounced the 'vile celibacy' of the priests and the interdiction of marriage to priests as contrary to the word of God and to all justice. 'The first place of insane audacity belongs to celibacy.' These utterances represent the general Protestant view at the time, as the Creeds show. The Augsburg Confession (pt. ii. art. 2) says: 'It is lawful for them [priests] to enter into matrimony.' Scripture and history are adduced against the rule of celibacy: 'God ordained marriage. . . . but as no law of man can take away the law of God, no more can any vow whatsoever.' The sixty-seven articles of Ulrich Zwingli (cf. especially artt. 29, 30; see Schaff, iii. 202) condemn vows of chastity. The First Helvetic Confession (art. 28; see Schaff, iii. 230) rejects monastic celibacy and 'impure chastity.' The Gallican and Belgic confessions do not mention the subject. The thirty-second article of the Anglican Church, A.D. 1571, asserts that 'Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law either to vow the estate of single life or to abstain from marriage: therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness' (Schaff, iii. 507 f.). The Irish Articles of Religion (art. 64; see Schaff, iii. 537 f.), 1615, declare that there is no prohibition of marriage in the word of God, and quote approvingly the Anglican articles. The Westminster Confession (ch. xxiv.) says it is lawful for all sorts of people to marry. The Racovian Catechism and the Confessions of the Independents, the Baptists, and other Nonconformists are silent on the subject, their rejection of the Catholic succession making it unnecessary to express their dissent from the Roman Catholic view (Schaff, iii.). The subject is not noticed by modern Protestant Confessions, excepting the Methodist Articles (*Meth. Art. Relig.* art. xxi.), A.D. 1784, and article xxxiii. of the Reformed Episcopal Church in America, both of which repeat the statement of the Anglican articles.

The attitude of Protestants and Catholics has remained practically unchanged to the present time, and the subject is unlikely to be touched unless a proposal for union be made.

LITERATURE.—Roskovány, *Coelibatus et breviarium* (5 vols., Pest, 1861); Lea, *Hist. of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*[3] (2 vols., London, 1907); Klitsche, *Gesch. des Cölibates der kathol. Geistlichen* (Augsburg, 1830); Möhler, *Der Cölibat* (2 vols., Regensburg, 1841); Laurin, *Der Cölibat der Geistlichen* (Vienna, 1880); Bocquet, *Esquisse historique du célibat dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1894); Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* (8 vols., Freiburg, 1883–93; Eng. tr., incomplete, Edinburgh, 1895 ff.); Denzinger, *Enchiridion*[10] (Freiburg, 1908); Bingham, *Antiquities*, esp. bks. iv., vi.; Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom* (3 vols., New York, 1877–84); also the Church histories in general, and the relevant articles in Wetzer-Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*[2], the *Catholic Encyc.*, *PRE*[3], etc.

GEORGE CROSS.

CELIBACY (Indian).—When the Census (1901) statistics are examined,

'the first point which strikes an observer is the almost universal prevalence of the married state. In Europe sentiment and prudence exercise divided sway, and the tendency on the whole is rather towards a decline in the number of marriages. In India neither of these motives comes prominently into play. Religion, on the other hand, which in the West makes not unfrequently for celibacy, throws its weight in India almost wholly into the other scale. A Hindu man must marry and beget [male] children to perform his funeral rites, lest his spirit wander uneasily in the waste places of the earth. If a Hindu maiden is unmarried at puberty, her condition brings social obloquy on her family, and on a strict reading of certain texts entails retrospective damnation on three generations of ancestors. . . . Amongst the Hindus this institution [marriage] is a religious sacrament, and the evil consequences which, it is believed, would follow from neglecting it have already been referred to. In the case of Musalmans and Animists the religious sanction is wanting, but . . . the married state is equally common, though it is not entered upon at such an

early age as with the Hindus. Its frequency amongst these communities may be due in part to the influence of Hindu example,' but in the main is the result of social conditions. 'Of the males nearly half are unmarried, but a reference to the age details shows that three-quarters of the latter are under 15 years of age; of the males enumerated at the ages 30 to 40, only 1 in 12 is celibate, and between 40 and 60, only 1 in 20. In the case of females the figures are even more striking. Only one-third of the total number are unmarried, and of these three-quarters are under the age of 10 and seven-tenths of the remainder under 15; less than one-twelfth of the females returned as single had completed the fifteenth year of their age. Of those returned in this category at the age periods "15–20," moreover, the great majority doubtless belong to the earlier part of it; very few females are still unmarried when they attain the age of 20'; and these few are so because of special reasons (*Census of India*, 1901, vol. i. pp. 421, 436).

The statistical generalizations quoted above are in accordance with the experience of all observers, and it may be affirmed in general terms that marriage is universal in India among all classes and creeds. Occasionally a middle-aged man may be found a bachelor, because caste restrictions have prevented him from finding a wife, and certain persons of both sexes are necessarily debarred from marriage by disease. Prostitutes, too, are often, though by no means invariably, unmarried, and exceptionally high rank may occasionally preclude a girl from marriage, as when, for instance, Imperial jealousy condemned Aurangzīb's sisters to a life of celibacy. But such exceptions do not seriously affect the truth of the proposition that every native of India marries at some time or other.

Amongst the Muhammadans celibacy is very rarely practised, even by persons who aspire to a reputation for special sanctity. Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist ascetic orders are commonly, though not without exception, celibate. But even in their case the term 'celibate' cannot be predicated in its strict sense. In India no such creature is conceivable as the monk of Mount Athos who had never, to his knowledge, seen a woman. The Hindu theory of the ideal life for a high-caste man is that he should begin as a chaste, ascetic student, then pass through the condition of a married householder, and spend the evening of his days, first as a forest hermit, and finally as a mendicant. Although that ideal is not often carried out fully in practice, almost all persons who join ascetic orders have been through the married stage. All Indian vows, moreover, are purely personal, no attempt being made to enforce them by external authority. A man or a woman who joins an order can always quit it at will. Monasteries and nunneries are merely convenient open dwelling-places for people actuated by common motives who wish to live together. The barred and bolted monastic buildings of Europe, which aid an iron discipline by physical barriers practically impassable, are unknown in India. The celibate state of an Indian ascetic, monk, or nun, therefore, usually implies previous marriage, and in all cases may be renounced at any moment.

Most of the Indian ascetic orders exact by their rules from members, while they remain in membership, not only celibacy, but the strictest chastity, which is described as the highest form of austerity. The Brāhmanical, Buddhist, and Jain books agree in laying down the most stringent rules for the preservation of personal purity by persons aspiring to lead the ascetic life. In practice, of course, the safeguards often fail to act effectively, and female ascetics, especially, have, and always have had, a bad general reputation, so that, as frequently acting in the capacity of go-betweens, they are, according to the Sanskrit text-books on erotics, to be avoided by every self-respecting wife (Schmidt, *Beiträge zur ind. Erotik*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 740, 762, 774, 777, 781, 816). Honourable exceptions, however, occur, some of which are described by J. C. Oman, whose book (see Lit. at end) gives a convenient and readable account of Indian asceticism.

The Chaitanyites, or followers of Chaitanya (*q.v.*) in Bengal, who admit both males and females, disregard the law of chastity, some of their sub-sects going even further and treating promiscuous intercourse as virtuous. In ancient times, Buddhist nuns, although looked on coldly, it is said, by Buddha, were numerous and influential in both India and Ceylon, and many individual nuns attained high distinction as authors and saints. In modern days, the nunneries of Buddhist countries are of little importance and indifferent reputation.

Descriptions of various celibate sects will be found in other articles. Here mention may be made of one specially remarkable and widely spread, though numerically small, body, the Mānbhaos or Mahānubhāvas, devoted to the worship of Krishṇa and the study of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The headquarters of this sect, which dates from the 13th cent., are at Ritpur (or Rīdhpur) in Berār, and a branch convent exists in distant Kābul.

'The sect is divided into two classes, celibates and *gharbārīs*, or seculars. Celibacy is regarded as the perfect life, but matrimony is permitted to the weaker brethren. The celibates, both men and women, shave all hair from the head, and wear clothes dyed with lampblack. The lower garment is a waist-cloth forming a sort of skirt, and is intended to typify devotion to the religious life and consequent indifference to distinctions of sex' (*IG*, *s.v.* 'Ritpur,' xxi. 301 f.).

Many of the Saiva orders, *e.g.* the Atīts (*q.v.*) are similarly divided into celibate and householder sections.

LITERATURE.—Risley and Gait, *Census Report, India, 1901* (Calcutta, 1903); J. C. Oman, *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India* (London, 1903); A. Mackintosh, 'An Account of the Maunbhows, or the black-coated Mendicant Devotees,' in *Mad. Journal of Liter. and Science*, 1836, pp. 9–26, which is corrected in *IG*, *s.v.* 'Ritpur.' Details of monastic rules will be found in books treating of Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism, *e.g. SBE*, vols. xxii., xlv.; R. S. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism* (London, 1850, 1860); Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Strassburg, 1896); the *Laws of Manu*, etc. Particulars of celibate sects may be read in Crooke, *Tribes and Castes* (Calcutta, 1896); and many books dealing with Tibet, Burma, etc.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

CELIBACY (Iranian).—The idea of celibacy is entirely repugnant to the Iranian system, as far as we may judge from the Avesta, and probably also to the tenets of the Achæmenid religion (see Herod. i. 136). Nothing can be more explicit than *Vendīdād*, iv. 47, where Ahura Mazda declares:

'I proclaim the superiority of him who has a wife, O Spitama Zarathushtra, over him who is unmarried; of him who keeps a home, over him who hath none; of the father of a family, over him who hath no children.'

In *Yasht* xvii. 59, Ashi Vanuhi declares:

'This is the wickedest deed that hostile men do, when they keep girls away from marriage, and, leaving them long without husbands, prevent them bearing children.'

The unmarried maidens' prayer is for young and handsome husbands (*Yasht* xv. 40). The repudiation of celibacy is quite in keeping with the general sentiment of Mazdaism, which is opposed to all forms of asceticism, and reckons it more blessed to be rich than poor, to feed well than to eat little (*Vend.* iv. 47 f.), and is not merely owing, as in India, to the desire of offspring for the sake of obtaining funeral rites, though that motive no doubt also enters in.[1] L. C. CASARTELLI.

[1] [This factor in the prohibition of celibacy comes out with especial clearness in the declaration of the Pahlavi *Shāyast lā-Shāyast* (x. 19, tr. West, *SBE* v. 322 f.), that 'a man, when he does not wed a wife, does not become worthy of death; but when a woman does not wed a husband it amounts to a sin worthy of death; because for a woman there is no offspring except by intercourse with men, and no lineage proceeds from her; but for a man without a wife, when he shall recite the Avesta, as it is mentioned in the Vendīdād [the reference probably being, according to West, to the recitation of certain Yasna passages in reparation for involuntary *pollutio nocturna*, as prescribed in *Vend.* xviii. 45–52], there may be a lineage which proceeds onwards to the future existence.'—L. H. GRAY.]

CELIBACY (Tibetan).—The obligation imposed on the monks of Buddha's order, in common with other monastic orders throughout the world, to remain permanently single or unmarried, is part of the course of self-restraint and self-discipline to which they are pledged for the purpose of extinguishing in their hearts all desire and worldliness (cf. CELIBACY [Buddhist]). In Tibetan Buddhism this vow is strictly enforced only by the yellow-hat, or reformed, sect of lamas, the *Gelug*, which, however, claims the great majority of the clergy in the country. Amongst the other sects also celibacy is necessarily the rule in the larger monasteries, as well as in most of the smaller ones, especially of the *Kargyu* sect, which particularly affects hermitages and ascetic practices.

On the other hand, in the smaller lamaseries, or *gompas*, of the unreformed sects, situated in the neighbourhood of towns and villages, which practically are merely temples existing for the performance of popular sacrifice incorporating aboriginal cults, the officiating priests are usually uncelibate. This state of affairs is, doubtless, contributed to by the easy morality of the women, and the facility with which the marriage tie may be contracted in Tibet, where no public civil ceremony is necessary; nor, in common with other Buddhist countries, is any religious ceremony prescribed, for the reason that Buddhism is not a popular religion at all, but essentially a monastic brotherhood which advocates celibacy for every one.

Notable exceptions to the rule of celibacy amongst high lamas are to be found in the case of the hierarchs or chief abbots of the *Sakya* sect, who originally were the first priest-kings of Tibet, and who established their succession in the priest-kingship by the rule of hereditary lineal descent in the family, thus entailing a breach of celibacy —a practice which their later representatives still maintain. The present yellow-hat prelate, or Grand Lama, of Mongolia, who poses as the head monk and the incarnation of a divinity, is nevertheless married to several wives, in whose company he travels about openly, although he has not the excuse of the *Sakya* hierarchs for it, as the succession in his case is not by lineal descent in the family, but by spiritual transmigration, according to the theory of infant re-incarnation, on the nomination of the priests at Lhāsa. Individual lapses from continence are recorded on the part of more than one of the Grand Dalai Lamas of Lhāsa, and also in the case of the chief nun, the professedly Divine abbess of the convent of Samding (see ABBOT [Tibetan]).

Whilst celibacy thus may be said to be the rule amongst the Lamaist clergy, yet the existence of absolute and lifelong abstinence from sexual indulgence is perhaps rare, certainly much more rare than is the case amongst monastic communities in Europe. The third commandment of Buddha's decalogue, the *daśaśila*, or 'ten precepts,' forbids unchastity, which is interpreted as including sexual abstinence as regards the monks; but this is the one vow which, above all others, the Tibetans find difficult to keep. The lapses appear to occur chiefly amongst the ranks of the more illiterate monks and lusty novices, whose grosser animal instincts have not been sufficiently leavened with the ascetic spirit of the Buddhist teaching. On this account great numbers of the younger clerics abscond or are expelled. In the large colony of Tibetans at Darjiling the present writer ascertained that several hundreds of the men doing coolies' work in that town were ex-lamas, mostly of the yellow, or *Gelug*, sect, who had fled from Tibet, with their paramours, or singly, in order to escape the severe penalties attaching to their breach of celibacy. The delinquent is denounced, and, if caught, is subjected to corporal chastisement in public, as well as to a heavy fine and expulsion from the order in disgrace.

A considerable number of the monks do undoubtedly practise absolute continence, and no suspicions in this respect seem ever to have been cast upon the reputation of any of the Tashilhunpo Grand Lamas. Purity of this kind is highly esteemed by the laity, and contributes largely to the saintly repute in which the higher lamas are held by the populace, who feel themselves to be in this way so hopelessly the inferiors of these holy ascetics. Moreover, for the performance of many of those sacrificial rites, embodying aboriginal cults, and so often in demand for the purpose of expelling disease and death and compelling good fortune, ceremonial purity by sexual abstinence is deemed to be an essential qualification in the priest who is to mediate with the gods.

Nuns seldom enter the order as children; generally they are widows, who on resuming the single life take the vow of chastity, and live in communities by themselves as celibates.

A serious result of this wholesale celibacy enforced on such a large proportion of the population of Tibet—about a third of the entire adult males of the country—has undoubtedly been to check disastrously the development of the country and to reduce enormously the population. To this source, much more than to polyandry, the present writer would ascribe the remarkable dwindling in the population which has occurred since the pre-Buddhist days, when Tibet was at its zenith. A still more disastrous and direct result of this wholesale celibacy, it seems to him, has been the decided degeneration of the race. Whilst the Lamaist Church has taken to itself for over a thousand years the best of the population of Tibet, the best of the intellects, and the best born, it has left merely the residue of the least desirables to carry on the continuity of the race, which has in consequence become decadent.

LITERATURE.—L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, pp. 134, 138, 193, 445, etc., and *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London, 1905, pp. 233, 345, 469.

L. A. WADDELL.

CELTS.

[J. A. MACCULLOCH.]

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I. *SOURCES.*—Our knowledge of Celtic religion, as far as concerns the Continental Celts and those of Britain under Roman rule, is derived from (1) passages in classical and ecclesiastical writings, (2) inscriptions, (3) monuments, images, altars, bas-reliefs, votive offerings, and coins. For the Celts in Wales there are the *Mabinogion* (which, though found in a 14th cent. MS, contains elements from a remote past), the *Triads*, the *Taliesin* and other poems, while some of the older gods may be identified in the personages of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Hist. Britonum*, or of the documents of the Arthurian cycle. All these, however, must be used with caution. For the Irish Celts the litera-

ture is more copious, and is found in MSS dating from the 11th and 12th cent. onwards—the *Leabhar na hUidhre* (*LU*), the *Leabhar Laignech* or Book of Leinster (*LL*), the Book of Ballymote (*BB*), the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, etc. For the whole Celtic area, *Lives* of saints, canons of councils, etc., contain incidental notices of ritual; place and personal names are also frequently suggestive; while much information may be extracted from folk-survivals.

While the documents of the insular Celts reveal a copious mythology, they refer only incidentally to ritual. On the other hand, the sources tell us nothing of the myths of the Continental Celts, but are concerned mainly with Divine names and, to a lesser extent, ritual.

The Irish texts contain documents in which the gods are euhemerized and everything is reduced to an annalistic system, as well as romantic tales with a mythological aspect, legends, sagas, and topographical descriptions (the *Dindsenchas*), in which much archaic matter is preserved. Much of this can be traced to earlier compilations, derived in turn from pre-existing materials, though it is not known whether the latter, in the case of mythical and romantic tales, were actual pagan myths redacted in Christian times, or more or less amorphous traditions to which a literary form was given by Christian scribes. In either case, care must be taken lest *Märchen* episodes, belonging to universal folk-tale formulæ and attached to the stories of the gods, should be treated as an integral part of Celtic mythology.

For the Irish texts, see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Essai d'un catal. de la litt. épique d'Irlande*, Paris, 1883, *Introd. à l'étude de la litt. celt.*, Paris, 1883, *Cours de litt. celt.* vols. ii., v., Paris, 1884, 1892 (cited as d'Arbois); O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS Materials*, Dublin, 1861 (cited as *MS Mat.*); Zimmer, *Kelt Studien*, Berlin, 1881–84; Nutt, *Arch. Rev.*, London, 1889, ii. 110; Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, London, 1905 (cited as Leahy); Windisch-Stokes, *Ir. Texte*, Leipzig, 1880 f. (cited as *IT*); Windisch, *Die altir. Heldensage Táin bó Cúalnge*, Leipzig, 1905 (cited as *Táin*); *Trans. of Ossianic Soc.*, Dublin, 1854–61; Irish Texts Society's publications. There are facsimile copies of *LU*, London, 1870; *LL*, London, 1880; *BB*, London, 1887.

For the Welsh texts, see Rhys-Evans, *Text of the Mab.*, Oxford, 1887; Lady Guest's text and tr. of *Mab.*, 3 vols., Llandovery, 1849; Loth, *Le Mabinogion*, Paris, 1889 (cited as Loth; most valuable). *Triads* will be found in Loth, in Rhys-Evans, and in Skene, *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, Edinburgh, 1868 (cited as Skene; it contains also the poems, text and tr.), and in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, London, 1801 (with other documents); and Loth, *La Métrique galloise*, 3 vols., London, 1900–2.

The following abbreviations are also used throughout this article: Blanchet=*Traité des monnaies gauloises*, 2 vols., Paris. 1905; Campbell, *LF*=*Leabhar na Feinne*, London, 1872, *WHT* =*Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, 4 vols., Edin. 1890; Elton=*Origins of Eng. Hist.*, London, 1882; E. Hull= *Cuchullin Saga*, London, 1898; Joyce, *OCR*=*Old Celtic Romances*[2], London, 1894, *SH*=*Soc. Hist. of Anc. Ireland*, 2 vols., London, 1903; *PN*=*Origin and Hist. of Ir. Names of Places*, 2 vols., Dublin, 1901; Jullian=*Recherches sur la rel. gaul.*, Bordeaux, 1903; Keating=*History of Ireland*, tr. O'Mahony, London, 1866; Le Braz=*La Legende de la Mort*[2], 2 vols., Paris, 1902; Nutt-Meyer=*Voyage of Bran*, 2 vols., London, 1895–97; O'Curry, *MCAI*=*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 4 vols., Dublin, 1873; O'Grady=*Silva Gadelica*, 2 vols. 1892; Reinach, *BF*=*Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine*, Paris, 1900; Rhys, *AL*=*Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, *CB*=*Celt. Britain*[4], London, 1908, *CFL*=*Celt. Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, *HL* =*Hibbert Lect. on Celt. Heathendom*, London, 1888; Sébillot= *Folk-lore de France*, 4 vols., Paris, 1904 ff.; Stokes, *TIG*=*Three Irish Glossaries*, 1862, *US*=*Urkelt. Sprachschatz*, Gottingen, 1894 (in Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*[4]).

II. *THE CELTIC PEOPLE.*—The Celts, who had greater affinities with the Latin than with the Teutonic branches of the Aryan stock, had settled (probably in Neolithic times) in the area between the head waters of the Rhine, Elbe, and Danube, where they became known to the Greeks as the Hyperboreans, and whence they migrated in different directions. By the 9th cent. B.C., the Goidels, belonging to the 'Q' group of Celts, had probably reached the British Isles, whither at a much later date came the Brythonic tribes of the 'P' group. Gaul had been occupied at an early date, North Italy by the 8th cent. B.C., the Spanish peninsula by the 5th century. Other groups are found in the Danube valley and the Balkans; some finally reached Galatia as a result of the revolt of the German tribes. In thus spreading over such a wide area, the Celts must have lost much of their racial purity through mingling with the aboriginal peoples—the dolichocephalic Neolithic peoples and the short brachycephalic stock (regarded by Broca as the true Celts, on whom the so-called Celts had imposed their language). But, in spite of this, the Celts, though a minority in these various lands, possessed racial characteristics of such a marked type as to impress them on the successive peoples with whom they came in contact, giving them a Celtic *facies*, so that a general Celtic type, composed of different racial elements, is now recognizable. Thus the different groups were strongly homogeneous, and the general impression left by a study of the remains of their belief and ritual is that their religion was on the whole of the same character everywhere. Though the divinities among different groups bore different names, and though, among more civilized groups, their personalities may have been more definite, their general characteristics were alike. Local circumstances may have altered myths and beliefs in various ways, but their basis was everywhere the same. Again, though aboriginal cults and beliefs may have influenced those of the Celts, there was probably little difference between them, and the Celts perhaps gave more than they received. It is impossible, however, to say how far any one Celtic group may have developed their religion beyond that of any other group. Hence we shall obtain the best impression of Celtic religion by regarding it as, on the whole, homogeneous, like the Celts themselves.

III. *RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS.*—Primitive elements influenced Celtic religion to the end of its history. The cult of Nature-spirits preceded and outlived the rise of anthropomorphic Nature-gods. Religious evolution was doubtless influenced by the earlier distinction between the cults of men and women, arising from their varying interests, and probably already established before the Celts became a separate people. Men as hunters would worship animals, propitiating the slain animal or rendering Divine honours to one member of the species which was hunted. Other worshipful animals were preserved, the cult thus leading to domestication and pastoral life. But all these animals would be regarded as Divine in themselves; the anthropomorphic stage came later. Perhaps mainly among women arose the cult of the fruitful Earth-mother, since it is to them that the beginnings of agriculture are due. They had gathered and stored wild fruits, roots, and seeds, and from them came the idea of cultivating such plants. Hence with women would arise the cult of vegetation-spirits, embodied in trees—the largest vegetable growth. When corn became a food staple, the corn-spirit would be evolved. All such spirits would be regarded as female. The cult of anthropomorphic animal- and vegetation-divinities, whenever it arose, never quite took the place of the earlier cult of Divine animals and vegetation-spirits. As men began to take part in agriculture, and consequently in the cults till then practised by women, vegetation-, fertility-, and corn-spirits would tend to become male, the Earth-mother an Earth-god, though the latter may have been regarded as her consort or her son. Yet neither was this process ever a complete one, as is seen by the late existence of the *Matres* (goddesses of fertility), and by the cult of corn-mothers and -maidens. Again, as the cult of vegetation- and corn-spirits centred in agricultural processes, so, when they became anthropomorphic divinities, their cult centred in the seasonal festivals, the ritual of which is so important for the elucidation of much in Celtic religion.

New circumstances created new divinities—the growth of crafts, of commerce, of music and poetry. Some of the culture-divinities thus evolved were female, and were never quite ousted by gods of the same occupation, while they were sometimes regarded as mothers or consorts of the latter. To

some of these divinities the origin of culture and the existence of domestic animals were later attributed, and myth told how they, perhaps regarded as culture-heroes rather than gods, had obtained them from the gods' land for men by force or fraud. In some cases they may thus have once been anthropomorphic animal-divinities who had become gods, with whom the particular species of animal was associated. In later stages these culture-gods were very important—the local gods assimilated by Cæsar (vi. 17) to the Roman Mercury.

Warfare also, especially with the migrating Celts, demanded war-divinities, certain of the gods of growth being at first utilized, since in Irish myth some of the latter are great warriors. But there were special war-gods also—many of a local, tribal character—as well as war-goddesses, for here the female influence which moulded other parts of Celtic religion also prevailed. Though the Celts are often regarded as mainly a warrior people, agriculture was also keenly followed by them, as many classical references show. The *Equites* in Gaul engaged in war only when occasion arose (Cæsar, vi. 15, cf. v. 12, 'the Belgæ, having waged war . . . commenced to cultivate the lands'). In Ireland, the dependence of fertility upon the king, himself a warrior, shows the importance of agriculture (see § VIII.).

Of all these various divinities and spirits, those of growth and fertility were probably the most important. As anthropomorphic divinities they were worshipped at large central gatherings during the great festivals, but the cult of the earlier spirits, out of whom they had been evolved, must have continued in simple folk-rituals. But both were essentially the same, and it is not wrong to say that the Celts preserved in an emphatic degree the primitive elements of religion. Hence Celtic religion may be regarded as in the main a cult of powers of growth and fertility, perhaps because the poetic temperament of the people kept them close to the heart of Nature. Nor was the early importance of female cults of goddesses ever quite lost sight of, as the position of goddesses and the popular cult of the *Matres* show. Here and there a higher type of religion may have arisen, especially in those parts of Gaul where foreign influences prevailed, and certainly after the Roman conquest. But that conquest really undermined Celtic religion in Gaul and Britain.

Other characteristics which emerge from a study of the sources are the organization and power of the priesthood, the cruel aspects of the sacrificial cult, derived in part, at least, from the earlier slaying of a Divine-human victim, the simplicity rather than the stateliness of the ritual, suggested by the fact that groves rather than buildings were the temples of the Celts, the general use of magic, and the firm and sustaining belief in bodily immortality.

It should be clearly recognized that most of the divinities were purely local in character—gods of a tribe or group of tribes, similar in functions to those of other groups, but differing in name. This is suggested by the frequent equation in inscriptions of different gods with the same Roman god, while, generally speaking, certain Divine names appear only in inscriptions from certain districts. In Ireland and in Wales, though the divinities in the texts appear to have a more universal character, they may have been gods of prominent tribes, those of other groups having been forgotten. On the other hand, certain divinities were worshipped under the same name over wider areas. Some Irish and Welsh divinities have similar names, as well as others worshipped among the insular and Continental Celts—Lug or Lugus, Ogma or Ogmios, Epona, the *Matres*. These deities may represent the divinities of the earliest times, whose cult was carried far and wide by the migrating Celts. Or the gods of some tribes may have ousted those of tribes conquered by them. Or, again, the cult of a tribal god may have gradually extended itself to other tribes. But, on the whole, the local character of the Celtic gods is one of its most marked features. Each god whose nature and functions are described must thus be taken as representative of a type. Though the extent of the Celtic folk from the east to the west of Europe may seem to make it impossible to treat of their religion as a whole, yet the similarity of the Celtic temperament everywhere, the adherence, in spite of the evolution of their religion, to its primitive features, and the unity of their civilization (southern Gaul alone excepted) render the task less difficult. The uniformity of Celtic religion, wherever found, may in large measure be due also to the organized priesthood and its position as a teaching body. Thus, though this uniformity may be regarded by some as hypothetical, the evidence hardly permits us to suppose that the religion differed materially in different regions.

The Celts were regarded as peculiarly religious by classical observers (cf. Cæsar, vi. 16). They did not neglect ceremonial or what was due to the gods, while they held that all things happened by the will of the gods (Livy, v. 46; Dion. Hal. vii. 70; Arrian, *Cyneg.* xxxv. 1). Nor could the power of the priesthood have been so great unless the people had been eager to approach the gods through their representatives. This Celtic characteristic may be traced even now in the devotion to religion and in the authority of the priest in certain Celtic regions, and it is also seen in the eager acceptance of Christianity by the Celts, in the spirituality of early Celtic saints, and in the position of the Celtic Church in Western Christendom for some centuries. Their spiritual, poetic temperament has given much to literature in France and Britain; the purely Celtic literature of Ireland has much that is romantic and idealistic; and, whatever the origins of the Arthurian saga may have been, its spirit is Celtic. But unfortunately no Celt described his own religion or handed down to us any glimpse of the religious aspirations of his people. The real desire of the Celt for God, his sense of sin, his hopes, remain a sealed book to us. But that they must have existed is evident, when we consider the spiritual ideals which the Celt has bequeathed to mankind.

IV. *THE GODS OF GAUL.*—In his notice of the religion of Gaul, Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 17, 18) confines himself to a description of six divinities, to whom he gives the name of Roman deities:

'Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Hujus sunt plurima simulacra; hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt; hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc, Apollinem, et Martem, et Jovem, et Minervam. De his eandem fere, quam reliquæ gentes, habent opinionem; Apollinem, morbos depellere; Minervam, operum atque artificiorum initia tradere; Jovem, imperium coelestium tenere; Martem, bella regere. . . . Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant; idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt.'

But the evidence of inscriptions, etc., shows that there were many gods besides these. Hence Cæsar may have mentioned only the chief gods, or, more likely, there were many local gods with similar functions but different names, since the inscriptions show the assimilation of gods with different names to one Roman divinity. The assimilation throws some light on the characters of the native divinities, though very often some single aspect or function of a god may have been made the connecting link between the two, and generally the native character of the god would be lost in the personality of the Roman divinity. Whether there was one supreme god or a group of supreme gods has been much

debated. Perhaps each tribe or group of tribes had its own group of gods, one of whom may have been regarded as chief. But in some cases a god was worshipped over a wide area under the same name. Cæsar makes the native Mercury the god most worshipped, and the local gods assimilated to Mercury (some sixteen in number), worshipped perhaps on hill-tops, were probably gods of culture, commerce, agriculture, and boundaries, with an occasional anthropomorphic animal-god like Moccus, a swine-god. The Gaulish Ogmios (Ir. Ogma), mentioned by Lucian (*Herakles*), was probably a native Mercury, though his name has not been found in any inscription. The Gaulish gods represented by Juppiter were probably sky-, sun-, and thunder-gods, and one of them has been identified with numerous images of a god with a wheel (a symbol of the sun) and occasionally a thunderbolt. The number of native gods associated with Apollo is very great: *e.g.* Borvo, Belenos, Grannos, etc.; and they were generally gods of healing springs, though some of them may have been sun-gods.

As the Celts became a conquering and warlike people, war-gods tended to become more prominent, and the numerous divinities associated with Mars —Camulos, Teutates, Albiorix, Caturix, etc.—were doubtless tribal war-gods. (Animal- and Nature-gods—Mullo, a mule-god, Vintius, a wind-god, Leucetius, a lightning-god, and Braciaca, perhaps a god of malt—were also associated with Mars.) But in their more settled state, divinities of growth and agriculture would be worshipped by the Celts. The importance of this aspect of Celtic religion is seen in the wide-spread cult of such female divinities as the *Matres*, who, in inscriptions, have generally a local epithet. These goddesses, usually three in number, were primarily goddesses of fertility, as their symbols — fruits, flowers, a cornucopia, or an infant—show; but they became protectors of individuals, families, towns, etc. They are not mentioned by Cæsar, but, like the culture-goddess equated by him with Minerva, the horse-goddess Epona, and others, they were not made subordinate to gods, as were the numerous goddesses associated with the native Apollo or with Mercury, Mars, etc. The cult of the *Matres* was wide-spread and popular (especially in cis-Alpine Gaul and lower Germany), hence also primitive, and it doubtless resembled that of the Bona Dea or Great Mother, with whom Gregory of Tours compares a local fertility-goddess of Autun called Berecyntia (*in Glor. Conf.* c. 77; see FESTIVALS [Celtic]). The *Matres* must have been triplicates of an early Earth-mother, whose place was eventually taken by the Earth-god. She then became his consort or mother, or was even associated with another god. Thus Sirona, perhaps 'the long-lived one,' with symbols of fertility (Robert, *RCel* iv. 133), associated with Grannos, is probably an old Earth-goddess. But generally conservatism preserved intact the cult of these fertility-goddesses, as we see in the case of the *Matres* and Berecyntia. Similarly, female corn- and vegetation-spirits, as they became anthropomorphic goddesses, were only partially ousted by gods. The *Matres*, worshipped also in Gallo-Roman Britain, were never quite forgotten. They survived in popular belief as fairies (see FAIRY, and cf. the Welsh name for fairies, *Y Mamau*, 'the Mothers'), and their images were sometimes adored as those of the Virgin and Child. The *Matronæ* of eastern and cis-Alpine Gaul, of the Rhine and Danube regions, probably local forms of the *Matres*, have a title borne by several rivers —Marne, Meyrone, etc. This suggests that they were associated with the cult of rivers. The Mother-river fertilized a whole district, and thus exhibited the chief characteristics of the whole group of goddesses. Other local group goddesses or female spirits are the *Comedovæ*, *Dominæ*, and *Virgines* (probably not very different from the *Matres*), the *Niskæ*, water-goddesses, etc. Many individual goddesses, unassociated with a god, appear sporadically in local inscriptions. It is thus clear (as the evidence of Irish mythology also shows) that in the earliest times goddesses or female spirits of fertility, culture, etc., had preceded gods, and were never quite ousted by them.

The earth or under-earth gods are most probably represented by Cæsar's Dispater. Various Gallo-Roman images show by their symbols or dress that they are local equivalents of Dispater, of the Græco-Roman Hades-Pluto, *e.g.* the god with the hammer and cup (a symbol of fertility), the god called Cernunnos—a horned god who may be the same as other nameless horned or three-headed gods, evidently of the under world, with symbols of plenty and fertility. Aeracura, a goddess holding a basket of fruits, is associated with Dispater in inscriptions from the Rhine valley, and she is probably an early Earth-mother, as is also the consort of the under-world god on a monument from Saintes. She holds a cornucopia. The horned or three-headed god is associated with a male and female, or two male, or two female, companions, on different monuments. In some cases they are represented as Roman divinities. These varying groupings may point to different myths of which this god was the central figure. From this under-world god, who is also a god of fertility, men were descended—perhaps the late form of a myth telling how men had come to earth's surface from an under-earth region. To his kingdom below the earth, conceived as a glorious state, men returned after death to enjoy that bodily immortality which was so firmly believed in by the Celts (§ XVI.).

The hammer is probably a symbol of power, which might be given to any god, but in the hands of the under-world god, who is a god of fertility, it represents creative power. Horns were also ultimately symbols of power (§ X. 2 [*f*]), but, in the case of these under-world gods with stags' horns, they pre-suppose a cult of the stag which, as a grain-feeder, might be associated with the under-earth region whence the grain sprang. Later the anthropomorphic god of the under world would be represented with stags' horns, and horned animals would become his symbols. Hence they are represented with the god on some of his monuments. The triple head of the god and monuments of a bodiless triple head are not easily explained, but they are probably connected with the Celtic cult of heads and with the idea that the head of a great tribal warrior had protective powers.

For representations of Dispater, see Reinach, *BF*, *RCel* xvii. 45 ff.; Bertrand, *RA*, 2nd ser., vols. xv. and xvi.; Flouest, *RA*, 3rd ser., vol. v.; Barthélemy, *RCel* i. 1 ff.

Inscriptions also show the existence of departmental Nature-divinities of mountains, forests, rivers, winds, etc., and of tutelary deities of towns or districts, which took their name from these gods—perhaps originally tribal divinities, and of anthropomorphic animal-divinities like Damona, Tarvos, Moccus, Mullo, Epona, and Artio (see § X.).

The theory of a Celtic cult of a great Divine triad has been maintained by those who believe that the three gods worshipped by the Gauls with human sacrifices (Lucan, *Pharsal.* i. 444) were such a triad. Their names are Teutates, Taranis, and Esus. But on no inscription do their names occur together, and Lucan lays stress on the bloody aspect of their cult, not on their association as a triad. Nor do his words show that they were gods of all Gaul. They were rather tribal gods, whose cult may have extended over a wide area (see Reinach, *RCel* xviii. 149). Teutates is a war-god of the tribe (**teuta*), but his pan-Celtic cult is still maintained by Jullian (*Recherches*, p. 18). Taranis is probably a thunder-god, and Esus, to judge from a monument found at Paris, is a god of

vegetation (§§ VII. 2; X. 2 [*b*]). Some monuments of the under-world god associate him with two divinities, but, as these vary on the monuments, too much stress must not be laid on this example of a triad. The importance of the number 'three' among the Celts (see CALENDAR [Celtic]) led to their grouping three *Matres* on monuments, and in Irish myths there are some examples of similar groupings, or of the extension of one divinity into three (§ V.). In only a few cases was a god worshipped by a similar name all over Celtdom; more generally gods with similar functions had different names, as a result of the local character of most divinities (see Table appended to § VI.). Some of these local divinities, especially those connected with natural features, and possibly some divinities of growth and fertility, may have been pre-Celtic, but this is not to say that the Celts themselves had not divinities of the same nature whom they could assimilate to these.

The philological evidence of the inscriptional names, the identification with Roman divinities, and the plastic types of the monuments, along with ritual notices, hints in early ecclesiastical writings, and folk-survivals, give us some definite knowledge of religious evolution among the Gauls before the Roman conquest. Out of a primitive Nature-worship, out of early animal and agricultural cults, there had been evolved departmental deities of Nature (of mountains, forests, rivers, of the sun and sky, of thunder), deities of growth and fertility, and anthropomorphic animal-divinities (cf. § X.). From the deities of fertility, or from early earth or under-earth divinities, had been evolved gods of the under world of the dead, but from that under world—a region of fertility—men had come forth, for a myth of this kind probably underlies Cæsar's statement regarding descent from Dispater. Worshipful animals became anthropomorphic animal-gods, often with the animal as their symbol. There were also divinities of speech, of culture, of health, of commerce, and of war. Some of these may have assumed a prominent character, but generally they were local and topical. After the Roman conquest the native cults, save in rural districts, gradually gave place to a cult of Romanized Celtic divinities, worshipped according to the ritual of Rome. But, with the conquest, a road was opened to foreign cults which the Romans themselves had adopted, and consequently remains of Egyptian and other Oriental cults have occasionally been discovered on the soil of Gaul.

The inscriptions and Divine names are given fully in Holder. Many separate articles on the gods will be found in *RCel* and *RA*. See also Allmer, 'Les Dieux de la Gaule celt.,' *Rev. Epigr.*, Paris, 1894 ff.; Jullian, *Recherches*; Bertrand, *Rel. des Gaulois*; Gaidoz, *Le Dieu gaulois du Soleil*; Rhys, *HL*; Reinach, *BF*, and *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, 2 vols., Paris, 1905: and for the Matres and Matronæ, see Ihm, in Roscher, *s.v.*, and in *Jahrb. des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden in Rheinlande*, 1887, No. 83; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant. grec. et rom.*, *s.v.*; Vallentin, *Le culte des matres*, Paris, 1880.

V. *IRISH DIVINITIES.*—1. **The Mythological cycle.**—Of the three groups of tales known as the Mythological, the Cúchulainn, and the Feinn cycles, the first alone concerns us here. Its contents, found mainly in the 11th and 12th cent. *LU* and *LL*, are based on mythic tales of a far earlier date. Some of its personages are met with in the other cycles, in Scots Gaelic tales, and in those of Wales and Man. These personages are the Tuatha Dé Danann, Fomorians, Firbolgs, and Milesians, of whom the first two are certainly Divine groups. The mythic tales relate the strife of powers of growth with those of blight, of aboriginal with incoming Celtic gods, or tell of Divine amours with mortals, or of human descent from the gods. Christianity viewed the gods as demons, but at a later time the myths were euhemerized by early mediæval chroniclers and set forth as historic facts. Gods became kings and warriors. Divine and human groups became successive colonists of Ireland, while each group was affiliated to the Hebrew patriarchs. But the data upon which the chroniclers had to work were conflicting, and on the whole they left them so.

According to the annalists, the first group of personages who came to Ireland were Noah's grand-daughter, Cessair, with 50 women and 3 men, all of whom were destroyed by a flood save Finntain. They were followed by Partholan and his company, who found the Fomorians settled there, but were destroyed by a plague, Tuan mac Caraill alone surviving. Finntain and Tuan are annalistic duplicates, who are described as surviving for centuries, the latter through a series of transformations, the idea of which was purely pagan. Next came the Nemedians, who had to pay to the Fomorians two-thirds of their children and of the year's corn and milk on Samhain eve (1st Nov.). One version of the history of the Nemedians makes some of their survivors go to Scotland or Man (the Britons), others to Greece (the Firbolgs), others to the north of Europe (the Tuatha Dé Danann). The Firbolgs, probably to be regarded as the aborigines of Ireland, returned thither. They were not attacked, like the other groups, by the Fomorians, who are spoken of as their gods. The Tuatha Dé Danann, on their arrival in Ireland, were attacked by the Fomorians. The earliest tradition knows of one battle only, in which Firbolgs and Fomorians were both overthrown (Cormac, *Glossary*, *s.v.* 'Nescoit'; *LU* 51), but this was later resolved into two. The first battle, fought at Magtured in Mayo, resulted in the defeat of the Firbolgs on Midsummer day. In this battle, Nuada, king of the Tuatha, lost his hand and had to resign his kingship, which was given to Bres, son of a Fomorian and a woman of the Tuatha Dé Danann. During his reign the Tuatha Dé Danann had to pay tribute and perform menial duties—perhaps a euhemerized version of a myth telling of the subjection of gods of growth and light to powers of death and blight. In seven years Nuada resumed his throne, and there followed on Samhain the second battle of Magtured in Sligo, which made the Tuatha Dé Danann lords of the land. Next came the Milesians, ancestors of the Irish, who defeated the Tuatha Dé Danann, the survivors of whom retired into the hills to become a kind of fairy race.

This chronological system, with its obvious reduplications, shows what the annalists made of existing or dimly remembered myths, legends, rites, and Divine genealogies. All this has been accepted as sober fact by Irish writers down to the present time. But the true nature of the whole is now better apprehended, and it is admitted that in Fomorians and Tuatha Dé Danann we have earlier gods never quite humanized. Fomorians are more or less monstrous—demons or giants rather than men, as the chroniclers admit; the Tuatha Dé Danann are clearly supernatural.

The Mythological cycle is far from representing all the pagan myths of Ireland; its illusory completeness is due to the chronological order in which it is arranged, and in which we see the Tuatha Dé Danann arriving and conquering the land, occupying it for a time, dispossessed by the Milesians, retiring into the hollow hills, and dividing these underground kingdoms among themselves. Fragments of other myths are found in the *Dindsenchas*; others exist as romantic tales, or are transferred to the *Lives* of saints, or are connected with historical or semi-historical personages; while others are found in the heroic cycles. But in whatever guise the Tuatha Dé Danann appear, they never quite lose their true Divine form; as men, as wizards, as fairies, they still reveal themselves as gods.

2. **The Fomorians.**—The Firbolgs, with whom are associated the Fir Galioin and Fir Domnann ('men of Domnu,' in whom some have seen a goddess of the deep [Ir. *domain*, 'deep'], or a god,

and whom Rhys considers, on slight grounds, to be akin to the *Dumnonii* of Devon and Cornwall [*HL* 597; d'Arbois, ii. 130]), are treated as slaves and held in contempt, and this is suggestive of their position as aborigines enslaved by the conquering Goidels. That the Fomorians were their gods or the gods of an aboriginal people is certain, since they are found in Ireland before the coming of Partholan.[1] Thus they would not originally be evil: that character, together with their Celtic names, would be given to them by the Celts. Some of them may have been gods of fertility, for the Fomorian Bres could cause kine to be always in milk, and produce a good harvest every year, and he knew the lucky days for ploughing, sowing, and reaping (Harl. MS, 5280; *RCel* xii. 105). Though the Fomorians were regarded as hurtful to agriculture, this was also said of the Tuatha Dé Danann after the Christianizing of Ireland, though they were gods of growth (*LL* 245, 2). They are also called, like the Tuatha Dé Danann, 'champions of the *síd*' (Harl. MS, 5280, § 41). Thus the 'tribute' offered to them may be a reminiscence of an actual cult of aboriginal gods, since it exactly resembles that of Cromm Cruaich, a Celtic earth-god. Aboriginal and Celtic gods of fertility differed little in personality and cult. The Celts regarded them as hostile and evil, as incoming conquerors so often regard the gods of a conquered race. They dread them and equate them with the evil powers known to them. The Celts did this, and made the Divine Fomorians lords of blight and winter, storm and death. This we gather from the fact that a sinister character is given to them in the texts and in folk-tradition, while they are actual opponents of the bright gods of the Celts. Thus the mythical battles between the two sets of gods became part of the dramatization of the conflict between growth and blight, summer and winter, light and darkness—the dualism which is found in all Nature religions. The sun was vanquished by cloud or storm, summer by winter, and vegetation perished. But the sun shone forth again, summer returned, vegetation re-appeared. All this was symbolic of strife between the Divine and demoniac beings behind these, and it was represented in ritual, since men thought they could aid magically or by rite and prayer the gods of growth. In this strife gods are wounded and slain, because the powers of growth suffer eclipse. But they revive, just as sun and vegetation re-appear. The Celts already possessed such a mythology and ritual, hence it was easy to equate the Fomorians with their own dark powers. If myth represented this as having happened once for all, as if some of the gods had actually perished, men knew that they still lived on, and the Nature drama or its ritual representation still proceeded. The priority of the Fomorians to the Tuatha Dé Danann would also be in accordance with the usual Celtic belief in the priority of darkness to light.

According to the annalists, the Fomorians are sea-demons or pirates, the name being derived from *muir*, 'sea,' or they are demons and giants (Hennessy, *Chron. Scot.*, 1866, p. 6; Girald. Camb. *Top. Hib.* iii. 2), descended, with the Goborcbind ('goat- *or* horse-heads,' *IT* i. 585) and Luchrupán ('little bodies *or* dwarfs'), etc., from Shem (*LU* 2*a*, 45). Rhys connects the name with Welsh *foawr*, 'giant,' and derives it from *fo*, 'under,' and *muir*, 'sea'—hence submarine beings (*HL* 591). MacBain regards them as personifications of the wild western sea (*Celt. Mag.* ix. 130). The Fomorians were certainly located in Tory Island, off Donegal; but this association with the sea may be due to a mere late folk-etymology, wrongly deriving the name from *muir*. The Celtic experience of the Lochlanners or Norsemen, with whom the Fomorians are associated (Harl. MS, 5280; *RCel* xii. 75), would aid the conception of them as sea-pirates. Stokes connects the syllable *-mor* with *-mare* in 'nightmare,' from **moro-*, and thinks of them as subterranean

[1] The possibility of the Fomorians being gods of a group of Celtic tribes at war with another group worshipping the gods called Tuatha Dé Danann should not be overlooked.

as well as submarine (*RCel* xii. 130; *US* 211).[1] MacBain points out that 'the *ó* of *mór*, if it is long (for it is rarely so marked),' is against both these derivations (*Gael. Dict.*, Inverness, 1896, p. 146). More probable is Zimmer's and d'Arbois' derivation from *fo* and a theme *morio*, from *mor*, 'great' (*RCel* xii. 476; d'Arbois, ii. 52). This agrees with the tradition which regarded them as giants.

In spite of the hostility of the Fomorians to the Tuatha Dé Danann, they intermarry or trace descent from each other. Similar relationships are found among the hostile groups of other mythologies. Thus, though in this Irish instance the relationships may have been partly due to the euhemerists, they are also the reflexion, on the Divine stage, of what takes place in primitive society. Hostile peoples intermarry, or the women of one group are captured and made mothers by men of the other group.

Only the more prominent Fomorians need be enumerated. Their functions are even more completely hidden than those of the Tuatha Dé Danann. **Balor** had one eye, the glance of which destroyed whomsoever it fell on, but its eyelid required four men to raise it. He is probably a personification of the evil eye, much believed in by the Celts. **Elatha**, father of Bres and Ogma, may have been an aboriginal god of knowledge like the Celtic Ogma, since his name has some reference to wisdom, and is used as an appellative in the sense of science, art, and literary composition (*IT* i. 521; Rhys, *HL* 275). Perhaps the fact of his son Bres being chosen king of the Tuatha Dé Danann reflects some myth of the occasional supremacy of darkness. Bres, as has been seen, may have been an aboriginal god of growth. His consort is Brig, the Celtic goddess of knowledge. Balor, Elatha, and **Indech** are described as kings of the Fomorians, the last named being son of **Dea Domnann**, a goddess (or god) of the deep, not necessarily the sea, as Rhys suggests (*HL* 597), but perhaps the deep in the sense of under-earth. If so, this goddess would be an Earth-mother of the aborigines. **Tethra**, whose wife resembles the Celtic war-goddess Badb (*LU* 50), is regarded by d'Arbois as lord of Elysium, or the world of the dead, whither, like Kronos, he retired after his defeat. D'Arbois also equates Bres and Balor with Kronos, making Tethra, Bres, and Balor one and the same god (d'Arbois, ii. 192, 198, 375). But the assumption that Greek and Irish mythologies run upon parallel lines is dangerous. These three gods are quite separate personalities. Tethra may have been an aboriginal war-divinity, but there is no real ground for regarding him as a lord of Elysium, which was far from being the world of the dead (see BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 5). **Nét**, grandfather of Balor and husband of Nemau, the war-goddess, was 'a battle-god of the heathen Gael' (Cormac, *s.v.* 'Neit'). A war-god Neton, equated with Mars, is mentioned on inscriptions in the territory of the Aquitani (Holder, ii. 738), and, like a Gaulish **Nantos*, may be the equivalent of Nét, who would then have been wrongly classed with the Fomorians. Elsewhere he is ranked among the Tuatha Dé Danann, though he is the ancestor of several Fomorians (*LL* 10, 1).

3. **The Tuatha Dé Danann.**—This collective name means 'the folk *or* the tribes of the goddess Danu' (Stokes, *RCel* xii. 129; Rhys, *HL* 89), or, as d'Arbois (ii. 145) renders it, 'folk of the god whose mother is called Danu.' Cognate forms are Fir Dea, Tuath Dé or Tuatha Dea, 'men or tribes of the goddess.' Three gods in particular—Brian, Iuchair, and Iucharbar—are called her children or 'the three gods of Danu' (Harl. MS, 5280, § 83), and they again give a title to the whole group *Fir tri nDea*, 'men of the three gods' (*ib.* § 60). In Welsh mythology their equivalents are the Children

[1] This derivation is now accepted by Rhys. See *Trans. 3rd Inter. Cong. Hist. of Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, ii. 214.

of Dôn. Though euhemerized as warriors, they appear also in the Mythological cycle as a people of magical powers who ultimately became a race of fairy enchanters. Conquered by the Milesians, they had retired into the *síd*. (This Milesian conquest of a race of gods must be regarded as the euhemerists' interpretation of the abandonment of the old paganism and its gods by the peoples of Ireland at the preaching of Christianity. The new faith, not the people, conquered the gods.)

In the Cúchulainn cycle they are supernatural beings or 'demons' assisting the persons of the saga, and in the Feinn saga all these characters are indifferently ascribed to them. The annalists regard them as men. Yet they have the marks of divinity—though they die, they are immortal, they can change their form, they have amours with mortals, they live in a Divine world, they influence human affairs. They are said to be 'unfading,' their 'duration is perennial' (O'Grady, ii. 203). The euhemerizing process which made them mortals was gradual. Eochaid na Flinn in the 10th cent. speaks of them as men, as demons, and as deities (*LL* 10, 2). In the 11th cent. the process was complete, as the poems of Flann Manistrech and Gilla Coemain and the Book of Invasions show (*LL* 9, 11, 127). As a result of this process we now hear of their sepulchres. They had become men, subject to mortality, though possibly the process was aided by pagan myths of slain gods. Yet their divinity was never forgotten, and in romantic tales and sagas, existing side by side with the documents of the euhemerists, they are still gods, while the view that they were a race of fairy-folk—*síd*-dwellers, *fir side*, 'men of the fairy-mounds,' or simply *side*, 'fairy-folk'—whom the pagans had worshipped (*IT* i. 14), is also found.

In Ir. *síd* is a fairy-hill—the hill itself, or the dwelling within it. Perhaps its primitive form was **sêdos*, from *sêd*, 'abode or seat.' Thurneysen suggests a connexion with a word = Lat. *sidus*, 'constellation,' or the dwelling of the gods. The *side* are the dwellers in the *síd*.

As *side* they are more than fairies, since they are called *dei terreni*, whom the pagans adored (*IT* i. 774), and St. Patrick and several bishops were taken by the daughters of Laegaire for *fir side*, viz. gods (*Trip. Life*, i. 99). The mounds themselves were regarded as sepulchres of the gods, but more frequently as marvellous underground palaces, where favoured mortals might go. In this they resemble the over-sea Elysium (BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic]). But why were the Tuatha Dé Danann transformed into a fairy race? How far the fairy creed existed in pagan times is uncertain (see FAIRY), but perhaps a supernatural race, distinct from the Tuatha Dé Danann, was already supposed to dwell in mounds (Joyce, *SH* i. 252; O'Curry, *MS Mat.* 505). These might be aboriginal gods, since the Fomorians are also called 'champions of the *síd*' (Harl. MS, 5280, § 41). Such a belief would aid the growth of a legend that gods ousted by Christianity were now also in the *síd*. But the difference between this earlier *síd*-folk and the Tuatha Dé Danann may be more apparent than real. Some of the latter are called kings of the *side*, and even in 'Cúchulainn's Sickbed,' where the *síd*-folk are prominent, Manannan, one of the gods, is the husband of one of them, and their island is called by the name of the Celtic Elysium, *Mag Mell*, as it is in the story of Connla (*IT* i. 199; Windisch, *Ir. Gram.* p. 118). Mider, called one of the *side*, is connected with the Tuatha Dé Danann, and his *síd* is like Elysium (O'Curry, *MCAI* ii. 71). The belief that the gods had retired within hills would be aided by the Celtic cult of gods on mounds or hills, *e.g.* the Puy de Dôme, after which a god sometimes took his name, like Cenn Cruaich, 'Head of the Mound.' Churches were afterwards built on such mounds (Shore, *JAI* xx. 9). Such gods would be regarded as still haunting the mounds when the cult had ceased. St. Columba prays against 'this host [*i.e.* of gods] around the cairn that reigneth' (Keating, p. 434). The belief may also be reminiscent of the dwelling of earth- and fertility-divinities beneath the earth in a Divine land whence men had come and whither they returned (§ XVI.). Some of the gods, however, associated with the Island Elysium still retained their place there in tradition.

The association of gods with burial-mounds is not so clear. But early myths of slain and buried gods, the possible cult of gods on tumuli as well as on hills, and the belief that the dead rejoined the gods of growth beneath the earth would all aid this belief. Fairies are also confused with ghosts, and live in burial-mounds, and, when the gods came to be looked on as fairies, they would be associated with such mounds. And, when euhemerization made them dead heroes, conspicuous mounds of the forgotten dead would be called their burial places.

The phrase *dée ocus andée* is used by Tuan mac Caraill of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and is said by him to mean 'poets and husbandmen' (*LU* 16, 2). In the *Cóir Anmann* (*IT* iii. 355) this explanation is given, but there the phrase occurs in a formula of blessing—'the blessing of gods and not-gods.' The author of the *Cóir* seems to realize that it has this meaning, for he adds, 'These were their gods, the magicians, and their non-gods, the husbandmen.' Perhaps the phrase may refer to the position of priest-kings or magicians as men-gods. Cf. the phrase in a Welsh poem, *Teulu Oeth ac Anoeth*, which Rhys renders 'Household of Power and Not-power' (*CFL* ii. 620); but the meaning is obscure. Cf. Loth, i. 197, for *Caer Oeth ac Anoeth*. Rhys compares Skr. *deva* and *adeva* (*HL* 581).

4. Dagda, an early god of the group, is said to be so called because he can do more than all the gods—'It is thou art the *good hand*' (*Dag-dae* [Harl. MS, 5280, § 81, *RCel* xii. 83]). The *Coir Anmann* (*IT* iii. 355) explains Dagda as 'fire (*daig*) of god' (*dia*). But the true derivation is from **dago-devos*, 'good god,' though Stokes regards it as a participial formation connected with *dagh*, whence *daghdu*, 'cunning' (Cormac, *Gloss.* p. 23; *RCel* vi. 369). Other names of Dagda are *Cera* (perhaps cognate with Lat. *cerus*, 'creator'), *Ruadrofhessa*, 'lord of great knowledge,' for 'he had the perfection of heathen science,' and *Eochaid Ollathair*, 'great father,' while he is called 'a beautiful god' and 'the principal god of the pagans' (Cormac, pp. 47, 144; *IT* iii. 355, 357; d'Arbois, i. 202). After the battle of Magtured he divides the *síd* among the gods; but his son Oengus, having been omitted, ousts his father and reigns in his *síd* (*LL* 246*a*). In a later version, Bodb Dearg divides the *síd*, and Oengus drives out his foster-father Elcmar (*Ir. MSS Series*, i. 46). The myth of Dagda's disinheriting may be one formed to explain the growing prominence of the younger god's cult. Rhys makes Dagda an atmospheric god (*HL* 644); MacBain sees in him a sky-god (*Celt. Mag.* ix. 169). But more likely he is an earth or agricultural god, since he has power over corn and milk, and agrees to prevent the destruction of these by the gods (*LL* 245*b*), while he is called 'the god of the earth' 'because of the greatness of his power' (*IT* iii. 355). Dagda's cauldron which never lacked food to satisfy all, his swine (one living, one always ready for cooking), and his trees always laden with fruit also suggest plenty and fertility. They are in his *síd* where none ever tasted death (*LL* 246, 1). He is thus ruler of a Divine land—the under world in its primitive aspect of the place of gods of fertility. Thus he need not be equated with Kronos, who, disinherited by Zeus, went to reign over Elysium (Rhys, *HL* 146), for he is ruler of the *síd* before his disinheriting. He has a large club or fork, and d'Arbois (v. 427, 448) suggests an equivalence with the Gaulish god with the hammer. This god, if, as is likely, he was a Celtic Dispater, was an earth or under-earth god of fertility.

If Dagda was a god of agriculture, he may be a local form of the god whose image was called *Cenn* or *Cromm Cruaich* ('Head *or* Crooked One of the Mound,' Rhys, *HL* 201; 'Bloody Head *or* Crescent' [from *cru*, 'blood'], d'Arbois, ii. 105). Vallancey, citing a lost MS (*Coll. de Reb. Hib.* 1786, iv. 495), says, 'Crom-cocha was a name of the Dagda,' and that a motto at Tara read, 'Let the altar ever blaze to Dagda.' Now the Irish offered a third of their children at Samhain to Cenn Cruaich to obtain corn and milk—the things over which Dagda had power (*LL* 213, 2; *RCel* xvi. 35); and the violent prostrations of the worshippers one Samhain eve caused three-fourths of them to perish—perhaps a reminiscence of an orgiastic cult. Such a god was a god of fertility, the blood of the victims was poured on his image, and their flesh may have been buried in the fields to promote fertility. Hence they may have been regarded as representatives of the god, though their number is exaggerated, or a number of sacrificial victims may have taken the place of such an earlier Divine slain victim.

For grotesque myths about Dagda, see *RCel* xii. 85; *LU* 94. For some stories of Crom Dubh (who may be Cromm Cruaich) in which the fairies (*i.e.* the old gods) refuse to help in the processes of agriculture because they are not to go to Paradise, or, in other words, because their worshippers have become Christians, see O'Curry, *MS Mat.* p. 632; *RCel* iv. 175.

Oengus, whose names *Mac Ind Oc*, 'son of the young ones' (Dagda and Boann), and *In Mac Oc*, 'the young son,' and the myth of his disinheriting Dagda, support the idea that his cult superseded that of an older god, would then be affiliated to that god, as was done in similar cases in Babylon. He may thus have been the god of a tribe assuming supremacy, unless Dagda was an aboriginal god whose cult the Celts adopted, giving that of their earth-god Oengus a higher place. His superiority to Dagda is seen in the myth where he tells him how to escape the Fomorian slavery (Harl. MS, 5280, § 26; *RCel* xii. 65). He is often regarded as a Celtic Eros, but more likely he was a god of growth who occasionally suffered eclipse. Hence, perhaps, his absence from the battle of Magtured. The story of Oengus and Etain has been influenced by *Märchen* formulæ. Finding her separated from her consort Mider through his jealous other wife, Fuamnach, Oengus placed her in a glass *grianan* filled with flowers, the perfume of which sustained her. He carried it about with him till Fuamnach caused her removal from it. Changed to insect shape, she was swallowed by the wife of king Etain and re-born as a mortal (*LL* ii. 3; BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § **2** (*c*)).

Rhys, *HL* i. 146, makes this a sun- and dawn-myth, the *grianan* being the expanse of heaven. But there is no evidence that Oengus was a sun-god; the dawn does not grow stronger with the sun's influence, as Etain did through Oengus's care, and the *grianan* is the equivalent of various objects in tales of the Cinderella type, in which the heroine is hidden. The tale reveals nothing of Etain's functions as a goddess. Other *Märchen* formulæ occur in the story of Dagda seeking the help of Ailill and Medb, king and queen of Connaught, to discover the girl of whom Oengus dreamt (Egerton MS, *RCel* iii. 342). But it shows that gods could seek help from mortals. For variants of the story of Etain, see Stirn, *ZCP* v., and Nutt, *RCel* xxvii. 339.

Oengus is the fosterer of Diarmaid in the Feinn cycle (*Trans. Oss. Soc.* iii.). With Mider, Badb, and Morrigu, he expels the Fomorians when they destroy the corn, milk, fruit, etc., of the Tuatha Dé Danann (*RCel* i. 41). This may point to his being a god of growth and fertility.

Nuada *Argetlam*, 'of the silver hand,' is so called because his hand, cut off at Magtured, was replaced by one of silver. The myth may have arisen from incidents of actual warfare, from the fact that an Irish king must have no blemish, or from images being sometimes maimed or made with a kind of artificial limb. The origin of this last custom being forgotten, explanatory myths accounted for it (*FL* viii. 341). Rhys sees in Nuada a Celtic Zeus (*HL* 121). In any case he is a god of light and growth who suffers in conflict with dark divinities. His equivalent in Welsh myth is *Llûd Llaw Ereint*, or 'silver-handed,' the deliverer of his people from various scourges. The story of the yearly fight on 1st May between Gwyn and Gwythur for Llûd's daughter Kreiddylad (Guest, *Mabinog.* ii. 305) is explained by Rhys by the theory that she is a kind of Persephone wedded alternately to light and darkness (*HL* 563). But the story may rather be explanatory of ritual battles between summer and winter, intended to assist the powers of growth in their struggle with those of blight, more especially as Kreiddylad is the daughter of a god of growth (for such battles, see Train, *Isle of Man*, Douglas, 1845, ii. 118; *GB*[2] ii. 99; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* ii. 775). Possibly the tales of the battles of Magtured may have arisen in the same way. Traces of a cult of a god Nodens (=Nuada) in Romano-British times have been found at Lydney in Gloucester, and some of the symbols suggest that Nodens was a god of the waters. But this is uncertain (see Holder, *s.v.* 'Nodens'; Bathurst, *Roman Antiq. at Lydney Park*, London, 1879; Rhys, *AL* 122 ff.; Cook, *FL* xvii. 30). Nuada's name may be cognate with words meaning 'growth,' 'harvest,' 'possession' (Stokes, *US* 194), and this supports the view here taken of his functions. The Nudd Hael, or 'the generous,' of the *Triads* (Loth, ii. 235, 296), who possessed 21,000 milch kine, is perhaps a euhemerized form of this god; Nuada may have had various human incarnations (see § VIII.).

Manannan is son of Ler, or the sea—a god of whom we hear only in the story of 'The Children of Ler,' and whose Brythonic equivalent is *Llyr* (§ VI.). Four Manannans are known to Irish story, but they are probably all euhemerized variants of this god. His position as a sea-god is seen from his riding or driving in his chariot over the waves, in his epithet 'horseman of the crested sea,' and in the fact that his 'horses in a sea-storm' are the waves (Harl. MS, 5280, § 148), while he is actually identified with a wave (Bodley *Dindsenchas*, No. 10). Perhaps, as god of the sea, he was readily regarded as lord of the Island Elysium. Manannan is still remembered in the Isle of Man, which may owe its name to him, and which, as the Isle of Falga, was regarded by the Goidels as Elysium. In a myth he is elected king of the Tuatha Dé Danann. With Bodb Dearg he makes the gods invisible and immortal and gives them magic food, while magical things belong to him—his armour and sword worn by Lug, his horse and canoe, his swine, etc. Some of these are borrowed from *Märchen* formulæ; others are the natural property of a god who was a great magician, though the mythological school has interpreted them after its own fashion. (For Manannan, see, further, BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], §§ **2**, **8**; and for his Brythonic equivalent *Manawyddan*, see below, § VI.).

In Christian times a legend grew up round the historic 7th cent. king Mongan, said to be a re-birth of Fenn and son of Manannan (*LU* 133). In Irish and Welsh hagiology, SS. Barri and Scuithine have inherited some of Manannan's mythical traits, or may themselves represent local sea-gods (Meyer, *Trans. Soc. Cym.*, 1895–96, p. 78).

Lug is associated with Manannan, from whose Land of Promise he comes to assist the Tuatha Dé Danann against the Fomorians. 'His face shone like the sun on a summer day.' Single-handed he defeated the Fomorians and forced Bres to forego his tribute (Joyce, *OCR* 37). But in another version it is as 'the man of every art' (*samildánach*) that he appears before the gods, showing himself superior to the gods of various crafts, and taking part with them in the defeat of the Fomorians (Harl. MS, 5280; *RCel* xii. 75). Lug may be equated with the Gallo-Roman Mercury, since

samildánach, 'possessing many arts,' is the equivalent of 'inventor of all arts' applied by Cæsar (vi. 17) to that god (d'Arbois, vi. 116). Place and personal names point to the cult of a god Lugus in Gaul; and, though no dedication has been discovered, there are inscriptions of Mercury at Lugudunum Convenarum (*RCel* vii. 400). The *Lugoves* are commemorated in inscriptions from Spain and Switzerland—in the former, at Uxama, by shoemakers—and Rhys recalls the story of Lleu (whom he equates with Lug) disguising himself as a shoemaker (*HL* 425; Holder, *s.v.* 'Lugus,' 'Lugudunum,' etc.). The existence of the Lugoves (like the Junones) points to the multiplication of the personality of the god, like that of other Irish deities (but see Gaidoz, *RCel* vi. 489). Lug's superiority in various crafts shows that originally he was a culture-god, as well as a mighty hero—the meaning given to his name by O'Davoren (Stokes, *TIG* 103). His high place among the gods is indicated in Nuada's renunciation of his throne to him before Magtured, and in his long reign after Nuada's death in the annalistic scheme (Harl. MS, 5280, § 74; *Arch. Rev.* i. 231; *LL* 9, 2). He is made father and helper of Cúchulainn, who is his son or perhaps a re-birth of himself. The assembly at Lugudunum on 1st August was probably in honour of Lugus, as was the Irish festival Lughnasadh on the same date. Craftsmen brought their wares to sell at this feast of the god of crafts, but it was more essentially a harvest-feast (see FESTIVALS [Celtic] and § XIII. below). Certain traits in Lug's mythology give support to Rhys's contention that he was a solar god, though his equation of Lug and the Welsh Lleu, and the meaning of 'light' assigned to both names by him, are doubtful (*HL* 409; see Loth, *RCel* x. 490). Elsewhere solar gods are also culture-heroes, but Lug's name is never associated with the more strictly solar feasts of Beltane and Midsummer.

More prominent as a culture-god is **Ogma**, master of poetry and inventor of ogham writing, said to have been called after him (O'Donovan, *Grammar*, Dublin, 1845, p. xlvii). Probably his name is derived from a word signifying 'speech' or 'writing,' and the connexion with 'ogham' may be a folk-etymology. He is the champion of the gods—perhaps because of the primitive custom of rousing the warriors' emotion by eloquent speeches before a battle. After the fight at Magtured he captures Tethra's sword, goes on the quest for Dagda's harp, and is given a *síd* by Dagda after the Milesian invasion (Harl. MS, 5280, §§ 59, 162–3). His counterpart in Gaul is *Ogmios*, a Herakles and a god of eloquence with a 'smiling face,' according to Lucian (*Herakles*)—a phrase which is cognate with the Irish appellative of Ogma, *grianainech*, 'of the smiling countenance.' His high position is due to the value set on bardic eloquence by the Celts, and to him was doubtless ascribed its origin and that of poetry. Ogma was the son of the goddess Brig, whose functions were like his own, and whom he never completely eclipsed.

Other gods connected with various departments of knowledge were worshipped. **Díancecht** ('swift in power'?) was a god of medicine and, at the battle of Magtured, presided over a 'spring of health' in which the mortally wounded were healed (Harl. MS, 5280, §§ 33, 35, 123). He is thus probably cognate with such Gallo-British gods as Grannos, Borvo, etc. His powers were not forgotten in Christian times—an 8th cent. MS at St. Gall contains a charm invoking his name and power (Stokes, *TIG* p. xxxiv; for other myths about Díancecht, cf. *RCel* xii. 67). **Goibniu** is an eponymous god of smiths (Ir. *goba*, 'smith'), and, like smiths and metal-workers everywhere, he had a reputation for magic, his skill being the subject of a healing charm in the St. Gall MS (Zimmer, *Gloss. Hib.*, 1881, p. 270; cf. St. Patrick's prayer against the 'spells of smiths,' *IT* i. 56). Goibniu made spears for the gods, prepared their feasts, and his ale preserved their immortality (Harl. MS, 5280, § 97; O'Curry in *Atlantis*, London, 1858–70, iii. [1860] 389). **Credne**, eponymous god of braziers (Ir. *cerd*, 'artificer'), and **Luchtine**, god of carpenters, are found shaping magical weapons for the gods at Magtured (Harl. MS, 5280, §§ 11, 100, 122).

Brian, Iuchair, and **Iucharbar** are called *tri dee Donand*, 'the three gods (sons) of Danu' (*LL* 30*b*, 38, cf. 10*a*), or *tri dee danu*, 'the three gods of knowledge' (*dán*)—the latter perhaps a folk-etymology associating *dán* with *Danu*. Various attributes are personified as their descendants, Wisdom being the son of all three (*RCel* xxvi. 13; *LL* 187, 3). Though some of these, especially Wisdom (*Ecne*), may have been actual gods, it is more likely that the personification is due to the subtleties of bardic science, of which other examples occur. The fact that Ecne has three brothers for fathers is paralleled by other Irish instances, and may be a reminiscence of polyandry.

D'Arbois (ii. 373) suggests that Iuchair and Iucharbar are duplicates of Brian, and that three kings of the Tuatha Dé Danann reigning when the Milesians invaded Ireland—MacCuill, MacCecht, and MacGrainne—also grandsons of Dagda, are triplicates of one god and identical with Brian and his brothers. While his reasoning is ingenious, we must not lay too much stress on the annalistic genealogies of the gods. Each group of three may represent similar local gods, who at a later time were associated as brothers. Their separate personality is hinted at in the fact that the Tuatha Dé Danann are called after them *Fir trin Dea*, 'men of the three gods' (Harl. MS, 5280, § 60), and their supremacy is seen in the fact that Dagda, Lug, and Ogma go to consult them (*ib.* § 83).

Brian and his brothers (said to be also sons of Brig, the equivalent of Danu, *LL* 149*a*) slew the god Cian, and were themselves slain by Lug (*LL* 11); and on this myth was perhaps founded the story of 'The Children of Tuirenn,' in which they perish through their exertions in paying the *éric* fine demanded by Lug (*Atlantis*, iv. 159). The tale has no serious mythical significance.

5. An examination of the position of the goddesses is important for the view here taken of Celtic religion. **Danu** (gen. *Danann*) is called 'mother of the gods' (*LL* 10*b*); and this is probably her true position, though the genealogists made her a daughter of Dagda or of Delbaeth. She may be the goddess whom Cormac (*Gloss.* p. 4) calls **Anu** and describes as 'mater deorum hibernensium,' deriving her name from *ana*, 'plenty' (*(*p*)*an*, 'to nourish,' cf. *panis*, Stokes, *US* 12). The *Cóir Anmann* (*IT* iii. 289) calls her 'a goddess of prosperity.' The Paps of Anu in Kerry were called after her. If Danu and Anu are identical, the former was probably a goddess of fertility, an Earth-mother, from whom the gods might be said to have descended. She would, as an Earth-mother, be associated with the under world, as was Demeter (called 'Mother of the Dead'), since the fruits of the earth spring from beneath the surface, and are the gift of the under world whence man had come. As the cult of the fertile earth was usually orgiastic, she would have periodical human victims, perhaps her representatives. A reminiscence of this may be found in the Leicestershire folk-belief in 'Black Annis,' who devoured human victims and dwelt in a cave in the Dane Hills, like the Black Ceres of Phigalia (*Leic. County Folk-lore*, London, 1895, p. 4). The identification of Anu with Annis is not certain. Danu as a goddess of plenty associated with the under world may be compared with Plutus, confused with Ploutos, god of riches. In Celtic belief, the gifts of civilization and prosperity in general came from the under world (see BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 7). Rhys finds the name Anu in the dat. *Anoniredi* ('chariot

of Anu'?) occurring in an inscription from Vaison (Vaucluse [Holder, *s.v.*]). Goddesses of fertility were sometimes drawn through the fields in a vehicle (see FESTIVALS [Celtic]; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 251 ff.). Cormac (*Gloss.* 17) also refers to **Buanann** as mother and nurse of heroes, perhaps a goddess whom heroes worshipped. Rhys finds her name in the Continental place-name *Bononia* and its later derivatives (*Trans. 3rd Inter. Cong. Hist. of Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, ii. 213).

Danu is identified with Brigit, a daughter of Dagda and mother of Brian, Iuchair, and Iucharbar; but the identification may be due to the fact that Brigit was a goddess of *dán*, 'knowledge.' She is a goddess of poetry, revered by poets, and, according to Cormac (p. 23), had two sisters of the same name, goddesses of medicine and smith-work. These may be mere duplicates or local forms of Brigit, who, as an early culture-goddess, is the equivalent of the Gallo-Roman Minerva, inventor of manufactures and the arts (Cæsar, vi. 17). Her name on Gaulish and British inscriptions is Brigindo, Brigantia, Brigan, and Brig (Orelli, 1431; Holder, i. 534). Some of these occur in the territory of the Brigantes, whose eponymous goddess she may have been. Her cult and ritual passed over in part to that of St. Brigit, whose shrine at Kildare, enclosed by a brushwood fence within which no male might enter, contained a sacred fire guarded nightly by 19 nuns in turn, and on the 20th by the saint herself (Gir. Camb., *Top. Hib.* ii. 34, 48). Stokes sees in this the ritual of a goddess of fire, of the hearth, and in the nuns successors of virgin priestesses (*TIG* 33). She may be equated with the British *Sul Minerva*, goddess of hot springs, in whose temple burned perpetual fires (Solinus, xxii. 10). The evidence of a folk-survival in the Western Isles, in which Bride (= Brigit) gives an omen of the harvest on Candlemas (*q.v.*), may point to her being a goddess of fertility (Martin, *Description of the W. Islands of Scotland*², London, 1716, p. 119). The Roman Vestals performed yearly rites for fertility, and Vesta was equated with Diana, goddess of fertility, at Nemi. Brigit may thus have embodied in herself the functions of a cult of fertility and of fire. But she appears mainly as a culture-goddess, worshipped at one time perhaps exclusively by women (cf. the tabued shrine), when most primitive lore was in their hands, or when the early Celts, like the early Semites, worshipped female spirits or divinities rather than male spirits and gods, who later took their place and absorbed their functions. To the end, however, Brigit retained her personality. Nor were her functions as goddess of poetry, medicine, and smith-work ever fully taken from her by Ogma, Díancecht, and Goibniu—a proof of her outstanding personality.

Though the Irish gods are warriors, and there are special war-gods, war-goddesses are more prominent, usually as a group of three—Morrigan ('great queen' [Rhys, *HL* 43]), Neman, and Macha. At times Badb takes the place of one of these, or is identical with Morrigan, or her name (like Morrigan's at times) is generic. *Badb* means 'a scald-crow,' under which form those goddesses appeared, probably from the presence of these birds near the slain. As *Badb-catha* ('battle-Badb'), she is the equivalent of *-athubodvæ* or *Cathubodvæ* of an inscription from Haute-Savoie; and this, with names like *Boduogenos*, shows that a goddess Bodua was known to the Gauls (Holder, i. 841; *CIL* vii. 1292; Cæsar, ii. 23). The battle-crow is associated with Tethra the Fomorian (*LU* 50*a*), but Badb was consort of Nét (see above). Elsewhere Neman is Nét's consort (Cormac, p. 122), and she may be the Nemetona, consort of Mars, of inscriptions, *e.g.* at Bath (Holder, ii. 714). To Macha were dedicated the heads of slain enemies—'Macha's mast' (Stokes, *TIG* xxxv.); and she is perhaps the Macha of the Cúchulainn saga, from whose ill-treatment resulted the 'debility' of the Ultonians. Morrigan (the *mor-* of whose name Stokes connects with *mor-* in 'Fomorian' and with *-mare* in 'nightmare,' explaining her name as 'nightmare queen' [*US* 211; *RCel* xii. 128]) works great harm at Magtured, and proclaims the victory to the hills, rivers, and fairy hosts, uttering a prophecy of evil to come. She is prominent in the Cúchulainn saga, hostile to the hero because he rejects her love, yet aiding the hosts of Ulster and the Brown Bull, and later trying to prevent the hero's death. D'Arbois identifies the three birds on the *Tarvos Trigaranos* monument of Paris with Morrigan in her threefold manifestation as a bird (*Les Celtes*, 64; *RCel* xix. 246). The prominent position of the war-goddesses must be connected with the fact that women went out to war, and that many prominent women in the saga—Scathach, Medb, Aife—are warriors like the British Boudicca (for female warriors—*bangaisgedaig*, *banfeinnidi*, etc.—see Meyer, *Cath Finntrága*, Oxford, 1885, p. 76 f.; Stokes, *RCel* xxi. 396). But they may once have been goddesses of fertility, whose functions changed with the growing warlike character of the Celts. Their threefold character suggests the three *Matres*, goddesses of fertility, and perhaps the change to a more direful character is hinted at in the Romano-British inscription at Benwell to the *Lamiis tribus* (*CIL* vii. 507), since Morrigan's name is glossed *lamia* (Stokes, *US* 211). She is identified with Anu, and is mistress of the Earth-god Dagda, while, with Badb, she expels the Fomorians who were destroying the agricultural produce of Ireland.

Badb, whose name came to mean 'witch,' is sometimes identified with the 'washer of the ford,' whose presence indicates death to him whose armour or garments she seems to cleanse (*RCel* xxi. 157, 315).

Other goddesses occur as consorts of gods; but, in later folk-belief, fairy-queens, like Cleena, ruling over distinct territories, or witches, like Vera or Bera, may be goddesses of the pagan period. The three *Matres*, so popular among the Continental Celts, do not appear by name in Ireland; but the triplication of Brigit and Morrigan, the threefold names of Dagda's wife, and the fact that Anu, Danu, and Buanann are called 'mothers' of gods or heroes, may suggest that such group-goddesses were known. Three supernatural women, occasionally malevolent, occur in later texts and in folk-belief (E. Hull, p. 186; Meyer, *Cath Finntrága*, pp. 6, 13). The *Matres* were goddesses of fertility, who represent earlier Earth-mothers. Such goddesses are often goddesses of love, and the prominence given to the goddesses among the *side*, and the fact that they are often called *Béfind*, 'White Women,' like the three fairies who elsewhere represent the *Matres*, and that they freely offer themselves to mortals, may connect them with this group of goddesses.

6. While our knowledge of the Tuatha Dé Danann is based on a series of mythic tales, etc., that of the gods of the Continental Celts, apart from a few notices in classical authors or elsewhere, comes from inscriptions. But, as far as can be judged, though the names of the divinities in the two groups seldom coincide, their functions must have been much alike, and their origins certainly the same. The Tuatha Dé Danann were Nature-divinities of light, growth, and agriculture—their symbols and possessions suggestive of fertility. They were also divinities of culture, of crafts, and of war. It is extremely probable that there were many other gods in Ireland besides those mentioned here, and that the latter were not worshipped all

over Ireland. Generally speaking, in Gaul there were many local gods with similar functions, but with different names. The same phenomenon doubtless occurred in Ireland. Perhaps the different names given to Manannan, Dagda, and others were simply local names of similar gods, one of whom assumed prominence and attracted to himself the names and myths of the others. So, too, the identity of Brigit and Danu might be explained thus. We read also, in the texts of gods of territories, of the 'god of Connaught,' or the 'god of Ulster,' and these were apparently local divinities; or of the 'god (or goddess) of Druidism'—perhaps a divinity worshipped by Druids exclusively, and thus another example of a god of a special class of men (Leahy, i. 50, 52, 138; *LU* 12*b*; *LL* 347*c*). The origin of the divinities may be sought in the primitive cult of the Earth personified as a fertile being, and in that of vegetation- and corn-spirits and the vague spirits of Nature in all its aspects. Some of these were still worshipped after the more personal divinities had been evolved. Though animal-worship was certainly not lacking in Ireland, divinities who are anthropomorphic forms of earlier animal-gods are less in evidence than on the Continent. The divinities of culture, of crafts, of war, and of departments of Nature must have slowly assumed the definite personality assigned them in Irish religion. But probably they already possessed that to a greater or less extent before the Goidels brought their cult to Ireland. The evidence of Irish mythology, as far as concerns goddesses, points to what has already been said regarding the evolution of Celtic religion. The prominence of these goddesses, their position as mothers of Divine groups, and their functions with respect to fertility, culture, and war cannot be overlooked, and, taken in connexion with the evidence which will be furnished in the section on 'Totemism,' p. 297 (cf. FESTIVALS [Celtic]), seem to point to their priority in time and in importance to the gods.

VI. *BRITISH DIVINITIES.*—Only the vaguest conception of the functions of the divinities of the Brythons can be obtained from the sources already indicated (§ I.). The gods have been euhemerized, the incidents in which they figure are *Märchen* episodes, or, where they are the *débris* of old myths, they are treated in a romantic spirit. The *Mabinogion* and similar tales were probably composed by welding local legends, long after the gods had ceased to be worshipped. The *Mabinogion* reveals three Divine groups—the Pwyll, Pryderi, Rhiannon group, the Llyr group, and the Dôn group.

1. The Mabinogi of Pwyll.—This is divided into three sections. (1) **Pwyll** exchanges personalities with **Arawn**, king of Annwfn (Elysium), for a year, and conquers his rival Hafgan. For this he is called *Penn Annwfn* ('Head of Annwfn'). Thus he may be regarded as lord of Elysium himself in local belief, though in the story he figures as king of the territory of Dyved. (2) There follows the incident of Pwyll's meeting with **Rhiannon**, daughter of Heveidd Hen or the 'Ancient'—perhaps some old god. The whole incident, with that of the marriage of Pwyll, regarded as a mortal, to Rhiannon, a supernatural being, is simply the *Märchen* formula of the Fairy Bride. (3) This section, with the incidents of the disappearance of Rhiannon's child, her consequent degradation, and the child's recovery, closely resembles the *Märchen* formula of the Abandoned Wife. The child is called **Pryderi**, and he reappears in the *Mabinogion* of Branwen and of Manawyddan, bestowing on the latter his mother Rhiannon. In the *Mabinogi* of Math he is king of Dyved, and is robbed of swine given to him by Arawn. But in a *Triad* these swine are brought from Annwfn by Pwyll and given to Pendaran, Pryderi's foster-father, Pryderi acting as their herd (Loth, ii. 247). In Celtic belief, animals useful to man come from the gods' land, and are given to men by the gods or stolen from them (BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 7). Pwyll thus appears as one bringing such animals from the gods' land. But, since he and Pryderi are undoubtedly old gods, and since Gwydion, a culture-hero, steals the swine from Pryderi, both were probably lords of the Other-world in the old mythology. This older myth is preserved in the *Taliesin* poems, which tell how Arthur stole the mystic cauldron of Penn Annwfn (Pwyll), and how Gweir (Gwydion) was imprisoned in Caer Sidi (Annwfn), and entered it 'through the messenger of Pwyll and Pryderi' (Skene, i. 264). Elsewhere Caer Sidi is connected with Manawyddan and Pryderi—perhaps a local myth which made Manawyddan father of Pryderi (Skene, i. 276). Thus Pwyll and Pryderi are lords of Elysium, and may at one time have been gods of fertility. Rhiannon was an early Celtic goddess of great importance, as her name (= **Rigantona*, 'great queen') suggests. Anwyl (*ZCP* i. 288) supposes that a local myth may have made her the wife of Teyrnon (= **Tigernonos*, 'king'), who discovered her lost child, with the latter as their son. Nutt regards her as Pryderi's mother by Manawyddan, in the earlier form of the myth (*Bran*, ii. 17). A Rhiannon saga must be postulated, or there may have been more than one local Rigantona, fused later into the Rhiannon of the *Mabinogi*. Like other Celtic goddesses, she may have been associated with fertility.

2. The Llyr group.—This group is associated with the former, and seems to be opposed to the Dôn group. Its members are Llyr, his sons Bran and Manawyddan, their sister Branwen, and their half-brothers Nissyen and Evnissyen, sons of Llyr's wife Penardim, daughter of Beli, by a previous marriage. Their story is told in the *Mabinogion* of Branwen and of Manawyddan (see Nutt's criticism of the former, *FLR* v. 1 ff.).

Llyr is the equivalent of the Irish sea-god *Ler*, and is perhaps a compound of three Llyrs mentioned in Welsh literature (Loth, i. 298, ii. 243; Geoffrey of Monmouth, ii. 11). He is a sea-god, but is confused with Llûdd Llaw Ereint (= Ir. Nuada, and Nodens). Geoffrey's Llyr, father of Cordelia (Kreiddylad), becomes Llûdd, father of Kreiddylad, in *Kulhwch and Olwen* (Loth, i. 224), while Llûdd, one of the three notable prisoners of Prydein in *Kulhwch*, is replaced by Llyr in the *Triad* of these prisoners (cf. Loth, i. 265, ii. 215, 244). The suggestion has been made that Llyr and Llûdd (Nodens) were originally identical, just as in Irish texts Manannan is now called son of Ler, now son of Alloid (perhaps = Llûdd [Skene, i. 81; Rhys, *Academy*, 7th Jan. 1882]). But the confusion may be accidental, and it is doubtful whether Nodens was a sea-god.

Llyr's prison is said in a late *Triad* to have been that of Eurosswyd, the father of his stepsons. Perhaps his imprisonment was the result of his abduction of Eurosswyd's wife, but we do not hear of such an incident. Geoffrey (ii. 11–14) makes Llyr a king of Britain, and tells the story of his daughters, later immortalized by Shakespeare. He adds that he was buried at Caer Llyr (Leicester), in a vault built in honour of Janus. Hence Rhys (*AL* 131) regards Llyr as the equivalent of the Celtic Dispater, represented on monuments with more than one face, and as the lord of a dark underworld. But this is not substantiated, and there is no evidence that Llyr, a sea-god, was a god of a world of darkness. The Celtic Dispater was rather a god of the underearth conceived as the source of fertility—a bright world, not one of gloom.

Manawyddan is the equivalent of the Irish sea-god and lord of Elysium, Manannan; and the poet's words in the Black Book, 'deep was his counsel,' probably refer to his Divine traits (Skene, i. 262). The reference in the *Triads* to his being one of the three golden cordwainers recalls his practising

that and other crafts in the *Mabinogi*, as well as his superior skill, while his instructing Pryderi in these crafts might be paralleled by Manannan's position as patron of Diarmaid. He is associated with the Other-world in a *Taliesin* poem (see above), and it is possible that his position in the *Mabinogi* as a great craftsman and grower of corn may result from the idea that all culture came from the gods' land. If local myth regarded him and Rhiannon as a Divine pair with Pryderi as their son, this would give point to his deliverance of Rhiannon and Pryderi from their magic imprisonment as related in the *Mabinogi* (see Nutt, *Bran*, ii. 17, but cf. Anwyl, *ZCP* ii. 127), while Rhiannon's magical appearance to Pwyll would be paralleled by the similar appearances of goddesses from Elysium in Irish story, if she was associated with Manawyddan as lord of Elysium. Manawyddan is made one of Arthur's warriors in *Kulhwch*, and helps to capture the *Twrch Trwyth* (Loth, i. 208, 280), just as other local gods are later drawn into the heroic Arthur saga.

Bendegeit Vran, or 'Bran the Blessed'—a title probably derived from paganism—appears first as a huge being, realistically described; and these allusions to his great size may be an archaic method of signalizing his divinity. His second appearance in the *Mabinogi* is as the *Urdawl Ben*, or 'Noble Head,' entertaining its guardians and, when buried, protecting the country from invasion, until Arthur, relying on his own power, uncovered the head (*Triads* [Loth, ii. 217-19]; for obscure references to this *Mab.*, see *Book of Taliesin*, xiv. [Skene, i. 274]). Rhys regards Bran as a dark divinity, and equates him, as a huge being sitting on the rock at Harlech, with the Gaulish squatting god Cernunnos, and his head with the sculptured heads of the same god, while his wading across to Ireland signifies his crossing the dark waters to Hades (*HL* 90 ff.; and, for his Welsh equivalents to Bran, all regarded as 'dark' gods, see *AL*, ch. 11). Cernunnos, however, is a god of fertility (as his monuments show), of the bright underworld whence all things spring forth, and whither the dead pass to immortal bliss. There is nothing 'dark' in his character, as there would be in that of a god of darkness and blight; rather is he one of the lords of life. Nor is there any sinister or dark aspect in the presentation of Bran. Ireland in the *Mabinogi* need not mean Hades, since its occurrence there is probably due to the proximity of Anglesey, the locality of Branwen's legend, to its coast, and also to the interpretation of a mythico-historic connexion of Wales and Ireland. If Bran is a double of Cernunnos, he is a god of the fertile under world. But he may have been regarded locally as a lord of Elysium, as various incidents in the tale suggest. In presence of his head, time passes like a dream; feasting and merriment prevail, sorrow is forgotten; and these are characteristics of Elysium, while the tabued door, which, when opened, brings remembrance of sorrow, is also suggestive of Elysium tabus (see BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic]). The mysterious Bran who fought on the side of the lord of Annwfn at the mythic battle of Goden, may have been the Bran of the *Mabinogi*, and another form of Arawn. The protection of the land by the buried head reflects actual custom and belief regarding the heads of bodies of dead warriors, or of the power of a Divine image or sculptured head (see § XIII. 2). In the *Mab.*, Bran is euhemerized as a king (cf. *Triads* [Loth, ii. 285], where he is one of the three founders and lawgivers of Prydein). In Geoffrey (iii. 1 ff.) he is probably Brennius, who quarrels with his brother Belinus about the crown, and, after their reconciliation, leads an army to Rome and conquers it. (In the Welsh version the brothers are called Bran and Beli.) Bran is here confused with Brennus, who led the Gauls in the sack of Rome. Belinus may have been suggested by the god Belenos and by Beli, father of Llûdd (see below). Geoffrey also speaks of the gate on the banks of the Thames, called 'Billingsgate' after Belinus, and of his ashes preserved in a tower on the gate. This may be a reminiscence of some local cult of Belenos at this spot. Bran was also transformed into a Christian saint, one of the three inspired kings of Prydein, who brought the faith to the Cymry, after having been hostage for his son Caradawc at Rome for seven years (*Triads* [Loth, ii. 284]). Caradawc was probably a war-god, confused with the historic Caractacus carried captive to Rome. Hence the latter was associated with Bran, whose epithet 'blessed' led to the supposition that he was a saint. Hence, too, Bran's family was looked upon as one of the three saintly families of Prydein, and Welsh saints were frequently held to be his descendants (*Triads* [Loth, ii. 257]; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 1836, p. 77). Bran may be the equivalent of the Irish Brian discussed above, or, more probably, of a Bran, brother of Manannan, mentioned in Irish myth.

Branwen or **Bronwen**, 'white bosom,' as daughter of a sea-god, may also have been associated with the sea as 'the Venus of the northern sea' (Elton, p. 291)—a goddess of love (and therefore, probably, of fertility), if she is the Brangwaine who, in later romance, gives a love-potion to Tristram. As a goddess of fertility, the cauldron, symbol of a cult of fertility (see BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 6 (*f*)), which is only indirectly connected with her in the *Mabinogi*, may have been more prominently her property in an older myth. This cauldron originally came from a water-world, such as may have been the region with which she was associated—the Elysium under the waves.

3. The Dôn group.—This is met with mainly in the *Mabinogi* of Math, son of Mathonwy—a complex of several independent tales. Its personages are Gwydion, Gilvaethwy, Govannon, Arianrhod, and her children Dylan and Llew. But in *Kulhwch* another son of Dôn, Amaethon, is mentioned (Loth, i. 240).

Dôn, though regarded by some writers as male, is called Math's sister (Loth, i. 134), and is probably to be equated with Ir. *Danu*, mother of the Tuatha Dé Danann, while her children are in part the doubles of some of these. Dôn must thus have been a goddess of fertility and culture. She is called 'wise' in a *Taliesin* poem; in another her court is mentioned (Skene, i. 297, 350). In later folk-belief the constellation Cassiopeia was called her court (Guest, *Mab.* iii. 255). Dôn's consort is never mentioned, but in the *Triads* a woman called Arianrhod, perhaps Dôn's daughter, is daughter of Beli.

Assuming Beli to be Dôn's husband, Rhys (*HL* 90 ff.) equates him with the Irish Bile, ancestor of the Milesians, and regards him as lord of a dark underworld. Hence, also, connecting Dôn's name with words meaning 'death' or 'darkness,' he makes her a goddess of death. The Irish Bile is never associated with Danu, as this equation would require, nor is his kingdom of Spain necessarily the dark nether world (see BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 5). If Dôn, like most Celtic goddesses, was a local goddess of fertility, she was associated with life, not death, with the underearth as a region of plenty and light.

Math, or **Math Hen**, 'the Ancient' (Skene, i. 286), is lord of Gwyned, and probably an old local god of that region. In the *Triads* and poems, as well as in the *Mabinogi*, he appears chiefly as a mighty magician, teaching his magic to Gwydion (Loth, ii. 229, 257; Skene, i. 269, 281, 299). But his character is more than that of a magician. He is benevolent and just, punishing where wrong has been done, and showing kindness to the wronged. These traits may have been his as a god, or reflected upon him as exemplifying the Celtic

ideal kingly qualities (for Math as a Celtic Pluto, see Rhys, *Lects. on Welsh Phil.*, 1877, p. 414).

Gwydion is also a past-master of magic, especially in the arts of producing things by enchantment and shape-shifting, and these are also the subject of a *Taliesin* poem, while Taliesin refers to his enchantment by Gwydion (Skene, i. 296, 281). He is a supreme bard in the *Mabinogi*, and, if he is the Gweir who was imprisoned in the Otherworld and thus became a bard (Skene, i. 204), all this is significant in view of the probable derivation of his name from a root *vet* giving words meaning 'saying' or 'poetry,' with cognates like Ir. *fáith*, 'diviner,' 'prophet,' or 'poet,' Ger. *Wuth*, 'rage' (Rhys, *HL* 276). Gwydion, who receives his bardic art from the gods' land, is the ideal *fáith*, and the god of those who practised divination, prophecy, and poetry. Although in the *Mabinogi*, Pryderi, whose swine he steals, is a mortal, yet he is really a god, and these animals are stolen from him as such. Hence Gwydion is a culture-hero bringing gifts from the gods' land to men. The more primitive version is probably preserved in the poem where Gweir's raid is made on Caer Sidi (=Elysium); he is apparently unsuccessful, and is imprisoned. Perhaps, as one of the three cow-herds of Prydein (*Triads* [Loth, ii. 296]), he was also regarded as the bringer of cows to men. Possibly, too, he was the anthropomorphic form of an old swine-god, the animal being later associated with him. The swine is one of the forms into which Math transforms him, and the places at which he rests Pryderi's swine—Mochdrev, Mochnant (*moch*, 'swine')—may have been local centres of a swine-cult, while the references to the resting of the swine there would be an ætiological myth explaining why they were so called, after the cult had ceased. Gwydion's magic has a tricky, deceitful aspect, and a poem speaks of his vicious muse, though also 'in his life there was counsel' (Skene, i. 299, 531). His relation with his sister, inferred rather than expressed, is on a parallel with other incest incidents in Celtic story, for example, Arthur's with his sister Gwyar, and may reflect some early custom preserved in the royal house. In later folk-belief the Milky Way was called Caer Gwydion, and a story was told how he pursued Blodeuwedd along it (Morris, *Celt. Remains*, 1878, p. 231).

Rhys (*HL* 283 ff.) equates Gwydion and Odinn, and regards them as Celtic and Teutonic aspects of a hero common to the period of Celto-Teutonic unity. But it is doubtful whether all the alleged parallels can be maintained, or are more than might be looked for in the myths of any divinity.

In *Kulhwch*, among the tasks imposed on its hero is that of tilling a piece of ground so wild that none but **Amaethon**, son of Dôn, could till it, but 'he will not follow thee of his own accord, and thou canst not force him' (Loth, i. 240). Amaethon (Cym. *amaeth*, 'ploughman,' Gaul. *ambactos*, from **ambiaktos*, 'messenger,' 'servant') may have been a divinity associated with agriculture, perhaps an anthropomorphic corn-spirit. He appears also as a culture-hero who caught a roebuck and whelp belonging to Arawn, king of Annwfn (*Myv. Arch.* i. 167), or, in a *Triad*, a bitch, a roe, and a lapwing (Loth, ii. 259). The reference to the lapwing is obscure; but, as far as dog and deer are concerned, Amaethon brings them from the gods' land to men. Possibly they may have been representatives of the corn-spirit, and so connected with the god if he were a corn-divinity. Or they may have been worshipful animals, of which Amaethon became the anthropomorphic form, while they in turn became his symbols—a later myth telling how he had brought them from Annwfn.

Several of the incidents told of **Llew Llaw Gyffes** in the *Mabinogi* are little more than *Märchen* formulæ. But his transformation into an eagle may be a hint that he had once been a bird-divinity. His disguise as a shoemaker is referred to in a *Triad*, while another speaks of him as one of the three *ruddvoawc* whose footprints caused the herbage to wither for a year (Loth, ii. 250, 231). Like other gods, he was euhemerized, and his death must have been recounted in story, for the 'Verses of the Graves' refer to his sepulchre, and add 'he was a man who never gave justice (or truth?) to any one' (Skene, i. 314). This suggests that he had come to be regarded in an unpleasant light, unless 'truth' is a reference to his disguises.

Rhys (*HL* 408) regards 'Llew' as a mistake for 'Lleu,' which he connects with words meaning 'light.' He equates him with Ir. *Lug*, whose name he also takes to mean 'light,' and he makes both of them sun-gods. *Llaw Gyffes* he equates with Lug's epithet *lám-fada*, 'long hand,' giving it the same meaning, though the title is given to Llew in the *Mab.* because of his sureness of hand. Loth (*RCel* x. 490) considers that the change of *Llew* into *Lleu*, 'light,' is not convincing. There is nothing in Llew's story which points to his being a sun-god.

Rhys's further interpretation of Lug's birth from Ethnea, daughter of Balor, his nurture by Gavida (Goibniu) the smith, and his slaying of Balor, as paralleled by Llew's history, is not convincing. He equates Balor with Beli, but Llew does not slay his grandfather as does Lug, nor does Govannon the smith nurture Llew. Thus the equation (*HL* 319) is true only in the correspondence of Govannon to Gavida, while in an older version of the Irish story, Manannan, not Gavida, nurtures Lug. Other incidents—Llew's misfortune at the hands of Blodeuwedd's lover (the sun overcome by darkness) and Blodeuwedd's transformation by Gwydion into an owl, the bird of darkness (dawn becoming dusk or gloaming)—are thus interpreted in terms of sun-myths (*HL* 384). They are probably the *débris* of *Märchen* incidents, not true parts of Llew's mythology. Moreover, if Llew is a sun-god equivalent to Lug, why is he not associated with the August festival which in Wales corresponds to Lughnasadh in Ireland? Thus, whatever Llew's functions were, his character as a sun-god is not supported, unless the *Triad* reference to his scorching the herbage be regarded as the withering of vegetation by the sun's heat.

According to the *Mabinogi*, **Dylan**, as soon as he was born and baptized, rushed off to the sea, taking its nature. 'Hence he was called *Dylan Eil Ton* ("son of the wave"). Never wave broke under him.' His death at the hands of his uncle Govannon was lamented by the waves, which sought to avenge him, and his grave is 'where the wave makes a sullen sound' (Skene, ii. 145, i. 310). But his name and description suggest that he is the waves themselves, while two *Taliesin* poems call him 'son of the sea' or 'of the wave'; and this is supported by popular belief, which regards the noise of the waves pressing into the Conway as his dying groans (Skene, i. 282, 288; Rhys, *HL* 387). Probably Dylan was a local sea-god, and the *Mabinogi* references are the *débris* of myths explaining the connexion of an anthropomorphic sea-god—formerly the sea itself—with Arianrhod and his murder by Govannon.

Rhys's explanation of Dylan as a dark divinity, his rush to the sea as darkness 'hying away to lurk in the sea,' and his death as the equivalent of that of the Fomorian Ruadan at the hand of Goibniu (*HL* 387), while Dylan and Llew are respectively darkness and light, children of a dawn-goddess, is in agreement with his scheme of mythological interpretation. But there is no hint that Dylan has dark traits—he is described as blond, and his death is lamented, not praised.

Arianrhod ('silver wheel') is called one of the three blessed ladies of Prydein (*Triads* [Loth, ii. 263]), though her position in the *Mabinogi* as Gwydion's sister-mistress, passing herself off as a virgin, is in contradiction with the title. Perhaps she was worshipped as a virgin-goddess, while myth gave her a different character; or if, like other Celtic goddesses, she was an Earth-goddess, she may have had the double character of Artemis—a chaste virgin and a fruitful mother. In later belief she is associated with the constellation

Corona Borealis, which is called Caer Arianrhod (Guest, iii. 256).

'Arianrhod' is a place-name which has become a personal name, by taking the name of the goddess's castle, Caer Arianrhod, in the sense of 'Arianrhod's Castle.' Her real name is unknown.

Govannon the smith is referred to in *Kulhwch* as one whose help must be obtained by the hero to wait at the furrow's end to cleanse the iron of the plough (Loth, i. 240). Whatever meaning underlies this is unknown. His name (from Cymric *gof*, 'smith') suggests that, like Ir. *Goibniu*, he was a god of smiths, and he is referred to in a *Taliesin* poem as an artificer (Skene, i. 286–7).

4. The family of Beli.—Beli has four sons—Llûdd, Caswallawn, Llevelys, and Nynngaw—and, in the *Mab.* of Branwen, Caswallawn takes possession of the kingdom in Bran's absence. Geoffrey (iii. 20) makes Heli the father of Lud, Cassibellaun, and Nennius, while Beli or Belinus is brother and opponent of Brennius (iii. 1), though another Belinus is general and counsellor of Cassibellaun (iv. 3). Here Caswallawn is confused with the historic Cassivellaunus, opponent of Cæsar, as he is in the *Triads* (Loth, ii. 210). Perhaps Beli is the god Belenos of the inscriptions, and all Geoffrey's references may be to him or to persons called by his name. The hostility of Caswallawn to the race of Llyr may be hinted at in the hostility of Belinus and Brennius. Whether any mythic significance underlies this is doubtful, and it may hint rather at the rivalry of hostile tribes or of Goidel and Brython (Anwyl, *ZCP* i. 287). If Beli is a form of Belenos, he would be a god of healing and light—perhaps a sun-god—since Belenos is equated with Apollo, but there is some evidence connecting him with the sea—*Biw Beli*, 'the cattle of Beli,' are the waves, and *Gwirawt Veli*, 'the liquor of Beli,' is brine. In the *Triads* he is beneficent (Loth, ii. 278). Elsewhere he is implored as 'victorious Beli . . . that will preserve the qualities of the honey-isle of Beli' (Skene, i. 431). These references do not support Rhys's theory that Beli is a 'dark' god.

Caswallawn is a 'war-king' (*Triads* [Loth, ii. 283]), and he was probably a war-god after whom chiefs and kings were called. His personality is lost in that of Cassivellaunus—perhaps a leader bearing his name. Other *Triads* appear to mingle the *débris* of his myths with the pseudo-history of the native chief (Loth, ii. 209, 249; *Myv. Arch.* 403).

Llûdd Llaw Ereint is the equivalent of Ir. Nuada Argetlam, a primitive **Nodens Lām-argentios* ('silver hand') having become through alliteration **Lodens Lām-argentios*, resulting in Llûdd Llaw Ereint, while the older form gave a personage called Nudd (Rhys, *HL* 125; Loth, i. 265). A clear distinction is, however, drawn between Llûdd and Nudd, *e.g.* Gwyn son of Nudd is the lover of Kreiddylad, daughter of Llûdd (Loth, i. 269; Skene, i. 293). Llûdd Llaw Ereint is probably the Llûdd, son of Beli, whose kingdom in the tale of *Llûdd and Llevelys* is subjected to three plagues: (1) the Coranians; (2) a shriek on May eve which makes all land, animals, and women barren; (3) the mysterious disappearance of a year's supply of food. Llûdd rids his kingdom of the authors of these plagues. This and Llûdd's liberality in giving meat and drink may point to his earlier character as a god of growth (for the tale, see Guest, iii. 295 ff.; Loth, i. 173 ff.; and cf. Rhys, *HL* 606). London was called Caer Ludd because Llûdd rebuilt its walls (Geoffrey, iii. 20), and his name is still found in 'Ludgate Hill,' where he was buried. Probably the place was a centre of his cult. For Nodens, see § V. 4.

The Coranians are a hostile race of warriors in the *Triads* (Loth, ii. 274), but they are obviously superhuman. Their name may be connected with *cor*, 'pygmy.' The plagues may correspond to the hostility of the Fomorians to the Tuatha Dé Danann, since by two of them fertility and plenty are destroyed. The story may be based on earlier myths of beings hostile to growth and fecundity. The second plague occurs on May-day, and in a *Triad* the plague of the Coranians becomes that of March Malaen on May 1st (Loth, ii. 278). March may correspond with the Fomorian Morc who levied a sacrificial tax on Samhain. But it is not clear why the plagues should be worst at the beginning of summer, when the powers of growth are commencing their ascendancy.

More prominent than Nudd is his son **Gwyn**, whose name, like 'Fionn,' means 'white' or 'fair.' His fight with Gwythur for Kreiddylad may point to his being a god of fertility (§ V. 4); but, if so, he must have become a god of war and the chase, since his character in a poem of the Black Book is that of a great warrior (Skene, i. 293). He was also associated with Annwfn, and became, in popular belief, a king of fairyland, like the Tuatha Dé Danann. This is seen in the legend of S. Collen summoned to the court of Gwyn, king of Annwfn on Glastonbury Tor, where he saw a wonder-land, not unlike that of the Irish Elysium, which disappeared when he sprinkled holy water (Guest, iii. 325). The story may recall the hostility of Christian missionaries to the cult of Gwyn, and this may account for the fact that he is also associated with Annwfn in its later sense of 'hell,' and hunts the souls of the wicked (Rhys, *AL* 155). A sentence in *Kulhwch* mediates between the pagan and Christian conceptions of Gwyn, for in him 'God has placed the force of the demons of Annwfn (here = "hell") to hinder them from destroying the people of this world' (Loth, i. 253). In the *Triads*, Gwyn is a mighty astrologer, like Gwydion (Loth, ii. 297).

5. The Cerridwen cycle.—Save for a reference to Taliesin as a bearer of Bran's head, the *Mabinogion* does not mention this group, which is found in the 16th cent. *Hanes Taliesin* (from materials of far older date) and in the poems of the *Book of Taliesin*. These poems frequently refer to the Dôn, Llyr, and Pwyll groups. The explanation may be that all these were local gods with local myths, that the Cerridwen cycle was more purely Brythonic, and that, after the redaction of the *Mabinogion*, all the groups were mingled in other tales, of which the poetic references are the reflexion.

Avagddu, son of Cerridwen (wife of Tegid Voel, who dwelt in Lake Tegid), is so ugly that his mother resolves to boil for him a cauldron of inspiration as a compensation. Gwion Bach is set to stir it, and by accident obtains the gift of inspiration intended for Avagddu. He flees, pursued by Cerridwen, and the flight is told in terms of the *Märchen* formula of the Transformation Combat. Finally, Gwion, as a grain of wheat, is swallowed by Cerridwen as a hen. She gives birth to him and casts him into the sea, where he is found by Elphin and called Taliesin ('Radiant Brow'). He becomes a bard. The story (for which see Guest, iii. 356 ff.) is thus connected with the sporadic Celtic idea of re-birth (see TRANSMIGRATION). The cauldron, Cerridwen as an inspired poetess, and Taliesin's gift of shape-shifting are referred to in the poems, and in one of them Cerridwen's hostility to Taliesin and his gift seem already to have been stereotyped in the *Märchen* formula so evident in the prose *Hanes Taliesin* (Skene, i. 532). The Cerridwen saga was probably composed in a district lying to the south of the estuary of the Dyfi (Anwyl, *ZCP* i. 293).

Cerridwen and **Tegid**, dwelling in Lake Tegid, are divinities of the under-water Elysium, and the cauldron is the Elysian mystic cauldron, also associated with a water-world in the *Mab.* of Branwen (BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 6 (*f*)). Taliesin has a 'chair' in Caer Sidi (Elysium), and

seeks to defend it against Cerridwen's cauldron (Skene, i. 275). The poems describe Cerridwen as a goddess of inspiration and poetry, probably worshipped by bards, with her cauldron as the source of inspiration. In its more primitive form the cauldron is a symbol of a fertility cult, hence Cerridwen must have been a goddess of fertility, perhaps an Earth-mother, thus equivalent to Ir. *Brigit*. Or she may have been a corn-goddess, since she is described as a goddess of grain in the Black Book (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 1848, i. 498, ii. 5). If the tradition which associates the pig with her is genuine, the animal would then be an earlier form of the corn-spirit, connected at a later time with the corn-goddess (cf. Demeter and the pig; Thomas, *RHR* xxxviii. 339). Gwion's obtaining inspiration may be a form of the myth of the theft of culture from the gods' land, though, since the story describes Taliesin's birth from Cerridwen, other myths may have regarded him as her son, as Ogma was the son of Brigit. Taliesin is probably a god of poetic inspiration, confused with the 6th cent. poet Taliesin, who appears to have claimed identity with the god whose name he bore. His chair was in Caer Sidi, with him was 'the inspiration of fluent and urgent song,' and he speaks of his presence with the gods. Identifying himself with the god, he (or the poets who write in his name) describes his creation, his enchantment by the gods, and his numerous transformations or re-births (Skene, i. 263, 274 f., 276 ff., 278, 282, 286 f., 309, 532). He also speaks of his presence with Arthur when the cauldron was stolen from Annwfn. The Taliesin myth may combine the mythologies of two separate gods, or, more probably, two aspects of this god—as a culture-hero bringing inspiration from the gods' land, and as a son of the culture-goddess. The story may point to the usurping of the place of a culture-goddess by a god; hence some myths would tell of her hostility to him, others how he was her son. The *Hanes Taliesin* would be a later commingling of such myths, confusing the god with the poet.

For Rhys's equation of Gwion and Taliesin with Ir. *Finn* and *Oisin*, see *HL* 551. Fionn, however, is not re-born as Oisin, but as Mongan (*LU* 133*a*).

Tegid is not mentioned further. Creirwy, the daughter of the pair, is one who fascinates her lovers (*Myv. Arch.* 339); she may have been a goddess of love. Avagddu is obscurely referred to in the Taliesin poems (Skene, i. 296, 297, 525); his brother Morvran ('sea-crow') is 'an obstructor of slaughter' in a *Triad*, and at the battle of Camlan is thought to be a demon (Skene, ii. 459; Loth, i. 209). He may have been a war-god—his name 'sea-crow' suggesting a similarity with the Irish war-goddesses who appeared as birds.

6. **The Arthur group.**—The attempt to find in the personages of Arthurian romance as a whole the old gods of the Brythons seems futile, while the attempt to find sun and dawn myths, etc., in the romantic incidents of the cycle belongs to that mythological interpretation of saga and *Märchen* which is now discredited. In any case, it could throw little light on Celtic religion. On the other hand, some of its personages probably belong to old Divine groups, since they are already present in purely Welsh tales like *Kulhwch* and in early Welsh poems which are unconnected with the cycle, or in Geoffrey of Monmouth. Perhaps a local Brythonic Arthur saga might be postulated in which a local Brythonic god or hero called Arthur was ultimately fused with the historic 5th to 6th cent. Arthur, while from it or from Geoffrey's handling of it sprang the great romantic cycle. Nennius knows Arthur as a war-chief, but the reference to his hunting the *Porcus Troit* (the *Twrch Trwyth* of *Kulhwch*) suggests the mythic Arthur. Geoffrey may have partly rationalized the local saga here postulated. The main incidents given by him—Arthur's birth due to shape-shifting on the part of Uther, his unfaithful wife Guanhumera (Guinevere), and his final disappearance to Avallon (Elysium)—belong to a primitive set of incidents told of other Celtic heroes (Nutt, *Bran*, ii. 22 ff.). They were made the mythic framework surrounding the personality of Arthur as a local Brythonic god or hero. Hence arose the Arthur-saga, blending the historic Arthur with the god—a saga probably widely known before the rise of the romantic cycle, since Arthur is already a prominent figure in early Welsh literature. This Arthur of the saga drew to himself many local gods and heroes, who figure as his warriors in *Kulhwch*. On the other hand, he is unknown to the *Mabinogion*; but, as its legends belong to the regions of Gwynedd and Dyfed, where Goidelic influences prevailed, this may point to the exclusion of the more purely Brythonic saga from those districts.

Taking the character of Arthur as a whole, before his being blended with the historic Arthur, he appears as the ideal hero of a local Brythonic tribe or tribes, as Cúchulainn or Fionn was to the Goidels. He may have been worshipped as a hero, or have been an earlier god more and more envisaged as a hero. Rhys (*AL* 39 ff.) regards the early form of his name as *Artor*, 'ploughman,' but possibly with a wider significance, and equivalent to that of the Gaulish Artaius, equated with Mercury (for a derivation from *arto-s*, 'bear,' see MacBain, *Gael. Dict.* p. 357). Hence he may have been a god of agriculture, who became, like other such gods, a war-god or hero. But he was certainly regarded also as a culture-hero, since he stole the magic cauldron from the gods' land and tried to obtain the swine of March (Skene, i. 264; Loth, ii. 247)—probably the late form of a myth telling how Arthur, like Gwydion, tried to obtain swine from the Divine land. He is also a bard (Loth, ii. 216). To this ideal hero's story would be fitted the formulæ of the supernatural birth and final disappearance to Elysium (later localized at Glastonbury), whence it was believed he would one day re-appear. See, further, art. ARTHUR.

The Merlin of the romances, famed there for magic and shape-shifting, for his love for the Lady of the Lake, and his imprisonment by her in a tree, a sepulchre, or a tower without walls, already appears in Geoffrey as the child of a mortal and a supernatural father, selected as the victim for the foundation sacrifice of Vortigern's tower. He confutes the *magi* (Druids), shows why the tower cannot be built, and utters prophecies. To him is attributed the removal of the Giant's Dance (Stonehenge) from Ireland—an ætiological myth accounting for the origin of Stonehenge. Finally, he figures as the shape-shifter to whom is due Arthur's birth (Geoff. vi. 17-19, vii., viii. 1, 10-12, 19). Thus he appears as a mighty magician, and probably had a place in the early Arthur saga, as he is later prominent in the romances. Rhys regards him as a Celtic Zeus or the sun, because late legends tell of his disappearance in a glass house into the sea. The glass house is the expanse of light travelling with the sun (Merlin), while the Lady of the Lake who comes to him daily is a dawn-goddess. Stonehenge was probably a temple of the Celtic Zeus 'whose late legendary self we have in Merlin' (*HL* 154, 158, 194). Such late legends can hardly be regarded as affording safe basis for such views, and their mythological interpretation is more than doubtful. The sun is never the prisoner of the dawn, as Merlin is of the Lady of the Lake. Merlin is rather regarded as the ideal magician, perhaps

once a god worshipped by magicians or Druids, like the Irish divinity of Druidism. Farther than this his legend does not carry us, and, as all gods were later regarded more or less as magic-workers, this interpretation must be regarded as merely tentative.

Mabon, son of Modron, is associated with Arthur in *Kulhwch* and the *Dream of Rhonabwy*. His name means 'a youth,' and he is probably the Maponos equated with Apollo as a god of health in Romano-British and Gaulish inscriptions (Holder, ii. 314). His mother's name, **Modron**, is a local form of Matrona; hence she was perhaps a river-goddess or one of the *Matres*, goddesses of fertility. In the *Triads*, Mabon is one of the three eminent prisoners of Prydein. To obtain his help in hunting the magic boar his prison must be found, and this is done by animals, in accordance with a *Märchen* formula, while the words spoken by them show the long duration of his imprisonment—perhaps a hint of his immortality (Loth, i. 260 ff., 280, ii. 215, 244). But he was also regarded as a mortal, buried at Nantlle, in Caernarvon, which, like Gloucester, the place of bis prison, may have been a site of his widely-extended cult.

Kei, who appears in *Kulhwch* and the romances, is probably an old god. In early Welsh poetry his prowess in fight is specially signalized—'when he went to battle he fought against a hundred' (Skene, ii. 51). Hence he may have been a war-god, and the description of his nature in *Kulhwch* ('His breath lasted 9 days and 9 nights under water. He could remain for the same period without sleep. No physician could heal a wound inflicted by his sword. When he pleased he could make himself as tall as the tallest tree in the wood. And when it rained hardest, whatever he carried remained dry above and below his hand to the distance of a handbreadth, so great was his natural heat. When it was coldest, he was as glowing fuel to his companions' [Loth, i. 225]) may be a description of his 'battle-fury' corresponding to that of Cúchulainn. Elton (p. 279), however, regards it as proof that he was a god of fire.

In *Kulhwch* and in a late poem (*Myv. Arch.* i. 175) he is hostile to Arthur, and, in the latter, Gwenhwyfar (whose ravisher he may have been) asserts his superiority to Arthur. Perhaps this is evidence of Kei's having been a god of tribes hostile to those of which Arthur was the hero.

7. **Hu Gadarn**, the subject of ridiculous Neo-Druidic speculations (Davies, *Myth. and Rites of the Druids*, London, 1809), is referred to in the *Triads* as the leader of the Cymry in their wanderings, the teacher of ploughing, and the inventor of music and song as the repository of ancient traditions. He divided the Cymry into clans, and drew the *avanc* from Llynn Llionn (the bursting of which had caused a deluge) by means of his oxen, identified with men transformed for their sins (Loth, ii. 271, 289, 290–291, 298–299; Guest, ii. 349 ff.). The *Triads* about him are of late date, but they may point to him as a culture-god of certain tribes.

8. **British gods of the monuments.**—Some of these may be identified with the personages just considered—Nodens with Llûdd or Nudd, Belenos with Beli or Belinus, Maponos with Mabon, Taranos (known only on Continental inscriptions) with the Taran mentioned in *Kulhwch* (Loth, i. 270). Many others, some of them referred to in classical writings, have no place in the literature. Thus **Andrasta** is described by Dio Cassius (lxii. 6) as a goddess of victory supplicated by Boudicca. **Sul** is equated with Minerva at Bath, and is a goddess of warm springs (Solinus, xxii. 10). Others are **Epona**, the horse-goddess, whose cult was widespread on the Continent; **Brigantia**, perhaps the Irish Brigit; **Belisama**, the name of the Mersey in Ptolemy (ii. 3. 2), but known as a goddess in Gaulish inscriptions. Many inscriptions also refer to the **Matres**. Several gods are equated with Mars, and were probably local or tribal war-gods—**Camulos**, known also on the Continent and perhaps to be equated with Cumal, father of Fionn; **Belatucadros**, 'comely in slaughter'; **Cocidius**, **Corotiacus**, **Barrex**, **Tutatis**, and **Totatis** (perhaps the Teutates of Lucan's *Pharsal.* i. 444, from **teuta*, 'tribe' or 'people'). Others are equated with Apollo in his character as a god of healing—**Anextiomarus** (known also at Le Mans), **Grannos** (in an inscription at Musselburgh, but found in many Continental inscriptions), **Arvalus** (also equated with Saturn), **Mogons**, etc. (for these see Holder, *s.v.*). Most of these, and many others occurring in isolated inscriptions, were probably local gods, though some, as is seen by their occurrence on the Continent, had a wider popularity. In the case of the latter, however, some of the inscriptions may be due to Gaulish soldiers quartered in Britain.

9. **British divinities and the Tuatha Dé Danann.**—Dôn may be equated with Danu, Govannon with Goibniu, Llew with Lug, Llyr with Ler, Manawyddan with Manannan, Bran with Bron, brother of Manannan (*RCel* xvi. 143), Llûdd or Nudd with Nuada (Nodens). But there is a further general resemblance of the groups to the Tuatha Dé Danann. They are euhemerized as kings, queens, heroes, and heroines, etc., while in Geoffrey and the Chronicles a definite period is given to their reigns or lives, or, again, they re-appear as saints. They are subject to death, and their tombs are referred to. Some are regarded as fairies, others as magicians. Thus they exactly resemble the Irish gods as they appear in the texts, though the degradation of their personalities and of their myths is more complete in Wales, and the literature which treats of them is less copious. There is also a general likeness in the functions of the two series. They are associated with growth and fertility, with departments of Nature, with war, and with the arts of culture; and some of them are gods of local Other-worlds. In Wales, too, as in Gaul and Ireland, certain goddesses seem to have a prominent and independent position—perhaps a hint of their pre-eminence over gods, which is here regarded as characteristic of earlier Celtic religion. But it is doubtful whether these divinities, under the names by which we know them, had more than a local fame, though parallel divinities with similar functions undoubtedly belonged to other localities.

Certain *Mabinogion* incidents, especially those of Branwen, have Irish parallels. The cauldron of regeneration restoring warriors to life is like the cauldron of Elysium and the incident of Diancecht restoring the Tuatha Dé Danann in his well. The description of Bran as he approaches Ireland is like that of MacCecht in 'Da Derga's Hostel.' The red-hot iron house in which the owners of the cauldron were to be destroyed has a parallel in an incident of the *Mesce Ulad*. But probably these are superficial borrowings, due to intercourse between Wales and Ireland, and have not the same importance as the fundamental likenesses in name of certain of the divinities.

10. The incidents of the *Mabinogion* have an entirely local character, as Anwyl has shown (*ZCP* i. 277, ii. 124, iii. 122). and are mainly associated with Dyfed and Gwent, Anglesey, and Gwynedd, of which Pryderi, Branwen, and Gwydion are respectively the heroic characters. These are the districts where a strong Goidelic element prevailed, whether these Goidels were original inhabitants (Bp. Jones of St. David's, *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*, London, 1851; Rhys, *Trans. of Soc. of Cymmrodor*, 1894–1895, p. 21), or invaders from Ireland (Skene, i. 45; Meyer, *Trans. Soc. Cym.* 1895–1896, p. 55 ff.), or perhaps both. But they had been conquered by Brythons, and had become Brythonic in speech from the 5th cent. onwards. On account of this Goidelic element, it has been

claimed that the personages of the *Mabinogion* are Goidelic. But only a few are parallel in name with Irish divinities, and the parallel incidents are, on the whole, superficial. Hence any theory which would account for the likenesses must account for the greater differences, and must explain why, if the *Mabinogion* is due to Irish Goidels, there should have been few or no borrowings from the popular Ossianic or Cúchulainn sagas (for these see Loth, i. 202; Skene, i. 254), and why at a time when Brythonic elements were uppermost such care should have been taken to preserve Goidelic myths. If the tales emanated from native Welsh Goidels, the explanation might be that they, the kindred of the Irish Goidels, must have had a certain community with them in Divine names and myths, while others of their gods, more local in character, would differ in name. Over the whole Celtic area we find many local gods, and a few whose names are spread everywhere. Or, if the tales are Brythonic, the likenesses might result from an early community in cult and myth among the common ancestors of Goidels and Brythons (cf. Loth, i. 20; I. B. John, *The Mabinogion*, London, 1901, p. 19). But, as the tales are comparatively late, composed when Brythons had overrun these Goidelic districts, more probably they contain a mingling of Goidelic (Irish or native Welsh) and Brythonic materials, though part may come from the common Celtic heritage. Llyr, Manawyddan, Govannon, etc., would be more or less local Goidelic gods; others may have been local Brythonic divinities classed with these as members of the different Divine groups. This would explain the absence of divinities and heroes of other local Brythonic groups from the *Mabinogion*, e.g. Arthur. But, with their growing importance, the latter attracted to themselves the personages of the *Mabinogion* and other tales. These are associated with Arthur in *Kulhwch*, and the Dôn group mingles with that of Taliesin in the *Taliesin* poems (Anwyl, *ZCP* ii. 127). Hence Welsh literature, as far as it concerns the old religion, may be regarded as including both local Goidelic and Brythonic divinities, of whom the more purely Brythonic are Arthur, Gwyn, Taliesin, etc.

The following table gives divinities with similar names in Ireland, Britain, and Gaul. Italics denote inscriptional names.

IRELAND.	BRITAIN.	GAUL.
Nuada.	Nudd Hael (?).	
	Nodens.	
	Llûdd Llaw Ereint.	
Manannan.	Manawyddan.	
Ler.	Llyr.	
Lug.	Llew or Lleu (?).	Lugus.
Mider.		*Medros.*
Ogma.		Ogmios.
Goibniu.	Govannon.	
Bron.	Bran.	Brennus (?).
	Beli, Belenos.	*Belenos.*
Net.		*Neton.*
Danu.	Dôn.	
Anu.	Anna (?).	*Anoniredi*, 'chariot of Anu.'
Buanann.		**Buanu.*
Brigit.	*Brigantia.*	*Brigindo.*
Cumhal.	*Camulos.*	*Camulos.*
Badb.		*Bodua.*
Nemon.	*Nemetona.*	
	Mabon, *Maponos.*	*Maponos.*
	Belisama.	*Belisama.*
	Epona.	*Epona.*
	Tutatis, Totatis.	Teutates.
	Taran.	*Taranis.*
	Anextiomarus.	*Anextiomarus.*
	Grannos.	*Grannos.*
	Mogons.	*Mogounos.*
	Silvanus.	*Silvanus.*
	Matres.	*Matres.*

VII. *ANTHROPOMORPHISM.*—**1. The gods.**—Divine images, as well as myths, show that Celtic gods had human forms and passions. They fight with each other, and pursue amours—often with mortals, hence mortals or semi-Divine heroes trace descent from them. Many names compounded of a Divine name and *-genos*, 'born of,' or *-gnatos*, 'son of,' *e.g.* Boduogenos, Camulognata, show that those who first bore them were regarded as children of divinities. St. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23) and Isidore of Seville (*Orat.* viii. 2, 103) speak of Gaulish *dusii*, impure demons who troubled women. These were probably lesser divinities or spirits, but the passages show the current belief in Divine-human unions. Fairies, in Brittany called *duz*, may be a reminiscence of these. There are, however, fewer obscene myths in Irish texts than elsewhere. Invisibility and shape-shifting, ascribed to the gods, were powers claimed by or attributed to Druids, etc., and are thus reflected back upon the gods from the human sphere. Their true divinity is found in their control over the universe and the destinies of men. In a word, they are worshipful beings, to be propitiated by sacrifice and prayer, in return for which they fulfil men's wishes, grant fruitfulness, prosperity, and victory, or interfere at critical moments to save their favourites. On the other hand, they sometimes seek the help of mortals, or ask their love, or invite them to Elysium. Their superiority is also seen in their gigantic stature and their immortal nature, though the latter may have been less inherent than obtained from foods and drinks of immortality. The Feinn Caoilte contrasts himself with a goddess—'She is of the Tuatha Dé Danann who are unfading and whose duration is perennial. I am of the sons of Milesius that are perishable and fade away' (O'Grady, ii. 203).

2. Hero-worship.—The Celtic belief in the king as a divinity may have arisen from the belief in the priest-king as representative of the vegetation-spirit. Examples of the former are found in the Divine names given to kings (§ VIII.), in the title *dia talmaide*, 'terrestrial god,' given to the mythic king Conchobar (*LU* 101*b*); in the fact that Maricc, chief of the Boii, who caused the Gaulish revolt in A.D. 69, called himself a god, and, though thrown to the beasts, was revered by the people (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 61); and in the ready acceptance of the divinity of the Roman emperors by the Gauls, showing that such a cult existed among themselves. Whether Arthur, Cúchulainn, Fionn, etc., who, whatever else they may have been, were idealized heroes of the Celts, ever had a formal cult in their heroic capacity is uncertain, though probably divinity was ascribed to them (see FEINN CYCLE, § 6 (*c*)). Cúchulainn may have been a war-god, since he is associated with war-goddesses, and is himself a great warrior, while he has some of the traits of a culture-god—bringing a cauldron and cows from the gods' land, claiming superior knowledge of Druidism, bardic science, law, and wisdom, and instructing a king in the art of government (BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic] § 6 (*f*); *RCel* xi. 442 ff.; *IT* i. 213). D'Arbois sees in Cúchulainn and Conall Cernach equivalents of the Dioscuri, and claims that they are the Smertullos and Cernunnos of a Paris monument (*Les Celtes*, ch. 7). He also sees in Cúchulainn the Esus of another monument (*ib.* p. 63), while the figures on these monuments represent incidents of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, which was perhaps known in Gaul. Was Cúchulainn an anthropomorphic form of the Brown Bull of the *Táin*? His life is bound up with that of its calf (*IT* ii. 241); his 'distortion' may reflect the fury of the bull in fight. In some folk-versions of the *Táin*, the bull is his property, and the giant sent by Medb to steal it seizes one horn, while the hero seizes the other, and it is rent in twain (*Celt. Mag.* xiii. 327, 514). If we could be certain that this represents the earlier form of the *Táin*, it might have originated as a tale explaining actual ritual,

in which a bull was the incarnation of a vegetation-spirit, slain and eaten by his worshippers. Later, this ritual may have been changed to the sacrifice of a bull to a god who was really its anthropomorphic form, and legend would then tell how he had slain a bull, which was his favourite sacrificial animal. Cúchulainn may have been such a bull-god, or the myth of a bull-god may have been transferred to him, and out of this the primitive form of the *Táin* might arise. Such changes in cult or in the nature of a god from beast to human form, with the animal as his symbol or otherwise associated with him (sometimes slain by him), are not uncommon. The slaying of an animal incarnation of a vegetation-spirit was known to the Celts, and it may have given an impulse to animal cults. Esus (Cúchulainn?) seems to have been a god of vegetation. (For the *Táin*, see Windisch, *Táin*; and CUCHULAINN CYCLE.)

As to Fionn, his father Cumhal may be Camulos, a war-god identified with Mars in Gaul and Britain, while Fionn's surname mac Cumall would then resemble Camulogenus, 'son of Camulos,' the name of a Gaulish chief (Cæsar, vii. 62). For Arthur, Brythonic hero or god, see § VI. 6.

VIII. *THE DIVINE KING AND THE PRIEST-KING.*—Celtic kings appear to have been regarded as representatives or incarnations of gods, and this may explain the easy change of gods to kings by the annalists. Kings often bore the name of a god, which later became a kingly title. Several Irish (mythic) kings are called Nuada, and are hardly discriminated from the god (*IT* iii. 290, 326, 366–68). In one text *nuadat* is glossed *in rig*, 'of the king,' as if the name had come to be a title (*Fled Bricrend*, Irish Texts Soc. ii. 88, 177). Welsh kings are also called Nudd (Skene, ii. 455). Brennos who stormed Delphi, and the mythic Brennos who sacked Rome, may have been called after the god Bran (cf. the instances of Conchobar and Maricc, § VII.). The result of the observance or non-observance of the *geasa*, or tabus binding on Irish kings, throws light on the nature of the gods they represented. Observance was followed by good seasons, fertility, abundance of cattle and fish, and prosperity; non-observance by the reverse. Later, perhaps through Christian influence, these were said to result from a king's personal goodness. But the older conception shows that the kings represented gods of growth like Nuada. Hence, being Divine incarnations, they could not do all that other men did. Was the king in primitive times slain that, by never growing old, his vigour might be handed on unimpaired to his successor, as in the case of Divine kings elsewhere? This is not impossible, but the custom would be transmuted into that of the king remaining a king as long as he could hold his own against all comers; or, more generally, a slave or criminal would be chosen as mock-king and Divine incarnation, and then slain. The May-kings of later survivals would be the successors of such mock-kings, themselves the *succedanea* of actual Divine kings. Certain Irish *bile*, or sacred trees, were associated with kings whose sceptre was the symbolic branch of such trees with which the king's life was wrapped up. It was great sacrilege to cut down these trees (see § X. 1). They were, like the kings, representatives or dwelling-places of a god (earlier a spirit) of vegetation. Other trees, perhaps the *succedanea* of the *bile*, as the mock-king was of the Divine king, were cut down and burned in the Beltane fires, in which the human representative may also have perished (see FESTIVALS [Celtic]). Before cutting them down, it may have been necessary to pluck a branch or something growing on them, *e.g.* mistletoe. Hence Pliny's notice of the mistletoe rite may be connected with this annual custom. The mistletoe or branch was the soul of the tree and contained the life of the Divine representative. It must be plucked before the tree could be cut down or the victim slain. This is hypothetical, but Pliny's account is incomplete—the elaborate ritual must have had some other purpose than that of the magico-medical use of the mistletoe which he describes, or else he is referring to an attenuated custom. Human sacrifice had been prohibited, and the oxen slain may have been substitutes for the man-god of earlier days. In later romantic tales a knight carries a bough and challenges all comers, or a giant or knight defends a tree from which another seeks to pluck fruit or a bough (Weston, *Legend of Sir Gawain*, 1897, pp. 22, 86; *Trans. Oss. Soc.* iii. 113 ff.). These suggest the old belief in tree and king as representatives of a god of vegetation, and of a ritual like that associated with the priest of Nemi (see Frazer, *History of the Kingship*, 1905, and Cook, 'The European Sky-God,' *FL* xvii.).

Celtic kings may also have been priest-kings. The Galatian Celts had 12 rulers ('tetrarchs') of provinces who, with 300 men, formed the council of the nation, which met at a place called *Drunemeton*. This meeting resembles that of the Druids in a consecrated place (Cæsar, vi. 13), while its representative character and the fact that *Drunemeton* was a consecrated place (*nemeton*) and that the syllable *Dru-* is again found in *Druid*, may point to the fact that these 'tetrarchs' had also a priestly character. The wife of one was a priestess; another tetrarch, Deiotarus ('divine bull'), was skilled in augury (Plutarch, *Virt. Mul.* 20; Cicero, *de Div.* i. 16, ii. 36), while certain Gauls were chosen as the priest-kings of Pessinus in the 2nd cent. B.C., possibly because such an office was not unknown to them (Jullian, p. 100). The mythic king Ambicatus and his nephews, Bellovesus and Segovesus, founders of colonies, seem to have consulted the gods with priestly help, and the British queen Boudicea had priestly functions (Livy, v. 34; Dio Cass. lxii. 6). There may be a reminiscence of the priest- or magician-king period in the fact that in Welsh story kings, or gods euhemerized as kings, are the greatest magicians (Loth, i. 92, 117 ff., ii. 229), just as the Irish Manannan is in legend king of Man and a great magician. It is significant of an archaic state of things that some of these teach their art to a sister's son. The differentiation between the offices of priest and king may not have been simultaneous over the Celtic area, and perhaps was never complete. Where it did take place, certain of the Druids would occupy the place of the priest-king as representative of a god. The references in Irish texts to the king's influence on fertility may be reminiscent of the earlier period, unless kings asserted this right as against the Druids. Yet the Druids claimed powers over nature and growth, and were regarded as superior to kings (Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 49; *LL* 93), while the name Σεμνοθέους, coupled with that of 'Druids' by Greek writers (in Diog. Lært. I. *proœm.* i.), may imply some notion of divinity, and that they had taken the place of the earlier priest-kings (see DRUIDS, § 6). Again, since to women belong the early processes of agriculture, a female spirit or goddess of vegetation would have a female representative. But, when the gods superseded goddesses or the latter became their consorts, the priest-king would take the place of the female representative, who, however, may have remained as the bride in the rite of the sacred marriage. But conservatism would retain sporadically female cults of a goddess of vegetation, and these would account for such rites as those of the Namnite women, one of whom was yearly slain; for the presence of the May-queen alone in certain

folk-survivals; and for many Celtic female cults from which men were excluded (see FESTIVALS [Celtic]).

IX. *WORSHIP OF THE DEAD.*—Celtic burial customs suggest a cult of the dead (§ XVI.). The heads of the slain were offered to the 'strong shades,' and bards sang their praises (Sil. Ital. v. 652; Lucan, i. 447). Where mythic heroes were honoured as eponymous tribal ancestors watching over the tribe, a cult of ancestors may be suspected. The tombs of dead kings, on whom tribal prosperity depended, were sacred places (Amm. Marc. xv. 10. 7; Joyce, *SH* i. 45; cf. § V. 3). Archæological researches, as well as folk-survivals, show that the family cult of the dead centred in the hearth—the Celtic brownie of the hearth being in some aspects a successor of the ancestral ghost (Bulliot, *Fouilles du mont Beuvray*, Autun, 1899, i. 76, 396; Déchélette, *RA* xxxii. [1898] 63, 245; Le Braz², ii. 67; see FAIRY). Other survivals point to a more extended cult of the dead (Wilde, *Anc. Legends*, 1887, p. 118; Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies and the Ghost World*, 1895, p. 54; Le Braz², i. 229, ii. 47; *FL* iv. 357). A yearly cult of the dead took place on Samhain eve, 31st Oct., traces of which remain in popular belief and custom; while in Ireland, on the anniversary of the burial of chiefs or kings, feasts were held—the festival of Lughnasadh is sometimes said to have been founded thus. See also FESTIVALS (Celtic); ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Celtic).

X. *NATURE-WORSHIP, ANIMAL-CULTS, TOTEMISM.*—1. Most Celtic divinities were evolved from the various parts of Nature personified or from Nature-spirits, but the cult of the latter still went on in that primitive fashion which is found as a lower stratum in all religions. Evidence of it exists in folk-survivals, in ecclesiastical denunciations of these, in scattered notices in Irish texts, and in a few inscriptions. The sea, rivers, wells, mountains, trees, sun, moon, stars, and winds, or the spirits of these, were worshipped, invoked in magic runes, or called to witness oaths (*LL* 13*b*; *RCel* vi. 168, xxii. 400; D'Achéry, *Spicil.*, Paris, 1661 v. 216 ff.). Departmental spirits of Nature survived in later times as fairies or demons, and elements of the cult may be traced, *e.g.*, in the *Sabbat*.

(*a*) Manannan, *the sea-god*, was first the sea itself, and an animistic view of the sea prevailed. Its moaning told of its sympathy with the dying or dead, its roaring was prophetic of certain events, and both could be interpreted by poets, hence the shore was 'a place of revelation of knowledge' (*RCel* xxvi. 9; Rhys, *HL* 387; Joyce, *PN* i. 195). This view of the sea led the Continental Celts to beat back the high tides with weapons (Aelian, xii. 23; Aristotle, *Ethics*, iii. 7, *Eudem. Ethics*, iii. 1).

(*b*) Gods (Danuvius, Bormanus, etc.) and goddesses (Devona, Serona, Bormana, etc.) of *rivers and fountains* were worshipped. At first, as river-names derived from **deiva*, 'divine,' **mâtér*, 'mother,' show, rivers themselves were regarded as Divine or as fertile mothers; later, divinities were associated with them, and some Celtic proper names show that descent from a river or river-god was believed in. *Springs and wells* were also Divine, and gave gifts of fertility and healing, and no aspect of the earlier cult has survived so markedly as this—the well, however, being now put under the protection of a saint. Some Celtic myths show the danger of women's intrusion on wells (Rhys, *CFL* i. 392), but more often they are guardians of wells (Skene, ii. 59; O'Grady, i. 233; Le Braz², i. p. xxxix), and this survives in the custom of a woman being sometimes charged with the care of a holy well. Costly offerings were thrown into lakes or rivers (Strabo, IV. i. 13); shrines were built on river banks, and *ex-votos* have been found in large numbers near them (Reinach, *BF* 355). Human sacrifices may have been made to rivers, as various traditions suggest. Animals were regarded as water-divinities; the water-horse and bull may be reminiscences of these, while Epona, the horse-goddess, was associated with rivers. Fish tenanting certain rivers or wells were sacrosanct. In cases of healing at sacred wells the ritual is still invariable, wherever found, and has probably changed little since pagan times. The waters of wells also gave fertility, and oracles were drawn from them or from the animals living in them.

(*c*) *Tree-worship* is associated with the cult of the oak, which formed the Celtic image of Zeus (Max. Tyr. *Diss.* viii. 8), and had a sacrosanct character (Pliny, *HN* xvi. 44). It may have been regarded as embodying the spirit of vegetation, and as such was cut down and burned in the annual Midsummer fires which magically aided the sun (see FESTIVALS [Celtic]). Hence it would easily be associated with a sun- or sky-god—the Celtic Zeus. In Ireland the ash and yew rather than the oak were venerated, though *daur*, 'oak,' is once glossed *dia*, 'god' (Stokes, *RCel* i. 259), and certain trees called *bile*, associated with kings, were too sacred to be cut down or burned (*RCel* xv. 420; Keating, p. 556; Joyce, *PN* i. 499). Forests were divinized (*Dea Arduinna* of the Ardennes, *Dea Abnoba* of the Black Forest, *CIL* vi. 46; *CIRhen.* 1654, 1683), while groves were the temples of the Celts (§ XIV.). Groups of trees (the *Sex Arbores* of Pyrenæan inscriptions), single trees (*Fagus Deus*), or spirits of trees (*Fatæ Dervones*) were the objects of a cult. Trees were associated with wells and burial-mounds, and in some cases a totemistic character may have been ascribed to trees, or a tree-spirit was regarded as an ancestor, since tribes are named after them, *e.g.* the Eburones (from **eburos*, 'yew'), and some personal names suggest descent from a tree, *e.g.* Dergen (**Dervogenos*), 'son of the oak,' Guerngen (**Vernogenos*), 'son of the alder,' while men are sometimes called after trees (*RCel* x. 173; Jullian, p. 41; d'Arbois, *Les Celtes*, 52). The late survival of tree-cults is seen in the denunciations by councils and in sermons, and in the hostility which Christian missionaries met with in trying to cut down sacred trees (D'Achéry, *Spic.* v. 215; Sulp. Sev. *Vita S. Mart.* p. 457).

(*d*) Pliny's reference to *the mistletoe rite* was foundation for much speculative nonsense by earlier writers on Celtic religion. All he says is that on the sixth day of the moon the Druids, clad in white robes, cut it with a golden sickle, while it was caught in a white cloth. Two white bulls were sacrificed, and prayer was made that 'God' would make his gift prosper with those on whom he had bestowed it (*HN* xvi. 44). The account is vague and incomplete. Nothing is said of the purpose of the rite save that the plant is called 'all-healer' (as it is still in Celtic speech), that it was a remedy against poison, and that a potion made from it and given to animals made them fruitful. Nor does he say who the 'god' was to whom prayer was made. We may conjecture that, as the plant is still culled on Midsummer eve for magical purposes, it was especially associated with the Midsummer festival, and that it was regarded as the life of the oak (cf. Gael. *sùgh an deraich*, 'sap of the oak,' *i.e.* mistletoe) or of the spirit or god of vegetation in the oak, which could not be cut down or burned till the plant was culled (see § VIII.; FESTIVALS [Celtic]; *GB*² iii. 327). Other sacred plants were used for medical purposes, though the ritual employed in culling them and the method of use were magical. Silence, ritual

purity, a certain method of uprooting the plant, and occasionally sacrifice were all necessary. The plants were used as charms and medicines (Pliny, *HN* xxiv. 11, xxv. 9). The magical use of plants is mentioned in Irish texts, and in modern folk-custom they are employed as charms as well as medicines (O'Grady, ii. 126; Harl. MS, 5280, §§ 33–35, 123; Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, Edinburgh, 1900; Sauvé, *RCel* vi. 67).

(*e*) Earlier Animism had associated spirits with conspicuous *stones*, just as megalithic monuments were believed to be tenanted by ghosts. Such stones, the objects of a cult, appear in the Irish texts with magical qualities. They float on water, speak, sing, or shriek like the Lia Fail—the traditional coronation stone. The nature of the cult is unknown, but in recent folk-custom libations of milk were poured on 'Grnagach' stones. Whether an earlier divinity lurks under this name, applied to giant, brownie, etc., is uncertain (see O'Curry, *MS Mat.* 387, 393; Nutt-Meyer, §§ 17, 18; *RCel* xii. 57; Hartland, *FL* xiv. 'The Voice of the Stone of Destiny.' For the magical use of stones, cf. § XV. and see STONES [Celtic]).

2. **Animal-cults.**—The cult of animals originated in the period when men worshipped the animals which they hunted or reared—in the latter case, or in the case of animals not hunted, slaying one periodically to obtain its Divine benefits (cf. 3 (*b*)). Cult led to domestication; but even in the period when domesticated animals were freely slaughtered, the older sacramental rite survived in the religious aspect of this slaughter (§ XIII. 1). The cult of animals, with a few exceptions, gave place to that of anthropomorphic divinities of animals, with these animals as their symbols, sacrificial victims, etc., this evolution leading to the removal of restrictions on slaying and eating the animal. This earlier slaying and sacramental eating in cults observed by men may have led to a similar usage with human or animal victims representing female vegetation- or corn-spirits among women, in whose hands the primitive forms of agriculture lay. On the other hand, as men began to take part in such female cults, the fact that such spirits were female, or were coming to be regarded as goddesses, may have led to some of the animal-divinities being regarded as female (cf. Epona, the horse-goddess). But, with the increasing participation of men in agriculture, divinities of growth and agriculture would tend to be regarded as male, while, as the two cults coalesced, the Divine animal and the animal representative of the corn- or vegetation-spirit would not be differentiated. Yet the earlier aspect was never quite lost sight of; witness the Corn-mother, and anthropomorphic goddesses of fertility (see art. ANIMALS, and also art. FESTIVALS [Celtic]).

(*a*) A swine-god Moccus, equated with Mercury, was known in Gaul, and the boar was a religious symbol and represented in images, though in one of these, ridden by a Celtic Diana, the animal has become the symbol of a goddess (Holder, ii. 603; Tac. *Germ.* 45; Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*[4], 1776, p. 268; Reinach, *BF* 255, *Cultes, mythes, et rel.*, Paris, 1905, i. 45). In Irish myth, monstrous swine are eaten at feasts, and swine are the immortal food of the gods (*IT* i. 99, 256). These, with the monstrous *Twrch Trwyth* hunted by Arthur (§ VI. 6), may be reminiscences of earlier swine-gods. In Welsh myth the swine is brought from the gods' land. This cult may have been connected with totemism, and, if it led to domestication, the animal would be preserved and not generally eaten. Certain branches of the Celts have abstained from eating swine's flesh (Paus. VII. xvii. 10 [Galatia]), and there was and still is a prejudice against it in some parts of the Highlands; while in the myth of Diarmaid (§ 3) the boar is a totem animal. Elsewhere it was reared for sale and eaten (Strabo, IV. iv. 3), perhaps because its old sacredness was passing away, or because many clans would not regard it as a sacred totem. The swine was placed, sometimes alive, in Celtic graves (*L'Anthrop.* vi. [1895] 584; Greenwell, *Brit. Barrows*, Oxford, 1877, p. 274; *Arch. Rev.* ii. 120).

(*b*) The bull appears on coins and in bronze images, often with three horns—a symbol of divinity (Plutarch, *Marius*, 23; Reinach, *BF* 277). A bull with three cranes occurs on an altar found at Paris, with the inscription *Tarvos trigaranos* (*garanos*, 'crane'). On another side Esus cuts down a tree. On another altar, found at Trèves, a god cuts down a tree in which are a bull's head and three birds. Reinach has shown that this unites the two representations of the Paris altar (*Cultes*, i. 234 ff.), while d'Arbois (*RCel* xix. 246) sees in these a reference to incidents of the *Táin*. The bull is the Brown Bull of Cúalnge, Esus is Cúchulainn cutting down a tree to intercept his enemies, the birds are the Morrigan in her triple form. Some facts support the view that the Cúchulainn cycle was known in Gaul—the chief of the Helvii was Donnotaurus (Cæsar, vii. 65), equivalent to *Dond tarbh*, one of the bull's names. This mythic bull and its rival were re-incarnations of swine-herds of the *síd*-folk, *i.e.* they had a Divine origin (*IT* iii. 235). But the bas-reliefs may merely represent ritual actions or myths upon which the incidents of the *Táin* were later founded. Place-names, like Tarvedum, Tarvisns, etc., point to a wide-spread bull-cult over the Celtic area. Later the Divine bull became the symbol of an anthropomorphic divinity (cf. the bull with the god Medros [*CIL* xiii. 6017]).

(*c*) To the cult of the horse succeeded that of the horse-goddess Epona (from **epo-s*, 'horse'), who is represented as riding, feeding colts, or surrounded by horses. She was protectress of horses, of which the Gauls were great breeders, as well as of all who had to do with horses or mules ('mulionum dea' [schol. ad Juv. viii. 157]). Epona, whose cult and monuments spread far and wide, is sometimes associated with, or represented with the symbols of, the *Matres*. Hence she had come to be regarded as a goddess of fertility. With her, too, seems to have been merged a river-goddess —the river being conceived as a rushing steed—or such a goddess may on that account have been associated with horses and called Epona (Holder, i. 1447; Reinach, *Epona*, Paris, 1895). A horse-god Rudiobus and a mule-god Mullo, equated with Mars, were also worshipped (*CIL* xiii. 3071; Holder, *s.v.*). The horse was sacrificed at the Midsummer festivals, probably as representing a god of fertility (FESTIVALS [Celtic]).

(*d*) The goddess Damona may have been an animal-divinity if her name is derived from **damatos*, 'sheep,' cognate to the Welsh *dafad*, 'sheep,' and Gael. *damh*, 'ox.' A cult of the stag is suggested by monuments of anthropomorphic gods like Cernunnos with stag's horns (§ IV.).

(*e*) A *bear-cult* gave place to that of a bear-goddess, Dea Artio (**artos*, 'bear'), whose cult is commemorated in the famous bears of Berne (Holder, i. 227; Reinach, *Cultes*, i. 57). Andarta ('strong bear'?, d'Arbois, *RCel* x. 165) may have been another local bear-goddess, while Artaios, equated with Mercury (*CIL* xii. 2199), may have been a bear-god. Place-names derived from **artos* show a wide-spread cult of the bear, and personal names, like Welsh *Arthgen*, Ir. *Artigan* (= **Artigenos*, 'son of the bear'), point to a belief in human descent from a bear-god.

(*f*) A horned serpent occurs with twelve Roman gods on an altar at Mavilly (*RA*, 1897, p. 313). The serpent is also the symbol of the under-world god of fertility (Reinach, *BF* 195), and its association with this god may result from its having been worshipped as a chthonian animal. The horn or ram's head with which it is often represented is doubtless a symbol of divinity like the third horn of bull or bear, or, if the ram was sacrificed in the cult of the dead (*RA* xxxii. [1898] 63, 245), it might be associated with the chthonian serpent. Reinach is disposed to connect the horned serpent with the 'egg' produced by serpents (Pliny, *HN* xxix. 12), as dislocated elements of a myth resembling that of the Orphic Zagreus (Divine serpents producing an egg whence came a horned snake), and to find a common origin for both in a Celtic element in Thrace (*RA* xxxv. 210). Horned serpents, however, occur in many other mythologies. An Irish cult of serpents may be hinted at in the two-headed serpents seen in Elysium (*IT* i. 205). Snakes were burned in late survivals of the Midsummer fires in France (FESTIVALS [Celtic]).

(*g*) Other Divine animals were associated with the cult of the waters (§ X. 1), while the use of certain beasts and birds in divination points to their sacred and probably Divine character. A cult of bird-gods may lurk behind the Divine name Bran, 'raven,' and the reference to the magic birds of Rhiannon in the *Triads*.

On the whole subject of animals in religion, see art. ANIMALS in vol. i.

3. **Traces of totemism.**—Certain data point to the existence of totemism among the Celts, or of conditions out of which totemism was elsewhere developed (though some of the instances may be due to animal- or plant-worship). These are (*a*) tabued animals, (*b*) animal sacraments, (*c*) animal descent, and (*d*) exogamy.

(*a*) *Animal tabus.*—Besides the Celtic dislike of swine's flesh—perhaps totemic in origin—may be noted the tabu on killing and eating the hare, hen, and goose among the Britons. Cæsar (v. 12) says they were bred for amusement—an undoubted error for the breeding of sacred animals which were not eaten. The hare was used for divination by Boudicca, and a sacred character still attaches to that animal in Wales, where it is sometimes ceremonially killed and eaten (Thomas, *RHR* xxxviii. 320-1). In Devon a ram or lamb is ceremonially slain and eaten; the eating confers luck (Gomme, *Village Community*, 1890, p. 113). The ill-luck believed to follow the killing of certain animals may be reminiscent of old tabus (Thomas, *op. cit.* 366). Fish were not eaten by the Pictish Meatæ and Caledonii (perhaps a totemic restriction), and a dislike of fresh-water fish existed among 18th cent. Highlanders (Dio Cass. lxxvi. 12; Logan, *Scottish Gael*, 1876, ii. 125). Certain fish in sacred wells were tabu and gave oracles (§ X. 1). Heron's flesh was disliked in Ireland, and it was unlucky to kill a swan in some parts of Ireland and in the Hebrides (Joyce, *SH* ii. 529; Martin, *Descr. of W. Islands*, 1716, p. 71). Fatal results following the slaying or eating of an animal with which the slayer was connected by name or descent, *i.e.* by totemic relation, occur in Irish sagas in the cases of Conaire, Cúchulainn ('hound of Cu'), and Diarmaid, to whom it was tabu to kill respectively a bird, a dog, and a boar (*RCel* xxii. 20, 24, 390–1, iii. 74; Joyce, *OCR* 334 ff.). Here an earlier clan totemism would seem to have been later connected with a mythic hero. Another example may be found in the tale of the men changed to badgers whom Cormac slew and brought to his father Tadg to eat. Tadg refused the food because they were transformed men and his cousins (*IT* iii. 385). Tadg's loathing arises from the fact that the badgers are men—a common idea in myths explanatory of misunderstood totemic usage, but the idea of relationship between a man and his totem was not forgotten, since the badgers are said to be his cousins. Popular beliefs in lucky or unlucky animals, in omens drawn from them, etc., may be partially based on totemic usage.

(*b*) *The ceremonial eating of a sacred (totem) animal* may underlie the tale of the eating of mac Datho's boar (*IT* i. 96), and the belief that swine were the immortal food of the gods. Frazer has argued (*GB*² ii. 442 ff.) from analogous cases elsewhere that the custom of 'hunting the wren' in Celtic regions, carrying it from house to house, preserving a feather in each house, eating it ceremonially, or solemnly burying it, may be an instance of sacramental communion with a slain god in animal form. In any case it has a strong totemic aspect. A sacramental eating of a sacred pastoral animal probably took place in early times at Samhain (§ XIII. 1).

(*c*) The traces of *animal or tree descent* referred to above may be totemistic, though, where a personal name implies such descent, the connexion with totemism would be indirect, if the name was derived from the earlier clan totem name (see below). Other clan names of this kind are those of the Bibroci of S.E. Britain, a beaver clan (**bebros*, 'beaver'), the Eburones, the yew-tree (**eburos*) clan, and Irish clans with animal names —'calves,' 'griffins,' 'red deer' (O'Curry, *MCAI* ii. 208). The *Fir Bile*, 'men of the tree,' were so named from the sacred Tree of Dathi (*RCel* xvi. 279). Instances of lycanthropy associated with certain families or clans (Gir. Camb. *Top. Hib.* ii. 19; *IT* iii. 376) may be based on clan totemism—the belief in lycanthropy (*q.v.*) easily attaching itself to local wolf-clans. The stories of Cormac mac Art suckled by a she-wolf, of Lughaid mac Con, 'son of a wolf-dog,' suckled by that animal, and of Oisin, whose mother was a fawn (O'Grady, ii. 286, 538; Campbell, *The Fians*, 1891, p. 78), may be totemistic in origin, as may be also travellers' tales of the Irish taking wolves as godfathers and praying to them. Bands of warriors at the battle of Cattraeth, described in Aneurin's *Gododin*, were called dogs, wolves, bears, and ravens, and Owein's band of fighting ravens may have been a raven clan (Guest, *Mab.* ii. 409 ff.). Groups of Dalriad Scots bore animal names—'Little Goat' clan, 'Fox' clan—while the animal or plant badges of clans and animal ensigns of older Celtic groups may be totemic. On coins an animal on horseback is figured, perhaps leading a clan, as birds led the Celts to the Danube area, and these would then depict myths of the leading of a clan to its present territory by the clan totem-animal (Blanchet, i. 166, 295, etc.). These myths may survive in legends of an animal showing a saint where to build his church (Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853, pp. 293, 323, 453; Jocelyn, *Vita S. Kentigern.*, ed. Forbes, Edin. 1874, c. 24).

Celtic warriors wore horned helmets; and Irish myths speak of men with cat, dog, or goat heads (*IT* iii. 385; Rhys, *HL* 593), perhaps men wearing a head-gear of the skin or head of clan totem-animals, and later remembered as monstrous beings. The horned helmets would be derived from the same custom. Solinus says the Britons wore animal skins before going into battle, and these may have been skins of the animal under whose protection they placed themselves (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 1848, p. x). The 'forms of beasts, birds, and fishes' which the Picts tatued on their bodies (Herodian, iii. 14. 8; Duald Mac Firbis in Irish *Nennius*, Dublin, 1848, p. vii) may have been totem marks, while the painting of their bodies with woad by the Southern Britons may have been of the same character, though Cæsar's words (v. 14) hardly indicate this. Certain marks on faces figured on Gaulish coins seem to be tatu marks (*ZCP* iii. 331).

Personal names in *-genos*, 'son of,'—*Artigenos, 'son of the bear'; *Brannogenos, 'son of the raven';

*Cunogenos (Congan), 'son of the dog'; *Vidugenos, 'son of the tree' (Holder, *s.v.*)—suggest a period when it was thought that men, animals, and plants were alike or might be related, such names remaining long after the idea itself had passed away. Whether these names are relics of clan totemism, however, is uncertain. Rhys (*CB*[4], p. 267) argues from the frequency of names like Cúrói, 'hound of Roi,' Cú Corb, 'Corb's hound,' Mac Con, 'hound's son,' Maelchon, 'hound's slave' (cf. Welsh *Gwrgi*, 'man-dog'), that there existed a dog totem or god, not of the Celts but of a pre-Celtic race. This assumes that totemism could not be Celtic, while here again the names are of individuals, not clans.

(*d*) *Exogamy and the counting of descent through females* are closely connected with totemism, and traces of both are found among the Celts. Whether the Picts were Celtic or not is still arguable, but the probability is that they were. These customs survived in their royal house, the kingship passing to a brother by the same mother or to a sister's son. The king's father was never king and was often a 'foreigner' (for other Aryan instances, see Frazer, *Kingship*, p. 241). Traces of this are also found in Ireland and Wales (Stokes, *RCel* xvi. 148; Rhys-Jones, *Welsh People*, 1899, p. 44), while Livy (v. 34) describes how the mythic king Ambicatus sent not his own, but his sister's sons to found new kingdoms. Traces of the matriarchate are found in Irish and Welsh Divine groups called after their common mother—Danu, Domnu, Dôn, Anu, 'mother of the gods'; in the fact that the eponymous ancestor of the Scots is a woman, Scota; and that gods and heroes have a matronymic, the father's name being omitted—Lug mac Ethnend, Conchobar mac Nessa, Indech son of Dé Domnann, Diarmaid na (descendant of) Duibne, Muirchertach mac Erca, Mabon son of Modron; while a man is sometimes called not by his own name, but 'so and so's husband' (*IT* iii. 407, 409). Goddesses and heroines have a high place, and frequently choose their own lovers or husbands. Thus a general custom was later confined to the royal house or preserved in Divine myths. Perhaps certain cases of incest (Strabo IV. v. 4; *RCel* xii. 235, 238; *LL* 124, 131; Rhys, *HL* 308; Loth, i. 134 ff.) may be explainable by earlier permissible unions under totem law, which would be regarded as incestuous when totemism had declined, while tradition would exaggerate them into worse forms, *e.g.* brother-sister unions (though these may have been customary in the royal house and then reflected back on Divine personages). The polyandry which existed in Britain (Cæsar, v. 14; cf. sporadic instances in Ir. sagas), and possible community of women among the Pictish Caledonii and Meatæ (Dio Cass. lxxvi. 12), may simply have been marriage customs regulated by totemism; and, if the couvade was a Celtic institution (cf. 'The Debility of the Ultonians,' E. Hull, p. 97; Jullian, p. 64), it would point to the former existence of the matriarchate.

There is thus among the Celts a certain amount of evidence for totem usage or of the elements which elsewhere compose it. To explain it as pre-Celtic, or to say that the Irish sagas had been coloured by aboriginal customs (Zimmer, *Zeit. d. Savigny-Stiftung*, Weimar, 1893, xv. 209),[1] is to neglect the fact that the customs in question were bound up with Celtic life, while it leaves unexplained the influence of such alleged pre-Celtic customs on a people whose customs, *ex hypothesi*, were totally different.

See also papers by Gomme, *Arch. Rev.*, 1889, pp. 217, 351, and Thomas, *RHR* xxxviii. 295. In these, however, the survivals are credited on the whole to pre-Celtic peoples. See Reinach's suggestive paper, 'Les Carnassiers androphages dans l'art gallo-romain,' *Cultes, mythes, et rel.* i. 279.

XI. *CULT OF WEAPONS.*—The hammer or mallet held by the Celtic 'god with the hammer,' or Dispater, or represented on monuments, is probably a symbol of Divine creative power, and points to an old cult of the hammer. The god with the hammer had been preceded by a hammer-god. A cult of the axe is suggested by the symbol of the axe and the words *sub ascia dedicare* on tombs in Gaul (*CIL* xiii. 256), while the axe appears in the hands of the god Esus on two altars (see § X. 2). Weapons were personified by the Celts and believed to be alive or tenanted by spirits (or demons, according to the Christian chronicler [d'Arbois, v. 175, 275]). Magic powers were ascribed to the weapons of gods and heroes, and an actual worship of weapons is referred to by an Irish chronicler (O'Curry, *MCAI* ii. 254). On Gaulish coins a sword is sometimes figured, stuck in the ground, or driving a chariot, or with a warrior dancing before it; or a dancing warrior has an axe or sword in his hand—a ritual act like that described by Spenser as performed by Irish warriors in his day, while they said prayers or incantations before the weapon stuck in the ground (Blanchet, i. 160–1; Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, ed. 1809, p. 97). Swords were persistently addressed in songs by the Irish (*RCel* xx. 7), or oaths were taken by them (*Atlantis*, i. 371). Such songs, of which traditional remains are known in Brittany, represent the chants of the ancient cult. Finally, the Divine sword re-appears in mystic form as the 'glaive of light' of Arthurian romance and Celtic folk-tales.

XII. *COSMOGONY.*—The Druids taught many things about the universe and its form (Cæsar, vi. 14), but their teachings did not survive. Possibly they held that the earth was supported by mountains or pillars, as a high mountain near the source of the Rhone was called the 'column of the sun' (Avienus, 644 ff.), and was perhaps regarded as supporting the sky. An allusion to such a myth, of which traces survive in folk-belief, may underlie the phrase 'pillars of the world' used of SS. Patrick and Brigit (*IT* i. 25; Gaidoz, *ZCP* i. 27). The Irish Druids claimed to have made sun, moon, earth, and sea (*Ant. Laws of Ireland*, Dublin, 1869–79, i. 23); but, as existing folk-beliefs suggest, primitive myths of creation must have been told; *e.g.* springs and rivers are formed from the sweat of giant, fairy, or saint, and mountains are the material thrown up by giants (Sébillot, i. and ii. *passim*), these personages taking the place of older divinities. Hence, as Irish myths also show, the earth was thought to have gradually taken form; lakes are formed at the digging of a tomb, or from the overflowing of sacred wells (the latter a genuine Celtic deluge-myth), or from the tears of a god—a myth found also among the Continental Celts (*RCel* xv. 429, xvi. 50, 277; Loth, ii. 280, 299; Apollonius, iv. 609).

No myth of one special abode of the gods exists, the assertion that the Tuatha Dé Danann came from heaven being probably the guess of a Christian scribe (*LL* 10*b*; *LU* 16*b*). Nature-gods were doubtless associated with the domain which they ruled, and those worshipped in groves manifested themselves there (Lucan, *Pharsal.* iii. 425). The Tuatha Dé Danann were associated later with mounds or hills, some of them with the Island Elysium (BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 8), while the Gaulish Dispater, like the other gods of fertility, was associated with the under world.

The Celts believed, perhaps, in descent from, rather than in creation by, the gods. A Druidic myth taught the descent of the Gauls from Dis-

[1] Zimmer's paper is translated under title 'Matriarchy among the Picts,' in Henderson, *Leabhar nan Gleann*, n.d.

pater (Cæsar, vi. 18), the Celtic under-world god, and this may point to a belief in man's ascent to earth's surface from this region. Clans, families, or individuals traced descent from gods, animals, or plants (§§ VII. 1; X. 3), while branches of the Celtic race are traced by classical writers to eponymous founders (Diod. Sic. v. 24; Appian, *Illyr.* 2).

The Druidic tradition, reported by Ammianus Marcellinus (xv. 9), that some of the people of Gaul were indigenous, while others had come from 'distant islands,' others from beyond the Rhine, is not so much a myth of origins as an explanation of the presence of different peoples in Gaul; nor need we suppose with d'Arbois (ii. 262, xii. 220) that the phrase 'distant islands' refers to the Island Elysium.

The Druids taught that 'fire and water must one day prevail' (Strabo, IV. iv. 4), and this may be hinted at in the words of the Gauls to Alexander, that they feared most the fall of the heavens (ἔφασαν δεδιέναι μήποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι, Arrian, *Anab.* I. iv. 7; cf. Strabo, VII. iii. 8). In Ireland, Conchobar boasts of rescuing Medb's captives unless the heavens and the earth burst open and the sea engulf all (*LL* 94*a*). These, with Badb's and Fercertne's prophecies of the end of the world (*RCel* xii. 111, xxvi. 33), are evident references to a myth of a final cataclysm, in which the gods might be involved.

XIII. *RITUAL AND CUSTOM.* — **1. Festivals.**— The earliest division of the Celtic year, at first lunar rather than solar, was into two parts, then into three and four. Night preceded day, and the year began with winter (Pliny, xvi. 95; Cæsar, vi. 18; CALENDAR [Celtic]). Traces of a twofold division—a winter half (*Geimhredh*) and a summer half (*Samhradh*)—are found in Ireland, but these were sub-divided, each quarter beginning with a festival, and three of these are known—Beltane (May 1), Lughnasadh (Aug. 1), Samhain (Nov. 1). St. Bridget's Day had taken the place of the fourth on Feb. 1 (O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, Dublin. 1847, p. liii ff.). Traces of a midsummer solstice feast are also found over the Celtic area, perhaps the result of the adoption of a solar year. But the rituals of Beltane and Midsummer are so much alike that both may represent an early movable summer festival, though Beltane may at first have been a pastoral, and Midsummer an agricultural, festival. Lughnasadh was a harvest festival, but traces of pastoral, though much more of agricultural, ritual are found in the others. As a central rite at Samhain and the summer feasts, a bonfire representing the sun, and intended to aid him in his course and in his fight with dark powers, is found. Round it people danced sunwise; through it cattle were driven as a cathartic rite. Samhain, opening the year, was a festival of beginnings, probably orgiastic. New fire was taken from the bonfire to kindle the fire in each house, and rites of divination, to tell the fortune which the year would bring, were performed. The pastoral aspect is seen in the slaughter of cattle for the winter's food, but this slaughter was ritual, partly sacrificial and sacramental, a feast on one of the animals taking place. As such it dates back to a time when pastoral animals were sacred, and a limited slaughter, probably of one animal, with a feast of communion on its flesh, occurred. Masquerading in the animals' skins, thus assimilating the wearer to the Divine animal, is also found. Agriculturally, Samhain was connected with threshing rather than with ingathering. But the dim suggestions of human sacrifice point to the slaying of a human victim, representing the corn-spirit. Samhain was also a festival of the dead. At the Summer festivals a ritual combat between summer and winter occurred (§ V. 2), and in the king and queen of the May of later survivals may be seen traces of the 'sacred marriage,' both rites intended to promote fertility. The tree burned or carried round the fields, etc., embodied the vegetation-spirit, which was slain ritually (§ X. 1 (*d*)). In folk-survivals, animals were burned in the bonfire; and these, with other traces of animal sacrifices, may point to an earlier slaying of an animal representative of the vegetation-spirit (Bertrand, *Rel. des Gaulois*, Paris, 1897, p. 407; Hone, *Everyday Book*, 1839, ii. 595). Other survivals point to human victims who may be connected with the holocausts referred to by Cæsar, Diodorus, and Strabo. These may in turn be sacrificial extensions of the old slaying of a human representative of the vegetation-spirit (*Old Stat. Account*, xi. 620; Bertrand, p. 119; Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, Berlin, 1875, pp. 514, 523). These ritual acts were intended to promote fertility, and part of the victim may have been eaten sacramentally (cf. Pliny, *HN* xxx. 1, for a possible example of ritual cannibalism), and part buried in the fields. Brands from the bonfire, in which the tree and victim were consumed, and which also represented the sun, were carried through the fields or otherwise used. For Beltane cakes, see CAKES AND LOAVES (§ 1).

As agriculture was at first a woman's labour, the oldest ritual would be in the hands of women, and the vegetation- and corn-spirits would be female, as would also the victims who represented them. This would account for the May-queen and other female personages in festival survivals, and for the name 'Beltane carline,' or old woman, given to the mock victim in survivals of Beltane. As men began to take part in agriculture and priests took the place of priestesses, the victim would generally be a man. But the older female ritual still prevailed here and there (Strabo, IV. iv. 6; Pliny, *HN* xxvi. 1), and traces of it may be seen in such survivals as those of the witch orgies. See FESTIVALS (Celtic) § 4.

Lughnasadh is connected with the god Lug, and means 'the festival of Lug' or 'the wedding of Lug' (Cormac, p. 99; Rhys, *HL* p. 416). It is also connected with his foster-mother Tailtiu and with a female called Carman, perhaps euhemerized forms of old corn-goddesses or corn-spirits. But it would easily come to be associated with Lug if he were a sun-god, the giver of a bountiful harvest. The festival, besides being of the harvest, was also celebrated at important local centres in Gaul, as well as in Ireland, where it took the form of fairs with horse-races, while it was also a common time to celebrate marriages. This, if Lughnasadh means 'the marriage of Lug,' may point to an old ritual celebration of the Divine marriage, and perhaps to earlier ritual licence. But, as harvest is generally later in Britain and Ireland than Aug. 1, some of the agricultural ritual would be deferred till Samhain, which had also its agricultural aspect.

Such notices of these festivals as we possess show that they had become connected with large central gatherings combining religion, pleasure, and commerce, and probably with the cult of anthropomorphic divinities. But there is no doubt that they were evolved from primitive village-rituals and the cult of less definite vegetation- and corn-spirits. This was never lost sight of in the larger gatherings, while, as survivals show, the simpler rituals continued side by side with these.

For further details and references, see FESTIVALS (Celtic).

2. Sacrifice.—Celtic animal and human sacrifices were mainly propitiatory in later times, though the older slaying of human and animal victims in agricultural ritual must not be overlooked. References to animal sacrifice in classical and Irish texts are scanty (Arrian, *Cyneg.* 33; Cæsar, vi. 17; Orosius, v. 16. 6; Pliny, *HN* xvi. 44; O'Curry, *MCAI* i. p. dcxli; cf. DRUIDS, § 9). But such sacrifices in Celtic districts have continued in folk-survivals down to a comparatively recent time, in connexion either with the cult of saints who represented former divinities, or with the cathartic ritual of the scape-animal. Part of the animal may have

been eaten sacramentally. In other cases a feast was associated with the sacrifice (Arrian, *op. cit.*; Dio Cass. lxii. 7). The heads were hung on trees in sacred groves, and the blood was sprinkled on sacred objects (Lucan, *Pharsal.* iii. 404 ff.; Livy, xxiii. 24). Libations are also found in various popular survivals. Classical references to human sacrifices are numerous, and show how abundantly the Celts offered such victims—generally slaves or prisoners of war. They were hanged, impaled, burned, drowned, or stabbed, and oracles were drawn from their movements or from their entrails (Dio Cass. lxii. 7; Athen. iv. 5; Diod. Sic. v. 32, xxii. 9; Justin, xxvi. 2; Cæsar, vi. 16; Strabo, IV. iv.; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 30). The evidence for Irish human sacrifice has been disputed, but there is no reason to doubt its truth, though the number of victims at each sacrifice is an obvious exaggeration (*LL* 7*a*; *Book of Fermoy*, 89*a*; O'Curry, i. p. DCXLI, ii. 222; see § V. 4, **Dagda**). Within the sphere of Roman influence the Celts were prohibited from offering human sacrifice, but continued it symbolically (Pomp. Mela, iii. 2, 18). Probably the victims who represented the vegetation- and corn-spirits tended to become propitiatory offerings to gods of fertility, their numbers also being largely increased, and the sacrifice connected with the fertility of the land (Strabo, IV. iv. 4). Pliny's reference to ritual cannibalism in Britain may point to a sacramental eating of part of the flesh of such victims (*HN* xxx. 4, 13). The Celts ate the flesh and drank the blood of slain enemies to obtain their strength, and perhaps, as a rite of communion, they drank the blood of dead relatives (Livy, xxiii. 24; Diod. Sic. vi. 16; Solin. xxii. 3). Human victims were offered as foundation sacrifices (Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* § 40; Stokes, *TIG* xli; Carmichael, *Carm. Gad.* ii. 317), and at burials, though in the case of relatives and slaves the sacrifice was often voluntary (ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Celtic]; Leahy, i. 105; O'Curry, *MCAI* i. p. CCCXXX; *L'Anthrop.* vi. [1895] 586). Heads of dead enemies were presented to the gods, or preserved ritually, probably in order that their spirits might be subservient to the victors. Heads of great tribal warriors were perhaps preserved in order to obtain for the tribe the protection of their spirits, as the myth of Bran's head would suggest (§ VI. 2); and from this cult of heads may have arisen the practice in Gaul of representing heads of certain divinities, sometimes in triple form (Strabo, IV. iv. 5; Diod. Sic. v. 29; Livy, x. 26. 9; *IT* i. 205; d'Arbois, v. 11, 175). See, further, SACRIFICE (Celtic).

3. **Prayer.**—Prayer defined the purpose of the sacrifice, or expressed the worshipper's desire that the gods would be propitious, as is seen in the Druidic petition at the mistletoe rite, and in Galatian Celtic sacrifices (Pliny, *HN* xvi. 95; Plut. *Virt. Mul.* 20; Aelian, *Nat. An.* xvii. 19). The arms were raised, during prayer, towards heaven (Dio Cass. lxii. 6; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 30). Some prayers may have been of the nature of ritual incantations, the result depending on observance of an exact formula, *e.g.* the incantations used by the priestesses of Sena or the formulas used by warriors advancing to battle (Appian, iv. 8; Livy, xxi. 8, xxxviii. 17). War-cries sometimes consisted of the name of a god—an instance of the magical power of a Divine name; and, if the dance which warriors performed before a sword was mimetic of actions in battle, it would be a kind of acted prayer (Appian, vi. 53; Blanchet, *passim*).

4. **Divination.**—The Celts were devoted to divination (Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 36 [76]; Justin, xxiv. 4), and a special class of diviners existed in Gaul, like the *filid* in Ireland, though the Druids and private persons also practised it (see DRUIDS). Divination from the movements of victims, their blood, or their entrails, is often mentioned (Diod. Sic. v. 31; Justin, xxvi. 2; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 30; Strabo, III. iii. 6). Auguries were drawn from the flight of birds or the course of animals (Justin, xxiv. 4; pseudo-Plut. *de Fluv.* vi. 4), and Strabo refers to the crow as an arbiter of disputes (IV. iv. 6). Irish sagas mention the crow as a prophetic bird; and the Druids divined from the voices of birds, from the clouds, from the direction of smoke or flames, and from yew rods on which oghams were written (*IT* i. 129, 220; O'Curry, *MCAI* ii. 224, *MS Mat.* 284; Joyce, *SH* i. 229; Livy, v. 34). Druidic knowledge of astronomy was probably largely astrological, as Irish examples show (O'Curry, *MCAI* ii. 46; Stokes, *TIG* 103). Divination by dreams was used by the *filid* in Ireland and also by the Continental Celts (Cormac, p. 94; *Ant. Laws of Ireland*, i. 45; Hyde, *Lit. Hist. of Ireland*, 1899, p. 241; Justin, xliii. 5; see BARDS [Irish]). The Irish 'illumination by rhymes,' used also in Wales, was a species of trance-utterance (O'Grady, ii. 362; Gir. Camb. *Descr. Camb.* i. 16). In the *taghairm* the seer was bound in an animal's hide and left by the waters, the spirits of which inspired his dreams (Martin, *op. cit.* 111; Pennant, *op. cit.* i. 311). The hide was probably that of a sacrificial animal. Seers also slept on graves to receive inspiration from the dead (*Coll. de Reb. Hib.* iii. 304; O'Curry, *MS Mat.* 494; Tertullian, *de Anima*, 57). See also DIVINATION (Celtic).

5. **Prophecy.** — The scholiast on Lucan (ed. Usener, p. 33) speaks of the Druids prophesying after eating acorns, the fruit of the sacred oak. Prophecy is also ascribed to the priestesses of Sena, and the 'Druidesses' of late Roman times (see DRUIDS). In Ireland both Druids and *filid* prophesied, while prophetic utterances are put into the mouths of divinities. In some cases the word used for these prophecies, *baile*, which also means 'ecstasy,' 'madness,' suggests that the method of the prophet was to work himself up into a frenzy or to speak in a trance. Prophecies and incantations were uttered by the seer standing on one foot, with one arm outstretched and one eye closed—this attitude is also ascribed to divinities when using prophetic and magical utterances (*RCel* xii. 98, xxi. 156, xxii. 61). The purpose was, perhaps, to concentrate the prophetic force or increase the virulence of the incantation, while the attitude may account for the references in Irish texts to certain mythic beings with one leg, one arm, and one eye. A similar attitude is used in magical rites elsewhere (GB^2 ii. 32).

6. **Tabu.**—The only reference to tabus among the Continental Celts is that made by Cæsar regarding the interdiction of religious rites to those who disobeyed the Druids, and the tabu on spoils of war which, being the property of the gods, could not be used by men (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 13, 17; cf. the case of animals not eaten, v. 12; see § X. 3 (*a*)). In Ireland references are more frequent. *Geis* (pl. *geasa*) means something which ought not to be done for fear of disastrous results, or a binding obligation put on one person by another. The former has the more usual sense of tabu. Such *geasa* might involve a person before birth or in childhood, and were probably hereditary. Others were totemic, *e.g.* the *geis* on Cúchulainn not to eat dog, on Conaire not to kill birds, and on Diarmaid not to kill a boar. Others reveal and are based on primitive ethics, on ideas of honour, on omens, or on remembrance of catastrophes following certain deeds. The best known are those affecting kings (O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, p. 3 ff.). Obscure as they are, they resemble kingly tabus elsewhere, and show that the kings were once regarded as gods, or Divine representatives, on whom the welfare of the community, agriculture, etc., depended,

and who must therefore avoid certain actions, places, and things. Later, the fruitfulness of the land was said to depend on a king's goodness, but at an earlier time it depended on his observing his *geasa*. In such case he would not meet with misfortune, he would make the earth fruitful, and would not experience the decay of years, and no epidemic would occur in his reign (O'Donovan, p. 7). The king had certain prerogatives which probably formed *geasa* to other people. He alone could eat of certain foods or go to certain places on certain days. The former may refer to the custom of first-fruits being tabu till eaten by a king, chief, or priest, or to the practice of kings and chiefs appropriating certain food-stuffs where food is scarce (see FIRST-FRUITS; Keane, *Man Past and Present*, Cambridge, 1899, pp. 141, 149). By analogy from the kingly *geasa*, the heroes of the sagas had many which they must observe (*LL* 107; O'Grady, ii. 175), religious, magical, honorific, etc. *Geasa* in the second meaning of the word were perhaps framed as spells, which fear made people obey when pronounced by another, *e.g.* a Druid. In folk-tales the word is often used for 'spells.' The most famous example is the *geis* which Grainne put on Diarmaid to elope with her (FEINN CYCLE, § 4). In either sense of the word the consequences of breaking *geasa* were disastrous, and several tales turn upon their inevitable fatality (see *RCel* xxi. 149, xxii. 27). The *geasa* are detailed, the breaking of them is described, and the tragedy ends with the destruction of the *geasa*-breaker. Perhaps fear of results of tabu-breaking produced these results automatically when a tabu was broken in Ireland, as among savages. See E. Hull, *FL* xii. 41, and § X. 3 (*a*) above (totemic tabus).

7. **Blood-brotherhood.**—This custom is mentioned sporadically in Irish sagas. Devorgilla wishes to wed Cúchulainn, but he, having sucked the blood from her wound while she was in bird-form, says, 'I cannot wed thee now, for I have drunk thy blood' (*LL* 125*a*). When Medb desires Cúchulainn's former friend Ferdiad to fight him, both heroes display great reluctance because of the tie of blood-brotherhood existing between them (Leahy, i. 158). A third example occurs in the tale of 'The Death of Muirchertach mac Erca,' in which Cairnech mingles the blood of Tadg and Muirchertach in a vessel for a treaty between them (*RCel* xxiii. 394 ff. § 14). The Irish also ratified leagues by drinking each other's blood, even in Christian times, and traces of a similar custom existed in the West Highlands in the 17th century (Gir. Camb. *Top. Hib.* iii. 22; Martin, p. 109).

XIV. *SACRED PLACES, THINGS, AND PERSONS.*—1. **Temples.**—The sacred grove, *nemeton*, existed over the whole Celtic area, the word frequently occurring in place-names (cf. the Irish *fid-nemed*, 'sacred grove' [Holder, ii. 1750; *Ant. Laws of Ireland*, i. 164], and the Galatian *Dru-nemeton*, § VIII. above). Lucan gives a vivid description of the horrors of such groves (*Pharsal.* iii. 399 ff.), and Dio Cassius (lxii. 7) mentions the human sacrifices which were offered in them. The scholiast on Lucan (ed. Usener, p. 33) says that the Druids worshipped the gods in woods without temples; but we know that the Boii and the Insubri had temples (Livy, xxiii. 24; Polyb. ii. 32), while temples, in the sense of buildings or sacred enclosures, are referred to by Diodorus (v. 27), Plutarch (*Cæs.* 26), and Poseidonius (*apud* Strabo, IV. iv. 6). The 'consecrated place' in Gaul mentioned by Cæsar (vi. 13; cf. 17) may be either a grove, a sacred enclosure, or a temple. There is no evidence that the insular Celts had temples. Under Roman rule, elaborate temples and smaller shrines were built on Roman models all over the Romano-Celtic area. Sacred vessels, spoils of war, money collected for sacred purposes, and war standards were kept in temples or 'consecrated places' (Livy, xxiii. 24; Florus, i. 20. 4; Arrian, *Cyneg.* 23; Polyb. ii. 32; Cæsar, vi. 13). See TEMPLES (Celtic).

There is no evidence that stone circles were Druidic temples. Stonehenge dates from the close of the Neolithic age, and the smaller circles are all probably pre-Celtic. They were primarily places of sepulture, and as such would be the scene of ancestral cults. The Celts probably regarded them as sacred, and may have joined in such cults; but they cannot be regarded as Celtic temples in the strict sense of the word. Celtic commemorative rites and festivals took place at tumuli or mounds, but worship at stone circles is never referred to (see § V. 3; FESTIVALS [Celtic], § 5). Stone circles with mystic trees growing in them, one of them with a well giving access to the Land under Waves, are connected in Irish tales with magic rites, but are not spoken of as temples (Joyce, *OCR* p. 246; Kennedy, *Leg. Fictions*, 1866, p. 271).

2. **Images.**—Maximus of Tyre (*Diss.* viii. 8) says that the Celtic (German?) image of Zeus was a lofty oak; but this may have been rudely shaped like the tree-trunks—images of gods—referred to by Lucan (*Pharsal.* iii. 412 ff.). Pillar-stones on graves are often mentioned in Irish texts, and these were apparently regarded as images of the dead. Other stones were also venerated in Ireland. The *plurima simulacra* of the Gaulish Mercury (Cæs. vi. 17) may have been boundary-stones like the Greek ἑρμαῖ, and evidence goes to show that the Gauls had a cult of such boundary-stones (Reinach, *RCel* xi. 224, xiii. 190). Hence *simulacra* may mean 'symbolic representations' rather than 'images.'

Bertrand (*RA* xv. 345) and Reinach (*RCel* xiii. 189) consider that the Gauls had no images, these being prohibited by the Druids, whom they regard as a pre-Celtic priesthood hostile to images (see DRUIDS). But there is some evidence for the existence of pre-Celtic images (*L'Anthrop.* v. 147), and no writer mentions Druidic hostility to image-worship. Among the Celts there were tree and animal images, and figures of divinities on pre-Roman coins (Blanchet, i. 152), while the insular Celts possessed images, though their priesthood was Druidic. The ready adoption of Roman images shows that no antagonism to images existed, and certain rude Gallo-Roman images—*e.g.* those of Cernunnos—have almost certainly been modelled on existing native types. The disappearance of such images would be accounted for if they were made of wood (cf. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* i. 112). The Galatian Celts worshipped images (Strabo, XII. ii.; Plutarch, *Virt. Mul.* 20), and the Gauls who conquered Rome bowed to the seated senators as to gods, as if they were accustomed to images (Livy, v. 41).

In Irish texts idols are often mentioned (Cormac, p. 94; Stokes, *Martyr. of Oengus*, p. 186; *RCel* xii. 427; *Ant. Laws*, i. 45; Joyce, *SH* 274 ff.). The idols of Cenn Cruaich and his satellites were carved and ornamented in human form (*LL* 213*b*; Stokes, *Trip. Life*, i. 90, 93), and such groups of images existed elsewhere (O'Curry, *MS Mat.* p. 284). 'Hand gods,' probably images used for divination, are also mentioned (Keating, *Hist.* 49). In Celtic Britain idolatry is often referred to in the *Lives* of saints (Aelred, *Vita S. Nin.* ch. 6; Jocelyn, *Vita S. Kentig.*, chs. 27, 32, 34), and Gildas speaks of 'images mouldering away within and without the deserted temples, with stiff and deformed features' (*Hist. Brit.* 4), though these may have been Romano-British. Numerous Romano-Celtic bas-reliefs and images in stone and bronze have been discovered, and in some of these the dress and symbols of divinity are purely Celtic. See also IMAGES (Celtic).

3. **Symbols.**—Gaulish images may be classified by means of their symbols—the mallet and cup (symbols of creative power and of plenty) borne by Dispater, the wheel of the sun-god, the cornucopia and torque carried by Cernunnos. Other symbols occur on images, altars, coins, etc.; but their meaning is doubtful, and in many instances they are not purely Celtic, but of world-wide occurrence. These include the *swastika* and *triskele* (perhaps sun-symbols), single or concentric circles (sometimes with rays), crosses, and a curious S figure. The circles and crosses are often incised on bronze

images of Dispater, the S occurs on coins, and nine of these S symbols hang from a ring carried by the god with the wheel. Various explanations of this figure have been given; the most probable is that which recognizes in it a thunderbolt (see Reinach, *BF* 33, 143, 150, 152, *Catalogue sommaire du Musée des ant. nat.*[4], Paris, 1905; *RA* xvi. 17; Flouest, *Deux stèles* (appendix), Paris, 1885; Blanchet, i. 17, 158, 169, 316).

For sacred numbers, see CALENDAR (Celtic).

4. The Priesthood.—The Celtic priesthood is fully discussed in the art. DRUIDS. See also § VIII. above.

XV. *MAGIC.*—Magic runs through the whole fabric of Celtic religion, and is ascribed to gods, to kings (possibly the old priest-kings), to Druids, and to unofficial persons; hence there is no reason to believe that the methods recorded are pre-Celtic or were borrowed by the Celts. The Druid is the *magus*, or magician, *par excellence*, and later folk-belief makes Druidism and magic one and the same. Though the magical craft of the Druids is more in evidence in the Irish texts than in classical references, there is no doubt that the Druids of Gaul were regarded as magicians. Magic is also freely ascribed to women, and 'the spells of women' were dreaded by pagan and by Christian missionary alike. In Irish texts the *filid*, or poets, also practise magic, and most of the magical acts of the Druids are attributed also to the Christian saints who combated them. Druidic magic included shape-shifting (ascribed also to women and goddesses), invisibility, producing a magic sleep, causing lunacy by means of a magic wisp (the Norse 'sending'), uttering satires, probably of the nature of a spell, which caused blotches and death (a practice also ascribed to the *filid*), and protecting an army by the *airbe Druad*, or 'Druid's hedge.' Still more absurd were the Druids' claims to power over the elements, which they asserted they had created. Such powers were often exercised by the Druids of rival hosts to destroy the opposing force. They brought down fire from the sky, caused snowstorms, mists, and floods, dried up wells, and practised the art of rain-making. All these and other feats, *e.g.* removal of barrenness, were supposed to be produced by spells, such as those which the *filid* had to learn (O'Curry, *MS Mat.* 240). Perhaps the verses which the Druids would not commit to writing (Cæsar, vi. 14) were also spells. Spells with a magical appeal to the name of pagan divinities were still used in Christian times, and form the earliest native documentary evidence (8th or 9th cent.) to the old religion (§ V. 4). Many spells are still used locally in Celtic regions, Divine or saintly names being substituted for those of the old gods. They are handed down orally, and are used especially for healing (for the posture assumed while repeating a spell, see § XIII. 5; and for agricultural magic, see FESTIVALS [Celtic], and § XIII. 1). In Celtic areas, customs of an erotico-magical nature connected with megaliths, sepulchral stones, and boulders are still practised, and we may trace in them the old idea that ghosts of the dead or Nature-spirits could grant fruitfulness, etc., to those who performed a due ritual. In other cases, rites for healing are performed in connexion with trees and holed dolmens. For fuller discussion of the subject of this section, see MAGIC (Celtic), and CHARMS AND AMULETS (Celtic).

XVI. *FUTURE LIFE.*—The Celts believed firmly in a bodily existence after death, the doctrine being taught by the Druids. But there were various aspects of this belief; and there is evidence of a theory that the soul tenanted a new body in another region, of a theory derived from distant ages that the body lived on in the grave, and of a theory of transmigration.

1. Classical evidence.—Cæsar (vi. 14, 19) says that 'the Druids taught that souls do not perish, but pass from one to another ("ab aliis . . . ad alios") after death,' while Diodorus (v. 28) and Valerius Maximus (ii. 6, 10) connect the Druidic doctrine of immortality with the teaching of Pythagoras. Though the passages are generally taken to mean that the Celts believed simply in transmigration, the Druidic doctrine shows no trace of the Pythagorean expiatory transmigration. The points of connexion were rather that a doctrine of immortality was taught by Pythagoras and the Druids, and that this immortality was of a bodily kind. Cæsar's passage may be a mistranslation of a Greek original, and need not refer to a transmigration doctrine. Had the passages referred to been intended to indicate such a doctrine, they would not have alluded as they do to debts being paid in the other world, or letters conveyed there by the dead, or human sacrifices to benefit the dead there—the victims being supposed to rejoin the dead man. The Druidic doctrine probably resembled the ancient Vedic idea that the soul received its old body complete and glorified in another region. Bodily existence in another region is mentioned by Lucan: 'regit idem spiritus artus orbe alio' (*Pharsal.* i. 456 f.). Timagenes (*ap.* Amm. Marc. xv. 9), Strabo (IV. iv.), and Mela (iii. 2) speak only of the immortality of the soul; but Mela's passage suggests bodily existence also, as it speaks of debts passed on to the next world.

2. Burial customs.—The profuse Celtic funeral *mobilier* and the evidence of human sacrifice at burials also suggest that the Celtic future life was life in the body (see E. F. von Sacken, *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, Vienna, 1868; *RCel* x. 234; *Antiquary*, xxxvii. 125; Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 1877; Blanchet, ii. 528; *L'Anthrop.* vi. 586). Irish texts describe the dead as buried with ornaments and weapons, ogham stones being set over the grave. Animals and, possibly, human victims were sacrificed. Wives of heroes desired to be buried at once with their husbands (*LU* 130*a*; O'Donovan, *Annals*, Dublin, 1848–51, i. 145, 180; Nutt-Meyer, i. 52; O'Curry, *MCAI* i. p. cccxxx; Leahy, i. 105; Campbell, *Pop. Tales of the W. Highlands*, iii. 62). Cæsar (vi. 19) says that all things dear to the dead man, even living animals, were consumed on the funeral pyre. Slaves and clients had formerly been consumed. Mela (iii. 2) also refers to those who of their own free will cast themselves on the pyre of their relatives, hoping to live along with them.

3. The Irish sagas.—Ghosts, in our sense of the word, do not exist in the sagas. The dead who return are fully clothed upon with a body, and the passages show that this corporeal life was independent of transmigration. Thus, when Cúchulainn returned at the command of St. Patrick,

'his hair was thick and black, . . . in his head his eyes gleamed swift and grey, . . . blacker than the side of a cooking-spit each of his two brows, . . . redder than ruby his lips.' His clothes and weapons are fully described, while his chariot and horses are equally corporeal (*LL* 245; cf. other instances in Nutt-Meyer, i. 49; E. Hull, p. 293).

This bodily existence of the dead is also suggested in Celtic versions of the 'Dead Debtor.' An animal, in whose shape the dead man helps his benefactor, is found in other versions, but in the Celtic group the dead man re-appears in his own corporeal form (Le Braz[2], i. p. xii; Campbell, ii. 12; Larminie, *W. Ir. Folk Tales*, 1893, p. 155; Hyde, *Beside the Fire*, 1891, pp. 21, 153).

4. The grave as the place of the dead.—Custom and belief show that early man believed that the dead lived on in the body in the grave. The belief often survives where quite different beliefs exist, and this seems to have been the case with the Celts. Their doctrine of bodily immortality may have been an extension of this belief, and their

under-world region of the dead an extension of the individual grave in its aspect as a dwelling of the dead man.

Oracles were sought at the graves of the dead, just as in Scandinavian belief the dead lived on in their barrows and spoke thence to the living (Tertull. *de Anima*, 51; E. Hull, *Pagan Ireland*, 1904, p. 142). Warriors were supposed to exert a sinister influence on their enemies from the grave. Existing customs in Celtic areas show connexion with the primitive belief, *e.g.* drawing the coffin nails, loosening the bindings of the corpse, or leaving the limbs free (Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies*, p. 156; Le Braz[2], i. 212; *FL* xiii. 60; Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1900, p. 341). The dead are believed to rise in the body on the night of All Saints. In Celtic folk-tales the grave is a house in which the dead live, and they emerge from it in the body and act as if still alive (Curtin, p. 156; Larminie, p. 31; Le Braz[2], i. 217, 313, ii. 146; *RCel* x. 214).

5. **The 'orbis alius.'**—If the Celtic *orbis alius* to which Lucan refers means 'another region' of the world rather than 'another world' (Reinach, *RCel* xxii. 447), that region was most probably underground, the conception being evolved from that of the dead living on in the grave; and, though Lucan says that souls do not go to the silent halls of Erebus and the pale kingdoms of Dis, he is contrasting the current Roman belief in a world of shades with the richer belief of the Celts in bodily immortality rather than contrasting localities. Cæsar undoubtedly found the Gauls believing in an under-world god who could be equated with Dis. Other classical observers speak of the dead Celts as *inferi*, or as going *ad Manes* (Val. Max. ii. 6, 10; Mela, iii. 2, 19), and Plutarch makes Camma speak of descending to her dead husband (*Virt. Mul.* 20). But, as the Celtic Dis, ruler of the under world, was apparently a god of fertility, and as the Celtic doctrine of immortality contained no dismal element, the region must have been one of exuberant life. From the subterranean world of the Celtic Dis men had come forth (§ XII.), and thither they returned. From it also proceeded the fruitfulness of all things rooted in the earth. It was a replica of the land of the living, but life there was fuller, freer, and immortal. To this the words of Lucan point (*Pharsal.* i. 457 f.): 'Death, if your lore be true, is but the centre of a long life.'

The *orbis alius* was not the Celtic Elysium (BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 5). The dead are never said to pass thither; only favoured mortals while still alive might do so. Some Celtic folk-lore, however, reported by Plutarch (*de Def. Orac.* 18), might suggest that certain of the mighty dead passed to an Island Elysium. Some islands near Britain were called after gods and heroes, and in one of them dwelt sacrosanct persons. They were visited by Demetrius, according to Plutarch, and he was told that certain storms were caused by the passing away of some of the 'mighty.' Perhaps such mighty ones went to these mysterious islands, but this is certainly not stated. In another island Kronos was imprisoned, watched by Briareus and attended by demons. Elsewhere (*de Fac. Lun.* 28) he repeats the story of Kronos, and says that this island is mild and fragrant, and that people live there waiting for the god, who sometimes appears to them and prevents their departing. They are happy in pursuing religious practices and in studying legends and philosophy. Plutarch has mingled the Celtic Elysium belief with what he knew of the Druids and perhaps of such islands as that of Sena (FESTIVALS [Celtic], § 4), while the reference to Kronos may be based on Celtic tales of heroes sleeping in hills or mounds, whence they will one day emerge to benefit their people.

If souls of the mighty went to an island (whether Elysian or not), or if some local belief in an island of the dead had come to be held by Celts living on the coast (as in local Breton folk-beliefs regarding the drowned [Le Braz[2], i. p. xxxix; Sébillot, ii. 149]), this would explain the story in Procopius (*de Bell. Goth.* iv. 20) of the shades being carried by fishermen to Brittia—perhaps a mingling of such a local belief with the idea that Ulysses' island of the Shades lay to the north or, as Claudian sang (*in Rufin.* i. 123 ff.), in the west. But this island, as described, differs both from the *orbis alius* and from Elysium. Survivals of the old belief in an underground region are still to be traced (Sébillot, i. 418).

6. **Transmigration.**—In the Irish sagas this is asserted only of divinities and heroes, but not generally in connexion with their death. But it may have been extended sometimes to mortals, since traces of it are found in folk-belief. The dead are represented as birds (*Voyage of Maelduin*, § 19; O'Curry, *MS Mat.* p. 78), or are supposed to appear in various animal forms. But this is generally asserted of the wicked or unbaptized, and it may be a totemistic survival, or is perhaps connected with the common belief that the soul has the appearance of a small animal (*FL* iv. 352; *FLJ* v. 189; *Choice Notes*, 1858, pp. 61, 69; Maury, *Croyances et légendes*, 1896, p. 272; Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 92; Le Braz[2], ii. 82, 86, 307). The evidence is hardly sufficient to show that transmigration was the vital Celtic doctrine of future existence (cf. Joyce, *SH* i. 300). See TRANSMIGRATION.

7. **Future retribution.**—Of this there is little evidence in Celtic paganism, and it is doubtful whether any difference was made between the virtuous and the wicked beyond the grave. In existing Irish and Breton folk-belief the dead are believed to suffer from cold, and mediæval Celtic accounts mention the terrors of cold as an aspect of hell (Curtin, 146; Le Braz[2], ii. 91); but there is hardly ground for connecting this with pagan belief. In the *Adventures of S. Columba's Clerics*, hell is reached by a bridge over a glen of fire; but this may be traced to Scandinavian sources (*RCel* xxvi. 153). It might, of course, be contended that the Christian doctrine of hell has absorbed a pagan belief in retribution, but there is no trace of such a belief in the sagas, or in classical notices of Celtic eschatology. The hope of future bliss made men die without a tremor (Cæsar, vi. 14; Lucan, *Pharsal.* i. 455 ff.).

For the Celtic Elysium, see BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Celtic).

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J. A. MacCulloch.

CENSORSHIP.—In the present article this term is used in the sense of the official examination and regulation of matter intended for publication or for the stage. It applies to newspapers, books, songs, and plays, and is not to be confounded with inspection of publications or plays after production, with possible prosecution if immorality or sedition be found. Censorship proper takes place *before* publication. It is a private function, though discharged by a public official. It may abort intended books or plays, and the public may never know—hence its peculiar dangers.

1. **Of the press.**—There were no official censors before the age of printing, but there were informal beginnings of the practice. Among the ancients, methods were rough and ready. Socrates was condemned for blasphemy and for corrupting the morals of youth, and the hemlock cup prohibited any further offence. Xenophon published his *Anabasis* anonymously because he was an exile, and therefore forbidden to speak or publish in Attica. Such facts show that authorities were jealous of authors even in those early days. In the Middle Ages writers were ecclesiastics chiefly. To show courtesy to their superiors, and to avoid the risk of later censure, they used to submit their work before it was multiplied. When printing had quickened the flow of books, and growing culture had widened the circle of authors, clerical influence was strongest in demanding censorship, in view of dangers to the tenets of the Church (see Index).

In England, after the Reformation, the control of the press was centred in the Crown, and was exercised through the Company of Stationers. But laxity crept in. Many books were not even registered. Hence the Long Parliament enforced censorship, in spite of Milton's protest in his *Areopagitica*, the classic on toleration of opinion. Milton had himself been censored: objection was taken to part of *Paradise Lost*, so that he spoke feelingly. The Restoration made censorship even more rigorous. But, in 1693, a century after Milton's plea, the statutes in question were cancelled. The Act of Toleration in 1689 made the abolition of censorship a logical necessity. Since then the press of Great Britain has been free. No one is prohibited from publishing anything, but everything published has to run the gauntlet of possible prosecution for slander, sedition, immorality, or blasphemy. To facilitate prosecution, if necessary, printers must keep one copy of everything they print, with the name of the person employing them, and all publications (some official documents excepted) must bear the name of their printers and publishers.

In Scotland, in 1646, it was enacted that no book treating of religion or of the Kirk should be printed without a licence from the General Assembly. If a book dealt with the kingdom, it had to be licensed by a judge or by a Secretary of State. Printers had to be licensed also. Since the Union, Scottish and English practice have coincided.

In India there was established in 1910 the nearest permanent approximation to a censorship that the Empire possesses. Money penalties are imposed on newspapers for sedition. A third offence involves forfeiture of the press. It was stated in the Indian Legislature that there was to be 'no censorship or antecedent restraint.' But, if its press be confiscated, there is some restraint on the issue of a newspaper. Control of the printer has always been a favourite mode of controlling publications. But this Indian censorship is not entirely private and Star-Chamber-like, for the public have the opportunity of judging a newspaper before its suppression. These special precautions may be justified by the unrest of the time.

The only undiluted censorship of the press surviving under British rule is that of war-news from the seat of operations. This is common to all countries, and has obvious strategic reasons. No news is allowed to pass unless certified by military censors—officers specially detailed for the duty.

European countries generally exercise close supervision over the press—more for political than for moral reasons. Russia is particularly active. There foreign literature is revised before delivery, on importation. Pages may be torn out, articles 'blacked,' or delivery refused. She is even more vigilant over her native press. Newspapers are very firmly ruled. Recent revolutionary riots in St. Petersburg were reported to Russian readers by smuggled foreign papers, the home press being perforce silent thereon. The historian Bilbassov is said to have written a history of the reign of Catherine I. The two volumes published were promptly suppressed, and the remaining ten volumes are still in MSS. Thus it is that important works are sometimes printed in France, and smuggled into Russia, as Bibles and tracts were into England in pre-Reformation times. France is less active, but she has had fits of supervision. Voltaire had some of his works burnt by the public executioner. He had to publish outside of Paris, and have his books run in surreptitiously for a time. Much the same can be said of Rousseau. Nowadays freedom is practically perfect. Germany censors public meetings and public prints alike. Till well into last century nothing was allowed to be published without preliminary approval, though booksellers could often supply customers they trusted with prohibited matter. Even to-day German opinion is less free in its expression than British, though more free than Russian.

An unofficial censorship of books was intimated in 1909 in this country by the Circulating Libraries Association, which announced that they would not circulate books that were 'personally scandalous, libellous, immoral, or otherwise disagreeable,' and asked publishers to submit doubtful books for approval, a week before publication. Authors have protested, and the scheme has been somewhat modified. But it is difficult to condemn such censorship. The evils of bad novels are patent. The drawbacks of an official censorship are not present here. The books are not suppressed, and critics will readily champion any which may be wrongly tabued.

Censorship is impracticable. Books are too many. The name of newspapers is legion, and their issues are prepared in hot haste, during the night. Preliminary inspection is absurdly impossible.

Censorship is inadvisable. History has shown that it may deprive a nation of its best leading and inspiration. No man or body of men is wise enough and tolerant enough to be entrusted with the power of controlling the expression of public opinion. The right of free speech is a bulwark of freedom and progress.

'Should ye set an oligarchy . . . over it [the press] to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by their bushel?' asks Milton indignantly of the Long Parliament. He adds: 'When God shakes a Kingdom with strong and healthful commotions to a general reforming, it is not untrue that many sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing; but yet more true it is, that God then raises to His own work men of rare abilities and more than common industry not only to look back and revise what hath been taught heretofore, but to gain further and go on some new enlightened steps in the discovery of truth.' He relies on the survival of the fittest in this sphere. 'Let her [Truth] and Falsehood grapple: who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?' (*Areopagitica*).

But this assertion of freedom is without prejudice to the right and duty of careful inspection of what is thus freely published. There is clamant need for prompter and more strenuous effort to check the stream of corruption that would mingle with the river of publications. Some wholesome, if disagreeable, scavenging would sweeten literature.

Frequent offences occur in reports of divorce cases, and some would have such reports prohibited. Yet Lord Justice Bingham, President of the Divorce Division, giving evidence in a Parliamentary inquiry in 1910, defended them as a strong deterrent from immorality. Perhaps all that can be safely required is that judges should extend the practice of taking the grosser evidence *in camera*.

2. Of the stage.—Greek drama, which flourished four or five centuries B.C., almost certainly had a censorship from the nature of the case. Theatres were great State-institutions, as their magnificent ruins show. These would be closed to plays unless approved. There was also indirect censorship, in that plays were commonly entered in public competition for prizes. The judges would practically be censors. Plays that did not conform to their ideas or prejudices would not gain prizes, and probably would suffer in their chance of performance. It is an illuminative fact that what is perhaps Aristophanes' best play, *The Birds*, was in competition placed second to one by an almost unknown writer. It is on record, too, that Æschylus and Aristophanes, the fathers of tragedy and comedy respectively, were both prosecuted for offences against the dominant orthodoxy and politics of their times—offences, that is, in their plays. Censorship of the more modern stage, like that of the press, had an ecclesiastical origin. For that stage itself was ecclesiastical at first. Miracle and Passion plays were naturally subject to the Church. When religious drama was dying, the theatre began to be somewhat free in its criticism of the Church, and to deal with politics. Hence regulation was called for. In England the Master of Revels, the Privy Council, the Star Chamber, and the Lord Chamberlain have been successively the authorities in charge. The last named was doing the work as early as 1628, and in 1727 was statutorily entrusted with it. The then Lord Chamberlain swore in an Examiner of Plays, which office has existed continuously till now.

It was Jeremy Collier who, in 1697, by his *Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage*, established censorship permanently. Wycherly, Congreve, and Dryden were specially attacked. The last of these confessed the justice of the indictment, and retracted all of his works 'which can truly be argued of obscenity, profaneness, or immorality.'

The stage is the only institution which is regularly censored. 'The preservation of good manners, decorum, or of the public peace' is the stated object in view. Every new play or addition to an old play must be submitted to the Examiner seven days before performance, and, if licence be withheld, must not be performed, under a penalty of £50, and possible forfeiture of the theatre licence. This is the law in Great Britain. There is no censorship in Ireland. In the United States no general censor supervises the drama; but local authorities, with differing powers, are entrusted with the duty of forbidding the representation of plays hurtful to morality.

In 1909 a Parliamentary Select Committee sat on the subject, and reported that almost all the dramatists of the day desired freedom from censorship, or, at least, a court of appeal. They held that suppression of plays was an excessive use of executive power, and that prosecution of producers of improper plays was a sufficient safeguard. On the other hand, theatre-managers gave evidence that they desired censorship to continue. They feared that uncensored plays might bring disrepute on the whole stage. They also feared the vagaries of local authorities, if prosecution were relied on. The actors agreed with the managers. The Committee further reported that, in its own opinion, the laws that punish indecency, libel, and sedition were insufficient for the case, nor was it fair that theatre-managers should have to make expensive preparations for plays, without such an assurance as preliminary licence gave. Censorship should continue. But secret censorship, not subject to public opinion, was in danger of becoming conventional and partial. Therefore it should not continue to have the power of veto, and it should be allowable to present a play even though the licence had been refused. But the producers should be exposed to the risk of prosecution. Even licensed plays should involve that risk, with this difference, that, on conviction for indecency or libel, they should only be prohibited, while unlicensed plays, conviction being secured, should incur not only prohibition, but penalties for the author and the theatre-manager. Possibly legislative endorsement may be given to these proposals.

Stage censorship is more practicable than that of books or newspapers. Plays are limited in number, and it has been possible hitherto for one man to read and pass judgment upon them all, in Great Britain, *i.e.* upon all that are sent to the Examiner through theatre authorities. He does not receive plays from aspiring writers directly.

Censorship is also needful for the protection of those who enact the parts, and of the audiences. There have been bad plays, even with the censorship, and the Examiner testifies that he has refused to pass many, and has required pruning of more. Freedom from preliminary scrutiny would mean, for some theatres, a descent into the abyss. In many districts local authorities would be very slow to prosecute without some stimulus, no matter what the character of the plays. That a doubtful play should have attention drawn to it by the refusal of a licence, and so be subject to special vigilance, is the minimum of protection consistent with public safety.

For Roman Catholic censorship, see INDEX.

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CENTAUR.—'Centaur' is the name given in Greek mythology to a monster usually represented as having the upper part (to the waist) of a man and the body and legs of a horse. This definition must not be taken as exhaustive; the characteristic centaur form appears in Babylonian art of about the 11th cent. B.C. as the sign of Sagittarius (Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, iii. 604);[1] and, on the other hand, it is by no means certain that the early Greeks imagined the creatures they called centaurs to have this shape. Homer (*Il.* i. 268, ii. 743) calls them simply Φῆρες (a Thessalian form for θῆρες, 'wild beasts'); and the development of the centaur in Greek art seems to imply a gradual evolution rather than the borrowing of a ready-made type.

The centaurs in Greek legend are of two kinds. To the one belong Chiron, who is called by Homer (*Il.* xi. 832) δικαιότατος Κενταύρων, and who acted as teacher and guardian to heroes such as Achilles and Jason in his cave on Mt. Pelion in Thessaly, and Pholus, who entertained Herakles on Mt. Pholoë, between Elis and Arcadia; to the other, the wild and lawless monsters who laid violent hands on women, hurled trees and rocks, and were conquered or destroyed by Herakles or the Lapithæ. The two chief occasions of Herakles' exploits against them were when Nessus, who was carrying Deianeira over the river Evenos, laid hands on her and was slain by the arrows of the hero, and when the other centaurs, attracted by the odour of the jar of wine that Pholus had opened, invaded his cave and were driven off by Herakles. Both are favourite subjects in art, as is also the great battle between the Lapithæ and the centaurs, in which the chief heroes are Theseus and Pirithous; and the most characteristic incident is the overwhelming of the invulnerable Cæneus with pine trees and rocks, the usual weapons of the centaurs.

Many varying accounts are given in local legends as to the origin of the centaurs. According to one version, they were the offspring of Ixion and a cloud (Νεφέλη) substituted for Hera; another account made them arise from the seed fallen from Zeus in his passion for Aphrodite; and, according to others, their mother had or took the form of a mare. Chiron was said to be the son of Kronos and Philyra (the poplar); and Pholus, of Silenus and one of the Μελίαι (ash-nymphs). The names of centaurs generally suggest mountains or trees (*e.g.* Πετραῖος, Οὔρειος, Δρύαλος, Πευκεύς).

Few questions have been more disputed among mythologists than the origin and interpretation of the myth of the centaurs. Many suggestions have been made as to the etymology of their name, but none is satisfactory; the connexion with the Sanskrit *Gandharvas* (on whom see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythol.*, Strassburg, 1897, pp. 136–138, and the references there given) is now discredited, since the two classes of being agree neither in name nor in characteristics. By some the centaurs have been thought to be personifications of natural phenomena, such as winds or mountain-torrents; but such personification is alien to primitive myth. They should probably be rather regarded, with Mannhardt (*Ant. Wald- und Feldkulte*, ii. 102), 'as spirits of the forest or mountain, to whose action these phenomena are assigned.' They are thus in many ways analogous to the Sileni and Satyrs, whom they resemble in their love of wine and their unbridled passions. The rationalistic explanation of the centaurs as horsemen who appear to be one with their horses may apply to the Oriental archer, but seems inconsistent with the history of the form in Greece.

The earliest representations of centaurs in Greek art usually show them in completely human shape, with the body and hind legs of a horse attached to their backs. Later on they take the more familiar form which we see, for example, in the metopes of the Parthenon. The battle of Greeks and centaurs came, with the ethical tendency of myth, to be regarded as a symbol of the triumph of skill over brute force and of civilization over barbarism, and therefore as typical of the great victory of Hellene over Oriental. In later art, centaurs were a favourite subject of playful mythological genre, such as the centaur family by Zeuxis, or the centaurs with Erotes or Mænads of Græco-Roman art.

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E. A. GARDNER.

[1] According to late Hindu tradition, the Naras, created, along with other semi-divine beings by Brahmā, also possess human bodies with horses' limbs, as contrasted with the Kinnaras, who have horses' heads and human figures; but it would be idle to connect these Naras, who are among the musicians of Kuvera's court (*Mahābhārata*, II. x. 14), either with the centaurs or, in view of their late origin, with Babylonian mythology.

CENTRAL AFRICA.—See NYANJA TRIBES.

CENTRAL AMERICA.—Central America, as we understand it, begins on the isthmus of Tehuantepec. To the west of it lay the countries subject to the sway of the Mexican kings. The prominent feature of the regions east of the isthmus is the compact mass of nations belonging to the great Maya linguistic stock. The particular traits of Mexican culture may be recognized to a certain degree also among the less civilized nations, settled, formerly as well as now, together with or close to the Mexican tribes in the countries west of the isthmus region. The Mayas of Central America had to deal in their very home with Mexican intruders. But Maya culture, Maya art, and—it would seem—Maya mythical and religious conceptions prevailed throughout that vast region, down to Honduras and the primeval forests of eastern Nicaragua and Costa Rica, where other more primitive nations of South American stock were in contact with the highly civilized Central American tribes. We know very little about the religion of those semi-civilized inhabitants of the isthmus of Panama, of Costa Rica, and of eastern Nicaragua. Central American religion is for us the religion of the Maya tribes.

1. Religious practices.—The general character of Central American religion was the same as that of the Mexican tribes. The rites and ceremonies practised answered a double purpose: they were intended (1) to fit one to approach the supernatural beings, and (2) to secure from the gods, by a kind of magic process, the things one needs at any given moment.

Ceremonial ablution was the favourite method of securing the former aim. In Mexico and Central America it was regularly connected with the penances, mortifications, blood-lettings, of which we shall presently speak. In Mexico there was a more particular use of ceremonial ablution in the case of a new-born child. In Central America, that is to say, in Yucatan, sprinkling with holy water ('virgin-water,' *i.e.* rain-water) and washing the forehead, the cheeks, and the hands and feet were resorted to in the ceremony of the *em-ku*, 'descent of the Divinity,' when the youths of both sexes were deprived of the baubles distinctive of childhood, and admitted into the fellowship of the tribe.

In a more general way, fasting was considered indispensable for fitting oneself to enter into communion with the Divinity. In Central America, as well as in Mexico and in most parts of the American continent, it consisted in abstaining from the usual seasoning—salt and red pepper—and from sexual intercourse.

Penance, mortification, and blood-letting exhibit the most prominent feature of Mexican and Central American religious practice. Incisions were made in the rim of the ear; the tongue was pierced, and sticks, sometimes attached to a string, were drawn through the hole made in it; the muscles of the arms and legs were pricked by thorns. In some countries, at certain ceremonies, the penis was pierced in the same manner, and a string was drawn through the holes so as to connect the whole company. The motive that led to such practices was, without doubt, to get rid of sin and to be qualified thereby to approach God.

For the same reason, confession played a great part in the religious practices of these people. In Central America it was considered the indispensable expedient if one was to escape from an imminent danger. A physician, called to attend a person suffering from mortal disease, commenced the treatment by confessing him. And down to this day the inhabitants of the tropical woodlands of Guatemala and Honduras, when they meet a jaguar, instead of attacking him, fall down on their knees and begin to enumerate their sins, saying: 'Do not kill me, I committed such and such sin.' It is obvious that this behaviour originates in the idea that confession cleanses from sin and thus relieves from death, the punishment of sin. For the same reason, in Central America, as well as, *e.g.*, in ancient Peru, confession was the regular preliminary to a religious observance. It fitted men for approach to God.

What confession was for the individual, the rite called by Landa *echar al demonio* ('expelling the demon') was for the community. It was the regular preliminary to every public ceremony in Yucatan. Within a sacred enclosure, where all who were to take part in the ceremony stood, the head-priest presented an incense-offering, praying over it, and then a man carried the offering, together with the censer, out of the village, flung it away, and returned without looking back.

Incense was the regular offering. Copal, beeswax, rubber, and maize-flour were burned as incense. The censers are described as dishes or bowls, or as footed vases with perforated sides and fantastical faces on the rim. The latter form is still used by the Lacandons, a branch of the Maya family, who succeeded in remaining free from Spanish domination and from Christianity, and in conserving their ancient pagan rites. It is a curious fact that the censers are regarded by the Lacandons as representing their gods. In an ancient report on the manners and customs of the Indians of Valladolid (Yucatan), the name of 'idols' is applied to the vases that served for incense-burning. Tozzer infers that the Lacandon view was the original one; but we know that real idols, carved from red cedar-wood, were in general use throughout Yucatan and the neighbouring countries, and the excavations have brought to light a number of clay idols of most variegated form and artistic design.

Besides incense, all kinds of food were offered to the gods—maize, the blood of turkeys, and various animals. A distinction was made according to the cardinal point where the god to whom the offering was presented was thought to reside; turkey being offered to the eastern, deer to the northern, iguana to the western, fish to the southern, gods. A particular and important class of sacrifices was that of dogs. It has been maintained that this dog-sacrifice was only a substitute for human sacrifice, but the present writer thinks that another explanation must be given. The dog played an important part in the mythical conceptions of the Central American tribes. He represented to them the fire that falls from heaven—lightning, thunder-storm, and the like; he was a kind of rain-god and a bringer of food. Presenting a dog to the gods was certainly meant as a magic rite to attract rain and to produce food. Human sacrifice also existed in Central America, but was by no means so regular and so frequent as, *e.g.*, in Mexico.

For all these practices there were professional adepts or priests, called *ah kin* ('fortune-teller') or *ah buc tzotz* ('with tangled hair'), who served as mediators between the common people and the gods. They were assisted in the execution of the ceremonies by four aged men called *ohac*, who were elected by the people. Particular priestly offices were that of the 'singer' (*kayom*), that of the 'slayer' (*nacom*), and that of the interpreter of the Divine oracles (*ohilam* or *ahbobat*), and there were recognized sorcerers, called *ah cunal than*, *ah ez*, *ah pul yaah*, and *naual*.

2. Gods.—There has been much dispute as to the origin of gods. We shall not enter upon this tangled question, but, judging from what we learn from primitive peoples, it may be said that the gods of primitive peoples are, practically, personifications of natural bodies or physical agents; hence the established polytheism throughout the world.

In the pantheon of Central America, Mexico, and other parts of the continent, the first place was occupied by the heavenly bodies—the sun, the moon, and the stars, especially the morning-star, and the evening-star. The sun-god was called in Yucatan *Kin-ich ahau* ('Lord of the face of the sun'). He was interpreted or symbolized as an *arara*, or identified with this bird, and thence derived the name *Kin-ich Kak-mó* ('the fire-bird, the *arara*'). His temples stood on the north side of the central court, and he presided over the years that were considered to belong to the direction of the north.

The moon-god was supposed to be an old man, the father of the gods and of men. He represented the death and the regeneration of Nature, and he was said to resuscitate the dead. His name was *Itzamná* or *Itzmatul*, interpreted by the words the god himself uttered when he lived among men: *Itz en caan, itz en muyal*, 'I am the dew of the heaven, I am the dew of the clouds.' His temple stood on the west side of the central court, and he was the ruler of the western years.

The stars were regarded as the souls of the dead, and it seems that the Milky Way, or the direction south-north, was assigned them. We do not know the names of these star-divinities, but their images are well marked, and are often to be found in the figured and hieroglyphic manuscripts. The direction of the south seems to be ascribed to them, particularly to *Hozan-ek*, the evening-star, or—as a substitute for them—to the god of death.

The rain god or thunder-god, called *Ch'ac*, *Hu'tz-Ch'ac* or *Pap'ol-Ch'ac* ('lightning, the cutter, the opener of the pouch'), or *Ah bolon tz'acab* ('Lord of the nine generations [or medicines]'), is the fourth of the four great Divine powers, and is assigned to the direction of the east. He is distinguished by a curious elongated nose. His image is exceedingly common in the manuscripts as well as on the walls of the temples and on other sculptural monuments.

Another god, whose image occurs very frequently on the pages of the Mayan manuscripts, is obviously a personification of the maize plant. He is associ-

ated with another young god, and is, in some places, found acting as a substitute or representative of Itzamná.

A god called *Ekchuah* ('black scorpion') is mentioned by Landa, and described as the god of merchants and of cacao-planters. A black god, represented in the manuscripts in two very different forms, both distinguished by a scorpion-tail, must be identified with the *Ekchuah* of Landa.

There were also female deities: *Ix ch'el*, the goddess of medicine; *Ix chebel yax*, identified by the priest Hernandez with the Virgin Mary, and others.

Special gods, called *Bacab*, were the upholders of the heavens in the four quarters of the world; and the heavenly gods, in opposition to those of the under world, were known as the *oxlahun ti ku* ('the thirteen gods') as contrasted with the *bolon ti ku* ('the nine gods'), according to the supposed number of the heavens and of the under worlds.

The two creator-gods, called *K'u-cumatz* ('feathered snake') and *Hurakan* ('one-legged'), the prominent figures in the cosmogonic myths of the *Popol Vuh* (the Quiché saga-book), are not indigenous Central American conceptions, but are borrowed forms of the famous Mexican gods *Quetzalcoatl* and *Tezcatlipoca*. In Yucatan, *Kukulcan* corresponds to the Quiché *K'u-cumatz* and the Mexican *Quetzalcoatl*. He is described as a culture-hero, a founder of cities, and he represents the period when Mexican colonists had control over the greater part of the Yucatan peninsula.

Some other personages named in the Quiché saga-book deserve special mention, as they obviously are of indigenous creation, e.g. *Vukub Cakix*, the great macaw; the *arara*, acting as a sun- and moon-god of pre-historic times; his sons *Cipacna* and *Cabrakan*, the gods of the earthquakes; and, finally, the twin heroes, the ball-players *Hunahpu* and *Xbalanque*, who descend to the under world, defeat its rulers, and, in acknowledgment of their victory, are transformed into the sun and moon.

The popular Quiché god was *Tohil*, the thunder-god; the national gods of the Cakchiquels were the *Chay-abah* ('the obsidian stone') and the bat-god, also called (apparently) *Nicah ta'kah* ('centre of the valley'). At the present day the Kekchi inhabitants of the mountainous district of Alta Vera Paz (Guatemala), without derogating from their Christianity, worship the sun (called by them *Xbalamke*), the moon (called *Po*, the female consort of the sun), the lightning (called *K'aa'k*), and a number of other deities (generally called *Tzultaka'*, 'mountain and valley,' and identified with certain remarkable or grandiose natural objects—high summits, mountain-passes, precipitous rocks, dangerous river-passages, thermal waters, caves, lonely trees, and the like).

3. Calendar and annual religious festivals.—The public ceremonies celebrated by a tribe in the course of a year are generally connected with the work that is necessary in the different seasons, and, in the case of an agricultural people, with the different stages of field-labour. The number of performances depends on the religious activity of the tribe, and, in part, on their calendar. Men are generally in the habit of dividing the year according to the revolutions of the moon. It is a peculiarity of the Mexican and Central American tribes that the partitions of the year were made in conformity with their numeral system, that is to say, by periods of twenty days. The year is in this way divided into eighteen sections of twenty days each (usually called months by the Spanish historians) and five supplementary days. The latter were called by the Mexicans *nemontemi* ('unfit for work'), and by the Mayas *xma kaba kin* ('days without names'; for further details, see art. CALENDAR [Mexican and Mayan]). The Mexicans had celebrations in each of the eighteen periods of twenty days, but they avoided any ceremony, and generally abstained from any important work, during the five supplementary days. The Mayas were more moderate in celebrating festivals in the course of the year, but they devoted the five supplementary days to a series of very important ceremonies. In accordance with their custom of expelling evil and averting bad omens before entering on a ceremony or beginning any important work, they sought also to avert misfortune and bad luck before beginning the new year: and the five supplementary days, the *xma kaba kin*, were devoted to these particular ceremonies.

On a day of the so-called month *Ch'en* or *Yax* (=January), by appointment of the priests, the Mayas celebrated the *oc-na* ceremony, the renovation of the temple. They cast away and broke their clay-idols and censers, repaired and re-painted their temples, and at the same time 'examined the signs (prognostics) of the gods of the four cardinal points,' that is to say, they undertook, by elaborate ceremonies, to drive out the evil that was to occur in the new year, according to the quarter of the world by which the new year in question was considered to be governed. From the great central square, in each of the ancient Mayan towns, there started four roads running more or less directly to the gates by which the enclosure was interrupted at the four cardinal points. There were heaps of stone raised on the outside of each of the gates. In the five days preceding the year that was to be governed by the divinities of the east, they set up an idol called *uayayab* on the stone-heap at the outside of the southern gate; and in the house of the cacique, in the midst of the town, was placed another idol representing the god who ruled the east. Then they took the *uayayab*-idol from the stone-heap at the southern gate, mounted it on the top of a pole, and placed it opposite the idol of the ruler of the east, in the house of the cacique. They honoured it with a variety of offerings, and at the end of the five days took it to the eastern gate and cast it out of the town. In the same way, in the five days preceding the year that was to be governed by the divinities of the north, they set up the *uayayab* on the stone-heap at the eastern gate, brought it to the house of the cacique in the midst of the town, and cast it outside the town at the northern gate. And so in the five days preceding the other two years.

A great annual ceremony, called *tupp-k'a'k* ('extinguishing the fire'), took place at the vernal equinox, in the so-called month *Mac*, just before the beginning of the rains. A great pile of wood was heaped up and set on fire; animals of every kind were sacrificed and thrown into the fire; and finally, the priests, by pouring water out of jars, extinguished the flames. It is distinctly stated that this was performed for the purpose of getting abundant rain for the crops. The performance concluded with the erection of a miniature effigy of a stepped pyramid and anointing the upper steps with the sacred blue colour.

A second great annual ceremony was celebrated in the month called *Pax*, corresponding to the second half of our month of May—the time when the sun, in its shifting to the north, comes to stay in the zenith over Yucatan. The festival was called *Pacum Chac*, and the god worshipped in it was the war-god *Cit chac coh*. Five days before the ceremony, the chiefs of the different villages assembled in the temple of the war-god in the principal town. They fasted and kept awake all these five days, war-dances were performed, and the war-chief (*nacon*) was conducted in procession through the town. The feast itself consisted in a

fire-ceremony similar to that of the month *Mac*, but it was followed by the solemn sacrifice of a dog—the representative of the thunder-god (see above)—and the breaking of jars filled with wine, imitating and producing, as was certainly believed, the pouring down of the much-desired rain.

The third great annual ceremony was held in the so-called month of *Pop*, the second half of our July, when the sun, in its return to the south, came to stay in the zenith over Yucatan. This feast was, at the time of the conquest, regarded as the beginning of the year. Consequently, the principal ceremony was the kindling of new fire and a solemn incense-burning. For this feast they renewed all their household-utensils—plates, bowls, jars, stools, and the wrappings of their idols—throwing to the dust-yard those that had formerly been used.

In the months following this feast, the different social classes performed a consecration of their professional instruments by anointing them with the sacred blue colour (the colour of water and rain). First came the priests; then the sorcerers and the physicians; next the hunters and fishermen; finally the artisans and other working men.

The fourth great annual feast was the *Chickaban*, held in the town of Mani, in honour of the god *Kukulcan*, in the so-called month of *Xul*, corresponding to our October and November. The chiefs of the whole country assembled in the town of Mani, and a standard of costly feather-work, presented in one year by one town, in the next by another, was set up on the temple of Kukulcan. The chiefs placed their particular idols in the courtyard of the temple on a bed of leaves, and passed the five days preceding the feast in fasting, keeping awake, and worshipping their idols, and in religious dances. The feast itself consisted in a solemn offering, and the god was believed to come down from heaven to receive the objects and the service presented to him.

Other feasts of minor importance were celebrated at different seasons in honour of *Ekchuah*, the god of merchants and cacao-planters, *Hobnil*, the tutelary god of bee-hives, and *Acanum*, the god of hunters; and in the different towns and villages in honour of *Chac*, the rain-god, to whom was ascribed the growth of the maize crops and of other vegetables.

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CENTRAL ASIA.

See TURKESTAN.

CENTRAL INDIA.

1. Geography and ethnology.—'Central India' is the official designation of a group of Native States in India forming a straggling and incompact area, which lies between 21° 22′ and 26° 52′ north latitude, and 74° and 83° east longitude. It includes 132 States, while, in addition, sixteen chiefs belonging to it now possess no territory, but receive cash revenues paid by other chiefs, under the guarantee of the Government of India. Central India has a total area of 78,772 sq. miles, and its population in 1901 was 8,628,781.

Political relations with the Government of India are supervised by an Agent to the Governor-General, subordinate to whom are seven officers in charge of the Presidencies of Gwalior and Indore, and the Political Agencies of Baghelkhand, Bundelkhand, Bhopal, Bhopāwar, Indore, and Mālwā. The principal chiefs are the Maharajas (Hindu) of Gwalior, Indore, Rewah, Orchha, Datia, Panna, Chhatarpur, and Charkhāri, the Rāja (Hindu) of Dhār, the Begam (Muhammadan) of Bhopāl, and the Nawāb (Muhammadan) of Jaora. Gwalior, the largest State, has an area of 25,041 sq. miles, and a population of 2,933,001; while Rewah has an area of 13,000 sq. miles, and a population of 1,327,385. No other State attains an area of 10,000 sq. miles or a population of a million.

As a political unit, Central India is entirely a creation of British rule, and its physical features and population both present great diversities. Near the southern border flows the Narbadā river, from east to west, in a broad valley between two ranges known as the Sātpurās and the Vindhyas. North of the latter lies an extensive plateau, with an area of 34,000 sq. miles, including the tract known as Mālwā. East and north-east of the main plateau is a low-lying area of about 18,000 sq. miles, in which are situated Bundelkhand and part of Baghelkhand. The remainder of Central India, about 26,000 sq. miles, comprises the hilly tracts in the Vindhyas and Sātpurās and their offshoots. The inhabitants of the plateau and of the plain alike live chiefly by cultivation, but differ in physical appearance, those of the low-lying tracts being shorter and more thickset than their neighbours to the west. In the hills are found hunting tribes such as Bhils, Gonds, and Korkūs, with whom agriculture is a secondary occupation. Western Hindi is spoken by 4½ millions, and Eastern Hindi by 1½ millions, chiefly in the plains; various dialects of Rājasthāni by 1½ millions in the plateau, and Bhil dialects by ½ million.

2. History.—Early Sanskrit literature assigns most of Central India, as defined above, to the dark-skinned aboriginals; but in the 4th and 3rd cents. B.C. the Mauryas claimed jurisdiction over it, and Aśoka was viceroy at Ujjain. A fragment of an edict issued by him when he had become emperor, and had been converted to Buddhism, has been found at Sānchī, in the Bhopāl State, where a magnificent *stūpa*, with ornamented gateways and railing, is still standing. When the empire of the Mauryas broke up, Brāhmanism again revived among the Aryan settlers, and spread to some extent among the jungle tribes. It is worthy of note that the only known inscription on stone mentioning the Indo-Greek rulers of the Panjab, which was found recently near the town of Bhilsa, in the Gwalior State, records the erection of a pillar in honour of Garuḍa, the emblem of Viṣṇu.

From the fragmentary historical records of early times, Central India appears to have been penetrated by the Sakas about the 2nd cent. B.C., while some of the jungle tribes held their own against the Guptas in the 4th cent. A.D. In the 5th and 6th cents. began the dominance of Rājput communities of Gūrjara origin in this part of India, though their full conversion to Hinduism may date from three or four centuries later. At the end of the 10th cent., when Muhammadan invasions began, they were supreme, but divided into clans which carried on constant wars with each other. During the early Muhammadan period, the country suffered from fierce raids by the invaders, gradually paving the way for more complete subjection to protect the route from Delhi to Southern India, which lay through this tract. As the central power at Delhi waned, an independent dynasty rose to power in Mālwa (A.D. 1401 to 1531), but yielded at last to the neighbouring king of Gujarāt. Early in his reign Akbar incorporated the whole of Central India in his empire. At the death of Aurangzib, when the Mughals, like their predecessors, found themselves no longer able to retain their vast possessions, the Hindus again regained independence. From 1743 may be dated the beginning of Marāthā rule, which gradually spread over the whole tract, though fierce resistance was offered by the Bundelas in the east. Throughout the latter part of the 18th cent., Marāthā, Muhammadan, and British fought with each other, till the last prevailed. At the beginning of last century a policy of non-intervention was enjoined by the Directors of the East India Company, with evil results to the wretched populace of Central India, who suffered from the constant quarrels of their rulers. Under Lord Hastings, however, the Marathas and the bands of freebooters, who had not only laid waste Central India, but had also raided adjacent British territory, were rapidly and effectively subdued. To Sir John Malcolm (1818–1821) is due the settlement under which the States of Central India took their present form. Apart from a brief war in Gwalior in 1843, and the Mutiny of 1857–59, Central India has since enjoyed peace.

3. Castes and religion.—Caste (*q.v.*) and religion are the two striking characteristics of the people of India.

(*a*) To obtain a view of *caste* in this area it is necessary to consider separately the natural divisions of the country. In the plateau the Brāhmans come of the same stock as those in the neighbouring parts of Rājputāna, such as the Mālwi, the Nimārī, and Srīgaur. Those dwelling in the plains are akin to those of the United Provinces, such as the Jijhotia. Over the whole area Brāhmans form 13 per cent of the Hindu population, and constitute the strongest single caste. The Rājputs or Kṣatriyas are fewer in number. Those who live in the plateau are chiefly offshoots of the great clans of Rājputāna proper, and maintain marriage connexions with them; but in the plains are found local groups, such as Bundelās, Dhandheras, and Ponwārs or Parmārs, with whom the recognized Rājputs do not intermarry. The Marāthās now advance a claim to be considered Rājputs, and similar pretensions are advanced by the Bhilāla Bhūmiās in the hilly tracts, who afford an example of the absorption of aboriginal tribes by Hinduism. No peculiarity has been noticed among the Baniās, or trading castes, who belong to classes well known in Northern India. A considerable proportion are Mārwārīs from Rājputāna. By religion the Baniās are Hindus and Jains, but many professing Jains also reverence Hindu deities. As in the case of the two leading castes, the difference between the plateau and the plain is strongly marked among the lower castes. Thus, in the former, Gūjars, Mālīs, and Kunbīs are most important, while in the latter are found Ahīrs, Gadariās, Kāchhīs, and Lodhīs. The chief hill tribes are the Arakhs, Bharuds, Bhīls, Bhilālas, Gonds, Kirārs, Kols, Korkūs, Kotwāls, Mīnas, Patlias, and Seherias.

(*b*) It is difficult to classify a population including such heterogeneous items by *religion*. The vast majority profess to be Hindus, but among the jungle tribes inhabiting the hilly tracts the distinction between Hinduism and Animism is hard to trace, and, indeed, the same may be said of the lower castes elsewhere. At the Census of 1901, as a rough guide, all members of the twelve hill tribes already named were classified as Animists. On this basis, Hindus numbered seven millions, and Animists one million; but, according to the census schedules, about two-thirds of the latter described themselves as Hindus. Central India thus presents a most interesting variety of religious belief—from the pantheism, which may be taken as the highest form of Hinduism, among educated people to the elementary Nature- and spirit-worship practised by the shy tribes dwelling in the jungles on the slopes of the Sātpurās and Vindhyas.

An examination of the sects returned by Hindus shows, as elsewhere in India, that only a comparatively small proportion of the people really know to what sect they belong. About a million declared themselves to be Smārth. More than two and a half millions expressed their special reverence of Viṣṇu in one form or another, but few could state the particular Vaiṣṇava sect to which they belonged, such as Kabīrpanthi (125,000) or Rāmanandi (156,000). Those who professed to reverence Devi (975,000) or Sakti (759,000) must be taken as including not only the worshippers of female counterparts of the recognized gods, but also many whose deity is a local goddess or a special goddess of disease. Altogether about 650 sects or deities were returned by Hindus. Most rivers and many lakes or ponds are held sacred. Chief among these is the Narbadā, giving its name to the Narmdeo Brāhmans, who form the special priests at shrines on its banks. It is held so pure that the Ganges is believed to come annually, in the form of a black cow, to be cleansed from sin in its sacred waters, returning white and purified. Its source near Amarkantak in the Rewah State, and Barwāni, are the most sacred spots on its course in Central India. One legend ascribes the origin of the Narbadā and the Son, which also rises at Amarkantak, to two tears dropped by Brahmā. The Sipra, a river of Mālwā, said to have sprung from the blood of Visnu, and believed to flow with milk at times, is sacred throughout its course. To the Bhīls and Kolis, dwellers in the wilds, no river is so holy as the Māhi, which they regard as their mother.

Altars to the snake-gods are found in nearly every village. Generally a low platform built round a snake's hole suffices, but sometimes a small shrine is built. Snakes are worshipped chiefly by women, in connexion with the bearing of children, but in Bundelkhand they are invoked to cure gout and rheumatism. Among the Bhīls and Bhilālas the python is especially reverenced. Tree-worship presents no peculiarities compared with other parts of India, but a number of trees are reverenced by particular sections of the animistic tribes. Hero-worship is common, and fresh subjects are still acquiring their places in the pantheon.

As an example may be mentioned Hardaur or Hardol Lāla, whose worship is especially popular in Bundelkhand. He was the brother of the Rāja of Orchha, early in the 17th cent., and was poisoned by the latter in consequence of an unfounded belief that he had been unduly intimate with the Rāja's wife.

As many as 38,000 people returned themselves as *pret-pūjak*, or worshippers of spirits, to whom offerings are commonly made at the foot of a tree supposed to be haunted by the spirit. Among the jungle tribes, spirit-worship is pre-eminent. Goats and cocks are offered at the *devasthān*, or god-place, where wooden benches are provided for the gods to sit on. The Bhīls worship Bāba-deo, or the Father-god, in particular, but did not always return this name at the census. As is usual throughout India, disease has its gods and goddesses, chiefly the latter, and natural objects such as the sun and moon receive adoration. While orthodox Hinduism and the many lower forms of belief claim adherents among most of the population, the modern theistic sects, such as the Brāhma Samāj (*q.v.*) and Ārya Samāj (*q.v.*), have only a few hundred followers.

Other religions are not numerically important. Musalmāns in 1901 numbered 529,000, most of whom (450,000) were Sunnīs, while Shi'ites included 50,000. They are proportionately most numerous on the plateau, in Mālwā, Indore, and Bhopāl. Contact with Hinduism, or, in the case of converts and their descendants, imperfect assimilation of the strict tenets of Islām, has caused a great development of hero-worship. Shrines of saints reverenced by Muhammadans, sometimes in common with Hindus, are found in all parts.

The Jains (113,000) are chiefly of the Digambara sect (55,000), worshipping a naked image, and most of the remainder (35,000) are Svetāmbaras, though Dhundias and Terapanthis are also found.

Christians are very few in number (8114), and less than half of the total (3715) are Indian. The chief Mission is the Canadian Presbyterian, with headquarters at Indore. The St. John's mission at Mhow, the Friends' mission at Indore, the Society of Friends of Ohio at Nowgong, the Hansley Bird and Pandita Rāma Bai's missions at Nīmach, and Roman Catholic missions at various places are also at work. Most of the converts are obtained among aboriginal tribes, low castes, or orphans picked up in time of famine. A few Sikhs (chiefly soldiers), Parsis, and Jews were also recorded.

4. Sacred places.—Central India contains a number of places celebrated in the history of

religion, or for their religious buildings. Ujjain, anciently known as Avanti, is one of the most sacred Hindu cities in India, and is believed to be the place where the elbow of Satī fell when her body was dismembered by Siva. It is also notable as the first meridian of Hindu geographers, and was known to Ptolemy as Ozene. Vikramāditya, the patron of Indian literature, reigned here, but his exact identification is still a subject of controversy. The group of Buddhist remains round Bhilsa, dating from the 3rd cent. B.C., has already been referred to. Besides *stūpas*, the remains of a *chaitya*, or Buddhist church, exist near Sānchī, and are of special interest as presenting the only known example of a building of this description, other *chaityas* being rock-cut constructions. Of the latter, examples are found dating from the 6th and the 12th centuries. Early Hindu and Jain temples are common in many parts, but the series from the 8th and the 15th cents. are the most numerous. They excel in beauty and proportions the later buildings of the 16th and 17th cents., when the influence of Muhammadan architecture had caused deterioration. Khajraho in the Chhatarpur State may be specially mentioned for its magnificent Hindu and Jain temples, dating chiefly between 950 and 1050 A.D.

The earliest mosque of known date, which stands near Sehore, in the Bhopāl State, was built about 1332, but others of an early date and of striking grandeur are found at Māndu and at Dhār. Their style of architecture shows that, though designed by Muhammadans, they were built by Hindu workmen. In many cases their pillars were taken from Hindu temples.

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CENTRAL PROVINCES.—*Introductory.*—The Central Provinces of India cover an area of 113,281 sq. miles in the centre of the Indian peninsula, and comprise a large portion of the broad belt of hill and plateau country which separates the plains of Hindustān from the Deccan. They are administered by a Chief Commissioner, and have a population of eleven million persons; but in these statistics Berār, which since 1903 is also under the jurisdiction of the Chief Commissioner, and for most purposes of administration has been amalgamated with the Central Provinces, is not included. Being held on perpetual lease from the Nizām of Hyderābād, the Berār Districts are not, strictly speaking, a part of British India. But the distinction tends to become more and more nominal, and the two Provinces are gradually being amalgamated into a single unit of government. If the population of Berār be added to that of the Central Provinces, the combined total is nearly fourteen million persons, and the area 131,000 sq. miles. The religion of Berār (*q.v.*) forms the subject of a separate article.

The territory comprised in the Central Provinces has many aspects of interest. It was for long a comparatively unknown country to the Hindus, and was held principally by petty kings or chiefs (*rājas* and *zamīndārs*) of the non-Aryan or aboriginal tribes, designated by Risley as 'Dravidian.' Of these the principal are the Gonds (*q.v.*), numbering about two million persons, whose kings in former times ruled over the greater part of the Province: while other and older tribes are the Baigās (*q.v.*) and Kurkūs (*q.v.*). From the 16th cent. the open country in the north of the Province, comprised in the Vindhyan plateau and Narbadā valley, has been peopled by emigrants from the plains of Hindustān; while in the 18th the Nāgpur plain, lying along the south of the Sātpura hills, and, farther to the east, the valley of the Wainganga, were conquered and settled by Marātha freebooters from Bombay. The Marātha kingdom of Nāgpur under the Bhonsla dynasty existed for about a century, and lapsed to the British, owing to failure of heirs, in 1853; and eight years later it was constituted, with the already acquired Saugor and Narbada territories to the north, into the new Central Provinces of British India. The population of the Province is thus of very diverse ethnical constitution. Owing to the large numbers of the primitive Dravidian tribes, and the backward state of even the Hindu residents as compared with the older civilizations of Hindustan, Bombay, and Madras to the north and south, the tract is one of considerable ethnological interest. In the religion of the people, rustic superstitions and the cult of the agricultural divinities of the soil and crops overshadow the orthodox observances of Hinduism. In the present article an attempt has been made to collect some of these, and to make of them, so far as is possible, a consecutive narrative. The village deities which are here described are represented, as a rule, only by a small platform of earth and a white flag tied to a post, which indicates the site from a little distance. Only the most important, as Siva or Mahādeo, and Hanumān, have small stone shrines, provided perhaps by the generosity of some childless cultivator, who leaves a small sum of money for a temple and a plot of land to endow it. The village deities are in charge of a special priest, usually a member of one of the lower castes or primitive tribes, who makes offerings to them all two or three times a year on the principal festivals, the materials being subscribed by the villagers. On other occasions they are worshipped only by those who have some special end to gain, or some evil from which they desire to be delivered.

1. Village deities.—(1) *Siva or Mahādeo.*—Siva is the favourite deity of the great Hindu triad, but is almost universally known in the country as Mahādeo, or 'the great god,' his proper name being scarcely heard. He is revered generally as the chief or principal of the village deities, and is represented by a circular slab of stone, with a groove cut on its surface, and the *linga*, or phallic emblem, raised in the centre. A representation of his sacred animal, the bull Nandī, is usually placed before him. He is worshipped on Mondays, as being the god of the moon, which he carries on his forehead.[1] No animal sacrifices are made to him, but the trifoliate leaves of the *bel* (*Ægle marmelos*), his sacred tree, as well as rice, sandalpaste, and flowers, may be offered by the more devout, while the ordinary worshipper simply pours a pot of water over his stone and sprinkles a few grains of rice upon it. In summer an earthen vessel full of water is sometimes supported on a tripod over the phallic stone, and a small hole is made in the bottom and covered with cloth, so that the water may drip through it on to the god, and keep him cool. Or a Brahman may be hired, by subscription of the villagers, to pour water over the stone continuously for a month or more. If the rains fail, the stone representing Mahādeo is sometimes kept immersed in a pot of water, and the people believe that this will bring rain, according to the principle of sympathetic magic.

The *bel* tree is connected with Mahadeo by a story that on one occasion a hunter was pursued by wild beasts and took refuge in this tree, beneath which there happened to be a shrine to the god. The hunter stayed awake in the tree all night, and was so terrified that his trembling shook off the dew from the foliage and caused it to fall on the shrine of the god beneath, together with some of the flowers and leaves of the tree. This involuntary

[1] The second day of the week is named after the moon in India as in Europe, being called Somwār, from *soma*, the moon. As lord of the moon, Siva or Mahadeo has the title of Somnāth.

act of worship was very pleasing to the god, and he ordained that the hunter, though of low caste and impure as a killer of animals, should attain to *Kailās*, or Paradise; and the hunter, on dying immediately afterwards, was transported thither. In memory of this, votaries of Mahādeo stay awake and fast all night on the full moon of the month of Phāgun, which is known as Śivrātri, or Śiva's night. The original veneration of the tree probably arose from the tripartite shape of its leaves, resembling the clover; and the story lends some colour to the hypothesis that Śiva may have been, in some aspects at any rate, a deity of the primitive tribes, personified from the tree. His close association with the bull suggests another origin of his apotheosis. In the Marāthā country, Śiva is worshipped in his incarnation of Khaṇḍoba, accompanied by or riding on a dog; Khaṇḍoba is a legendary hero who is supposed to have led the Marāthās against the Muhammadans. It was in his honour that women formerly swung themselves from a post by iron hooks fastened into their flesh, after naming a petition to his priest; and men dragged along a loaded cart by a hook planted in their bodies (Kitts, *Berār Census Report*, 1881, p. 44).

(2) *Devī, the consort of Śiva.*—Devī, the consort of Śiva or Mahādeo, is a deity of Protean nature, venerated under several aspects. The word *devī* simply means 'goddess,' so that she is commonly spoken of as 'the goddess' *par excellence*, just as Śiva, her husband, is called Mahādeo, or 'the great god.' Elsewhere she is best known as the terrible Kāli ('the black one'), the devourer of human flesh, represented with a void in place of a stomach, to show that her hunger can never be glutted. But here she is commonly of more beneficent mien, and is often the tutelary goddess of the village. Sometimes she appears to be one with the earth itself, or to be regarded as the Divine Mother, like Isis of Egypt. She is represented frequently by an iron prong with three points fixed in the ground, and, when possessed by the goddess, her votaries will thrust this prong through their tongue or cheeks. Clothes are offered to her at weddings, and people make an image of her in the form of a woman, and hang it round the necks of children to keep them from harm. Another name of the goddess is Dūrga, and she is said to be so called because her shrines are difficult of access, perched above steep ascents, or buried at the extremities of precipitous glens or in hidden caves at the sources of streams. It has been said that the Brāhmans know well how to call in the help of nature for the provision of a *mise en scène* calculated to impress the minds of votaries arriving at the shrine of the deity; but it seems more probable that the Hindu god or goddess has in such cases merely succeeded to the veneration formerly paid to the spirits by which these wild spots were believed to be tenanted. And no doubt the sanctity already attaching to the place determined its selection for the shrine of the new divinity.

In some cases also Devī takes the form of the well-known rag-deity, being known as Chitarhai Devī, 'the goddess of rags.' People give her a bit of old rag, hanging it on to a thorny tree, in the hope that in return for it they will obtain a new cloth. They say, 'O Devī, we give you our old cloth; give us a new one.' In other localities, however, the rag-deity is not associated with Devī, but is known as the Rag-uncle. Again, Devī has local titles by which she is specially worshipped, as the Vindhyabāsini Devī, or the goddess of the Vindhyan Hills, just as the Greek deities were associated with special places. Probably here also she has taken over the attributes of some anterior and more animistic deity. Some castes have a special veneration for a particular shrine of the goddess at their ancestral home, and will go hundreds of miles to worship at it. In this case they, no doubt, make a distinction between the goddess in this particular place and her manifestations elsewhere. Again, a miracle is performed at some one of her temples, it acquires a special fame, and pilgrims come from a long distance to worship at it.

(3) *Cholera and smallpox deities.*—Sometimes Devī is said to be not one, but seven sisters, recalling the seven Hāthors of Egypt. The seven Devīs are considered to preside over different diseases, but only two of them, Marhai Devī, the goddess of cholera, and Śītalā Devī, the goddess of smallpox, are commonly known and worshipped. When cholera breaks out, an earthen pot with wine, glass bangles, a cloth containing the image of the goddess in vermilion, a rupee, and some cakes and incense are offered to the goddess, and are then taken outside the village and left at a place where three roads meet. It is held that the offering of all kinds of property which the goddess values will cause her to spare the village and pass on elsewhere. The people also believe that, if any one takes up these articles, the disease will pass to him, and the sufferers in the village will get well. If a cow or she-buffalo passes them, she will become barren, or, if she is in milk, it will dry up. The vessel and other things are called the *nikāsi*, or 'averters,' and, if any one meets the priest at the time he is taking them out to the cross-roads, it is believed that he will die at once. Another device is to let loose a scape-goat, and drive it to the next village to carry the disease with it.

When a person has smallpox, he is believed to be possessed by Śītalā Devī. The house in which he lives is therefore held sacred, and any one who comes into it must take off his shoes and wash his feet, as if entering a sacred place. A Brāhman must not come in at all, as it is thought that his presence would cause the goddess to manifest herself more strongly and make the sufferer worse. A woman in her menstrual period must not enter the house, as it is believed that, if she sees the patient, he will get cataract in his eyes. Fire is kept continually burning on the earthen cooking-stove, and a lighted lamp is placed beside the patient, and must be fed with vegetable, not with mineral, oil. A branch of the *nīm* tree, or Indian lilac (*Melia indica*), which is sacred to Śītalā, is hung over the door to show that there is smallpox in the house. Every word that the patient utters is considered to emanate from the goddess, and whatever kind of food or drink she demands through his mouth must be supplied (E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk-Tales*, p. 32). The father and the mother of the patient practise various rules of abstinence, and make vows for the propitiation of the goddess if the patient should recover, more especially if it is a child. The mother will vow to walk to Śītalā's shrine carrying a brazier of lighted coals on her head, or to cover the whole distance stretching her body length by length along the ground, or to distribute in charity a quantity of sugar or dates equivalent to the weight of the child. A vow made by one father was to wear no turban until the child should have worshipped the goddess, and to perform the distance of the last four fields to her shrine in a series of somersaults (Forbes, *Rās Mālā, or Annals of Gujarat*, ii. 326 f.). If the child gets well, a cradle and a blank sheet of paper are offered to the goddess, with various kinds of food, the offering of the paper being made possibly with the idea that the child's face should be free from marks. If the disease attacks the eyes of a child, the mother offers a pair of silver eyes to the goddess in order to save them. In the Hindu scriptures Śītalā is described as 'naked, seated on a donkey, wearing a broken winnowing-fan on her head, with the pad of a water-vessel in one hand and a besom in the other, and as being of the Chaṇḍāl (sweeper) caste' (Forbes, *loc. cit.*). She is, therefore, though feared and venerated above most deities owing to her power for harm, considered as, in a manner, despicable.

(4) *Hanumān, the monkey-god.*—Hanumān, the deified ape, is the favourite deity in the Marāthā districts. His principal attribute is strength, and he is considered to be the son of Añjani, or the wind, whence he is termed *Māroti*, after the Marūts, or Vedic gods of the wind. His image is usually represented carved in half-relief on a stone slab inside a small alcove, and coloured with vermilion to represent blood. He is half monkey and half man, having a monkey's tail and head; while he carries a mountain in one hand and a staff in the other, and sometimes has a slain demon beneath his feet. He always looks towards the south, because he went that way to Ceylon to help Rāma against the demons. He is worshipped on Tuesdays and Saturdays, his power being invoked on the latter day to counteract the evil influences of the planet Saturn. A wreath of the flowers of the cotton-tree is offered to him, and incense of resin and sandalwood is burnt before his shrine. Hanumān is often the tutelary deity of the village, and, when a new one is to be founded, his image must be installed on the site and worshipped before the building of houses is begun.

(5) *Dūlha Deo, the young bridegroom.*—A favourite household deity is Dūlha Deo, the spirit of a young bridegroom who was carried off by a tiger on his way to his wedding. When a marriage is celebrated, a miniature coat, a pair of shoes, and a bridal crown are offered to Dūlha Deo, and sometimes also the model of a swing on which the child may amuse himself. Inside the house Dūlha Deo is represented by a date and a nut tied up in a small piece of cloth and hung on a peg in the wall. When worship is to be performed, the date and nut are taken down and set on a platform, and offerings of food and other articles are laid before the deity on leaf-plates. On the occasion of a marriage, or the birth of a first child, or in every third year, a goat is offered to Dūlha Deo.

The animal is brought before the platform, rice is given to it, its forehead is marked with red ochre, water is poured over it, and as soon as it shivers it is killed. The body is then cooked and eaten entire inside the house; and after the meal the skin, bones, and all other remains of the animal, with the leaf-plates which have held the food, are buried in a pit dug inside the room, and the water with which the eaters wash their hands is also thrown into the pit. The idea is that the whole body of the sacrificial animal must be consumed, and no fragment lost, which might, owing to the holy or tabued character imparted to it by consecration, do an injury to anybody regarding it as ordinary food.

In former times, as is shown by Jevons (*Introd. to Hist. of Rel.*[3], 1904, p. 144), the animal—skin, bones, and all—was consumed by the worshippers; but, this custom having become repugnant to the nicer stomach of civilized man, the burial of the remains is adopted as a substitute. The people also say that nothing which has been put into the sacrificial pit must on any account be taken out: and that, on one occasion, a child of the household having fallen by accident into the pit, the parents were debarred by their piety from rescuing it, and covered over the hole, leaving the child inside; but their zeal was rewarded, for, when the pit was opened for the next sacrifice, the child was found in it alive and playing.

2. **Deified human beings.**—The spirits of many heroic personages, legendary or real, are also revered, of which it will suffice to give one or two as specimens. A favourite deity in the north of the Province is Hardaur Lāla, a young Rājpūt prince, who was falsely suspected of loving his brother's wife, and was poisoned in consequence by his jealous brother. It is related that, when he died, his horses and dogs died with him. After he was burnt, a post was put up to mark the place, and when his sister, mourning for him, came and put her arms round it, the post split apart to show that he knew her. His ghost continued to wander unappeased until he was deified and worshipped. Clay horses are offered to him at marriages, and he is supposed to be able to keep off rain and storms during the ceremony. Another godling is Bhilat, a deified cowherd, who as a boy was stolen by the god Mahādeo, and brought up at his shrine in the Pachmarhi Hills. Various miracles, of no special interest, are related of him, and his disciples are believed to have the power of curing snake-bite with the long sticks which they carry. It is noticeable that many deified mortals are of the caste of Ahīrs, or cowherds; and Dait, or the spirit of some indefinite deified Ahīr, is a common village godling. These men, owing to the long days spent in motionless solitude as they watch their cattle, are much inclined to reverie and to the belief in unseen voices and supernatural visions—leading, in the case of those most affected, to the claim of Divine possession, and, when this is recognized, to the somewhat easily obtained honour of canonization after death. The fact that the Ahīrs tend the sacred cow may also have something to do with their character for piety.

3. **Worship of ancestors.**—The spirits of deceased ancestors are widely venerated. In the bardic chronicles the ordinary manner of recording a Rājpūt chief's death is to say that he became a *deo* (god), like the Roman emperors. In many villages the spirit of Māl Bāba, some former headman of strong personality, is included among the local deities. The famous Badhak dacoits were accustomed to revere the spirit of the most successful robber in the annals of their community, to invoke his aid before setting out on any fresh enterprise of plunder, and to take the omens in his name. The Banjāras, or carriers on pack-bullocks, who also added highway robbery and cattle-reiving to their legitimate calling, worshipped Mīthu Bhūkia, a renowned freebooter of past times. In each hamlet a hut was set apart for him, with a white flagstaff before it; on the return from a successful robbery, a share of the spoil was allotted to him, and, after food and liquor had been offered before his flagstaff, Mīthu Bhūkia's share was expended in a feast to the community. Among Hindus generally, the fortnight of the waning moon in the month of Kunwār (September) is allotted to the veneration of ancestors, being known as *Pitripaks*, or 'the Fathers' Fortnight.' During this time offerings of food and water are made to the ancestors of the family on the same day in the fortnight as that on which they died in any other period of the year;[1] while the spirits of all female ancestors receive offerings on the ninth day.

According to one account, the Brāhmans think that the spirits of their deceased ancestors dwell on the under side of the moon; but the common people suppose them to be incarnate in crows, so that food is given to these birds as a propitiation to their spirits. Members of the agricultural Kunbi caste are especially assiduous in feeding the crows with this end in view; and, when the Kunbi throws out food and no crows come to eat it, he thinks it is because his ancestors are displeased with him, and that the fare he has offered is not acceptable; so he goes on trying one dainty after another, until at length a crow appears and picks up the food. Then he thinks he has found out what his ancestors like best to eat, and offers this annually until a similar *contretemps* of the absence of crows again occurs.

The Koshtis, or silk-weavers, have another method. On one evening in the *Pitripaks* fortnight a man will invite his caste-fellows to a meal. On this occasion the host stands in the doorway of the house with a pounding-pestle, and as each guest comes up he bars his entrance and says, 'Are you one of my ancestors? This feast is for my ancestors.' To this the guest will reply, 'Yes, I am your great-grandfather; take away the pestle.' By this symbolism the resourceful Koshti is able to combine the entertainment of his friends with the difficult filial duty of feeding the spirits of his ancestors.

In some localities the Gonds make a little brass image of a dead relative and keep it with the household gods. If the family remains undivided, these relics naturally accumulate, and opportunity is taken of the death of some revered ancestor to bury the majority of them with him. A special veneration must be paid to those who have died a violent or sudden death (Frazer, *Psyche's Task*, 1909, p. 61 f.), for it is held that the ghosts of such men, owing to their sharp and untimely severance from

[1] The Hindus number the days from one to fifteen in each fortnight of the lunar month separately.

life, have a grudge against the living, and haunt them in the shape of *bhūts*, or evil spirits.

Thus the primitive tribes think that the spirit of a man who has been killed by a tiger will sit on the head of the tiger and guide him to any lonely or belated wayfarer in the forest; and that he will call to such persons in a human voice so that they, proceeding in the direction from which the voice has come, may fall into the tiger's jaws. Accordingly, among the cultivators of the Waingangā valley, when a man has been killed by a tiger (*bāgh*), he is deified and worshipped as Bāgh Deo. A hut is made in the yard of the house, and an image of a tiger is placed inside and venerated on the anniversary of the man's death. The members of the household also will not afterwards kill a tiger, as they consider the animal to have become a member of the family. A man who is bitten by a cobra (*nāga*) and dies is similarly worshipped as Nāg Deo. The image of a snake made of silver or iron is venerated, and the family will not kill a snake. If a man is killed by some other animal, or by drowning, or by a fall from a tree, his spirit is worshipped as Ban Deo, or the forest-god, with similar rites, being represented by a little lump of rice and red lead. If the corpses of such persons are recovered, they are buried and not cremated, and the bodies of victims to cholera and smallpox are disposed of in the same manner; because it is thought that their spirits will thus, to a certain extent, be imprisoned in the grave and impeded from wandering about their old haunts. The spirit of a woman who dies in childbirth, or between the birth and the performance of the sixth day ceremony of purification, becomes a *churel*; her feet are turned backwards, she casts no shadow, and she follows and worries any woman who comes near the place where she sits. When such a woman dies, a nail is sometimes driven through her head to prevent her ghost from rising and walking.

4. Deified animals and natural objects.—From the host of minor deities of the hills, forests, fields, and rivers, a few selections may be given. *Banjāra Deo*, named after the Banjāra pack-carriers, lives in the forest, and travellers appeal to him to protect them from the attacks of wild beasts. He is represented by a heap of stones by the roadside at the entrance of the forest, and every traveller makes his supplication by adding a stone to the heap. But, now that carriage is principally by carts, the cartmen have a separate deity whose business it is to see that their wheels run smoothly. His name is *Ongan Pat*, or the oil-god. He lives in a hollow tree at the bottom of hills, and the cartmen pour into his hole a little of the oil with which they grease their axles, so that their carts may reach the top of the hill without breaking down. *Dongar Pat* (*dongar*, a hill) is the hill-godling who prevents earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, and keeps off frost. There is often some hill in the neighbourhood, on which, as the people tell, a light appears at times during the night and burns for half an hour; this is a manifestation of Dongar Pat. *Maswāsi Pat* is the god of hunting, and hunters make an offering to him before setting out on expeditions. He is supposed to influence a certain part of the forest, and will bring game into it in view of the hunter if he is in a benignant mood. *Asrā* is the goddess of water, and lives near rivers. The milk of a cow or buffalo is offered to her for the first three days after calving, as, if this is not done, she will drink the milk, and the animal will become barren. *Kurm Pat* is the god of bees, and it is said that in former times warriors worshipped him in the hope that he would make the wild bees fly in the faces of their enemies. But now those who collect honey from the combs of the wild bees worship Kurm Pat before setting out to their work, in order that he may save them from being stung. *Anjan Deo* is the forest-god in the Nimār District, and his name is taken from the *anjan* tree (*Hardwickia binata*), which grows in abundance in that locality. Those who go to cut timber offer a coco-nut to Anjan Deo, in order that their fellings may be successful and their carts may not break down on the way back. *Sāmbhar Deo* is the godling who controls the wild animals of the forest; he is the deified *sāmbhar* stag (*Cervus unicolor*), and is worshipped by those whose fields are near the forest, in order that he may prevent the wild animals from damaging their crops. The old forts built with walls of stone or earth, which are found in many villages, are a relic of the stormy period of the Pindari robber raids of a century back, when the villagers fled to them for protection, with their property and cattle, at a moment's notice, on the news of the approach of these marauders. One of the towers of such a fort is usually believed to be inhabited by a *pīr*, or the spirit of a Muhammadan saint, who acts as its guardian angel. He is worshipped by the proprietor of the village, who burns incense before him on Thursdays, and sometimes keeps a lighted lamp at his shrine for an hour or two every day. The *pīr* is a jealous personage, and, if neglected, he will cause stones to fall down inside the house, or make the milk go sour, in order to recall his indolent worshipper to a sense of his duty. *Rakat Soka* is the godling who is the enemy of children, drinking their blood, and making them grow weak and waste away without visible cause. Vows are made to him for the recovery of the child, and, if it does recover, he is worshipped with great ceremony, the child being brought before him while the *hom*, or fire-sacrifice, is performed, and an offering made to the accompaniment of musical instruments. A very curious deity is *Chhappan Deo*, who is worshipped by a man when his wife has run away. Chhappan, or 'Fifty-six,' is taken to represent the largest number of places to which she may have gone, and he prays that she may not have fled to any of these, but to her mother's house. *Bhūlan Bāba* ('Father forgetting,' from *bhūlna*, 'to forget,' and *bāba*, 'father') is the godling who makes people forget things and leave them lying where they have halted by the way. Offerings are made to him when the lost articles are found.

5. Worship of caste implements.—In addition to the numerous deities who superintend almost every action or relation of life, members of each caste venerate the implements with which they ply their trade or earn their livelihood. Instances of this custom have been collected by Nesfield (*Brief View of the Caste System*):

'The boating and fishing castes sacrifice a goat to every new boat before it is put into the water, and at the time of the Diwāli [the feast of lamps, marking the commencement of the Hindu commercial year, and falling in November] they make an annual offering of vermilion, flowers, and sweetmeats to every boat they possess. Similarly all the pastoral castes pay a kind of worship to their animals by rubbing red ochre on their tails, horns, and foreheads; this is done on the annual festivals of Diwāli, Holi,[1] and Nāgpanchami.[2] The agricultural castes pay worship to the plough on the day called Akti, when the monsoon sets in and the work of cultivation is renewed. The Barai, or grower of the betel-vine, pays homage to the vine in October, before he begins to pick the leaf; and in July, before planting the new crop, he does homage to the ground prepared for the purpose. On the great annual festival of the Dasahra, which is especially sacred to Rājpūts, all men of this caste worship their weapons of war—the sword, shield, matchlock, and bow and arrow—and the animals used in war—the horse and the elephant. Artisan castes worship the tools by which they practise their respective crafts, chiefly on the Holi. The Basor ("basket-maker") worships the knife with which he splits the bamboo and cane; the Chamār ("tanner") worships the *rāmpi*, or currier's knife; the Bunkar or Kori ("weaver"), the apparatus with which cloth is woven; the Teli ("oilman"), his oil press; the Kalār ("liquor-seller"), an earthen jar filled with wine; and the Kumhār, his potter's wheel. Artisan castes of higher rank worship their various tools on the Diwāli festival, which to the more respectable castes marks the opening of the new year: the Rangrez ("dyer") reveres a jar filled with dye; the Halwai, or confectioner, does honour to his oven by placing against it a lamp lighted with melted butter. The trading castes invariably bring out their rupees and account-books on the Diwāli festival, and worship them as the implements of their trade. The Kayasth, or writer caste, does homage to the pen and ink.'

6. Spirits of trees and plants.—Not less are trees and plants considered to be sentient and the abodes of spirits. A common superstition is the belief that trees must not be struck at night lest the sleep of the tree-spirit may be disturbed. The

[1] The Holi is the Hindu Saturnalia, or Carnival, falling in February at the end of their calendar year.

[2] The festival for the worship of snakes, especially the cobra. Wrestling is held on this day, because the movements of the wrestler resemble the convolutions of a snake.

Hindus clean their teeth with a *dātan*, or tooth stick, consisting of a twig taken from any tree; but, if they break the first twig, it is considered wrong to take another, because it is equivalent to destroying two lives. With some people it is the custom before climbing a tree to pray for its pardon for the rough usage to which it is to be subjected. If a mango tree withers for a time and then grows again, it is considered that the tree-spirit has been absent on a pilgrimage. When a mango grove is planted, every tree has to be married to a twig of jasmine. The spirits of Brahman boys who die unmarried are supposed to take up their residence in the sacred *pīpal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*), and it is believed that the spirit of the tree has thus the power of making barren women fertile, the custom being that such a woman, having taken off her clothes, shall walk round the tree at night a certain number of times.

7. **Totemism.**—While the belief in the universal existence of spirits, which is termed Animism, is still widely prevalent, the cognate superstition of totemism is now traceable only in a decaying form. The majority of the castes and tribes in the Central Provinces are divided into a number of exogamous septs or clans, governed by the rule that a man and woman of the same clan may not marry. These clans are very frequently named after animals and plants from which at one time the members of the clan considered themselves to be descended, this being one of the essential ideas of the primitive belief known as totemism. But this idea has now been either forgotten or abandoned, and except in a few instances can no longer be considered as a working force. In many cases the members of a clan named after some animal will abstain from killing it or eating its flesh, while those named after a tree will not cut it down or use the wood. The more backward tribes, if they come across the dead body of one of their totem animals, will bathe and wash their clothes, and throw away an earthen pot, as if they had been rendered impure by the death of a relative. At marriages an image or drawing of the totem animal or plant is sometimes made and worshipped, and a portion of the *meher*, or sacrificial marriage-cake, which is partaken of only by relatives of the family, may be given to the live animal or left at its hole or den. Members of the primitive Bhaina tribe must be tatued with representations of their totem before marriage, as a proof that they are proper members of their respective clans. But the more interesting developments of totemism recorded among the aboriginal Australians and the American Indians can no longer be observed in the Central Provinces.

8. **Agricultural rites and superstitions.**—Nearly four-fifths of the population live by the land, and, as might be expected, the operations of agriculture are attended with an elaborate religious ritual, some details of which will form a suitable conclusion to this article.

Before sowing begins, an auspicious day, known as *mahūrat*, must be fixed by a Brahman, who also declares what kind of rice should first be sown, what is an auspicious letter or syllable for the commencement of the sower's name, and what colour the bullock should be which is first yoked (C. E. Low, *Balaghat District Gazetteer*, p. 83). If the tenant does not possess a bullock of the colour prescribed, he will get over this by applying to the forehead of his own bullocks a mark of the required colour. Monday and Friday are generally considered lucky days for the commencement of sowing, and Tuesday and Saturday unlucky days. In the wheat districts the completion of sowing is celebrated by the *Machhandrī Pūja*, or worship of Mother Earth—a ceremony meant to invoke fertility.

At the edge of one of his fields, the cultivator puts up a little circular or triangular wall of clods, which is meant to represent a hut. This is covered over with green grass as if it were thatched, and represents the temple of Mother Earth. Inside it a little fire is made, and milk is set to boil in a tiny earthen pot, which is allowed to boil over as a sign of abundance. While this is going on, the ploughmen, who are all collected in the field, drive their ploughs at a trot, shrieking wildly. The cultivator meanwhile offers a little rice, sugar, and vermilion to Machhandri, and then makes two tiny holes in the ground to represent *bandās*, or granaries, drops in a few grains of wheat, and covers them over. This is a symbol of prayer that his granary may be filled from the produce of the land. The bullocks are then let go, and the ploughmen rush off at top speed across country, scattering wheat boiled whole as a sign of abundance. In some localities the first seed should be sown by a pregnant woman, and no barren woman or widow is permitted to enter the field (C. A. Elliott, *Hoshangabad Settlement Report*, p. 125).

In the rice districts the oldest man in the house sometimes cuts the first five sheaves of the crop, and they are left in the field for the birds to eat. At the end of harvest the last one or two sheaves are left standing in the field, and any one who likes can cut and carry them away. In some localities the last sheaves are known as *Barhona*, or the giver of increase. When all the rest is cut, the labourers rush together at this last patch of corn and tear it up by the roots; everybody seizes as much as he can and keeps it, the master having no share in it. Elsewhere they throw the corn into the air, shouting out the name of their favourite deity. It is then made into a sheaf, stuck on a bamboo, placed in the last harvest cart, and driven home in triumph. It is afterwards bound to a tree beside the threshing-floor or in the cattle-shed, where its services are essential in averting the evil eye. The underlying idea in this is that the last handful of corn contains the corn-spirit, and when it is cut he flies away or his life is extinguished. The same belief prevails in many parts of the world, as recorded by Frazer (*GB*[2] ii. 171 ff.).

In the wheat districts, when the earth of the threshing-floor has been beaten hard and surrounded by a strong fence, the god of the threshing-floor is placed within, in the shape of a stone daubed with vermilion. A pot of water from a sacred stream is also set here to scare away evil spirits. During threshing-time, if any beggar comes to the ground, he must be given some grain to propitiate him, or he will cast the evil eye on the crop. In the rice districts, on the conclusion of a day's threshing, the cultivator rubs a wisp of straw on the forehead of each bullock, and pulls a hair from its tail, and the hairs and straw, made into a bundle, are tied to the pole of the threshing-floor. The cultivator prays: 'O God of Plenty, enter here full and go out empty.' Before leaving the threshing-floor for the night, he draws circles on the ground, round the pole of the threshing-floor and the heap of grain, with the ashes of burnt straw. Outside the circles he makes representations of the sun, the moon, a lion, and a monkey, or of a cart and a pair of bullocks. Next morning before sunrise the ashes are swept away by waving a winnowing-fan over them. The meaning of this process is that the face of the threshing-floor is disfigured by the black marks in order that the evil eye may be averted from it, exactly as women place lampblack on their eyes for the same purpose.

Winnowing in the wheat districts is a very solemn and important operation, not lightly to be commenced without consultation of the stars.

The winnowing-place is cleaned and plastered with cowdung, and a circle is made of ashes, into which none may go with his shoes on. When the village priest has given the *mahurat* ('auspicious time'), the cultivator and his family go to the threshing-floor, and, washing the stake with water, make offerings to it and to the heap of threshed grain. The boiled wheat of the offering is sprinkled about, in the hope that the *bhuts* ('spirits') may content themselves with it, and not take any of the harvested corn. Then the master stands on the three-legged stool, and, taking five basketfuls from the threshed

heap, winnows them. After winnowing, the grain and chaff are collected again and measured, and if the five baskets are turned out full, or anything remains over, it is a good omen; if they cannot fill the baskets, the place where they began winnowing is thought unlucky, and it is removed to another part of the threshing-floor. The five basketfuls are presented to a Brâhman, or distributed in the village, and not mixed with the rest of the harvest. After this, winnowing can go on whenever a good wind blows, but no artificial means are ever employed for making a blast. So long as winnowing proceeds, the corn-basket must never be set down on its bottom, but always upside down; otherwise the spirits would use the basket to carry off the grain (Elliott, *op. cit.* p. 78).

In the rice districts, before the grain is measured, it must be stacked in the form of a trapezium, with the shorter end to the centre, and not in that of a square or oblong heap. The measurer sits or stands with his back to the west,—the unlucky quarter of the day—having the shorter end of the heap on his left hand. By the larger end of the heap are laid the reaping-hook, a winnowing fan, the rope by which the bullocks are tied to the threshing-pole, one or two branches of the wild plum tree, and the twisted bundle of straw and hairs of the bullocks which had been tied to the threshing-pole. Five balls of cow-dung are laid on the grain, and the *hom*, or fire-sacrifice, is offered to the heap. The measurer must not speak at all during this work, and he ties knots in a piece of cloth or string to keep count of the number of baskets. He must always wear a turban. He never quite empties his measure while the work is going on, as it is feared that, if he did this, the god of abundance would leave the threshing-floor.

The spirits rob the grain till it is measured, thinking they cannot be found out, but when once it has been measured they are afraid of detection. It is considered unlucky for any one who has ridden on an elephant to enter the threshing-floor, but a person who has ridden on a tiger brings luck. Consequently the forest Gonds and Baigās, if they capture a young tiger and tame it, will take it round the country, and the cultivators pay them a little to give their children a ride on it. The cultivators think that each grain should bear a hundred-fold, but they do not get this, since it is taken by Kuver, the treasurer of the gods, or Bhainsāsūr, the buffalo demon, who lives in the fields. Bhainsāsūr is worshipped when the rice is coming into ear, and, if the cultivators think he is likely to be mischievous, they give him a pig, but otherwise a smaller offering. When the standing corn in the fields is beaten down at night, they think that Bhainsāsūr has been passing over it. He also steals the crop while it is being cut and is lying on the ground. Once Bhainsāsūr was absent while the particular field in the village from which he stole his annual provision was cut and the crop removed, and afterwards he was heard crying that all his grain for the year had been lost.

LITERATURE.—P. Drysdale, *Central Provinces Census Reports*, Nagpur, 1881; B. Robertson, *ib.*, Calcutta, 1891; R. V. Russell, *ib.*, Nagpur, 1901; C. Grant, *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, Bombay, 1871; *Central Provinces District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, Bombay, and Calcutta, 1905-1910; E. J. Kitts, *Berar Census Report*, Bombay, 1881; C. A. Elliott, *Settlement Report of the Hoshangabad District*, Allahabad, 1867; C. E. Low, *District Gazetteer of the Balaghāt District*, Allahabad, 1907; W. Crooke, *Pop. Rel. and Folk-lore of N. India*, London, 1896; A. K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā, or Annals of Gujarat*, London, 1878; J. C. Nesfield, *Brief View of the Caste System of the N.W. Provinces and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1885; E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk-Tales*, London, 1908.

R. V. RUSSELL.

CERBERUS.—1. When Hermes, the guide of the dead, brings souls to Pluto's kingdom, they are received at the River of Woe by Charon, the grim boatman, who ferries them across, provided the passage money has been placed in their mouths and their bodies have been duly buried in the world above. Pluto's house has a janitor Cerberus (Gr. *Kerberos*), sometimes friendly, sometimes snarling, when new guests arrive, but always hostile to them that would depart. Honey cakes are provided for those that are about to go to Hades—the 'sop to Cerberus.' This dog, nameless and undescribed, Homer mentions simply as the dog of Hades. Herakles, as the last and chief test of his strength, snatches him from the horrible house of Hades. First Hesiod (*Theog.* 311), and next Stesichorus, who wrote a poem on the subject (see Pollux, x. 152), discover his name to be Kerberos. The former makes him born of Typhaon and Echidna, and describes him as the irresistible, ineffable flesh-devourer, the voracious, brazen-voiced, fifty-headed dog of hell. Plato in his *Republic* (588 C) refers to the composite nature of Kerberos. Not until Apollodorus (II. v. 12) in the 2nd cent. B.C. comes the familiar description. Kerberos now has three dog heads and a dragon tail, and his back is covered with the heads of serpents.

Classic art has taken up Cerberus very generously; but its treatment is far from being as definite as that of the Greek and Roman poets. Statues, sarcophagi, and vase-paintings whose theme is Hades, or scenes laid in Hades, represent him as a ferocious Greek collie, often encircled with serpents, and with a serpent for a tail; but there is no certainty as to the number of his heads. Often he is three-headed in art as in literature, as may be seen conveniently in the reproductions in Baumeister's *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums* (3 vols., Munich, 1885–88). Very familiar is the statue, in the villa Borghese, of Pluto enthroned, with three-headed Cerberus by his side. A Greek scarabæus shows a pair of lovers, or a married couple, who have died at the same time, crossing in Charon's ferry, awaited on the other side by three-headed Cerberus. On the other hand, a bronze in Naples shows Herakles engaged in leading a *two-headed* Cerberus from Hades. This last of the wonderful deeds of Herakles is a favourite theme of vase-pictures; the dog is generally two-headed. Such a Cerberus may be seen in Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder* (Berlin, 1840–47), ii. 131, or in Norton's reproduction of an amphora in the Louvre (*Amer. Journ. of Archæology*, xi. 14).

2. Neither Greek literature nor Greek art, however, really seems to fix either the shape or the nature of Cerberus. It was left to the Roman poets to say the last word about him. They finally settled the number of his heads, or the number of his bodies fused in one. He is *triceps*, 'three-headed'; *triplex* or *tergeminus*, 'threefold'; *triformis*, 'of three bodies'; or simply *Tricerberus*. Tibullus (III. iv. 88) states explicitly that he has both three heads and three tongues (*cui tres sunt linguae tergeminumque caput*). Vergil (*Æn.* vi. 417) has huge Cerberus barking with triple jaws; his neck bristles with serpents. Ovid (*Metam.* x. 21) makes Orpheus, searching for Eurydice in Tartarus, declare that he did not go down in order that he might chain the three necks, shaggy with serpents, of the monster begotten of Medusa. His duties also are determined for all time; he is the terrible, fearless, and watchful janitor or guardian (*janitor*, or *custos*) of Orcus, the Styx, Lethe, or the black kingdom. And so he remains for modern poets, as when Dante, reproducing Vergil, describes him (*Inferno*, vi. 22 ff.):

> 'When Cerberus, that great serpent, us had seen,
> His mouth he opened and his tusks were shown,
> And not a limb was as it erst had been.
> And then my Leader, with his palms out-thrown,
> Took of the earth, and filling full his hand,
> Into those hungry gullets flung it down.'

3. Classical explanations of Cerberus's shape are feeble and foolishly rationalistic. Heraclitus (Περὶ ἀπίστων, 331) states that Kerberos had two pups. They always attended their father, therefore he appeared to be three-headed. The mythographer Palaiphatos (39) states that Kerberos was considered three-headed from his name Τρικάρηνος, which he obtained from the city of Trikarenos in Phliasia. The late Roman rationalistic mythographer Fulgentius states that Petronius defined Cerberus as the lawyer of Hades—apparently because of his three jaws, or the cumulative glibness of his three tongues. Fulgentius himself has a *fabula* in which he says that Cerberus means *Creaboros*, that is, 'flesh-eater,' and that the three heads of Cerberus are, respectively, infancy, youth, and old age, through which death has entered the circle of the earth (*per quas introivit mors in orbem terrarum*).

4. India is the home of the Cerberus myth in its clearest and fullest development. Early Hindu conceptions of a future life are auspicious and quite the reverse of sombre. In the main, life after death does not include the notion of hell.

The early visions are simple, poetic, and cheerful. The bodies of the dead are burned, and their ashes are consigned to earth. But this is viewed merely as a symbolic act of preparation—cooking it is called outright—for another life of joy. The righteous forefathers of old have found another good place. Especially Yama, the first mortal, has gone on to the great rivers on high; like a pioneer, he has searched out the way to the highest heaven where beams unfading light, where flow eternal waters, where every wish is fulfilled on the rich meadows of Yama. Day by day Yama sends forth two dogs, his messengers, to search out among men those that are to join the fathers, who are holding revel and rejoicing in Yama's company.

The Rigveda contains three stanzas (X. xiv. 10–12) which refer to the dogs: it is quite clear that we are dealing with the conception of Cerberus. In stanza 10 the two dogs are conceived as ill-disposed creatures, standing guard to keep the departed souls out of bliss. The soul, on its way to heaven, is addressed as follows: 'Run past straightway the two spotted four-eyed dogs, the brood of Saramā; enter in among the propitious fathers who hold high feast with Yama.' A later Vedic text, the book of house-rites of Āśvalāyana, has the notion of the sop to Cerberus: 'To the two dogs born in the house of Yama, Vivasvant's son, to the dark and the spotted, I have given a cake; do ye guard me ever on my road.' The 12th stanza of the Rigveda hymn strikes a different note, which suggests both good and evil in the character of the two dogs: 'The two brown, broad-nosed messengers of Yama, life-robbing, wander among men. May they restore to us to-day the auspicious breath of life, that we may behold the sun!' The part of the Cerberi here is not in harmony with their function in stanza 10; instead of debarring men from the abodes of bliss, they pick out the dead that are ultimately destined for boon companionship with Yama. The same idea is clearly expressed in two passages of the Atharvaveda (V. xxx. 6 and VIII. i. 9). The 11th stanza of Rigveda X. xiv. presents the two dogs as guides of the soul (ψυχοπόμποι) to heaven: 'To thy two four-eyed, road-guarding, man-beholding watchdogs entrust him, O king Yama, and bestow on him prosperity and health!' It follows that the two Cerberi were originally located in heaven.

A legend of the Brāhmaṇa texts, the Hindu equivalent of the Talmud, tells explicitly that there are two dogs in heaven, and that these two are Yama's dogs. There were Asuras (demons) named Kālakāñjas. They piled up a fire altar in order to obtain the world of heaven. Man by man they placed a brick upon it. The god Indra, passing himself off for a Brāhman, put on a brick for himself. They climbed up to heaven. Indra pulled out his brick; they tumbled down. They who tumbled down became spiders; two flew up and became the two heavenly dogs, the dogs of Yama (*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* I. i. 2 and *Maitrayaṇī Saṁhita* I. vi. 9).

Other Brāhmaṇa texts carry the explanation of the two dogs to a clear conclusion. The *Kaṭha Saṁhitā* xxxvii. 14 says: 'These two dogs of Yama, verily, are day and night'; the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, stating the names of the two dogs, Śyāma and Śabala (the dark and the spotted), says: 'Śabala is the day; Śyama is the night.' The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (V. vii. 19) correlates the two dogs with the time-markers in heaven. In this passage sundry parts of the sacrificial horse are assigned to four cosmic phenomena in the following order: (1) sun and moon; (2) Śyāma and Śabala (the two dogs of Yama); (3) dawn; (4) evening twilight. They occur here as special poetic designations of sun and moon; a passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states explicitly: 'The moon, verily, is the divine dog; he looks down upon the cattle of the sacrificer'; and a passage in the Kashmir version of the Atharvaveda says: 'The four-eyed dog (the moon) surveys by night the sphere of the night.' The epithet 'four-eyed' makes it certain that the dog, the moon, is one of the dogs of Yama.

In the theosophic Upaniṣads also the soul must pass the two dogs before it can be released from the round of existences (*saṁsara*) and be absorbed in *Brahman*. The *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (I. ii. 2) arranges that all who leave this world go first to the moon, the moon being the door of the world of light. The *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad* (vi. 38) sketches salvation as follows. When a mortal no longer approves of wrath, but ponders upon the true wish, he penetrates the veil that encloses the *Brahman*, and breaks through the concentric circles of sun, moon, fire, etc., that occupy the ether. Only then does he behold the Supreme Being. And the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (viii. 13) has the same idea, mentioning both moon and sun by their ancient names and in their capacity as dogs of Yama. The soul of the aspirant for fusion with *Brahman* resorts alternately to Śyāma (the moon-dog) and Śabala (the sun-dog): 'From Śyāma (the moon) do I resort to Śabala (the sun); from Śabala to Śyāma. Shaking off sin as a steed shakes off the loose hairs of its mane, casting aside my body, my real self delivered, do I enter into the uncreated world of *Brahman*.'

It is clear that the two dogs of Yama, the heavenly dogs, are sun and moon. On the one hand, the exhortation to the dead to run past the two dogs in order to get to heaven suits the idea of the two heavenly bodies coursing across the sky. On the other hand, by an easy though quite contrary change of mental position, the same two heavenly dogs are the guides who guard the way and look upon men benignly: hence they are ordered by Yama to take charge of the dead, and to furnish them such health and prosperity as the shades may require. Again, with an equally simple shift of position, sun and moon move among men as the messengers of death: by night and by day human beings perish while these alternate in their presence among men.

5. The Avesta has reduced the Cerberus myth to stunted rudiments. In *Vendīdād* xiii. 9 the killing of dogs is forbidden, because the dogs that keep the Chinvat bridge (the bridge to Paradise [see BRIDGE]) will not 'help him when dead, despite his cries of terror and woe.' When a man dies, as soon as the soul has parted from the body, the evil corpse-demon (Druj Nasu) from the regions of hell falls upon the dead. The demon is expelled from the dead by means of the 'look of the dog': a 'four-eyed dog'—in practice a dog with a spot over each eye—is brought near the body, and is made to look at the dead, whereupon the demon flees back to hell (*Vendīdād* viii. 14–22).

6. Norse mythology also contains certain animal pairs which seem to reflect the Cerberus idea. At the feet of Odhin lie his two wolves, Geri and Freki, 'Greedy' and 'Voracious.' They hurl themselves across the lands when peace is broken. The virgin Menglodh sleeps in her wonderful castle on the mountain called Hyfja, guarded by the two dogs Geri and Gifr, 'Greedy' and 'Violent,' who take turns in watching; only alternately may they sleep as they watch the Hyfja mountain: 'One sleeps by night, the other by day, and thus no one may enter' (*Fjölsvinnsmál*, 16). It is not necessary to suppose any direct connexion between this fable and the Vedic myth, but the root of the thought is alternating sun and moon coursing dangerously across the sky.

7. The epithet 'four-eyed,' which is assigned to the dogs in the mythology of the Veda and the Avesta, is not altogether clear. It may possibly

contain a tentative fusion of the two dogs in one. The capacity of the two dogs to see both by day (the sun) and by night (the moon) may have given the myth a start in the direction of the two-headed Greek Kerberos. But there is the alternate possibility that 'four-eyed' is but a figure of speech for sharp-sighted. Certainly the god Agni, 'Fire,' is once (*Rigveda* I. xxxi. 13) called 'four-eyed,' which can only mean 'sharp-sighted'—an obviously suitable poetic conception of fire.

8. The two dogs of Yama derive their proper names from their colour epithets. The passages cited above make it clear that Syāma, 'the black,' is the moon-dog, and that Śabala, 'the spotted or brindled,' is the sun-dog. More than a hundred years ago the Anglo-Indian Wilford (in *Asiatick Researches*, iii. 409) wrote: 'Yama, the regent of hell, has two dogs, one of them named Cerbura, or varied; the other Syama, or black.' He then compares *Cerbura* with Greek *Kerberos*, of course. The form *Cerbura* he obtained from his consulting pandits, who explained the name Śabala by the Sanskrit word *karbura*, 'variegated,' a regular gloss of the Hindu scholiasts. About fifty years later a number of distinguished scholars of the past generation, Theodor Benfey, Max Müller, and Albrecht Weber, again compared *Śabalas* with Greek *Kerberos*. Though the comparison suffers from a slight phonetic difficulty, it is rather surprising that the two languages have not manipulated their respective versions of the word so as still further to increase the phonetic distance between them.

9. But whether the names *Śabalas* and *Kerberos* are identical or not, the myth itself is clear. The explanation by means of the texts of the Veda imparts to the myth a definite character: it is no longer a dark and uncertain touch in the troubled visions of hell, but a lucid treatment of an important cosmic phenomenon. Sun and moon course across the sky; beyond is the abode of light and the blessed. The coursers are at one moment regarded as barring the way to heaven; at another as outposts who may guide the soul to heaven. In yet another mood, because they constantly look down upon the race of men dying day by day, they are regarded as daily selecting candidates for the final journey. In due time Yama and his heaven are degraded to a mere Pluto and hell—such is, after all, the fear of death. Then the terrible character of the two dogs is all that can be left to them. And the two dogs blend into a unit variously, after their origin is forgotten: either a four-eyed Parsi dog or a two-headed—finally a plural-headed—Kerberos.

LITERATURE.—Maurice Bloomfield, *Cerberus, the Dog of Hades: The History of an Idea* (Chicago and London, 1905). For further references see Scherman, *Materialien zur Gesch. der ind. Visionslitteratur*, pp. 127–131 (Leipzig, 1892); Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 173f. (Strassburg, 1897); Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, pp. 405–408 (Munich, 1906).

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

CERINTHUS, CERINTHIANS.

—The date of Cerinthus is fixed by the well-known story of his encounter with John of Asia at Ephesus. Irenæus says, referring to Polycarp:

'And there are some who heard him say that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe in Ephesus and seeing Cerinthus within, leapt out of the bath without bathing, but saying, "Let us flee, lest the bath fall in while Cerinthus the enemy of the truth is within"' (*Hær.* III. iii. 4).

It was not unusual for scholars to reject this story as a floating fable, attached now to this man, now to that, on the ground that Epiphanius tells it of Ebion instead of Cerinthus. But, in view of the almost complete untrustworthiness of the statements about Cerinthus which are peculiar to Epiphanius, and of the grave improbability, in spite of Dalman's opinion to the contrary, that such a person as Ebion ever existed, it would be quite unjustifiable to throw any discredit on the statement of Irenæus. It is true that he did not hear the story from Polycarp at first hand, but the internal evidence strongly favours its historicity. It would not have occurred to any one to invent the story that John went to bathe at the public baths. Epiphanius obviously felt that this was out of harmony with what would be expected of an Apostle, and explained that it was only under the influence of the Holy Spirit that John visited the baths, and did not understand the reason for the impulse which took him there till on inquiry he discovered that Ebion was within (*Hær.* XXX. xxiv.). We may, accordingly, confidently accept, with most recent scholars, the story of Irenæus, and assume that Cerinthus was a contemporary of John of Asia (whether of the Apostle, as the present writer thinks, or of the Presbyter may here be left undetermined) about the close of the 1st cent. A.D. Even if the story itself were apocryphal, the residence of Cerinthus in Ephesus at that time would be guaranteed by it. For, unless it had been known that such was the case, the story of the encounter would hardly have been in circulation.

Hippolytus (*Philos.* vii. 33, x. 21) further informs us that Cerinthus had been trained in Egypt. Some authorities have doubted this statement. For example, Lipsius speaks of it as only one of those loose conjectures with which the author has so richly adorned his work (*Gnosticismus*, 1860, col. 110). A measure of doubt must hang over the statement, but it may very well have been taken by Hippolytus from his notes of Irenæus' lectures, and be historically accurate. Epiphanius speaks of the Merinthians, but is dubious whether Merinthus was another name for Cerinthus, or whether the two were distinct (*Hær.* XXVIII. viii.). We may without hesitation set aside the latter alternative. Some scholars, for example Hilgenfeld (*Ketzergesch.* 1884, p. 417), consider that Merinthus is simply another form of the name. It is more probable, however, as Fabricius suggested (*Cod. Apoc. NT*, 344), that Epiphanius had in his hands an earlier work in which the author gave Cerinthus the nick-name Merinthus, which means 'noose.' This writer was probably Hippolytus (see Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 1893, p. 119). Epiphanius communicates a lengthy account of Cerinthus' earlier history in Palestine, Syria, and Galatia; but, since these stories are rejected with practical unanimity, it is unnecessary to devote space to them further than to say that they connect him closely with the Judaizing propaganda in the early Church.

Our most trustworthy information as to the doctrine of Cerinthus is derived from Irenæus. His account of the system is brief, and may be quoted in full:

'A certain Cerinthus in Asia taught that the world was not made by the Supreme God, but by a certain power entirely separate and distinct from that authority which is above the universe, and ignorant of that God who is over all things. He submitted that Jesus was not born of a virgin (for this seemed to him impossible), but was the son of Joseph and Mary, born as all other men, yet excelling all mankind in righteousness, prudence, and wisdom. And that after His baptism there had descended on Him, from that authority which is above all things, Christ in the form of a dove; and that then He had announced the unknown Father and had worked miracles; but that at the end Christ had flown back again from Jesus, and that Jesus suffered and rose again, but that Christ remained impassible, since He was a spiritual being' (I. xxvi. 1).

Hippolytus (*Philos.* vii. 33, x. 21) practically repeats the account of Irenæus. Pseudo-Tertullian, who probably draws on the *Syntagma* of Hippolytus, gives a very brief account (*adv. Omn. Hær.* x.), which is in substantial agreement with Irenæus, though much scantier. He tells us that Cerinthus taught that the Law was given by angels, and says that the God of the Jews was

not the Lord but an angel. Hippolytus also speaks of the world as being made by an angelic power (*Philos.* x. 21).

Our earliest and most trustworthy sources, accordingly, represent Cerinthus as a genuine Gnostic, in so far as he drew a distinction between the Supreme God and the Creator, and between Jesus and Christ. The work of Jesus he characteristically found in revelation rather than in redemption through His death. Since he affirmed the real humanity of Jesus, he had no temptation to deny the reality of His human experiences or the fact of His crucifixion and resurrection. But, of course, he could not admit that a heavenly being from the highest sphere could suffer the indignity of the Cross, and therefore he affirmed Christ's abandonment of Jesus before the Passion, and the return of Christ to the Supreme God. In a later part of his work (III. xi. 1) Irenæus has a further reference to Cerinthus, and the views promulgated a long time before by the Nicolaitans; but unfortunately it is not clear whether, in the tenets he proceeds to enumerate, he is referring to them or to later heretics. We have here again the distinction between the Creator and the Father of the Lord, and between Jesus and Christ. But Jesus is identified with the Son of the Creator—which can hardly refer to Cerinthianism. Accordingly, when we read that Monogenes (only-begotten) was the beginning, and that Logos was the true son of the only-begotten, it is very doubtful whether we should suppose that Cerinthus taught this doctrine, which would constitute the recognition of a Pleroma, which, indeed, we find affirmed in this passage in the statement that Christ 'had again flown back into His Pleroma.' Elsewhere (III. xi. 7) Irenæus says: 'They who separate Jesus from Christ and say that Christ remained impassible, but that Jesus suffered, preferring the Gospel according to Mark, can be corrected if they read it with love of the truth.' This statement seems, on comparison with the language of Irenæus in I. xxvi. 1, to refer to Cerinthus, and it is recommended by the consideration that the Second Gospel does not contain the account of the supernatural conception. It is true that some scholars deny the reference on the ground that Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxviii. 5, xxx. 14) and Philaster (*de Heresibus*, xxxvi.) affirm that Cerinthus used only the Gospel of Matthew, of course in a mutilated form. This, however, should probably be rejected, but it stands or falls with the general account of Cerinthianism given by those writers.

In a dialogue with Proclus the Montanist, written by Gaius of Rome early in the 3rd cent., there is an important reference to Cerinthus, which runs as follows:

'But Cerinthus also, by means of revelations purporting to have been written by a great apostle, lyingly imposes upon us marvellous prodigies, which he professes to have been shown him by angels, saying that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ is an earthly kingdom, and again that men shall live in Jerusalem in the flesh and be the slaves of lusts and pleasures. And, being an enemy of the Scriptures of God, he would fain deceive, and says that a tale of a thousand years is to be spent in marriage festivities' (cited by Euseb. *HE* iii. 28 [tr. quoted from Lightfoot, *Clement of Rome*, 1890, ii. 381]).

It was natural that Gaius should have been thought to attribute in this passage the authorship of the Apocalypse of John to Cerinthus, and it is in fact likely that Dionysius of Alexandria understood him in this sense (Euseb. *HE* vii. 25). But this inference is probably quite unwarranted; for, apart from the fact that Gaius does not say so, and that Eusebius, with his dislike of the Apocalypse, would probably not have failed to quote him to that effect if he had so declared, the language of Gaius does not very well suit the Apocalypse; nor, indeed, is it likely that he should have attributed to Cerinthus a book so different from his well-known views. It is unnecessary to discuss any further either this or the still more grotesque opinion that Cerinthus wrote the Fourth Gospel as well as the Apocalypse, since we are not concerned in this article with statements made about Cerinthus which cannot possibly be true, but with the views of Cerinthus himself. The importance of the quotation from Gaius for our purpose lies in its attribution to Cerinthus of the doctrine of a sensuous millennium on earth. It is true that we have no evidence for this doctrine in Irenæus, but no importance need be attached to this, since Irenæus would have been in sympathy with Cerinthus in his millenarian views, and would not have felt it necessary to call attention to them when he was giving a description of his heretical opinions. We could not infer with any confidence that there was an immoral strain in his teaching, in view of the constant tendency of controversialists to put an evil construction on the language of their opponents, and especially to charge them with vicious indulgence.

Our decision on this matter is affected by our view as to the relation between the teaching of Cerinthus and the First Epistle of John. Many scholars consider that his doctrines are definitely assailed in that Epistle. In favour of this view we have the words: 'Who is the liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?' (1 Jn 2^{22}). Here we probably have an attack, not on the Jewish rejection of the Messianic claim of Jesus, but on a refusal to identify Jesus with Christ. Even more important is 1 Jn $4^{2\text{-}3a}$, which runs thus in the critical texts: 'Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God.' It is true that the reference to 'the flesh' may seem to favour an allusion to Docetism in the strict sense of the term, *i.e.* the representation of the physical appearance and actions of Christ as an illusion. The opening verses of the Epistle, with their strong and reiterated assertions that the real humanity of the Word had been guaranteed by physical tests, are not relevant against Cerinthianism, inasmuch as Cerinthus did not deny the real humanity of Jesus. But there is no insuperable difficulty in the view that two types of Christological error are attacked in 1 John. Both Cerinthianism and Docetism were current at the time, the latter being attested by the Epistles of Ignatius. When we read that Jesus Christ came 'not with the water only, but with the water and with the blood' (1 Jn 5^6), it is most natural to see in this an attack on the view of Cerinthus that Christ descended on Jesus at the Baptism but left Him before the Passion. This will suit 1 Jn $2^{2\text{-}3a}$ in the commonly accepted text. But it is by no means improbable that in v.^{3a} we should read 'and every spirit which dissolveth (λύει) Jesus is not of God.' If this reading is accepted, the reference to Cerinthus seems to be clear. The dissolution of Jesus is the separation made in Cerinthianism between Him and Christ. Now, it is quite clear from the language of 1 John that practical immorality and speculative heresy were associated. There were those who claimed to know God and to live in the light, but whose life gave the lie to their claims. It is quite possible that this applies to Cerinthus and his followers; and, if so, this would corroborate the statement as to his sensual doctrine of the millennium, and that in an immoral sense. But, in view of the fact that two forms of false Christology seem to be attacked, no certainty attaches to this conclusion.

It has been usual to speak of Cerinthus as a

Judaizing Gnostic. The earliest and best sources that we possess, however, give no warrant for this representation, which is due to Epiphanius and Philaster.[1] It is quite likely that what has given rise to it is the way in which Irenæus connects Cerinthus with Carpocrates and the Ebionites. His account of the Ebionites follows that of Cerinthus, and he says:

'Those who are called Ebionites agree that the world was made by God; but their opinions with respect to the Lord are similar [for *non similiter* read *similiter* or *consimiliter*] to those of Cerinthus and Carpocrates. They use the Gospel according to Matthew only, and repudiate the Apostle Paul, maintaining that he was an apostate from the Law' (I. xxvi. 2).

The point of contact between the Ebionites and Cerinthus lay in their denial of the supernatural origin of the humanity of Jesus; and this was extended by Epiphanius and Philaster to an acceptance of a mutilated Gospel of Matthew and a Judaizing legalism. We may agree with Zahn's conclusion that the Judaism of Cerinthus is only a learned myth.

LITERATURE.—The subject is dealt with in the Church Histories and Histories of Doctrine, also in the Histories of Heresy and works on Gnosticism. The connexion of Cerinthus with the Johannine literature, alleged by the Alogi and Dionysius of Alexandria, has occasioned not a little attention to be given to him in the NT Introductions, and books on the Canon of the NT (Zahn in particular should be mentioned). See, further, E. W. Möller, *Gesch. d. Kosmologie in der griech. Kirche bis auf Origenes*, 1860, p. 373 f.; Knopf, *Das nach-apostol. Zeitalter*, 1905, pp. 328–330; Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik d. Epiphanios*, 1865, pp. 115–122; Drummond, *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, 1903, pp. 337–342; Law, *The Tests of Life*, 1909; Schwartz, *Ueber d. Tod d. Söhne Zebedäi*, 1904, pp. 33–45; Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, pt. i. [1903] pp. 204–208.

ARTHUR S. PEAKE.

CERTAINTY.—I. Logical certainty and psychological certitude: distinction and relation between them.—'Certainty' is used both in an objective or logical, and in a subjective or psychological, sense. (*a*) In the former sense it means such a degree or kind of evidence in or for the subject-matter of a judgment as removes the judgment beyond doubt or question. (We may describe this objective certainty or evidence as 'logical,' but it must be observed that we are then using the term 'logical' in a very wide sense, to cover evidence of all kinds—not merely that which a conclusion derives from its premisses, but also the self-evidence of axioms, the evidence of direct perception, of memory, of testimony, etc.) In this sense certainty is contrasted with probability, or, in terms of the distinction prominent in Greek philosophy, pertains to knowledge as contrasted with opinion. (*b*) In the subjective or psychological sense certainty means such a degree or kind of assurance on the part of the individual as overcomes all doubt in his mind, or even prevents any doubt from arising. It is convenient to use the term 'certitude' for this subjective assurance, and keep 'certainty' for the objective or logical sense.

In so far as the 'assurance' of (*b*) is produced by the 'evidence' of (*a*), certainty and certitude will, of course, coincide, and—from the logical point of view at least—it seems obvious to regard this as the normal case. On the other hand, we have frequent enough experience of cases where we seem at the time to have the fullest subjective certitude about matters in regard to which we are afterwards convinced of error; and, again, of cases where we have full certitude ourselves, although we cannot make the truth of what we believe evident in the logical sense, *i.e.* evident to the apprehension of other people, or even to our own apprehension in so far as we take an outsider's impartial point of view; or, to put the matter more generally and abstractly, to the apprehension of a (hypothetical) mind possessed of all human faculties and susceptibilities, but free from all merely individual bias. We may, for instance, be convinced of a man's honour, and find ourselves deceived, or, again, be convinced, and, as after events show, rightly convinced, of it, and yet be unable to bring any kind of proof which will convince others, or even to formulate to ourselves definite grounds for our own conviction. Such experiences of apparently illogical and non-logical certitudes compel us from the logical point of view to begin by distinguishing certitude from certainty. The distinction does not, indeed, solve the problems which are raised by these experiences,—on the contrary, it only brings them more distinctly into view,—but for the logician it has the advantage of postponing them for the time being. He can say: 'For my present purposes I intend to exclude, or even ignore the existence of, any certitudes which are not at the same time certainties; certainty is what I am concerned with, and I cannot recognize any certitude which does not coincide with, or simply reflect, a certainty.' And this, in fact, is the attitude, not merely of the logician, but also, in a large measure, of the practical man. For in the concerns of ordinary life, as well as in the abstract discussions of logic, we have to be on our guard against all prejudice, bias, fancifulness, and sentimentalism. It was, therefore, not only as a thinker anxious for mere truth, but also as a practical man anxious for sobriety of thought and conduct, that Locke wrote the well-known and controverted passage that opens his chapter on 'Enthusiasm' in the Essay (*Human Understanding*, bk. IV. ch. xix.):

'There is nobody in the commonwealth of learning who does not profess himself a lover of truth; and there is not a rational creature that would not take it amiss to be thought otherwise of. . . . How a man may know whether he be so in earnest, is worth inquiry: and I think there is one unerring mark of it, viz. the not entertaining any proposition with greater assurance than the proofs it is built upon will warrant. Whoever goes beyond this measure of assent, it is plain, receives not truth in the love of it; loves not truth for truth-sake, but for some other by-end. For the evidence that any proposition is true (except such as are self-evident) lying only in the proofs a man has of it, whatsoever degrees of assent he affords it beyond the degrees of that evidence, it is plain that all the surplusage of assurance is owing to some other affection, and not to the love of truth.'

But, while it is convenient for the logician from his logical point of view to approximate certitude as far as possible to certainty, and, in fact, to assume their coincidence, we must observe that the same coincidence may be asserted with a precisely opposite motive by the sceptic who refuses to recognize any objective grounds for the distinction between certainty and probability, or even for that between true and false belief; or, again, by the psychologist who takes a view of his science which precludes him, officially or even in principle, from recognizing such distinctions within its bounds. The sceptical view is illustrated by Hume's reduction of all assent or conviction to a '*strong* propensity to consider objects *strongly* in that view under which they appear' (*Treatise*, bk. I., last section), and by his explanation of the strength of the propensity in terms of a superior vivacity in those ideas which have come to be conjoined together by the force of what is, in the last resort, mere blind custom. On such a view there is no objective distinction between one certitude and another, and if any person is, in point of fact, able to cherish a certitude which violates customary modes of belief, there is no more to be said: other people have no right to gainsay his private convictions. Thus, from Hume's own point of view, there is truth as well as irony in the concluding declaration of his essay *Of Miracles*, that Faith is quite above argument as to the probability of miracles, since he who is moved by Faith to

[1] The question whether Philaster is here dependent on Epiphanius, or whether both derive their account from an earlier source, need not be discussed. It is possible that they draw on the lost *Syntagma* of Hippolytus, and, since Hippolytus was probably not responsible for this particular representation, that Philaster derived it from Epiphanius, whose account is thoroughly untrustworthy and confused.

assent to the Christian Religion 'is conscious of a continued miracle in his own person which . . . gives him a determination to believe what is most contrary to custom and experience.' A scepticism like Hume's, however, which is quite aware of, and explicitly calls attention to, its own paradoxical results (in above section of, and appendix to, *Treatise*), is less dangerous than the unconscious scepticism of the psychologist, who does not for a moment deny the objective or logical distinctions in virtue of which we are entitled to hold one belief more strongly than another, yet thinks himself free (or even obliged) to ignore these distinctions in his account of the causation of belief in terms of purely 'psychological' laws. All psychology of the Associationist type—and much of our modern psychology remains Associationist in principle—is committed to this position. But even a psychologist so little restricted by the traditions of a school as James seems to see no difficulty in adopting it.

'Hartley,' he tells us, 'suggested habit as a sufficient explanation of all connexions of our thoughts, and in so doing planted himself squarely upon the properly psychological aspect of the problem of connexion, and sought to treat both rational and irrational connexions from a single point of view. The problem which he essayed, however lamely, to answer, was that of the connexion between our psychic states considered purely as such, regardless of the objective connexions of which they might take cognizance' (*Principles of Psychology*, vol. i. p. 553).

And yet it is obvious that, if the formation of our beliefs can be explained in a manner which is 'regardless of the objective connexions of which they might take cognizance,' the said 'objective connexions' are as effectually denied in practice as if they did not exist at all. We must conclude, then, that, while the logician's identification of certitude with certainty may be accepted as a provisional simplification, the psychologist's reduction of certainty to certitude cannot be accepted at all, because it deprives the certitude itself of all real value. The sceptical implications of such a reduction of objective certainty to mere subjective certitude are obvious enough when we contemplate the reduction on a large scale. But it is important to remember that precisely the same consequences are implied in every particular case, so far as it goes, in which it is proposed to explain any kind or degree of belief in terms of *merely* subjective factors. It is, no doubt, very easy and very natural to appeal to such factors, to explain not only the cases of apparently non-logical certitude above referred to, but also all beliefs which are bound up with feeling and action, such as moral and religious beliefs. But, in proportion as we do reduce any belief to a *merely* subjective certitude, we simply justify the logician in his refusal to recognize it. And thus an attitude on his part, which would otherwise represent only the narrowness and inadequacy of his own logic, becomes an entirely defensible protest on behalf of general logical principle.

2. Possibility and degrees of certainty.—Accepting in the meantime the logician's simplification, we must notice the questions that arise relating to strict logical certainty and its correlative certitude. These fall roughly into two classes. (1) There are general questions as to the possibility of certainty in general; the meaning (if any) of degrees of certainty; the kind or degree of evidence which constitutes certainty; the relation of certainty to the lower kinds or degrees of evidence which constitute probability; the relation in each case of the corresponding certitude or inferior conviction to its objective counterpart; and, finally, the ultimate basis of certainty. (2) There is the special question as regards each special department of knowledge: how far, and upon what conditions, certainty is attainable in that department. While these two classes of questions may for convenience be distinguished, they cannot, of course, be kept at all rigidly apart in actual discussion. A full discussion of them would cover a great part of logic and methodology, not to speak of metaphysics; for the purposes of the present article, some general indications of the character of the issues involved must suffice.

It may be pointed out, to begin with, that there is a sense in which certainty as well as certitude may be characterized as subjective, though it is not the same sense. Take any disputed historical question. The judgment of the historian as to the probability or certainty of a particular solution ought to be objectively determined in the sense of being determined solely by the evidence, and not by any personal prejudices. But, suppose he decides that one solution is, on the whole, more probable than another—that is to say, there are two suggested courses which the events in question may have taken, he cannot pronounce either impossible, but sees reason to think it more probable that the events occurred in this way rather than in that. It is clear that to all this doubt, hesitation, and caution in the historian's mind there is nothing corresponding in the actual events themselves. The events, of course, happened in one definite way only; every contrary suggestion, therefore, is really impossible, and would be seen to be so if at any time a discovery of additional evidence showed what the actual sequence of events really was. Thus the notions of possibility, probability, and, as contrasted with these, certainty itself, are here evidently subjective in the sense that their use is determined—as we may roughly say—not by anything in the reality itself, but by the extent and the deficiencies of our knowledge of it. And yet they are not subjective in the sense of being applied arbitrarily or at the instigation of mere personal prejudice. On the contrary, they are objective in so far as they are determined by the evidence available. And this evidence, again, so far as it is reliable, states actual features of the reality itself. To be accurate, then, we must revise our statement, and say that the application of these notions *is* determined by features of the reality itself, but by a reality which is imperfectly known, and that the need for distinguishing the several notions arises in connexion with the imperfection of our knowledge. Such a view, though drawn from a single example, has obviously a very wide range of application. It applies in precisely the same way, for instance, to the probability of a scientific hypothesis as to that of a historical event. (The case of future events, and especially of future events depending on human choice, raises further difficulties—for in this case there is evidently a sense in which the incompleteness of our knowledge is due to the incompleteness of the reality itself. But, for the sake of simplicity, this case may be disregarded. Our knowledge of future events is, at any rate, inconsiderable as compared with (1) knowledge of past events, and (2) knowledge into which considerations of time do not directly enter.)

The general view, then, to which the foregoing considerations point is that certainty corresponds to complete or perfect knowledge, the various degrees of probability to the less or greater degrees of incompleteness or imperfection in knowledge. But the question at once suggests itself, Is our knowledge ever perfect? Is not finite knowledge, simply as finite, obviously and necessarily incapable of completeness? To answer this question, we must distinguish. If by finite knowledge is meant the whole body of human knowledge, the question is justified. But then, in any discussion of certainty and probability, we evidently have in view, not the whole body of knowledge, but the comparative stability and precision of particular

knowledges. And the question is, whether a particular knowledge may not be complete within the limits—explicit or implicit—within which alone we really affirm it. We must admit, of course, that no particular knowledge can be isolated from all the rest, and, therefore, also that no particular knowledge can be said to be absolutely exempt from the process of revision which is constantly going on in the total body of knowledge. How, then, it may be urged, can we be sure that the supposed completeness within certain limits will not be affected by the immeasurably wider unknown conditions outside these limits? But, in answer to this objection, it may be remarked, in the first place, that the unknown conditions must, in order to affect our particular knowledge, be relevant to it. Our knowledge of Scottish history in Queen Mary's time might be vitally affected by additional evidence as to contemporary English or French history, but hardly by any amount of information as to contemporary events in China. The same example shows that, from what we already know, we are even able in a sense to form a rough estimate of the extent to which unknown conditions can really be relevant. In the second place, there is no reason to assume that, where the unknown conditions would affect our present knowledge, they would affect it in the one way of making uncertain what seemed previously certain, or less probable what seemed previously more probable. On the contrary, the progress of knowledge exhibits the verification, extension, and deepening of previous ideas, no less than their correction and reversal. Still, it may be said, the difficulty remains that we can never be sure; so long as unknown conditions remain, doubt cannot be excluded. And, for that matter, the sceptic may reach the same result, without appealing to unknown conditions at all, by simply pointing out that our faculties of perception, memory, and reasoning are not infallible, and often deceive us; and he may conclude, with Carneades, that (it is probable that) we can never attain any certainty at all, but, at most, some lower or higher degree of probability.

These vague and general suggestions of possible error may rightly indicate the need for a correspondingly general caution, but they do not afford a specific ground for doubting a specific knowledge which, after the exercise of all due caution, we are still compelled to regard as certainly true. Nor is anything really gained by saying that we must be content to regard every knowledge, even that which is apparently certain, as no more than probable, though perhaps in a high degree. For the distinction between apparent certainty and high probability remains, and would simply have to be expressed over again as a distinction within the sphere of probability—as a distinction, too, of a special kind, not quite on the same level as the distinction between the various degrees of strict probability. Moreover, the systematic denial of all specific certainty would appear to contradict itself, since the specific assertion of any degree of probability implies that there are specific conditions of certainty, which the probable assertion partly fulfils, and which (because they are specific) might conceivably, if not actually in a given case, be fulfilled completely. In short, the fact is that we have no right whatever to dictate *a priori* the degree of confidence with which any particular knowledge may rightly be held. This can be determined only by the nature and contents of the knowledge itself. And the attempt to dictate it *a priori* probably depends upon metaphysical assumptions as to knowledge, error, and reality that are themselves of a highly questionable character.

There is, however, one virtue in the sceptic's insistence on the finite and relative character of knowledge: it tends to promote a right recognition of the gradations of logical evidence, and a right reluctance to interrupt these gradations by abrupt gaps and intervals. It must, no doubt, be agreed that the main line of distinction must be drawn between the highest stage of probability, on the one hand, at which room for doubt still remains, and genuine certainty, on the other, from which doubt has vanished, or into which it is unable to thrust itself. And it seems plausible to contend that an absolute gap here separates knowledge from opinion: within opinion there may be degrees of probability; within certain knowledge there can be no degrees; the knowledge of anything cannot be more certain than certain. But—not to speak of that 'moral' or 'practical' certainty in regard to which, for some given purpose, the distinction between certainty and very high probability is a vanishing one—it must be pointed out that certainty takes various forms, and that it is impossible to put all these forms on the same level logically, or to maintain that certainty is not increased when it passes from a lower to a higher form, or when it is present in different and consilient forms. The calculations by which Adams and Leverrier were enabled to anticipate and predict the observation of the planet Neptune may be said, in a quite valid sense, to have given knowledge which was certain before the actual observation; for the observers merely saw what they were told they would see. But we still regard the actual observation as verifying, and so heightening the certainty of, the calculated result. The converse case is a still better illustration, for an astronomer's confidence in a number of fragmentary observations would be really raised to a higher plane if it could be shown by calculation that the observed facts could be explained as appearances of a planet which must have followed that very path at the times in question. But even in certainties of the same form we are compelled to recognize degrees. John may recognize with certainty Thomas, whom he has seen only a few times, but the certainty of John's recognition could not be put on the same level as that with which Thomas is recognized by his own near relatives. This topic of the degrees of the logical strength of judgment is technically known as the 'Modality of Judgment,' and in the text-books of Logic detailed discussion of it will usually be found under that head. The question is sometimes discussed, whether the degrees are degrees of what we have distinguished as certainty or certitude respectively. The natural view is that they are degrees of both, and that, as Locke maintains in the passage above quoted, the degrees of subjective assurance ought simply to reflect the degrees of the objective evidence.

3. Basis of certainty.—When the question of the ultimate basis of certainty is raised, there is a strong temptation to revert to a merely subjective point of view. All certainty, it may plausibly be argued, is in the last resort certitude. When I affirm that a thing is certainly true, what I really mean in the last resort is that I 'feel certain' about the thing. I may be wrong, but I cannot get beyond my own certitude, I cannot get outside my certitude and criticize it. The plausibility of this sort of argument depends upon its ambiguity. According as we interpret the argument in different ways, it either becomes trivial, or involves us in a circle, or is essentially false. (1) The argument is trivial, if it merely means that every certainty or certain knowledge is the knowledge of some individual knower, and therefore must be felt as a certitude. Knowledge does not float in the air, and no knowledge is actual except in the minds of

individual knower. (2) It involves us in a circle, or rather a ὕστερον πρότερον, if it means that the certainty is to be referred for its explanation to the certitude. For, where there is both certainty and certitude—*i.e.* where we are dealing with logical or grounded certitude, as contrasted with apparently groundless certitude and with mere prejudice—we must obviously explain the certitude by reference to its evidence or ground. We have here simply one case of the general principle that a faculty can be defined or determined only by reference to its objects, and that the explanation of its being determined in one way rather than another can be sought only in the differences of the object. Assuming my visual faculty to be normal, the only explanation of my seeing a soldier's coat to be red, and not blue, is that the coat *is* red and not blue. No amount of looking would make the coat look blue, if it was really red. And in like manner my certitude that the angles of a triangle are together equal to two right angles is to be explained only by my certain knowledge (present or remembered) of this geometrical truth in the light of Euclid's demonstration of it. So far is it from being the case, then, that we can explain any particular certainty by referring to a certitude brought about somehow in the subject's mind that, on the contrary, we cannot explain how he comes to cherish that particular certitude except by examining the objective contents of his knowledge. (3) We can now see how essentially false, or, at any rate, how thoroughly misleading, it is to say that no one can get beyond his own certitude. For my present certitude is entirely relative to my present knowledge, and I can therefore always go beyond my present certitude, and either correct or verify it, if I take the trouble to extend my present knowledge. (Nor does the fact that the individual's thinking tends eventually to run in fairly definite grooves really conflict with this assertion, so long as the fact remains one with which logic can deal at all.) We can derive little instruction, then, from a test of truth like Herbert Spencer's 'inconceivability of the opposite.' It either tells us nothing, in so far as it merely suggests that we cannot really think that which is not true; or it merely indicates a fact about our present state of knowledge, viz. that there are certain things which we seem unable to think—an inability which we naturally suppose to be due to the just-mentioned reason that the things in question are not true, though in supposing so we may be as far astray as was Locke's king of Siam, who refused to believe it possible that water could become solid. Or, finally, it puts us on the false track of making introspective experiments, instead of the right track of extending our knowledge.

When we turn away from the illusion of a subjective basis of certainty, the chief difficulty on the objective side is that which is raised by the conception of *immediate knowledge*. The process by which knowledge grows is a process of continual mediation, *i.e.* a process in which we are continually trying to arrive at new results by analyzing what is immediately before our minds and connecting it with the rest of our knowledge. Now, to this process of mediation or interpretation there would seem to be two ultimate limits: a lower limit of data which cannot be further analyzed, and an upper limit of principles of connexion which cannot themselves be shown to result from more general principles. Given the simple data at the one end and the first principles at the other, the certainty of all intermediate knowledge (so far as it is certain) can be explained as arising from the connexion of clearly discerned data according to clearly discerned principles. But the certainty of the data and principles themselves would be beyond this sort of explanation, and must therefore be referred to an immediate knowledge of perception or reason as the case may be. The natural conclusion, then, would be that the ultimate bases of certainty are particular perceptions, on the one hand, and intuitions of reason, on the other.

A view of this kind—which has come down to us, we may say, speaking roughly, from Aristotle, though in his own logical system it is qualified in ways with which we are not here concerned—may be all very well in its own place. It serves us quite well, for instance, in the logical analysis of any particular scientific inquiry, for every such inquiry moves between two limits: on the one hand, the general principles, assumptions, or point of view which the inquirer shares with his fellow-scientists; on the other, the special set of facts which he is investigating and in regard to which he must at some point or another stop with data taken as ultimate starting-points for the purposes of that inquiry. So far as that particular inquiry is concerned, we need not care how the assumptions and the data are themselves guaranteed. But the case is quite different when the view is extended without qualification to knowledge as a whole, and used to determine the ultimate bases of knowledge and certainty. For then it is precisely the guarantees of our principles and data that we are concerned about. And, unfortunately, the view in question easily suggests a quite misleading conception of the manner in which knowledge is acquired and certainty attained. It suggests that knowledge arises out of a combination of pre-existing elements—a great number of perfectly single, simple, and definite, particular perceptions on the one hand, and a small number of perfectly clear and highly general principles on the other; and that these elements are apprehended with certainty in themselves, before the derivative process of knowledge proper begins at all. The picture thus suggested of the mind, as originally furnished with these elements out of which it manufactures knowledge, has, it need hardly be said, no sort of psychological actuality. But even if we keep to the abstract point of view of logical analysis, the conception remains unreal and misleading. What we call a particular fact in ordinary life, *e.g.* that one's bicycle was punctured on one's last run, is in reality very complex: and the certainty with which it is affirmed depends, *e.g.*, on the way in which it is attached to a whole series of other facts of memory. And, of course, the same thing applies even more to a particular fact in science, *e.g.* an astronomer's observation, which is possible only with the aid of delicate instruments, and is affirmed with a reserve for probable error. The notion of a perfectly simple and unmediated perception, then, must be dismissed altogether. The kind of perception which has a value for knowledge is one whose conditions and context are known as fully as possible. And it is indeed precisely because the particular inquirer has a body of well ascertained knowledge at command that he can take definite starting-points for granted.

A very similar argument applies to the general principles. It is true that first principles cannot be proved from other principles,—otherwise, of course, they would cease to be *first* principles,—and they cannot, therefore, have this kind of demonstrative certainty. But it does not follow that our certitude of their truth is due to an act of immediate intuition in which they are contemplated in total abstraction from the rest of our knowledge. On the contrary, our certitude depends on the precisely opposite ground, that only in terms of these principles can we understand our actual experience. It may be, of course, that this experience is in a

given case, *e.g.* that of geometrical principles, of a very abstract and elementary kind. And the fact that we apprehend the truth of Euclid's axioms so easily has certainly been one of the chief factors historically in maintaining the view under criticism. But the special circumstances of this case must not be allowed to mislead us as to the general truth. If we took sciences at the opposite pole, such as psychology or ethics, we should find that the apprehension of genuine first principles is usually the last result of a prolonged experience of more or less false and inadequate ones. The objection may be apt to suggest itself here, that at this rate the certainty of our knowledge would again seem to be undermined, if first principles may remain long in dispute and particular facts are so hard to determine with accuracy. But once more it must be replied that the very relativity on which sceptical doubts are based supplies the best answer to them. It is not necessary that we should have all our certainties about a thing at once, or, more accurately, that our certainty about it should have from the beginning all the fullness and precision of detail which we are ever destined to attain. The particular fact of the distance between Edinburgh and London could be known with certainty to be between two limits before there was any Ordnance Survey, and the result of the Survey is only to replace a vaguer certainty with one more precise. And the same thing holds in regard to first principles. It is a long step from the principle, 'Out of nothing, nothing comes,' to the principles of the Conservation of Matter and Energy, but the earlier formula served for its own time even as the later ones serve for ours.

4. **Types of certainty.**—On the question of certainty in the several departments of knowledge a few words must suffice. The great type of certainty almost from the beginning of the history of philosophy has been that which is exhibited in mathematical science, and especially in geometry. And the reason why is not far to seek. The exceptional appeal which geometrical certainty makes arises from the double advantage which the science possesses in the exactness and the direct intuition which are combined in the definition or construction of its concepts and in its axioms. Within the limits of its fundamental assumptions as to the nature of space—say, that space is tri-dimensional and homogeneous—no uncertainty can arise from the nature of the geometrical elements, because these elements can be determined with such perfect precision and exhaustiveness. In modern times, however, mathematics has gradually come to be rivalled, or even in large measure supplanted, in this pre-eminence as a type of certainty, by physical science. For (pure) mathematics, after all, suffers under the drawback of being very abstract, and of seeming to recede into regions very remote from the ordinary reality which is accessible to the plain man's understanding, whereas physical science (including applied mathematics) has the enormous advantage that its triumphs come home to everybody in the shape of the most marvellous practical inventions and appliances. In the face of these practical proofs an attitude such as could be adopted little more than two centuries ago by Locke—his denial of certainty and true scientific character to physical knowledge, and his insistence that it hardly goes beyond particular observations and vague probabilities—has become almost incredible to us. When the certainty of physical science is challenged on abstract grounds of philosophical theory, we are inclined to adopt an attitude like Hume's in regard to miracles, and reply that it is easier to distrust the theory than the science; nor is the reply by any means wholly irrelevant.

The extreme predominance of a type of certainty peculiar to one particular department of knowledge is apt to exert a very mischievous influence on other departments. Those who are engaged in the studies of these departments are put in an unhappy dilemma. If the knowledge which they claim to possess cannot be expounded in conformity with the accepted type of scientific certainty, it will be accused of not being science at all. On the other hand, if, as is apt to happen, they succumb to temptation and try to *force* their subject-matter into conformity with the accepted type, they do it at the expense of distorting and perverting their subject-matter, and the accusation is then entirely deserved. The mischievous effect of the geometrical ideal of certainty in this direction is a well-known fact in the history of thought. In modern times it is the ideals of physical and natural science which have become most dangerous. One powerful check to this danger, however, was set in operation by the philosophy of Kant. And—strangely enough in one way, though naturally enough in another—it is largely by reason of his own strong belief in physical science that he has come to exert this influence. For it seemed to him that he could not secure that certainty of physical science in which he strongly believed, except at a price that required the sphere of such science to be rigidly limited. On the other hand, it is this very limitation of scientific knowledge that leaves room for certainties of another kind in which he also strongly believed—certainties not of science, not, in Kant's restricted use of the term, of 'knowledge,' but of faith, the certainties of morality and religion. The opposition between knowledge and faith is apt to excite distrust, and may in fact easily merit the reproach under which it suffers. But in the hands of Kant, and of the theologians who have learned from him, the distinction is the very reverse of sceptical. It is simply their emphatic way of expressing the truth that morality and religion must have their certainty in themselves, must have that specific sort of certainty which is appropriate to their own nature and contents. The real scepticism lies not in this contention, but in its rejection, in the attempt to make morality and religion subsist on a borrowed certainty. It is unfortunate, though intelligible, that these thinkers should be apt to use the term 'subjective,' and other similar expressions, to describe the more personal and intimate certainties of faith as contrasted with an impersonal scientific knowledge which makes no appeal to man's moral nature. But they do not for a moment mean to suggest that moral or religious certitude is unevidenced and groundless, or that there is any element of arbitrariness, bias, or fancifulness in it.

5. **Non-logical certitude.**—We have here come round again to the question which was provisionally excluded when we accepted the logician's simplification of the problem of certainty (see p. 321[a], § 2). Is there a certitude which is subjective in a further and more vital sense, a certitude which, if not *il*logical, is at least *non*-logical, a certitude of which it is, in some vital sense, beyond the powers of logic to give an adequate account, but which we must none the less be content to accept as a genuine type of belief? The obvious difficulty in the way of an affirmative answer is that of showing how a *belief* which is in any vital sense non-logical can possibly be saved from being illogical. But let us first be clear as to when a belief does become non-logical in a really vital sense. Cardinal Newman is a writer who would usually be regarded as a strong advocate of non-logical certitude, and it need not be denied that there are many points in which his theory of belief, or at least his manner of expressing it, is open to

criticism from this point of view. But, taking his theory as a whole and in its historical setting, it cannot, in the opinion of the present writer, fairly be interpreted as making belief non-logical in the really vital and dangerous sense. The truth, to which Newman constantly returns, and which is really the foundation of his whole theory, is that which is contained in the distinction between the actual grounds of a belief and the reflective analysis (or self-consciousness) of these grounds—or, as he himself entitles it in one of his *University Sermons*, the distinction between Implicit and Explicit Reason. 'A peasant,' to use one of his own incidental examples, 'may from the look of the sky foretell to-morrow's weather, on grounds which, as far as they are producible, an exact logician would not scruple to pronounce inaccurate and inconsequent.' From the fact, that is to say, that the peasant cannot give a satisfactory account of the grounds of his belief, we cannot infer that his belief was groundless, or even that (considered as a practical belief about a thing so uncertain as the weather) it was inadequately grounded. It is true that a scientific meteorologist could not possibly be content with such a belief, or recognize it as authoritative, though even as a man of science he could not afford to dismiss it with contempt. But for the peasant himself such belief is valid enough. And if the 'exact logician' cannot recognize any kind or degree of validity in it, then, with Newman, we have a right to say, so much the worse for his logic. Much stronger cases, of course, could be given. The instance, given above, of one's confidence in a friend's character, is a stronger case. Newman's main interest, naturally, is in the corresponding cases of religious belief. To an inquiry, then, which seeks to determine the place of 'non-logical' belief in this sense, logic itself has no real objection, or rather, it is in the interests of logic that such an inquiry should be made.

But the doctrine of non-logical certitude has been maintained in another, and far less defensible, form. The claim has been made that a place must be conceded to the influence of the emotions, the desires, and the will, in the determination of belief—not merely as a matter of fact (for that this is in some sense true we need not dispute), but as a matter of right. Man, it is maintained, is not a mere logical machine, and in the formation of his beliefs his whole personality has a right to count. Now, here again we must first know clearly what is meant. It is quite true that the existence of emotions and desires may warrant belief in the (more or less probable) existence of corresponding objects. The existence of fear points to the existence of a terrifying object, the existence of desire points to an apparent good, which may or may not be capable of being realized. But this is not what is meant in the doctrine in question. What is claimed is rather that the existence of these emotions and desires, which are thus *logically* related to their *own* objects, must be allowed (no doubt, within limits) to influence, *in a non-logical way*, our belief in the existence of *other* objects (or in the future realization of as yet unrealized objects); so that, if the intellect is unable definitely to affirm, or on the other hand to deny, the existence (or realization) of these latter objects, our emotions and desires have a right to throw themselves into the scale, and determine us to believe. Let it be assumed, *e.g.*, that man dreads death and desires immortality: if, then, the intellect does not decisively affirm or deny a future life, our dread and our desire may *rightfully* induce in us a 'will to believe.' It is difficult to think that such a doctrine would really continue to be maintained, if it could be kept free from the confusions in which the connected psychological discussions are so readily entangled. It is by the ambiguities of these discussions that the doctrine may best be explained and excused. What is less easily excused is the notion that the doctrine makes a valuable contribution to the cause of religious faith. To the theologian this notion is unlikely to commend itself. He will be apt to think that religion is the worst possible sphere to select for the exercise of make-believe. (Cf. Herrmann, *Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*², 1892, pp. 45–47, *Gewissheit des Glaubens*², 1889, pp. 44–45, in reference to a similar error in theology proper.)

See also artt. AUTHORITY, AXIOM, BELIEF.

LITERATURE.—For the history, see Janet-Séailles, *Hist. of the Problems of Philos.*, Eng. tr. 1902, vol. ii. pp. 93–145 ('Scepticism and Certitude'). On the fundamental questions of logical principle, see Bosanquet, *Logic*, 1888, vol. i. ch. ix. ('Modality'), vol. ii. ch. vii. ('Ultimate Nature of Necessity'), also his *Essays and Addresses*², 1891, p. 181 ff. ('Philos. Distinction bet. Knowledge and Opinion'), *Knowledge and Reality*, 1885, ch. iii. ('Assertion and Modality'), and Conclusion. Besides the writers referred to in the first of these three works, the following may be mentioned: R. L. Nettleship, *Philos. Remains*², 1901, Lectures on Logic (especially sections vii. and viii. and note B); Wundt, *Logik*, 1880, Bd. i. Abschn. v. Kap. i. ('Begriff des Wissens'); Sidgwick, *Philos. of Kant*, etc., 1905, pp. 430–467 ('Criteria of Truth and Error'). General works on theory of knowledge like Volkelt, *Erfahrung u. Denken*, 1886, have necessarily much to say about certainty. Scientific discussion may be represented by Milhaud, *Conditions et limites de la certitude logique*², 1898; Jevons, *Principles of Science*², 1877, esp. bk. ii. ch. xi. ('Philos. of Inductive Inference'); but the philosophy of these writers is open to much criticism. H. Spencer's test is stated in his *Principles of Psychology*, vol. ii. pt. vii. ch. xi.; it is criticized by Mill, *Logic*, bk. ii. ch. vii.; cf. on both, Green, *Works*, ed. Nettleship, 1885–88, vol. ii. p. 265 ff. On the psychology: Stout, *Analytic Psychology*, 1896, vol. ii. ch. xi. ('Belief and Imagination'). A good representative of the Kantian distinction between knowledge and faith is Herrmann, *Religion im Verh. zum Welterkennen u. zur Sittlichkeit*, 1879, esp. pp. 100–117. For the doctrine of non-logical certitude: Newman, *Oxford University Sermons* (1843, 1871), and *Grammar of Assent*, 1870. On the 'will to believe': James's book so named (1897), and his *Principles of Psychology*, 1891, vol. ii. ch. xxi.; a more elaborate and careful presentation of a similar view is given by a thinker to whom James makes acknowledgments, Renouvier, *Psychologie rationelle* (part of his *Essais de critique générale*², 1875), 2me partie, contained in tomes ii. and iii. Questions of the non-logical relation of belief to authority are discussed by A. J. Balfour, *Foundations of Belief*, 1895, pt. iii.

HENRY BARKER.

CERTAINTY (Religious).—**1. Definition and Introduction.**—By 'religious certainty' is meant the assurance of personal salvation. This article will therefore deal mainly with what the Reformers described as *certitudo salutis* or *certitudo gratiæ*. But in usage the notions of objective security (*certitudo veritatis*) and subjective assurance have often been so closely intertwined that it becomes necessary to differentiate religious certainty, properly so called, from other aspects of certitude in regard to matters of faith. The ultimate difficulty of the subject is the relation between external testimony and inward experience. A consideration of the manifold ways in which this relation has been conceived and formulated in different theological systems ought, therefore, to yield some indication of the direction in which the solution of the problem must be sought.

To arrive at certainty of any kind, sufficient evidence must be forthcoming; the criterion of sufficiency will vary according to the nature of the facts to be investigated. Two examples of the use of the word 'certainty' in the NT supply an illustration of this obvious but frequently neglected truth. (1) In Lk 1[4] Theophilus is told that the purpose of the Third Gospel is to furnish such evidence as will enable him to attain to the certainty (ἀσφάλεια) which results from learning that teaching accords with fact. For modern inquirers, such certitude of belief rests upon a conviction of the trustworthiness of the credentials of the Gospel. (2) In Ac 2[36] the first and emphatic word in the final sentence of St. Peter's address on the day of Pentecost is ἀσφαλῶς: 'Let all the house of Israel therefore know *of a certainty* that God hath made

him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified.' On what was this certainty based? An analysis of St. Peter's argument supplies the answer. For our present purpose, the significance of that argument is its appeal to various grounds of assurance. Religious certainty, in the sense of inward experience of the Holy Spirit's working, is itself regarded as witnessing to the reality of the Resurrection of Christ; but that certainty may also, it is assumed, be strengthened by testimony to the objective grounds of faith, as they are found in Scripture and in history. St. Peter's reasoning is forcefully shown in Chase's lucid summary, *The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles*, 1902, p. 152 f. (in the quotation the italics are ours):

'The assurance of the Resurrection and the Ascension was to be found *in the prophetic words of Scripture*—the words which were universally regarded as the words of David, but which in the magnificence of their hope could not be true of him whose sepulchre was in the midst of his people. It was to be found *in the actual experience* of those particular Israelites on the day of Pentecost—"this which ye see and hear" (2^{33}). It was to be found in the present beneficent activity of Jesus of Nazareth—*in the miracle wrought in His name*: He is active; therefore He lives. It was to be found *in the personal testimony of the Apostles themselves* to "the things which they had seen and heard" (4^{20}). It was to be found, lastly, *in the inner witness* of the Spirit—"we are witnesses of these things; and so is the Holy Ghost" (5^{32})—the Spirit who revealed the fitness of the Resurrection, and its harmony with the Divine purpose as partially shadowed forth in the words of Scripture. . . . It would be hard to add another to this series of testimonies.'

2. Affirmation of uncertainty (pre-Reformation period).—In mediæval times the general effect of the teaching of the Church was to discourage the expectation of attaining to religious certainty. The great scholastics of the Middle Ages treated together the doctrine of merit and the doctrine of grace. According to the doctrine of merit, salvation must be gained by the actions of human free agents, who, nevertheless, need grace in order that their works may be meritorious (Wetzer-Welte, *Kirchenlexicon*, xii.² [1901] 690 ff.). Peter Lombard's definition of hope, often criticized by Luther, reveals the incompatibility subsisting between the Roman Catholic doctrine of merit and the tenet of the certainty of salvation:

'Est certa exspectatio futurae beatitudinis veniens ex Dei gratia et meritis praecedentibus vel ipsam spem vel rem speratam. Sine meritis enim aliquid sperare, non spes, sed praesumptio dici potest' (lib. iv. dist. 26, 1; quoted by Kunze in *PRE*³ xx. 503).

Thomas Aquinas taught that by a threefold way one may ascertain whether he is the subject of Divine grace or not: (*a*) by direct revelation on the part of God; (*b*) by himself (*certitudinaliter*); (*c*) by various indications (*conjecturalitur per aliqua signa*). But the last two were, in his opinion, uncertain; and, as for the first, God very seldom makes use of it, and only in particular cases (Hagenbach, *Hist. of Christian Doctrines*, Eng. tr. 1880, ii. 303 f.). Aquinas, it is true, held that salvation is attained by the sacraments; but he did not affirm that the communicant has an inward assurance of the reception of saving grace. In his view, a Christian cannot attain to religious certainty, except by direct revelation from God; those to whom this special favour is not vouchsafed must remain in uncertainty:

'Revelat Deus hoc aliquando aliquibus ex speciali privilegio' (*Summa*, II. i. qu. 112, art. 5).

At the Council of Trent this doctrine was authoritatively affirmed:

'No one can know with a certainty of faith, which cannot be subject to illusion, that he has obtained the grace of God. . . . Except by special revelation, no one can know whom God hath chosen unto himself' (*Concil. Trident.* vi. 12; cf. also vi. 9).

But the experience of devout souls cannot be confined within the limits of official definitions. That before the Reformation believers attained to religious certainty cannot be doubted by those who remember how great is the debt which Roman Catholic Mysticism owes to two 12th cent. saints—not to mention others—Hugo of St. Victor and Bernard of Clairvaux. The writings of the former have 'a mystical tinge,' and the latter knew by experience that Jesus is the 'bridegroom' of the individual soul. The hymn associated with his name is now ascribed to one of his disciples (see BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX). In it religious certainty finds expression in words whose truth has been confirmed by the experience of Christians of all communions: 'The love of Jesus, what it is, None but His loved ones know'; but they know of a certainty, and that certainty is established rather than shaken by the consciousness that His love 'passeth knowledge' (Eph 3^{19}). Reference has been made to the decrees of the Council of Trent, but it should not be forgotten that even the story of the Tridentine controversy yields proof that the subject of religious certainty had forced itself upon the attention of thoughtful Christians. At the famous Council, Ambrosius Katharinus was the leader of the Scotists against Dominicus da Soto, the leader of the Thomists. Soto held that the Roman Church taught the uncertainty of grace; but Katharinus, who did not regard the authority of the Scholastics as unconditionally binding, maintained that the *certitudo gratiæ* was in accordance with the doctrinal definitions of Rome (*PRE*³ xviii. 539). Juan de Valdés (d. 1541) also, in one of his publications, quotes a discourse on the subject, 'Can a Christian be certain of his justifying and glorifying?,' which is extant in Italian, and forms the fifth of the *Trattatelli* (ed. Halle, 1870, Rome, 1872, under the title *Sul principio della dottrina cristiana*).

The controversy in regard to Probabilism, in the Roman Catholic Church, bears upon the question of religious certainty. It is true that casuistry in morals is primarily concerned, but on this subject Harnack reminds us that 'ethics and dogmatics do not admit of being separated.' Proof of the statement is given in a reference to Alfonso Liguori (1699–1787)—'the most influential Roman theologian since the days of the Counter-Reformation.' Liguori's own doubts 'involved him more deeply in the conviction, that it is only in the absolute authority of a father-confessor . . . that any conscience can find rest' (*Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. 1899, vii. 108).

3. Relation between subjective and objective certainty (Lutheran position).—The notion that a believer in Christ must remain in uncertainty as to whether he is or is not in a state of grace was denounced by Luther as a dangerous and sophistical doctrine (*Com.* on Gal 4^{6}). The Reformers' teaching concerning justification by faith involved, says Ihmels, an attempt to answer a twofold question: 'How can man attain objectively and subjectively to communion with God?' To Luther, as to St. Paul, the certainty to which the Gospel testifies is that God is gracious. Objective testimony may be given to this truth, but it is the believer's privilege to know subjectively that God is *gracious to him* (*PRE*³ xvi. 483). Kattenbusch describes Luther's teaching about salvation as being, in brief, that the man who on earth has experience of the love of God in the forgiveness of sins already enjoys a foretaste of the bliss of heaven. Upon this idea of salvation Luther based his doctrine of the believer's certainty of salvation (*Heilsgewissheit der Gläubigen*). He held that, according to the gospel of the grace of God, a Christian may be assured that it is God's will to forgive and to save (*certum esse de gratia Dei*). But the thought of the ever certain grace of God signified for him not the indifference of God towards sin, but God's power over sin (*PRE*³ xvi. 152).

During Luther's lifetime there were, however, some who regarded his teaching on religious certainty as defective. To questions in regard to the

time and manner of conversion, his answers were said to be indecisive or incomplete. Even in his exposition of the doctrine of justification by faith, Karlstadt and Münzer said that they missed clear instruction concerning 'the transition (*Ueberleitung*) to the certainty that the Divine grace avails even for me, and for me even now' (Feine, *Bekehrung im NT und in der Gegenwart*, 1908, p. 26). The truth is that there were two strains in Luther's teaching. On the one hand, Dorner's definition is thoroughly Lutheran:

'Christian certainty is the Divinely effected certainty that we are known, loved, and reconciled by God (1 Co 8[3], Gal 4[9]), since He regards us in Christ. . . . The Holy Spirit . . . creates a firm because a Divine consciousness. The knowledge of man is exalted to Divine knowledge. It is Divine as to its contents, for it knows God and His thoughts of love. But it is also Divinely certain of these contents, without ceasing to be human' (*System of Christian Doctrine*, Eng. tr. 1880, i. 153 ff.).

On the other hand, Luther's affirmation that religious authority is based not on the Bible alone, but on the Bible as interpreted to the individual by the Spirit of God, has led many Lutheran theologians to dwell on the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* less as the inward assurance of personal salvation than as the guarantee of the truth of Scripture, and, indeed, of Christian theology. It should, however, be added that modern Lutheran theologians of the positive school would make the ground of objective certainty not the Scriptures, but the Christ whom the Scriptures reveal.

'The basis of faith is Christ as known to us in the testimony of His first disciples. . . . Nor is it possible to allow any essential difference between Christ as the basis of faith and Christ as the content of faith. He who sees in the man Jesus only His moral majesty, and never beholds His Divine glory, is not led to faith in Him in the religious sense' (Kirn, 'Glaube,' *PRE*[3] vi. 681).

H. B. Workman (in *New History of Methodism*, 1909, i. 21) suggests that the reason why the doctrine of assurance has not been a potent factor in the life of the Protestant Churches of the Continent is that 'as Luther grew older his conception of faith became more and more intellectual.' Certainly intellectualism has been unduly prominent in orthodox Lutheran teaching, and it is profoundly true that 'when faith is reduced to the assent of the intellect it ceases to have that guarantee or assurance which faith can have only when it is the consciousness of the soul transformed with the passion of love.' To teach that justification by faith is followed, in due course, normally by knowledge of justification or assurance of salvation is to incur the responsibility of showing, beyond all possibility of doubt, that by faith is meant, not intellectual assent to pure doctrine, but

'*Fides specialis* — a personal act, according to which the person confidently applies to himself the *gratia universalis*. This is *Fiducia*. If we analyze this *fiducia* more closely, it is a trustful acceptance, not yet assurance of salvation. Only the contents received by faith have the power to give . . . the *certitudo salutis* by the *testimonium internum Spiritus Sancti*' (Dorner, *op. cit.* iv. 199).

With the statement in this form there would be general agreement. The words omitted assert that 'the contents received by faith have the power to give certainty of their truth.' The religious consciousness does, indeed, verify the saving truths of the gospel; but, as will be shown in the next paragraph of this article, extreme claims have been made in regard to the range of truth which inward assurance has been supposed to guarantee. Religious certainty is quite compatible with scanty knowledge of Christian doctrine, though it always prompts to the acquirement of truth, and indeed is, to a large extent, sustained by knowledge of the truth.

'One may not only have faith, but even the "full assurance" of faith, without a correct knowledge, or even without any theory at all, of the mental process it involves' (Robert Whyte, *Expositor*, 2nd series, viii. [1887] 216).

The relation between subjective and objective assurance in religious certainty will vary. To one who has been carefully instructed in Divine truth, religious certainty means that what has been implicit becomes explicit; there is a realization of the power of Christ, who may have been theoretically acknowledged as the Son of God, but who has never before been known as Saviour. But another, whose knowledge of Christ's teaching and claims is very scanty, may be led to trust His promise of forgiveness in the hour of conviction of sin; he will have 'an overwhelming feeling of the reality of his experience,' and his growth in assurance will depend upon his diligence in 'the investigation of the grounds of the belief'; in his case that investigation is 'a matter for later reflexion' (see art. BELIEF, vol. ii. p. 463[b]).

Among 19th cent. Lutheran theologians who have made a special study of the subject of 'Christian certainty,' a prominent place must be given to F. H. R. von Frank (1827-1894), the founder of the 'Erlangen school' of German theology. His religious experience is instructive. His father was a Lutheran minister with decided leanings towards Rationalism. But, during his University course, Frank was greatly influenced (*a*) by Harless at Leipzig, who represented the staunch Lutheran orthodoxy of which his pupil afterwards became a firm defender; (*b*) by Hofmann at Erlangen, under whose guidance he was led to seek 'new methods of teaching old truths.' In his writings Frank endeavours to do justice both to the subjective and to the objective side of religious certainty. R. Seeberg points out (*PRE*[3] vi. 160) that in Hofmann's teaching there is a similar blending, due to his having learnt (*a*) from Schleiermacher to lay stress upon subjectively experienced spiritual realities; and (*b*) from Hegel to recognize the importance of the historical method.

In his *System of Christian Certainty*[2] (Eng. tr. Edinburgh, 1886), Frank begins by stating that the expression 'Christian certainty' is used 'in a much more comprehensive sense than that of the personal assurance of salvation, the *certitudo salutis*.' But underlying the certainty, in which Frank attempts to find a basis for Christian doctrine, is the experience of regeneration. Of this new life the Christian is certain. Moreover, he is certain that this new experience is not self-produced; in contrast to his former experience, it bears witness to an efficient and sustaining cause. The argument that the central certainty of the Christian stands in indissoluble relation to the objects of faith is developed on three lines: (*a*) in relation to the *immanent* objects of faith, *e.g.* consciousness of sin and of the reality of the new life; (*b*) in relation to the *transcendent* objects of faith, *e.g.* the reality and personality of God, the one personal God as the triune God, and the fact of the expiation of the God-man, the sinless One; (*c*) in relation to the *transeunt* objects of faith, by which he means factors which come into consideration because they bring about the transition of those realities, transcendent in themselves, in their operation upon the subject, *e.g.* the Scriptures, the sacraments, and the Church.

In a sympathetic but discriminating estimate of this elaborate work, R. Seeberg (*op. cit.* p. 161) shows that Frank has been unjustly charged with (*a*) *subjectivism*, whereas his purpose was not to give expression to the mere affirmations of the religious consciousness, but to demonstrate that certainty of objective reality could be gained by subjective experience and assurance; (*b*) *intellectualism*, whereas he was in sharp opposition to the error that Christianity consists in a number of dogmas.

'It is only seemingly intellectualism, when all the subtleties of Lutheran doctrine are derived from Christian certainty. What may truthfully be said is that the value of the new

principle of knowledge is overestimated, and that it is incautiously applied.'

With this judgment general agreement would now be expressed. Frank had a profound realization of the evidential value of religious certainty, but he had an unduly exalted sense of the range of its doctrinal implications. In attempting to derive Christian truth from Christian certainty, he passed beyond the limits of the Christian consciousness into regions of thought concerning which it cannot speak. Dorner examines at length Frank's *System of Christian Certainty* in his *System of Christian Doctrine*, i. 52 ff. He speaks of its conclusions as 'a superstructure based upon mere subjectivity' (p. 54)—a severe judgment of which Seeberg's words supply the necessary modification. Especially valuable, however, is Dorner's comparison of Frank's *System der christlichen Gewissheit* with his *System der christlichen Wahrheit*. It is shown that

'Frank presents, strictly regarded, two Doctrines of Faith, one of which would pass from beneath upwards, from the subjective and empirical knowledge of the Christian to God; the other of which, to which he also gives the name of the Metaphysics of Christian Truth, would proceed from above downwards. Both give the Christian contents, but under a different aspect' (*op. cit.* i. 57).

4. Relation between present and future certainty (Calvinism).—The doctrine of religious certainty (*certitudo salutis*) has a place in the theology of the Reformed Church.

'Protestantism began as a reassertion of the rights of the individual. The protest against Rome took different forms. Luther emphasized justification by faith, Calvin, the Divine decree; the substance was the same. In either case the necessity of ecclesiastical mediation was denied, and the essence of religion found in the relation between the individual soul and God' (W. Adams Brown, *Christian Theology in Outline*, 1907, p. 199).

But Calvin's close linking of the doctrines of religious certainty and election had important theoretical and practical results. The theoretical result was that the ultimate ground of certainty —the immutable Divine decree—was as external as the special revelation granted to favoured Roman Catholics; the practical result was that emphasis was laid on the assurance of final salvation rather than on the present witness to forgiveness and adoption.

The subject of the certainty of election is discussed at length by Calvin (*Inst.*, Eng. tr. 1845, bk. iii. 24). He grants that 'the enjoyment of their election is in some measure communicated' to the elect, when they are called. 'Those are in error,' he affirms, 'who make the power of election dependent on the faith by which we perceive that we are elected'; yet he cannot but admit that 'in regard to us election is doubtful and ineffectual till confirmed by faith.' It follows that 'we must look there for its certainty, because, if we attempt to penetrate to the secret ordination of God, we shall be engulfed in that profound abyss'; but, having shown that our election is in Christ Jesus, he says: 'If we are elected in Him, we cannot find the certainty of our election in ourselves.' The teaching, as a whole, furnishes scanty ground for assurance to consciences deprived of peace, because, as Calvin declares, they cannot help asking two questions: 'Whence our salvation but from the election of God? But what proof have we of our election?'

In comparison with mediæval teaching, Calvinism marks an advance as regards its doctrine of the certitude of salvation. That the advance was not wholly in the right direction is due to the grounding of that doctrine 'solely upon the eternal nature and working of God Himself.' The Reformed Church claimed to have risen above 'the uncertainty of mere human subjective conviction' to 'immediate apprehension of the objective certainty of salvation as ultimately founded in the eternal Divine purpose.' The endeavour to combine objective and subjective grounds of certainty indicates a clear perception of the complexity of the problem, but a new difficulty was added when

'the Principle of Absolute Predestination logically took shape, as the ultimate expression of the Protestant Reformation in its search for a certain and infallible ground upon which to base the personal assurance of salvation' (Hastie, *Theology of the Reformed Church*, 1904, p. 231 ff.).

According to the *Formula Concordiæ*, it is our predestination which assures us of our salvation; but Luther regarded this idea as 'a constant factor of unrest' (*PRE*[3] xvi. 155). Hence the affirmation that 'the believer is as certain of his future salvation as he is of his mortality' is not too severely characterized by Thieme as 'a vulgar misunderstanding of the Lutheran doctrine of salvation.' According to that doctrine, the believer does not yet possess the inheritance, although he has become an heir. But even of the inheritance itself the certainty of salvation gives him a foretaste. In the love of God and of his brethren, he already enjoys the fruit of faith (*PRE*[3] xxi. 120). The practical tendency of strict Predestinarianism is, as Workman points out (*op. cit.* i. 23), to leave a 'loophole for doubt.' This is evident from the words of the *Helvetic Confession*: 'If thou believest and art in Christ, hold without doubt that thou art elect.' Calvin himself speaks of 'the constant struggle of the faithful with their own distrust.' Nevertheless, the element of truth in Calvinistic teaching on this subject should not be forgotten; it is happily stated by W. Adams Brown (*op. cit.* p. 387):

'It is not a future but a present state which is the primary object of religious assurance. It is God's present forgiveness and acceptance of which we have experimental knowledge, and which is the ground of our confidence. None the less is it true that, since the God with whom we have present communion through Christ is at the same time the Lord of all life, our thought reaches out inevitably to the future, and the consciousness of present acceptance and forgiveness passes imperceptibly into the hope of final salvation.'

5. Inwardness of religious certainty (Quakers and Mystics).—The Quaker doctrine of 'the Inner Light' emphasizes the inwardness of religious certainty. Rufus M. Jones holds (*Social Law in the Spiritual World*, 1904, p. 172) that Quakers 'universalized the principle which Luther made fundamental in salvation,' namely, that 'the final test of everything in religion is the test of experience.' The doctrine of the Inner Light has many aspects; some of these do not concern us now. But in simple terms George Fox was defining religious certainty when he said: 'I was commanded to turn people to that inward light . . . by which all might *know* their salvation'; and again: The Light is 'that which reacheth this witness of God in yourselves' (*Journal*[8], 1901, i. 36, 343). In thus insisting on the trustworthiness of the witness of the religious consciousness, the early Quakers reiterated the doctrine of assurance, as taught by St. Paul. Modern exponents of their teaching, such as Rufus M. Jones, are able to show that to whatever extremes the theory may have led individuals,

'the early Friends did not minimize the importance of the Scriptures, or of the historical Christ and His work for human redemption. . . . One of the great fruits of the Incarnation and Passion, according to their view, was the permanent presence of Christ among men in an inward and spiritual manner, bringing to effect *within* what His *outward life* had made possible' (*op. cit.* p. 167 f.).

Edward Grubb claims that the message of the early Quakers may be so re-stated as 'to conserve at once the catholicity of the Mystics' appeal to universal light, the sobriety of the faithful student of religious history, and the fervour of evangelical belief in Christ.' Epecially significant is his acknowledgment that

'beneath all the extravagances and unrealities that have marked the Catholic notion of authority, there is at least this solid nucleus of truth: that the Holy Spirit is a present

possession of the Church, and that in the unity of the Christian consciousness there is an authority, not absolute and final, but real and living, which has its place in correcting the vagaries of individual illumination' (*Authority and the Light Within*, 1908, pp. 9, 25).

With such safeguards against excessive subjectivity, it is rightly urged that the doctrine of the Inner Light is in accord with modern psychology.

'That I am I, is the clearest of all facts, but nobody could prove it to me, if I lacked the testimony of consciousness. I know that I have found freedom from the sense of sin, joy in union with the Infinite Spirit, peace through forgiveness only because *I know it*, because it is witnessed within, not because some man in sacred garb has announced it, or because I have read in a book that such an experience *might be* mine' (Rufus M. Jones, *op. cit.* p. 171 f.).

What has been said in regard to the Inner Light applies to the essential truth of Mysticism. There is wisdom in Garvie's contention that, inasmuch as the chief peril of Mysticism is the isolation of its teaching concerning the contact of the soul with God, 'this contact need not be spoken of, as it often is, as *mystical*; the term *spiritual* should be used' (*Mansfield College Essays*, 1909, p. 166). The writer of this article has elsewhere endeavoured to show that true Mysticism is inseparable from the teaching of the NT in regard to the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers; that it is implied in spiritual religion and neglects none of its elements; that it is distinguishable from false Mysticism in that it undervalues neither the historic basis of faith nor the testimony of the Scriptures, and is independent neither of the means of grace nor of the corroborative witness of the saints. The individual believer may derive religious certainty from the testimony of his own consciousness; and

'the argument from experience is not discredited by the charge that it depends upon an appeal to feelings. This is not its sole basis; moreover, feelings are facts which must be accounted for and which may be subjected to tests. The believer who has "felt" may by thought and inquiry establish the credibility of the facts which prove that his faith accords with reason' (*Spiritual Religion*, 1901, p. 124 f.).

The reason why Mysticism has been prone to under-value the objective grounds of confidence is admirably stated by W. B. Pope:

'Mysticism has been in all ages either avowedly or virtually a reaction and protest against superstitious dependence on the external props of Christian certitude, and such exaggeration of the soleness of the inward witness was to be expected. It is seen among the Pietists of Germany, among the Friends, and occasionally among the less instructed Methodists; in fact, among all who have been suddenly aroused by strong tides of religious revival from indifference or from ceremonialism to the intense pursuit of personal salvation' (*Compendium of Christian Theology*[2], 1880, iii. 123).

6. Joint witness of Divine and human spirit (Methodist teaching).—'The fundamental contribution of Methodism to the life and thought of the Church' is said by Workman (*op. cit.* i. 19) to be 'the doctrine of Assurance.' It is not implied that the doctrine is peculiar to Methodism, as the quotations from the *Homilies* of the Church of England and from Hooker (*Work* , iii. 673) sufficiently prove. But it is asserted, and with good reason, that Wesley's teaching was regarded as 'a dangerous innovation,' and that he made Assurance part of his 'working creed.' When Jeremy Taylor is quoted as having influenced Wesley by his teaching that perpetual doubt concerning acceptance with God is necessary, it should also be remembered that Samuel Wesley, the rector of Epworth, gave this dying charge to his son John: 'The inward witness, son, the inward witness—this is the proof, the strongest proof, of Christianity' (*New History of Methodism*, i. 168). A twofold interest attaches to the narrative of Wesley's visit to Herrnhut: (1) Lutherans still write as though the Methodist doctrine of Assurance reduced the witness of the Holy Spirit to 'a feeling of peace' (Ihmels, in *PRE*[3] xvi. 514); but Wesley learnt from Christian David, one of the Moravian Brethren, that 'being justified is widely different from the full assurance of faith.' Hence he writes after his visit:

'I now saw clearly that we ought not to insist on anything we *feel*, any more than on anything we *do*, as if it were necessary previous to justification or the remission of sins. I saw that least of all ought we so to insist on the full assurance of faith as to exclude those who had not attained this from the Lord's Table.'

(2) Sacramentarianism and the doctrine of Assurance represent two opposite conceptions of the spiritual life. One extreme doctrine confines grace to sacramental channels, but another extreme theory was held by those Moravians who made full assurance an essential condition for partaking of the Holy Communion. This part of their teaching Wesley could not accept. That the Lord's Supper may prove the means of grace at which the believing communicant attains to religious certainty is proved by the experience of the mother of the Wesleys. The inscription on her tombstone in Bunhill Fields states that she received the assurance of the forgiveness of sins whilst her son-in-law, Mr. Hall, was handing to her the cup and repeating the words, 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee.'

At the Reformation, Luther re-affirmed and emphasized the doctrine of justification by faith; and, in the 18th cent. Revival, Wesley re-affirmed and emphasized the doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit. The distinguishing features of his exposition of religious certainty are his insistence on 'the joint testimony of God's Spirit and our spirit,' and his refusal to identify them. He defines the testimony of our own spirit as 'the testimony of our own conscience that God hath given us to be holy of heart, and holy in outward conversation. It is a consciousness of our having received, in and by the Spirit of adoption, the tempers mentioned in the word of God as belonging to His adopted children.' Concerning the testimony of God's Spirit, he insists that

'it must needs be, in the very nature of things, antecedent to the testimony of our own spirit'; and, 'desiring any who are taught of God to correct, to soften, or to strengthen, the expression,' he says: 'the testimony of the Spirit is an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given Himself for me; and that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God' (*Sermon* x.).

That Wesley did 'much to clear the Scriptural doctrine of Assurance from the misapprehensions that have obscured it' is shown by W. B. Pope (*op. cit.* iii. 125). The following points are made prominent: (1) Assurance is 'the common *privilege*' of all believers; this is important in view of current misconceptions of Methodist teaching, as though it identified faith and the assurance of faith. The Holy Spirit bears witness with human spirits, hence there will always be differences in human experience.

'The Spirit's witness *comes from God*, therefore it is veracious, Divine, omnipotent; but the Spirit's witness from God *is in man*, therefore it may be wrongly read, it may be checked, it may for a time be kept down, and prevented from showing itself to be what it is' (Maclaren, *Sermons preached in Manchester*, 1871, 1st series, p. 66).

Yet Assurance is 'a result of faith that may be expected, and should be sought.' (2) Assurance is 'the *direct* witness' of the Spirit; by this Wesley meant that there is a testimony of the Holy Spirit 'other than that which arises from a consciousness of the fruit of the Spirit' (*Works*, v. 132); there is a joint testimony, but 'our own spirit is not supposed to bring its inferences to be confirmed; rather the witness of the Holy Spirit to our adoption is borne through the spirit of our new regenerate life' (Pope, *op. cit.* iii. 129). (3) Assurance is confirmed by the accompaniment of 'the *indirect* witness, or testimony of the conscience on the evidence of a sincere life.' To the

pragmatic test 'By their fruits ye shall know them' Wesley submitted his doctrine of Assurance. He encouraged none to imagine that they had the Holy Spirit's witness unless the fruit of the Spirit was seen in their lives. As expressed by the psychologist, his teaching is that

'religion includes . . . a new zest which adds itself like a gift to life . . . an assurance of safety and a temper of peace, and, in relation to others, a preponderance of loving affections' (James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902, p. 485 f.).

Of this indirect witness Wesley speaks (*Sermon* xi.) as 'the result of reason, or reflexion on what we feel in our own souls. Strictly speaking, it is a conclusion drawn partly from the word of God, and partly from our own experience.' Modern psychological study of the phenomena of the spiritual life justifies the criticism which maintains that the witness of the Christian consciousness cannot be confined to intellectual processes of inference and reflexion. 'This witness is indirect as a conclusion; but as the consciousness of experience, or of conscience, which is the moral consciousness, it is as direct as that of the Spirit Himself' (Pope, *op. cit.* iii. 130). It is quite in harmony with Wesley's own teaching concerning spiritual experience which 'shines by its own light' (*Christian Perfection*, p. 119) when Sheldon says that

'from living spiritual affections' there issues 'spontaneous conviction without any consciousness of argumentative procedure. . . . In stimulating to love and trust, the Holy Spirit contributes to assurance. . . . For the Holy Spirit to enkindle love, especially in one who is confronted by the objective revelation of God's love in Christ, is to work effectively toward an inward persuasion of the love of God. . . . Assurance is in and through the filial consciousness, which consciousness is at once an activity of man's spirit and a product of the Holy Spirit's agency' (*System of Christian Doctrine*, 1903, p. 472 ff.).

The attempt to explain the Holy Spirit's utterance of the cry 'Abba, Father' as one of the ecstatic phenomena of the glossolalia (Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*[2], 1899, p. 66) is rightly rejected by G. B. Stevens, on the ground that 'the thought of both passages where the Abba-cry is mentioned is quite remote from the subject of speaking with tongues.' In the doctrine of the Spirit's witness to the believer assuring him of his sonship to God 'we reach the Apostle's most characteristic thoughts.' Answering the question 'whether the Spirit is conceived of as the cause of the *fact* of sonship, or as the cause of the *assurance* of it,' the same writer says:

'I hold the latter to be Paul's thought. . . . The sinner becomes a son of God in justification by faith. To this fact the Spirit bears witness, enabling him to realize the certainty of his sonship to God' (*The Theology of the NT*, 1899, p. 440 f.).

In his sympathetic exposition of 'the evangelical Arminianism of Wesley,' G. P. Fisher shows that

'the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, of His indispensable agency in conversion and sanctification, was never displaced or lowered in the Wesleyan creed. This faith in the living power of the Holy Spirit, not anything ascribed to unaided human agency, was the secret of the emphasis which was laid on Assurance as a privilege attainable by all believers' (*Hist. of Christian Doctrine*, 1896, p. 392).

7. Relation between personal and collective certainty (Ritschlian School).—The work of the Holy Spirit is inadequately treated in the writings of Ritschl. Garvie is of opinion that this is, to some extent, due to 'the limited range of his religious experience' (*The Ritschlian Theology*, 1899, p. 337 ff.). In this respect, however, the disciples of Ritschl have supplemented his teaching. An able and systematic statement of the doctrine of religious certainty, from the Ritschlian point of view, has been given by Clasen (*Die christliche Heilsgewissheit*, 1897). Uncertainty in regard to personal salvation is said to result from attempting to answer such questions as 'Have I done enough to merit salvation?' or 'Am I holy enough to be sure that I am saved?' (p. 3). But it is clearly stated that a Christian may be certain of the grace of God, that he may know that he is reconciled to God through Jesus Christ, and that, in spite of sin, he is a child of God and an heir of eternal life (p. 13). The writer's main positions are: (1) that religious certainty must have a firmer foundation than the excitement of the feelings (p. 64); (2) that religious certainty does not consist in the knowledge of God merely, inasmuch as with that knowledge may co-exist a consciousness of the chasm which separates sinful man from the holy God (p. 68); (3) that religious certainty cannot be attained by means of an idea, or of a doctrine, or of a book, but by communion with a person in whom God Himself draws near to us (p. 72); (4) that religious certainty rests upon our knowledge of what Christ is to us rather than upon our comprehension of what He is in Himself (p. 78).

In several striking passages, Clasen shows that religious certainty has both an objective and a subjective basis. Objectively it rests upon the fact of Christ; subjectively upon experience of redemption from sin (p. 17).

'Without this inward redemption, however obedient one may be to the precepts of Christianity, however much he may know of God in Christ, however confidently he may accept all Christian doctrine, he has no Christian certainty, his Christianity is only an external form' (p. 18). Clasen does not, however, advance beyond the teaching of Ritschl that 'the individual can experience the peculiar effect which proceeds from Christ only in connection with the community founded by Him. . . . The individual believer . . . is reconciled by God through Christ in the community founded by Christ' (*Justification and Reconciliation*, 1900, p. 578).

In full accord with this teaching, Clasen argues that, although an individual may come to doubt his standing in grace, as *a member of the Kingdom of God* he has 'in this fact a guarantee that the redemption of Jesus Christ, which is a pre-supposition of the existence of this Kingdom, has actually attained its end in him and avails for him' (p. 28). But the Reformation doctrine is that individuals have access to grace as individuals, and not as individuals who are members of the 'community of reconciliation.' As a sympathetic student of the Ritschlian theology points out,

'Ritschl does not distinguish between the historical and the religious significance of the community. Its historical significance appears in that it can lead the individual to Christ by instruction and example. But it must also point the individual away from itself to Christ, for in the deepest religious acts all historical mediation vanishes and the individual soul has to do with God alone. The importance of the doctrine of Justification is independent of the theory that the Church is the storehouse of the Divine treasures of grace; its central truth is individual assurance of salvation. Therefore, the doctrine of Justification does not require the subordination of the individual to the society' (Wendland, *Albrecht Ritschl und seine Schüler*, 1899, p. 125).

To this able criticism may be added the words of an Anglican theologian. Writing on the mission of the Holy Spirit, T. B. Strong says:

'It is certainly subjective; that is, it comes not only to the Church as a whole, but to each individual soul. . . . The grace which comes to those who receive the Holy Ghost inspires them with certainty' (*Man. of Theol.*[2], 1903, p. 336 f.).

8. Scriptural basis.—The doctrine of religious certainty, as it is sketched in this article, is broadly based on the teachings of Scripture. It does not rest upon a few cardinal passages. A writer who has felt the influence of Ritschl acknowledges that in the NT, although salvation is represented in different aspects,

'all who are in possession of this new life are represented as having a clear consciousness of it. "You know," "we know" are expressions used again and again.' In a later passage, after recalling 'the plenitude of possibilities' by which different types of conversion are explained, he adds: 'If we should from this draw the conclusion that for this reason there is, generally speaking, no consciousness of the new life, because this consciousness is so different in every individual . . . then this would be a fallacy of the most fatal kind, and recognizable as such, because logically it would necessitate the denial of the assurance of salvation' (Haering, *The Ethics of the Christian Life*, Eng. tr. 1909, pp. 199, 206).

'We know' is the frequently recurring expression of St. John's doctrine of Assurance; for an

interesting comparison of his view of religious certainty with that of St. Paul, although both Apostles describe 'the same fundamental Christian experience,' see Law, *Tests of Life*, 1909, p. 279 ff.

'Full assurance' or 'much assurance' is the RV rendering of πληροφορία in Col. 2[2] and 1 Th. 1[5]. Commenting on the former passage, Lightfoot says that '"full assurance" seems to be the meaning of the substantive wherever it occurs in the NT.' If this translation be adopted in Heb. 6[11] and 10[22], where RV has 'fulness' (AV 'full assurance'), religious certainty is expressed in the two phrases 'full assurance of hope' and 'full assurance of faith.'

Bruce (*Com. in loc.*) has an excellent paraphrase of both verses: 'that your salvation may be a matter of certainty, and not merely of charitable hope' (6[11]). 'With a true heart'—*i.e.* not timid and fearful—he can draw near who has full assurance of faith, 'absolute unqualified confidence, without any doubt of a gracious reception.' Such confidence is justified by the facts mentioned in vv.[19-21] (10[22]).

The fullest analysis of religious certainty is found in two passages in St. Paul's Epistles, namely, Rom. 8[15ff.] and Gal. 4[6]. The Holy Spirit, as the Spirit of adoption, produces in the believer the assurance of his sonship. The variation of the phraseology is especially instructive, and is clearly brought out by Swete (*The Holy Spirit in the NT*, 1909, pp. 204 f., 218 f.).

The Spirit of sonship makes the adopted sons 'conscious of their sonship and capable of fulfilling their responsibilities.' In Gal 4[6] it is the Spirit who cries 'Abba, Father,' but 'the words which are uttered belong to the human subject and not to the Divine Spirit, and, when they appear again in Rom. 8[15], this is made evident by a verbal change in the phrase with which they are introduced; in the later Epistle it stands *in which we cry*. But *crying* in Galatians has its own truth to teach; the Spirit of God inspires the cry which the human spirit utters.' Any doctrine of religious certainty is incomplete which weakens St. Paul's statement that in the believer the Holy Spirit is a filial spirit. 'It inspires the daily *Pater noster* of the Church; in those who are led by it, it is a joint-witness with their own consciousness that they possess the nature as well as the rights of sons.'

LITERATURE.—Full references have been given in the various sections of the article. The subject is treated in most manuals of Theology. In addition the following may be mentioned: **Cunningham**, *The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation*, 1862, Essay 3; **Carlblom**, *Zur Lehre von der christlichen Gewissheit*, 1874; **E. White**, *Certainty in Religion*[2], 1880; **Ussing**, *Den christelige Vished*, 1883; **Bois**, *De la certitude chrétienne*, 1887; **Cremer**, *Die Entstehung der christlichen Gewissheit*, 1893; **Gess**, 'Ob ein Christ seines Heils gewiss werden konne,' in *Neue Christoterpe*, 1894; **Hodgson**, *Theologia Pectoris*, 1898; **Turner**, *Knowledge, Belief, and Certitude*, 1900; **Stalker**, 'Basis of Christian Certainty,' in *Expositor*, 6th series, vi. [1902] 334; **Gottschick**, *Die Heilsgewissheit des evangelischen Christen im Anschluss an Luther dargestellt*, 1903; **Beet**, *The New Life in Christ*[3], 1903, lect. 10; **W. L. Walker**, *The Holy Spirit*, 1907, p. 61 ff.; **Leckie**, *Authority in Religion*, 1909.

J. G. TASKER.

CEYLON.—In addition to the following article on CEYLON BUDDHISM, see DRAVIDIANS, HINDUISM, ISLĀM IN INDIA AND CEYLON, VEDDAS.

CEYLON BUDDHISM.

CEYLON BUDDHISM.—According to the tradition handed down at Anurādhapura, Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon by a mission sent by Asoka (*q.v.*) the Great. It will be convenient, after (1) discussing this story, to group the rest of the scanty historical material under the following heads: (2) the Order: its temporalities; (3) its literary activity; (4) the outward forms of the religion; (5) the religious life; (6) the Doctrine.

1. The introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon.—We have at least eight accounts, in extant historical works, of the way in which the island of Ceylon became Buddhist. Apart from a few unimportant details, the accounts agree, all of them being derived, directly or indirectly, from the now lost *Mahāvaṁsa* (see under LITERATURE [Buddhist]), or Great Chronicle, kept at the Great Minster in Anurādhapura. The lost Chronicle was written in Sinhalese, with occasional mnemonic verses in Pali, and our earliest extant authority is probably very little else than a reproduction of these verses. The later extant works give us, in varying degree and usually in Pali, the gist also of the prose portion of the lost Chronicle. We have space only for the main features of the story as told in the oldest of our texts—the *Dipavaṁsa* and the *Mahavaṁsa*, composed in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. respectively.[1]

In the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C., Tissa, the then king of Ceylon, though still a pagan, sent an embassy to Asoka, the Buddhist emperor of India, soliciting his friendship. The emperor sent him presents in return, recommended him to adopt the Buddhist faith, and afterwards sent his own son Mahinda (who had entered the Buddhist Order) as a missionary to Ceylon to convert the king. Mahinda, with his six companions, flew through the air, and alighted on Mount Missaka, the modern Mahintale, seven miles from Anurādhapura. There the king was hunting, and met the new-comers. Mahinda, after some conversation, discoursed to him on the 'Elephant Trail'—a well-known simile (*Majjhima*, i. 175) in which the method to be followed in discovering a good teacher is compared with the method adopted by a hunter in following up an elephant trail; and incidentally a summary is given of the Buddha's teaching. Well pleased with the discourse, the king was still more pleased to find that the missionary was the son of his ally Aśoka. He invited the party to the capital, and sent his chariot for them the next morning; but they declined it, and flew through the air. On hearing of their arrival in this miraculous way, the king went to meet them, conducted them to the palace, and provided them with food. After the meal, Mahinda addressed the ladies of the court on the Heavenly Mansions and the Four Truths. But the crowd grew too great for the hall. An adjournment was made to the park, and there, till sundown, Mahinda spoke to the multitude on the Wise Men and the Fools. On the next day the princess Anulā, with five hundred of her ladies, requested permission of the king to enter the Buddhist Order. The king asked Mahinda to receive them, but the missionary explained how for that purpose it was necessary, according to their rules, to have recourse to the Order of *bhikkhunis*, and urged him to write to Aśoka to send over his (Mahinda's) sister Saṅghamittā, a profoundly learned member of the Order, with other *bhikkhunis*. The people of the city, hearing of these events, thronged the gates of the palace to hear the new teacher. The king had the elephant stables cleansed and decorated as a meeting-hall, and there a discourse was addressed to the people on the uncertainty of life. For twenty-six days the mission remained at the capital expounding the new teaching, which was accepted by king and people. The king despatched an embassy, under Ariṭṭha, to Aśoka, asking that Saṅghamittā should be sent over, and also a branch of the Wisdom Tree under which the Buddha had attained *nirvaṇa*. Both were sent, and received with great ceremony. The tree was planted in a garden at Anurādhapura (and there it still flourishes, an object of reverence to Buddhists throughout the world). A special residence was prepared for Saṅghamittā and presented to the Order, together with the garden in which it stood. The mast and rudder of the ship that brought her and the branch of the Wisdom Tree to Ceylon were placed there as trophies. The *Mahavaṁsa*, in giving these details, adds (xix. 71) that through all the subsequent schisms the *bhikkhunis* maintained their position there. That may have been so up to the date of the Chronicle. But the Sisterhood was never important in Ceylon, and is now all but extinct.

A list has been preserved at the Great Minster (*Mahavaṁsa*, xx. 20-25) of the buildings erected by King Tissa in support of his new faith. They were: (1) The Great Minster, close to the place where the branch of the Wisdom Tree was planted; (2) the Chetiya Vihara, Mahinda's residence on Mt. Missaka; (3) the Great Stupa (still standing); (4) the Vihara close by it; (5) the Issara Samaṇa Vihara (still in good preservation), a residence for brethren of good family;[2] (6) the Vessa Giri Vihara for brethren of ordinary birth; (7) the so-called First Stūpa; (8) and (9) residences for the Sisterhood; (10) and (11) Vihāras at the port where the Wisdom Tree was landed, and at its first resting-place on the way to the capital.[3]

It is difficult, without fuller evidence, to decide how far the account, here given in abstract, is to be accepted. On the one hand, there are miraculous details that are incredible; and, the original document being lost, we have only reproductions of it some five or six centuries later in date. On the other hand, we know that the tradition was uninterrupted, *i.e.* the lost documents were extant when our authorities were composed; and such contemporary evidence as we have con-

[1] For these works, see LITERATURE (Buddhist), and W. Geiger, *Dipavaṁsa und Mahavaṁsa*, Leipzig, 1905, for a detailed analysis of their relation to one another and to the other extant works.

[2] This regard paid to birth in assigning buildings to the Order is against the rules. Had the list been invented at a later period, it is scarcely possible that the distinction would have been made.

[3] A full statement of all the authorities for each episode is given by Geiger, *op. cit.* 114-119.

firms the story in at least two of its main points. Asoka's own edicts claim that he sent missionaries to various countries, and among these he mentions Ceylon;[1] and in a bas-relief on one of the carved gateways to the Sānchi Tope, which bears Asoka's crest (the peacock), we have a remarkable representation of a royal procession bearing reverently a branch of an *assattha* tree (the Wisdom Tree was an *assattha*) to some unmentioned destination.[2]

It is probable, indeed, that Buddhists had reached Ceylon from North India (the South was still pagan) before the time of King Tissa, and that the ground had been thereby prepared. It is quite possible, and indeed probable, that the formal conversion of the king and the declared adherence of the people were brought about by an official embassy from the ardent Buddhist who was also the powerful emperor of India. It is certain that Tissa was the first Buddhist king of Ceylon, and that it was in the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. that Buddhism became the predominant faith. It is needless to add that the then existing animism or paganism still survived, especially among the ignorant, whether rich or poor. It has been constantly in evidence, still exists throughout the island in the treatment of disease, and has been throughout the only religion of the Veddas.

2. The Order: its temporalities.—The evidence as to the numbers of the Order, and its possessions at any particular period, is both meagre and vague. The chronicles afford us little help. They give, it is true, quite a number of names of *vihāras* constructed or repaired by the kings and their courtiers. But it is only quite occasionally that the size of the residence or the extent of its property is referred to. The inscriptions are more instructive. The oldest date from about 235 B.C., and were cut by order of the niece of King Tissa himself, at a spot where the branch of the Wisdom Tree rested on its way from the seaport on the east coast to Anurādhapura. According to Parker (*Ceylon*, 420 ff.), this was No. 11 of the list (given above) of *vihāras*, etc., constructed by King Tissa; and it is most interesting to see what such a *vihāra* was.

There is here a range, about 1½ miles long, of low-lying hills covered with rocks and boulders. The caves have been hollowed out, and had, no doubt, been plastered and painted. Apartments were also made under the boulders, by building walls against them and adding doors. Such apartments were intended for shelter and sleep. The ground outside is more or less levelled, and planted with palms and other trees. The grass, in their shade, commanding a wide view of hill and plain, furnishes what in that warm climate is almost an ideal class-room, sitting-room, and study. There was facility for cultured talk or solitude. A reservoir was constructed below to supply water to the villagers, who, in their turn, were glad to provide the Brethren with sufficient food and clothing. In other instances the lands had been granted to the Order. Here we have no evidence of such a grant. There are about fifty inscriptions on the cave residences scattered over the hills. They give the name either of the resident Brother or of the 'maker' of the cave. In the latter case it is usually added that the cave is given to the Order as a whole. There are many hundreds of such hillside residences in Ceylon; but there is only one other place known to the present writer where so many are found together.

That other is Mahintale. Here there is a three-peaked hill, several miles long. Each peak is crowned by a *dāgaba*. The ascent to a table-land between two of the peaks is assisted by a flight of nearly two thousand steps of granite, each 20 feet broad. Fā-Hien (*Travels*, tr. by Legge, 1886, p. 107) was told at the beginning of the 5th cent. that there were 2000 *bhikkhus* dwelling on the hill; and Tennent (*Ceylon*, ii. 604) says:

> 'The rock in many places bears inscriptions recording the munificence of the sovereigns of Ceylon, and the ground is strewn with the fragments of broken carved-work and the débris of ruined buildings.'

An inscription, beautifully engraved on two slabs of polished stone standing at the top of the great staircase, is full of historical matter. It records rules to be observed by the residents in different parts of the hill in their relations toward each other, and in the management of the estates belonging to the Order there. We hear of a bursar, an almoner, a treasurer, an accountant, and other officials. Revenues from certain lands, and the offertory at certain shrines, were to be devoted respectively to the repair of certain buildings. Unfortunately, neither the extent of the lands nor the amount of the revenue is stated. An interesting point is that, whereas each repeater of the *Vinaya* (Rules of the Order) is to receive five measures of rice as the equivalent for food and robes, a repeater of the *Suttas* is to receive seven, and a repeater of the *Abhidhamma* twelve. The date of these rules is somewhat late—end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th cent.—but they are based on earlier regulations. They have been often translated. The best version is by M. Wickremasinghe, in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i. 98 ff.; but even there some of the most instructive passages are still obscure.

Spence Hardy gives the number of *bhikkhus* in Ceylon in the middle of the 19th cent. as 2500 (*Eastern Monachism*, 57, 309); Fā-Hien (tr. Legge, ch. 38) gives the number in the beginning of the 5th cent. as twenty times as large. The proportion at the later date would be 1 to 1000 of the population, and at the earlier date the population must have been much larger. The actual number ascertained by the Census to be in Ceylon in 1901 was 7331, and these authentic figures throw considerable doubt on both the above estimates. The proportion of rice fields held by the Order to those held by the people seems to have been quite insignificant. The Brethren, with very rare exceptions, have been satisfied with rice for food and cotton clothes for raiment; and Tennent cannot be far wrong when he says (*Ceylon*, i. 351): 'The vow of poverty, by which their order is bound, would seem to have been righteously observed.'

3. The Order: its literary activity.—One of the main duties of the Brethren was the preservation of the literature. There were neither printers nor publishers. Any teacher who desired to make his views known had to gather round him a number of disciples sufficiently interested in the doctrine to learn by heart the paragraphs (*Suttas*) or verses (*Gāthās*) in which it was expressed. They, in their turn, had to teach by repetition to others. Were the succession of teachers and pupils once broken, the doctrine was absolutely lost. This has frequently happened. We know the names, and the names only, of systems that have thus perished. Writing was indeed known, and short notes could be scratched on leaves. But materials for writing books were not invented in India or Ceylon till the 1st cent. B.C., and were even then so unsatisfactory that the long-continued habit of recitation was still kept up.[1] The books written on leaves tied together with string were most difficult to consult. There were no dictionaries or books of reference. Practically the whole of the material aids to our modern education were wanting. This may help to explain why, even as late as the 10th cent., we

[1] Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*[2], 1881–86, i. 64, 270.

[2] See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 1903, p. 302, and pls. 52, 54, 55 for illustrations.

[1] This curious (probably unique) state of things is discussed at length in the present writer's *Buddhist India*, 120–140.

hear (see § 2) of *repeaters* of the sacred books. In transliterated editions of the size and type used by the Pali Text Society these books would take more than 30 volumes of about 400 pages each.

This literature was in a dead language, almost as foreign to the Sinhalese as Pali is to us. Elaborate explanations were required in their own language. These were recorded in books, and repeated in class, but not learnt by heart, as the grammar and dictionary were. In the 4th cent. the Sinhalese began to use Pāli as the literary language, and soon afterwards these commentaries were re-written in that language. The whole of this literature, text and commentary, has been preserved for us by the untiring industry of the Order in Ceylon. This was possible only by a system so exacting that it left little opportunity for originality. Daily classes, attended for many years, with the constant appeal to authority, are not favourable to subsequent independence of thought.

It was mainly in the larger *vihāras* (groups of residences) that these studies were carried on. In the smaller *vihāras*, scattered above the villages throughout the country, there was often only one Elder and two or three juniors. One or other of these had probably assumed the robes with a view to education rather than religion, intending to leave at a convenient opportunity (just as the youths in our Grammar Schools used to wear clerical garb). He would not be very keen to learn by heart the volumes of the Canon Law. After learning a little Pāli, he would be taught the poetry and easier prose literature of the *Suttas*. Perhaps he would get interested, and desire to remain permanently; but this was the exception. Part of his duty would be to teach the boys and girls of the village to write Sinhalese, with pointed sticks in the sand. If another of the juniors had joined for good, the Elder would have to give him quite a different training preparatory to his going up to the larger *vihāras*, which were a sort of university.

There were both advantages and disadvantages in such a system, the latter predominating. The Order could not efficiently do what is now expected of Board School teachers, private tutors, Secondary School masters, and Professors, and at the same time act as annalists, record-keepers, librarians, and authors. Their difficulties were increased by the want of all modern mechanical aids, and not a little by incursions of barbarians, who, not seldom, burnt their books and buildings. The advantages of the system are seen in its results. The average intelligence of the Sinhalese is high; and they alone, of all the semi-Aryan tribes in India, have succeeded in preserving for us a literature extending over two thousand years, and containing materials for the religious history both of India and Ceylon. For the *bhikkhus* found time not only to repeat the old Pali books, but to write a voluminous new literature of their own, in Sinhalese and Pali. Of this much has been lost, but much still survives.[1]

4. The Order: the outward forms of religion.—It is not possible as yet to say how far the religious life of the Order in Ceylon differed from that of the early Buddhists in India, as none of the Sinhalese religious literature has so far been properly edited or translated. Spence Hardy has translated extracts, and, to judge from his specimens of the *Questions of King Milinda*, has not been very exact. But a beginning may be made, and first as to the outward forms of the faith. The *Kathina* ceremony has nearly died out. In N. India[1] it was a quaint and pretty affair. A layman or village offered to the *bhikkhus* resident in a certain locality enough cotton cloth to provide each of them with a new set of robes for the coming year. If, in chapter assembled, the offer was accepted, then a day was fixed, on which all the local *bhikkhus* had to be present, and to help, while the peasantry marked the cloth where it was to be cut to make the right number of robes, cut it, washed it, dyed it, dried it in the sun, sewed it together, with the requisite seams, gussets, etc., and offered to the senior *bhikkhu* the particular robe he chose. All this had to be completed in one day, or the gift was void. In Ceylon (S. Hardy, *East. Mon.* 121) the custom is sometimes extended to making also the cloth from the raw cotton on the same day. On this Tennent (*Ceylon*, i. 351) quotes Herodotus (ii. 122) as saying that the Egyptian priests held a yearly festival at which one of them was invested with a robe made in a single day; and also the Scandinavian myth of the Valkyries, who weave 'the crimson web of war' between the rising and the setting of the sun.

This ceremony was carried out in India after the yearly season of retreat during the rains (*Vassa*). The Retreat was necessary in India, as the *bhikkhus* did not reside, as a rule, in particular spots, but wandered about teaching. This being impossible during the tropical rains of Northern India (from July to October), they went then into retreat. In Ceylon all this is changed. They retain the name (corrupted into *Was*) and apply it to the original months. These in Ceylon are, however, not rainy; the *bhikkhus* do not wander during the other nine months, and do not, as a rule, go into retreat. But they utilize the fine weather in *Was* to hold what we should call an open-air mission.

'As there are no regular religious services at any other time, the peasantry make a special occasion of this. They erect under the palm trees a platform, often roofed but open at the sides, and ornamented with bright cloths and flowers. Round this they sit in the moonlight on the ground, and listen the night through to the sacred words repeated and expounded by relays of *bhikkhus*. They chat pleasantly now and again with their neighbours, and indulge all the while in the mild narcotic of the betel leaf.'[2]

No such missions were arranged by the early Buddhists. Conversation was the usual means of propaganda, though this lapsed fairly often into monologue, and there are a few cases of arrangements made for a single *bhikkhu* to address villagers.

The ceremony of *Upasampadā* (Reception into the Order) has remained practically the same. But the authority empowered to conduct it has greatly changed. In the ancient days the basis of government in the Order was the locality. The *bhikkhus* in any one locality could meet in chapter, and decide any point. For ordination a chapter of five was required, presided over by an Elder of ten years' seniority. The last kings of Ceylon gave the power to the Malwatte and Asgiri Vihāras at Kandy, thus taking the first step towards the substitution of a centralized hierarchy for the old union of independent republics. A new sect—the Amarapura—disputes the validity of this revolution.[3] The same sect objects to another innovation in outward forms—the leaving of the right shoulder bare when adjusting the robe for ordinary use (S. Hardy, *East. Mon.* 115). There is a third, very small, sect—the Ramanya—which also objects to these changes, and goes even further in its strict observance of the ancient rules than the Amarapura.

5. The religious life.—As regards the religious spirit of the Order in historical times in Ceylon, the amount of evidence is at present very slight. S. Hardy's extracts from mediæval Ceylon books

[1] As full an account of the Sinhalese literature as is possible in the present state of our studies, with a complete bibliography, will be found in W. Geiger's Handbook, *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, Strassburg, 1900.

[1] See *Vinaya*, i. 253 ff.; tr. in *SBE* xvii. 146 ff.

[2] Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 58 (slightly changed). See also S. Hardy, *East. Mon.* 2..ff.

[3] Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 1907, p. 390 ff.; Dickson, *JRAS*, 1893, p. 159 ff.

deal almost exclusively with the embellished accounts they give of Indian Buddhists. In the few cases of Ceylon Buddhists there seems to be but little difference. On one particular point, that of *samādhi* ('concentration,' often rendered 'meditation'), the present writer has published a Ceylon text (the only text in the Siṅhalese language as yet edited in transliteration); and the introduction discusses the question as to how far the details differ from the corresponding details in Indian Buddhist books.[1] We have in this manual nearly 3000 different exercises to be gone through in order to produce, one after the other, 112 ethical states arranged in ten groups. These deal respectively with joy, bliss, self-possession, impermanence, memory, planes of being, love, knowledge, the noble eightfold Path, and its goal, *nirvāṇa*. Some of the conceptions are of great ethical beauty; it is doubtful whether the suggested sequence is really of any practical value; most of the groups are found already in the Pāli *Suttas*, but there are slight variations in detail. A quaint addition is the association, in some of these exercises, of the five elements (earth, fire, water, wind, and space) with the ethical states under practice. This reminds one of the supposed association between colour and sound; and it is not easy to see exactly what is meant.

6. The Doctrine.—Ceylon Buddhism, so far as regards the philosophy, the ethics, and the psychology on which the ethics are based, remains much the same as the Buddhism of the Indian Pāli texts. Details are sometimes a little different, but not in essential matters. These are amplified and systematized; occasionally new technical terms are added, or greater stress is laid on terms scarcely used in the *Suttas*. But the essentials, so far as our present evidence shows, remain the same. Buddhaghoṣa's *Path of Purity*, the main authority for the ethics of the middle period, has not yet been published. The *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha* (edited by the present writer in *JPTS*, 1884), the manual used by all *bhikkhus* in the study of philosophy, psychology, and ontology from the 12th cent. down to the present day, has not yet been translated. When these are available greater precision may be possible.

It is far otherwise with the legendary material relating to persons, and especially to the Buddha. A comparison of the episodes quoted by S. Hardy from the Ceylon books shows a marked difference from the same episodes in the Indian books. The love of the Siṅhalese for the miraculous, for the art of the story-teller and the folk-lorist, has cast its glamour over them all. These mediæval Ceylon authors far outdistance Buddhaghoṣa, the Indian Buddhist, fond as he was of a story. But it is the same tendency, and we need not be surprised to find that it has grown stronger with the lapse of centuries. It results partly from a want of intellectual exactitude, partly from a craving for artistic literary finish. The mediæval literature was largely devoted to such tales, which we know only from Pāli versions such as the *Rasa-vāhinī*; there is quite a number of them buried in MSS in the Nevill collection in the British Museum.

To sum up: there is no independence of thought in Ceylon Buddhism; and, as in most cases where a pagan country has adopted a higher faith from without, the latter has not had sufficient power to eradicate the previous animism. But Buddhism has had a great attraction for the better educated, and has led to remarkable literary results. The nation as a whole has undoubtedly suffered from the celibacy of many of the most able and earnest; but, on the other hand, there is very little crime, and in certain important particulars, such as caste and the position of women, Ceylon is in advance of other parts of our Indian empire, with the single exception of Burma, where the same causes have been at work and the same disadvantages felt.

[1] 'Yogāvacara's Manual,' *PTS*, 1896, p. xxviii ff.

LITERATURE.—W. Geiger, *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, Strassburg, 1900; M. Wickremasinghe, *Cat. of Sinhalese MSS in the British Museum*, London, 1900, and *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Oxford, 1909; J. G. Smither, *Archæological Remains, Anuradhapura*, London, 1898; J. E. Tennent, *Ceylon*[2], London, 1859; H. Parker, *Ceylon*, London, 1909; J. Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, London, 1841; P. and F. Sarasin, *Die Weddas von Ceylon*, Wiesbaden, 1892; S. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1850, and *Manual of Budhism*, London, 1860; R. Farrer, *In Old Ceylon*, London, 1908; D. J. Gogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism*, ed. Bishop, Colombo, 1908.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

CHAITANYA

CHAITANYA.—1. Life.—The Vaishnavite reformer and religious teacher Chaitanya was born in the year 1485 at Nadiyā in Bengal, about sixty miles north of Calcutta, on the west bank of the sacred river Bhāgīrathī. Nadiyā, at one time the capital of Bengal, is famous for its schools of Sanskrit learning, and an annual festival in honour of Chaitanya is celebrated here in the month of Māgha (Jan.–Feb.). Of Brāhman parentage, he received the ordinary religious education of a Brāhman youth, and is said to have been especially devoted to the study of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the two works that enjoin faith in Krishṇa and devotion to him as the supreme duty of man. Stories of his birth are told which suggest the presence of Christian influence—that wise men came and offered homage to the child and brought gifts. His subsequent teaching also proved that he owed not a little to the example and practice of Buddhism. Like Krishṇa, he is said as a boy to have given much time and energy to sport, and to have shown zeal and aptitude in learning, so that he early became proficient in all branches of Sanskrit knowledge.

In due course Chaitanya entered upon the second stage of the career of an orthodox Brāhman and became a *grihastha* (householder). He is said to have been twice married, his first wife being the daughter of the celebrated teacher Vallabhāchārya (*q.v.*). At the early age of twenty-five, however, he severed himself from the ordinary duties and engagements of the world, and adopted a mendicant life, wandering for a period of six years from shrine to shrine in northern and southern India, visiting especially the sacred places of Benares, Gayā, Śrīraṅgam, and the great temple of Jagannāth at Purī. He finally settled at Kaṭak in Orissa, and spent the remainder of his life in the neighbourhood of the temple, teaching and practising the rules and observances of *yoga* (*q.v.*). In one of his visions, about the year 1527 A.D., he is said to have imagined that he saw Krishṇa himself sporting on the waves, and to have walked into the sea and been drowned in an endeavour to reach the god. According to other accounts, he was translated to Vaikuṇṭha, the heaven of Vishṇu, without suffering the pains of death.

2. Teaching.—In his teaching, Chaitanya, like other great Hindu reformers, proclaimed the way of salvation through *bhakti* alone—devotion in act and thought to the one supreme personal God, the Maker and Preserver of all things, whose attributes are pitifulness and love, and who is infinite in power and wisdom. He was himself believed to be an incarnation of Krishṇa, in whom the Divinity manifested Himself in order to save the world by revealing and preaching the true faith. The two chief disciples of Chaitanya also, Advaita (or Advaitānanda) and Nityānanda, to whom he entrusted the general oversight of his adherents, were recipients to a less degree of the power and presence of the god; and in later belief they formed, with the founder himself, a kind of triad, to whom religious worship was paid.

Partly with the view, it is believed, of winning over those who had been attracted by the teaching of Buddhism, as well as those to whom the grosser forms of the popular Hinduism were repellent, Chaitanya laid stress upon the doctrine of *ahiṁsā*, the duty of avoiding by all means injury to any living thing; and enjoined equal regard and treatment for all men, irrespective of birth. In thus ignoring caste, he followed on the lines of other Hindu reformers, who had found in the doctrine of the equality of all men their most powerful weapon against the established social order, and the most attractive and persuasive appeal it was in their power to make to the middle and lower classes of their fellow-countrymen. A saying of Chaitanya is quoted: 'The mercy of God regards neither tribe nor family.'[1] Within the precincts of the temple of Jagannāth at the present day no distinction is made between high and low caste, and the food prepared is received and eaten by all at the season of the great festival. Elsewhere and at other times, amongst those who profess to be his followers, caste has re-asserted its sway, as under similar circumstances in India it has always succeeded in doing; and the higher castes maintain their rigid exclusiveness and separation from the lower.

The principle of *bhakti* which Chaitanya thus expounded and enforced was held by him in common with many Vaishnavite teachers, who sought to promote a purer and more spiritual type of faith amongst the people; and with him also it possessed the same mystical significance as in the language and thought of others whose influence was more far-reaching than his seems ever to have become. Symbolically this doctrine was expressed by him under the figure of human love, the ardent attachment of a young man for the maiden on whom his affections are centred. So a man ought to love God, and to cling to Him with unalterable persistence and loyalty. And the final end and goal for every worshipper was to lose his separate and individual existence in a mystical union with the Supreme. Chaitanya's teaching apparently owed some of its characteristic features both of doctrine and practice to a Buddhism which, though decadent, still exercised a considerable influence in Bengal and the neighbouring districts. Essentially, however, it was the ancient Hindu mysticism, with its theistic inspiration and its emphasis on personal devotion —a form of religious faith and aspiration which has always proved itself strongly attractive to the more earnest and thoughtful Indian mind.

The enthusiasm and popular character of the preaching of Chaitanya appear for the time to have carried all before them, and the number of his followers rapidly increased. They were recruited mainly from the lower classes, for the Brāhmans stood aloof from one the acceptance of whose doctrines implied the surrender of their ancient exclusive privileges. The successors of the founder maintained his propaganda, and organized a very considerable sect of his adherents, who were known by his name. Gradually, however, as has so frequently been the case with movements of Indian reform, their distinctive features of doctrine and observance became obscured, the surrounding social order proved too strong, and there was a general return to the forms of orthodox Vaishnavism. Statistics of their present numbers and strength do not seem to be available, and there is little or nothing to mark them off from other Hindus who hold a theistic faith and worship Vishṇu in one or other of his forms. Nadiyā is the headquarters of the sect, where the descendants of Nityananda reside, who are recognized as leaders, and invested with all spiritual authority.

[1] *Ishvarasya kṛpa jatikulau na mene.*

LITERATURE.—*Census of India Report*, Calcutta, 1903, p. 361; H. H. Wilson, *Works*, ed. R. Rost, London, 1862–71, vol. i. p. 152 ff.; E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, London, 1896, p. 503 f.; Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*[4], London, 1891, pp. 138–142, 476; A. Barth, *Religions of India*[2], London, 1889, p. 232 f.; cf. also G. A. Grierson, in *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 626 f., 642, and his art. BHAKTI MĀRGA in vol. ii. p. 546. The chief original source for the life of Chaitanya is the *Chaitanya Charitra* of Bṛndāvan Das, which is said to have been compiled from two narratives of his life as a householder and as a pilgrim and ascetic respectively, written by two of his immediate followers (see Wilson, *loc. cit.*).

A. S. GEDEN.

CHAITYA.—1. (Skr. *chaitya*, an adjectival form derived from *chitā*, 'a funeral pile').—In accordance with its etymology, the word might denote originally anything connected with a funeral pile, *e.g.* the tumulus raised over the ashes of the dead person, or a tree marking the spot. Such seems to have been its earliest use in Indian literature, whether Brāhmanical, Buddhist, or Jain; but, as the custom of erecting monuments over the ashes or over the relics of departed saints prevailed chiefly among the Buddhists and the Jains, the word (or one of the Prakrit equivalents, Pāli *chetiya*, etc.) is especially characteristic of their literature. In this sense it is practically synonymous with *stūpa*, 'tope,' in India (though *stūpa* is rather the architectural, and *chaitya* the religious, term), and has various equivalents in the countries of Asia to which the custom extended with the spread of Buddhism, e.g. *dāgaba* (Skr. *dhātu-garbha*) in Ceylon, *chorten* or *dungten* in Tibet, etc. At a later period *chaitya* was used more generally to denote any shrine, reliquary, or sacred tree. This is clear not only from the references in the literature, but also from the express statement in a Skr. dictionary of synonyms, the *Viśvaprabāśa* of Maheśvara Kavi (A.D. 1111), quoted by the commentator Mallinātha (14th cent. A.D.) on Kālidāsa's *Maghadūta*, verse 23.

In modern archæological works the term *chaitya* is sometimes applied generally to any Buddhist or Jain temple, and sometimes particularly to a special form of Buddhist architecture, the '*chaitya* hall,' of which many examples are found in India. This is normally a rock-hewn cave, which was originally ceiled and lined with wood, the earlier caves even imitating, in their sides, the inward slant of wooden pillars designed to meet the thrust of the wooden roof (a good example is the Bhaja Cave, in the Bombay Presidency). In the Karli Cave, 4 miles north of the Bhaja Cave, the '*chaitya* hall' reaches its acme. Here we find a cave 126 ft. deep and 45 ft. 7 in. wide, with a central aisle 25 ft. 7 in. wide, and two side aisles each 10 ft. wide, including the pillars. This pillared nave forms the approach to the *chaitya* proper, which occupies a position under the semi-dome of the apse of the cave closely corresponding to that of the altar in a Christian church; and the resemblance of the entire structure to the basilica has often been noted. In this last sense, therefore, the *chaitya* is distinguished, on the one hand, from the *stupa*, or dome-shaped structure developed from the tumulus or relic-mound, with which it was originally identified, and, on the other, from the *vihāra*, or monastic dwelling-place, which was often also a rock-hewn cave.

LITERATURE.—Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, London, 1841; Burnouf, *Introd. à l'hist. du buddhisme indien*, Paris, 1844; Boehtlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg, 1855–75, s.v. 'Chaitya'; Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, etc., of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874; Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ch. v., London, 1876; Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895; Macdonell, *Jour. of Roy. Soc. of Arts*, lvii [1908–09] 316 ff.

2. (Skr. *chaitya* from *chiti*, 'mind,' 'soul').—A philosophical term denoting the individual soul as distinguished from the world soul (cf. *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, III. xxvi. 61, etc.).

E. J. RAPSON.

CHAKRAVARTIN.—This Skr. word means 'universal monarch.' It is of considerable importance in Buddhism (cf. art. BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Buddhist]) and Jainism, as well as, though in a less degree, in the legendary history of the Brāhmans. The term has been variously explained; Senart[1] has used it in support of his famous solar theory of Buddha. It may be premised that the two parts of the word *chakra-vartin* are very common words in Sanskrit. *Chakra* (κύκλος) originally means a wheel or a circle, then a disk, a discus (especially that of Viṣṇu); and it has also a number of secondary meanings, such as 'multitude,' 'troop,' 'army,' etc. *Vartin*, usually found at the end of compounds, means 'abiding in.' But what the etymological meaning of the compound originally was is anything but clear; and different scholars have advanced various opinions regarding it. It will therefore be expedient to reserve the discussion of this point till the end of the article, when we have become acquainted with the actual use of the word in the various phases of its history.

The idea of a universal monarch, of a paramount βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, is very ancient in India. Famous kings of old are said, after their anointing, to have conquered the earth and then to have offered the *aśvamedha*, or horse-sacrifice (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii. 21–23). A king who is acknowledged by the other kings as lord paramount is, in ancient literature, called a *samrāj*. The word 'Chakravartin' first occurs in the *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, a late, if not apocryphal, work. In i. 4 great warriors (lit. 'archers,' *mahādhanurdharas*) are mentioned, 'some of whom were Chakravartins': and fifteen of them are named—Sudyumna and others, most of whom are known from the Epics and the Purāṇas. After them the Upaniṣad mentions 'the kings, Marutta, Bharata,' etc.; and, though they are not called Chakravartins, those named are known as such in epic legends. The Upaniṣad continues: 'There are others higher still—Gandharvas, Asuras,' etc. It is evident from this sequence that the Chakravartin is here regarded as a human being, and in rank inferior to demi-gods.

Next we meet with the word in epic literature, not yet, however, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[2] Nor is the title 'Chakravartin' given to any hero of the *Mahābhārata* proper; it is in episodes of the great epic, which have the same character as the Purāṇas, that we meet with Chakravartins, *e.g.* Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, after whom *Bhāratavarṣa* is believed to be named; Māndhātṛ, and Marutta. Once (xii. 27. 10) *chakravartin* means only a 'mighty king,' just as in the *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*; but in the remaining passages it has the technical meaning 'universal monarch.' In i. 73. 30 (cf. 74. 124)[3] it is said of the Chakravartin Bharata that his wheel met with no obstacle when he went to war with his enemies. This is apparently the proper interpretation of the term *chakra-vartin*, for it is also repeated by Kālidāsa (*Śakuntalā*, vii. 122).

In the Purāṇas we meet with some more Chakravartins, but not with a fixed list of them. The most prominent is Pṛthu Vainya, who first settled the earth, called after him *Pṛthivī*; of him it is said in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (i. 13. 46) that Brahmā saw in his hand the discus (*chakra*), the sign of Viṣṇu, as it is visible in the hand of every Chakravartin, 'one whose power is invincible even by the gods.' But in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (iv. 15, 16) Viṣṇu presents Pṛthu with the discus *sudarśana* at his coronation, while other gods also give him precious things. The latter are partly identical with some of the fourteen *mahāratnas*, which, according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (ix. 23, 31), were in the possession of the Chakravartin Śaśabindu. In commenting on this passage, Śrīdhara quotes a verse from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (not verified in the printed text), in which the fourteen *mahāratnas* are thus enumerated: 'elephant, horse, car, wife, arrow, treasure, wreath, garment, tree, javelin, noose, jewel, parasol, and *vimāna*.'

Classical writers use *chakravartin* in its primary meaning of 'universal monarch,' as well as in its secondary meaning, which denotes the most prominent member of a class, similarly to, but not so commonly as, *indra*, *rāja*, *śiromaṇi*, etc.

Thus we see that in Brāhmanical literature the word *chakravartin* originally denoted a famous chief or king of great power, then a universal monarch, while in late Purāṇas some fabulous attributes are added to this meaning.

In the old popular literature which was collected in the *Bṛhatkathā*, and is known to us from Sanskrit works based on this lost compilation, the dignity of a Chakravartin is also attributed to the Vidyādharas, or fairies.[1] The hero of the work just named, King Naravāhanadatta, became Chakravartin of the Vidyādharas, and came into possession of the seven *ratnas*: elephant, sword, moonlight, wife, the destroying charm, the lake, and the sandal-wood tree.[2] In another version[3] the list is: flag, parasol, moon (*sudhābimba*), sword, elephant, horse, and rod. The two lists vary considerably, but they agree in this, that the *chakra* is not among the *ratnas* of the Chakravartin.

With the Buddhists and the Jainas the Chakravartin represents the highest temporal power, just as the Buddha or Jina represents the highest spiritual power. If Gautama had not become a Buddha, he would have become a Chakravartin, and a Buddha as well as a Chakravartin has the thirty-two marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of a great man (*mahāpuruṣa*) and the eighty minor marks. Similarly, the same fourteen great dreams which the mother of an Arhat (Tīrthakara) sees announce also the conception of a Chakravartin.[4] It will therefore readily be understood that a Chakravartin is, in the popular imagination of the Buddhists and the Jainas, lifted high above the level of common men, and verges on the Divine. His most prominent attribute is the *chakra*, wheel, or discus, which precedes him through the air on his conquest of the world. With the Jainas, therefore, *chakradhara* and *chakrin*, 'possessor of the *chakra*,' have become synonyms of *chakravartin*.[5] The ideas of the Buddhists concerning the miraculous *chakra*, and the part it plays in the success of the Chakravartin, are well illustrated in a passage occurring in several Pāli *sūtras* (see *SBE* xi. 251 ff.), and in the *Lalitavistara*. We subjoin the tr. from the latter (*Bibliotheca Indica*, p. 33 f.):

'That anointed Kṣatriya king, who is inaugurated fasting on the fifteenth day of the moon, seated in the highest apartment of his palace, surrounded by female apartments—for him doth the mighty and auspicious wheel appear in the east: a wheel comprising a thousand radii, complete with tyre and nave, ornamented with gold works, of the height of seven palm trees, visible from the recesses of the zenana, and worthy of a Chakra-

[1] *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*[2], Paris, 1882.

[2] At least there is no reference to the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the Petersburg Dictionary *s.v.* 'Chakravartin,' and 'Chakravartin' certainly does not occur in the 2nd and 3rd books, since the word is not found among the compounds contained in them (see Kirfel, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Nominalkomposition*, Bonn, 1908, p. 26).

[3] Similarly *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, cxxx. 6.

[1] The notions prevailing in this popular literature of romantic epics and fairy tales are adopted also in legendary works of the Jainas, the oldest of which, the *Padma-charita*, by Vimalasūri, claims to have been composed about the beginning of our era. Hence the Jainas, too, have Chakravartins of the Vidyādharas, besides human Chakravartins, *narachakravartinas*.

[2] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, cix. 19 ff.

[3] *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, p. 595, v. 11.

[4] See *Kalpasūtra*, § 76 [*SBE*, vol. xxii. p. 246]; in § 80 the one is called a *chāuranta-chakkavaṭṭi*, the other a *dhammavara-(chāuranta)-chakkavaṭṭi*.

[5] *Chakkahara* in the passage of the *Kalpasūtra* quoted in the preceding note.

varti rājā. . . . Now, when the mighty wheel doth appear, an anointed Kṣatriya king, kneeling on his right knee, and lowering one of his shoulders, should hold forth his right hand and, praying for the Chakraratna, thus repeat: "Conduct, O Lord, this precious wheel through virtue, and not through vice!"

When the majestic wheel, on being thus addressed by an anointed Kṣatriya king, proceeds in its aerial course towards the east for the promotion of prosperity, the Chakravarti rājā follows it with all his army, and, wherever it halts, there he likewise halts with all his forces. Thereupon all the provincial rājas of the east receive him with offerings of silver-dust in golden vessels, or of gold-dust in vessels of silver, saying, "Hail, O Deva! thou art welcome; all these are thine—this rich, extensive, prosperous, flourishing, beautiful, and populous kingdom: thou hast, conquering, earned it; may it ever continue thine!" The anointed Kṣatriya king and lord should then thus address the provincial chiefs: "Virtuously rule ye these provinces, destroy not life, nor resume what has been given. Act not fraudulently through temptation; nor utter what is false. It is sinful to conquer him who sues for mercy, therefore do it not; nor do ye approve of the vicious!" Thus, when an anointed Kṣatriya king has conquered the east, bathing in the eastern sea, he crosses the same. When the wheel, having crossed the eastern sea, proceeds southward through the atmosphere, he follows it with his army, and, like unto the east, conquers the south; and, as the south, so does he conquer the west and the north; then, bathing in the northern sea, returns through the atmosphere to his metropolis, and sits an invincible monarch in the inner recesses of his palace. Thus does a Chakravarti rājā acquire the *chakraratna*, or the jewel of a wheel.'

In the same way the Chakravartin attains to the six remaining *ratnas*, for their number is seven, viz. the elephant, the horse, the jewel (which changes night into day), the wife, the steward, and the general.

The Chakravartin of the Jainas resembles, in all essential features, the Chakravartin of the Buddhists. At the moment when the predestined person is to acquire the dignity of a Chakravartin, the miraculous *chakra* appears and completes his victory. There were 12 Chakravartins in the present age of the world—Bharata, Sagara, Maghavan, Sanatkumāra, Śānti, Kunthu, Ara (the last three afterwards became Tīrthakaras), Subhūma, Padma, Hariṣeṇa, Jaya, and Brahmadatta. These 12 Chakravartins, together with the 24 Tīrthakaras, 9 Vāsudevas, 9 Baladevas, and 9 Prativāsudevas, make up the 63 Śalākāpuruṣas, or great persons of Jain hagiology, whose lives and deeds have been described by Hemachandra in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacharita*. In bk. i. ch. 4 of that work the first Chakravartin's conquest of our part of the earth, called after him *Bhāratavarṣa*, is described at great length. Preceded by the *chakra*, Bharata subjects all kings, and even the Vidyādharas acknowledge his supremacy. He is accompanied by some *ratnas*, and acquires some more during his progress, so that their whole number amounts to fourteen, viz. *chakra*, parasol, sword, rod, cowrie, piece of leather, jewel, the nine treasures, general, steward, *purohita* ('household priest'), architect, elephant, and horse. In addition to these 14 *ratnas* he gains a fifteenth, the *strīratna*, his wife.

The greater number of these *ratnas* are the usual perquisites of kings, in the highest degree of perfection; four, however, seem to have been adopted from mythology,[1] viz. the cowrie (*kākiṇī*) and the jewel, whose functions resemble those of the moon and the sun, the piece of leather or hide,[2] which stretches over rivers and straits in order to give a passage to the army, and, of course, the *chakra*.

The possession of the miraculous *chakra* gives a kind of mythological stamp to the legendary Chakravartin of the Buddhists and Jainas, and makes him appear in the light of a solar hero. Yet it may be doubted whether this was already the case in early Buddhism. There is the phrase *dhammachakkam pavattitam*, used to denote the inauguration of the 'reign of religion,' which is further described as 'that wheel which not by any Samana or Brāhman, not by any god, not by any Brahmā or Māra, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back.'[1] The idea on which this expression is based is very much like that noticed above as occurring in the *Mahābhārata*, etc., according to which the wheel of the Chakravartin meets with no hindrance. If, therefore, in later Buddhist works the Chakravartin is represented as a semi-mythological person, who might be mistaken for a sun-god in disguise, there must have been some cause at work to bring about this new development. And this cause is easy to guess. The first part of the compound word *chakra-vartin* being popularly referred to the discus of Viṣṇu, the symbol of the sun, the Chakravartin assumed, in popular imagination, some traits which properly belong to the Divine wielder of the *chakra*. Such an apotheosis of the king is quite natural to primitive peoples, who look on their kings as descendants, or representatives, of the sun, whether they be Pharaohs, or Incas, or members of the Sūryavaṃśa. And the august character of the Chakravartin was still more exalted, since he and a Buddha or a Tīrthakara were placed on parallel lines by the Buddhists and Jainas. Therefore the Chakravartin may be said to share in the majesty of the sun-god, but it would be the reverse of the truth to say that he is but a humanized solar deity.

It remains for us to discuss the etymology of the word *chakravartin*. According to Wilson,[2] it means grammatically, 'he who abides in (*vartate*), or rules over, an extensive territory called a chakra.' Kern[3] takes *vartin* to mean *vartayati* ('who rules'). But in all other compounds *vartin* has the force of *vartate*, not of *vartayati*, so that Wilson's etymology seems preferable. But the meaning Wilson gives to *chakra* is not found in ancient Sanskrit literature, though it is mentioned by native lexicographers. If we take *chakra* in its original sense of 'circle,' we can explain the meaning of the compound by reference to the political term *maṇḍala*.[4] In the *Nītiśāstra*, or science of politics, a valiant king (the *vijigīṣu*) is considered in his relation to his neighbours; usually twelve kings form a *maṇḍala*, a political sphere or circle (of neighbours). The *vijigīṣu* is that king who strives to gain the supremacy in the *maṇḍala*, and he is praised if '*viśuddhe maṇḍale charan*,' *i.e.* 'if he walks in a pure circle.'[5] This seems to be the notion which gave rise to the idea and expression of Chakravartin. He is the *vijigīṣu* on the grandest scale: his *maṇḍala* is the whole earth. The word *maṇḍala-vartin* is used in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (vi. 3, 6) to denote a king subordinate to a paramount lord such as a Chakravartin. Another etymology has been proposed by Senart:[6] *chakravartin* is one who owns a *chakravāla*; for he derives *chakravāla* from *chakravarta*. But the latter word is not found in Sanskrit or in the Prakrits; and, even if it did exist, linguistic reasons make it impossible to derive *chakravāla* from it.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

H. JACOBI.

CHALDÆANS.—See BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS, DIVINATION, MAGIC.

CHALDÆAN CHRISTIANS. — See NESTORIANS.

[1] Senart (*op. cit.* p. 14 ff.) assigns a mythological origin to all the seven *ratnas*; his reasoning, however, does not seem convincing, especially if we take into consideration the lists of *ratnas* mentioned above, from which the *chakra* is absent.

[2] In popular tales King Vikramāditya has a miraculous hide, on which he and his army fly through the air.

[1] *SBE* xi. 153.

[2] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ed. Hall, i. 183 note 1.

[3] *Der Buddhismus*, Leipzig, 1882-84, i. 27 note ***.

[4] Manu, vii. 166 ff.; Kāmandaki, viii. 20 ff.

[5] Kāmandaki, viii. 2.

[6] *Op. cit.* p. 6.

CHALMERS.—The Presbyterian Churches are notable for the high average of intellectual attainment reached by their ministers. They encourage the ordinary man to stir up and make the most of the gifts that are in him. But they do not offer the same opportunities to men of exceptional talent. Although not a few have left Scotland from time to time to take high place and exercise wide influence in other Churches, the number of outstanding personalities in the Church at home has been few. One of them, however, is Dr. Chalmers.

1. Life and Work.—Thomas Chalmers was born at Anstruther, in Fife, on Friday, 17th March 1780, the sixth of fourteen children of John Chalmers, a general merchant there. From the tender mercies of a nurse, whose cruelty and deceitfulness haunted his memory through life, he was sent to the Parish School, where he was well flogged but learned little. In November 1791, though not yet twelve years of age, he matriculated as an Arts student in the United College of St. Andrews.

(1) *St. Andrews and Kilmany.*—The first two sessions were wasted. But in the third session, under the influence of Dr. James Brown, the assistant professor of mathematics, Chalmers came to life intellectually. At once the lad set himself to recover lost time. He could not write, he could not spell, he knew no grammar, he was ignorant of the existence of English composition. But in two years he mastered these elementary things and made much progress in the study of mathematics.

His Arts course was now over, and in 1795 he was enrolled as a student in Divinity. After the close of his Divinity course, throughout the whole of which his chief interest was mathematics, and after an unfortunate experience as private tutor, he was appointed assistant to the professor of mathematics in the University. In this position he was too successful. The Chair was held by an invalid, who disapproved of his assistant's vivid illustrations, and perhaps resented his popularity. He decided not to re-appoint him, and unfortunately suggested that he was inefficient. Chalmers returned to St. Andrews the following session, opened rival classes, and, after much flutter, compelled recognition both of his ability and of his sincerity. At the end of two sessions his classes were discontinued. But he had proved himself a force to be reckoned with.

During these two sessions, Chalmers was also acting as minister of the parish of Kilmany. He had been presented to this parish, distant a few miles from St. Andrews, by the professors of the University, and had been ordained on the 12th of May 1803. He afterwards disapproved of 'pluralities,' and fought a strenuous battle against them. But meantime he had no difficulty in combining the professorship with the pastorate. One of his parishioners, who often called at the Manse, said one day, 'I find you aye busy, sir, with one thing or another, but, come when I may, I never find you at your studies for the Sabbath.' His answer was, 'Oh, an hour or two on the Saturday evening is quite enough for that.' But the day was not far off when he entered in his journal, 'I mean to give my main strength this year to the composition of sermons.' And then the same visitor said, 'I never come in now, sir, but I find you aye at your Bible.'

There was some physical weakness in the Chalmers family. Several of his brothers and sisters died in early life. In the year 1809, Chalmers himself had a severe illness and believed that he would not recover. The contrast between the insignificance of time and the magnitude of eternity was strongly impressed upon his mind. He read Pascal's *Thoughts*. Pascal also had once been devoted to the study of mathematics, and after illness had entered upon an experience which made spiritual things of more importance to him than things intellectual. A similar change came over Chalmers. It was again a new birth, as unmistakable as the birth of the intellect had been. It did not involve the despising or disuse of any of his intellectual faculties, any more than the intellectual birth had carried with it the loss of his physical faculties. But from this time till the end of his life the physical and the intellectual were made to serve the ends of the spiritual.

Chalmers did not find God at this crisis. During the years of his study of Divinity in St. Andrews he was 'possessed,' as he says in one of his letters, 'with a sense of His greatness and His power, and His pervading agency' (*Memoirs*, i. 17). What he now found was that he belonged to God, and that it was his duty to yield Him unremitting obedience (*ib.* i. 153). He accordingly entered upon a period in which he stood sentinel over himself, and recorded every lapse from his standard of righteousness, mercilessly, in a private journal. This continued for a year. But he 'got little satisfaction, and felt no repose' (*ib.* i. 186). Reading Wilberforce's *View of Christianity*, he came to see that 'the Saviour had already and completely done for him what, with so much strenuousness, but with so little success, he had been striving to do for himself' (*ib.* i. 188). He 'committed all to the sufficiency of Christ his Saviour.' He found 'peace and joy *in believing*' (*ib.* i. 257; italics his own).

A vehement preacher always, Chalmers now preached with power. 'The first effect, indeed, of the great spiritual change,' says his biographer, 'was to chasten rather than to stimulate the vehemence of his delivery in the pulpit.' But there was a new note of earnestness. 'Entreaties that every sinner he spoke to should come to Christ just as he was, and "bury all his fears in the sufficiency of the great atonement," were reiterated on each succeeding Sabbath, presented in all possible forms, and delivered in all different kinds of tones and of attitudes. He would desert for a minute or two his manuscript, that with greater directness and familiarity of phrase, greater pointedness and personality of application, he might urge upon their acceptance the gospel invitation' (*ib.* i. 420). And the pulpit appeal was supported by his work in the parish. The regular visitation, which had formerly occupied three weeks, now extended over the whole year; district services were held; a class was opened for the religious instruction of the young. Nor was his zeal confined to the parish. After a speech in the General Assembly of 1814—a speech, by the way, against 'pluralities'—the minister of the parish of Linton wrote approvingly of 'the wonderful display of talents' made by the minister of Kilmany, but disapprovingly of his interest in Missionary and Bible Societies: 'For my own part,' he said, 'I have never yet seen any proper call to us for engaging in the measures of these Societies, and such is the feeling of this part of the country with a very few exceptions' (*ib.* i. 403).

(2) *Glasgow.*—In 1814 the pulpit of the Tron Church in Glasgow fell vacant, and Chalmers was named as a candidate. The Magistrates, to whom the appointment belonged, were divided. After a keen struggle Chalmers was elected. The objection of the opposing party was that Chalmers seemed to them to be 'mad.' It was not merely the vigour of his preaching that gave them this impression, it was also the substance of it. It was the energy and earnestness with which he advocated the doctrine of 'peace in believing.' But his preaching had irresistible attraction for the people. The

Glasgow ministry began in a blaze of popularity. Nor had time or familiarity any influence in staying the rush of hearers to the Tron Church or lessening the strain of their attention. There were at this time eight ministers of the Church of Scotland in Glasgow, and it was the custom for them to preach, in turn, a special sermon in the Tron Church every Thursday forenoon. When Chalmers' turn came—'to see a place of worship,' says Dr. Wardlaw, 'crammed above and below, on a *Thursday forenoon*, during the busiest hours of the day, with fifteen or sixteen hundred hearers, and these of all descriptions of persons, in all descriptions of professional occupations, the busiest as well as those who had most leisure on their hands, those who had least to spare taking care so to arrange their business engagements previously as to *make time* for the purpose, all pouring in through the wide entrance at the side of the Tron steeple, half an hour before the time of service, to secure a seat, or content if too late for this to occupy, as many did, standing room—this was, indeed, a novel and strange sight' (*Memoirs*, ii. 149).

It was at these Thursday forenoon services that the Astronomical Discourses were delivered, the most successful, when published, of Chalmers' writings. That Chalmers was sensible of the flattery contained in crowds hurrying to hear these sermons, and in still greater multitudes rushing to read them, is evident from his journal. He was saved from vanity by the sincere searching of heart of which that journal is equally the evidence, and also by the abundance and irksomeness of his parochial and public duties.

Chalmers carried out a rapid but regular and thorough visitation of his parish, divesting himself of the administration of its numerous charities that his ministrations might be received at their own value. He divided the parish into forty districts, and placed a Sunday school in each district. He built day schools also, found teachers for them, and took upon himself the charge of providing the teachers' salaries. He entertained an astonishing project of supporting the poor by means of voluntary contributions. And, when it proved impossible to carry out this scheme in the Tron parish owing to legal obstacles, a new parish was erected by the Town Council and a new church was built, to which Chalmers was presented. The new parish was named St. John's.

But the toil and trouble were nearly overwhelming. In 1823 the offer was made to him of the professorship of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews. He accepted it. And for a few, not wholly peaceful, years he returned to that city. Then came the resignation of the professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. On the 31st of October 1827, Chalmers was unanimously elected by the Town Council and Magistrates, and the third and last period of his life began. He was in the forty-seventh year of his age.

(3) *Edinburgh.* — Chalmers did not know that the call to Edinburgh was a call to lead the Church of Scotland through one of the most momentous and harassing periods of its history. He had no desire for leadership, nor had he all the qualifications for it. Not so ready as impulsive, he was never quite at home in Church courts; and when the pressure of events compelled him at last to take part in the strife of parliamentary politics, he had no heart and little patience for it. In the General Assembly, Dr. Cook was always a match for him in tactics, although so far behind in the grasp of great principles and the gift of popular appeal. And in Parliament, Lord Aberdeen, after some correspondence, felt himself strong enough to speak of Chalmers as 'a reverend gentleman, a great leader in the Assembly, who, having brought the Church into a state of jeopardy and peril, had left it to find its way out of the difficulty as well as it could.' This was really, what in his private journal Chalmers calls it, 'a foul attack'; but if he had been more of a politician, Chalmers would have known that it was merely an incident in the game.

By the Revolution Settlement of 1699 lay patronage in the Church of Scotland was abolished. But it was restored by Bolingbroke in 1711. The restoration was unpopular. For some time patrons did not exercise their right, or acquiesced in their proposals being set aside. Then came what evangelicals call 'the long reign of Moderatism.' More and more the lay patron made his presentation, less and less the parishioners protested against it. But the harmony was not always admirable. In the year 1813 the Rev. William Ferrie, Professor of Civil History in the University of St. Andrews, was presented to the living of Kilconquhar. The Presbytery met to moderate in a call, but no signatures whatever were attached to it. It was afterwards explained that the parishioners concurred in the settlement, and they apologized for not having attended to sign the call. The harmony was not always admirable, nor did it continue always to be harmony. Under the influence of that new spirit which was known by the name of Evangelicalism, and the popularity of which was largely due to the preaching of men like Andrew Thomson in Edinburgh and Thomas Chalmers in Glasgow, the Church began to recognize again her responsibilities and to reassert her rights in the choice of her ministers, or at least in the rejection of unfit presentees. In 1834 the General Assembly passed the Veto Act, enjoining Presbyteries to reject a presentee who had been disapproved of by a majority of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation and in full communion with the Church. But when the rejected presentee at Auchterarder appealed to the Court of Session, the Veto Act was practically declared to be *ultra vires*. And this judgment was upheld, on appeal, by the House of Lords.

It was now a dispute between the civil and the ecclesiastical courts. Elsewhere the civil courts might have triumphed easily. But in Scotland the Church was responding more and more to that spirit to which Erastianism is anathema; and her past, both in law and precedent, brought her peculiar strength. For one thing, she had always held that evidence of a call to the ministry must precede ordination; and this evidence had been found in the free choice or approval of a congregation. It had accordingly been a law of the Church that ordination should not take place unless accompanied by induction. That is to say, a man could be ordained to the ministry (missionaries being of necessity excepted) only when he had received a call from some particular congregation, to the oversight of which he was thereupon inducted.

But this was part of a larger principle, the principle of Spiritual Independence. Spiritual Independence had been claimed by the Church of Scotland from the Reformation, and it had been legally affirmed by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1567. It had then become, as Chalmers says, 'the great question between the Jameses and the Charleses on the one hand, and the Scottish people on the other, who called it the Headship of Christ—the term given to the principle when looked to in a religious light. But when looked to constitutionally, it is termed the final jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, or Church courts, in things sacred, as distinct from things civil' (*Memoirs*, iv. 592). But this principle of Spiritual Independ-

ence was now recognized only by a few individual members of the civil courts in Scotland, and it was scarcely even intelligible to an English court. Had it been simply a question between the patrons and the people, the will of the people would have prevailed, and probably without much trouble. But, when the majority in the Assembly had at last to appeal from the civil courts to Parliament, it became evident that a serious crisis was at hand. The Government, whether Whig or Tory, for it was never a question of party politics, failed to realize the gravity of the situation, and refused relief. On Thursday the 18th of May 1843, four hundred and seventy ministers of the Church of Scotland, with the people who adhered to them, including all the missionaries abroad, left the Church, surrendering all the buildings and emoluments, and formed the Free Church of Scotland.

Chalmers' life was nearly done. After the Disruption he resigned his Chair in the University of Edinburgh, and was appointed Principal and Primarius Professor of Divinity in the New College. On the evening of the 30th of May 1847 he asked a friend to conduct family worship, saying, 'I expect to give worship to-morrow morning.' In the morning he was found to be dead.

2. **Religious and ethical influence.**—The author is for subsequent generations; the orator is for his own. Chalmers was an orator. He wrote what he preached, and his writings were published in many volumes, but they have not continued to be read—not even the Astronomical Sermons, though they ran a race with Scott's *Tales of my Landlord*, published in the same year, nor the *Bridgewater Treatise*, though two editions of 1500 copies each were disposed of as soon as published. Chalmers was an orator, and captured his audience by his manner as well as by his meaning.

A literary critic who listened to him says, 'Of all human compositions there is none surely which loses so much as a sermon does when it is made to address itself to the eye of a solitary student in his closet and not to the thrilling ears of a mighty mingled congregation, through the very voice which nature has enriched with notes more expressive than words can ever be of the meanings and feelings of its author. Neither, perhaps, did the world ever possess any orator whose minutest peculiarities of gesture and voice have more power in increasing the effect of what he says—whose delivery, in other words, is the first, and the second, and the third excellence of his oratory—more truly than is that of Dr. Chalmers' (*Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*[3], 1819, iii. 267).

But Chalmers was an orator because he was a preacher. He himself was heartily persuaded of the truth of that which he delivered so well. He preached a conviction which had been in his own experience at once a deliverance and a great uplift, and he believed that by responding to it other men would pass through the same experience. It was, in his own words, the conviction of 'the futility of resting a man's hope of salvation upon mere obedience; that there is no confidence but in Christ; that the best security, in fact, for the performance of our duties is that faith which worketh by love, and which, under the blessing of God, will carry us to a height of moral excellence that a mere principle of duty, checked and disappointed as it must often be in its efforts after an unattainable perfection, could never have reached' (*Journal*, 7th Jan. 1811: *Memoirs*, i. 200). This was the substance, as it was the strength, of all his preaching. To the effective delivery of it he brought together all his gifts. For, although he always rejected the use of pious but empty phrases, and stoutly protested when men spoke of receiving calls which they gave themselves no trouble to obey, he never faltered in the belief that this was the work he had been sent to do, and with perfect sincerity could have used the language of Paul, 'Woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel.' Thus he became perhaps the strongest single influence in that movement which gave the evangelical party a majority at last in the General Assembly, which in course of time abolished lay patronage, and liberated the religious thought of Scotland from the dictation of external authority in any form. After Chalmers came Rainy, but also Robertson Smith; the Free Church and also the free spirit.

The two chief practical interests of Chalmers' life were Church extension and the voluntary support of the poor. The need of Church extension had become very great. During a period of nearly one hundred years, while the population had more than quadrupled, only two new city churches had been built in Glasgow. Secessions had been taking place from the Church of Scotland, and they had done not a little to arrest the evil. But Chalmers was convinced that the remedy was to be found in the right use of the parochial system. In 1836 he organized meetings throughout the country; and he was able to report to the General Assembly of 1838 that nearly two hundred new churches had been built. In 1841 he had the satisfaction of seeing the twentieth new church completed in Glasgow alone.

The voluntary support of the poor was the reduction to practice of the lifelong study of Political Economy, to which Chalmers gave himself with characteristic enthusiasm. In Kilmany he carried out successfully a scheme of voluntary support; and, after some experience of the position in Glasgow, he persuaded the Magistrates to separate the parish of St. John's, chiefly for the purpose of enabling him to try the same method there. Again he was successful. By dividing the parish into districts, and appointing over each district reliable and unpaid assistants, who investigated each case on the spot, he supported the poor of this Glasgow parish with its ten thousand inhabitants and more than its fair share of destitution, out of the voluntary contributions made at his own church door. It was something more than an experiment. It encouraged the rich to give willingly, the poor to receive only of necessity. And it will always remain as an answer to those who doubt the possibilities awaiting the practice of social Christianity.

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CHAMS.—The Chams, the last remnants of the inhabitants of ancient Champā[1] in Indo-China, to-day form a population of only about 130,000 persons. They are settled partly in Annam, in some valleys of Bình-thuận, where they number 80 villages and somewhat over 30,000 souls; partly in Cambodia, where they are nearly 90,000 in number; partly in Cochin-China (in Châu-dôc and Tây-ninh); and lastly, in Siam.

1. **Origin.**—The origin of the Chams has given rise to several hypotheses. At one time they were thought to be sprung from a mixture of natives and Hindu emigrants; at another, to have come from Java. It is now admitted that they belong to the Malayo-Polynesian race, whose origin, according to Kern, must

[1] Champā occurs also in the following forms: *Chamba*, *Ciamba*, *Ciampa*, *Csiampa*, *Cyamba*, *Dsiamba*, *Dsiampa*, *Jampa*, *Kiampa*, *Tchiampa*, *Tjampa*, *Tschiampa*, *Tsiampa*, *Tsjiampaa*, etc. The word *champā* in Sanskrit is the name of a tree and a flower (*Michelia champaca*, L.). Other forms of the word *Cham* are: *Čam*, *Čam*, *Chàm*, *Chăm*, *Kiam*, *Tchame*, *Thiāme*, *Tjam*, *Tjame*, *Tscham*, *Tsiam*, etc. The form employed in this art. is the Sanskrit slightly modified.

be looked for, not in Malaysia or the Indian Archipelago, but in Indo-China on the borders of what is now called Annam, where the kingdom of Champā flourished in bygone days, and where the last of the Chams still linger.

2. History.—The Chams were one of the great powers of Indo-China. Their kingdom, although it is impossible to fix its limits clearly, seems to have comprised Cochin-China, the whole of Annam, and part of Cambodia. About the 2nd cent. A.D., as the inscription of Nha-trang attests, it was formidable; even in the 13th cent. Marco Polo was strongly impressed by it. As early as the 14th cent. A.D., however, it was attacked by the Annamese, the vanguard of the Chinese power, who were to take a separate name in the 10th cent. by freeing themselves from China; and in the south by the Cambodians. These two neighbouring powers gradually extended their territory, and always at the expense of Champā. In 1471, after several fierce struggles, Champā passed under the relentless control of Annam. At this time a great number of the Chams fled to Cambodia, where we find their descendants to-day. An even greater number were enslaved by the Annamese. There now remain on their native soil, between Phan-rang and Nha-trang, only a few miserable relics of the race. They were governed nominally by their princes, but really by the Annamese mandarins, and existed in this condition down to the 19th cent., when the occupation by France, which they gladly welcomed, delivered them.

3. Physical appearance and modes of life.—From the point of view of physical type, the Chams are very clearly marked off from the races surrounding them. They are much taller than the Annamese, whose height seldom reaches 1 m. 59, while that of the Chams often attains to 1 m. 70. The men are sturdy, the women smaller and graceful. Their complexion varies from brown to a light brownish red. Their hands are not nearly so narrow as those of the Annamese. Their skin, very soft to the touch, is dull, except on the face, where it is often glossy. Their hair, very fine and brittle, and often wavy, varies from raven black to very dark chestnut. Both men and women wear it long in the Annamese fashion, the women having it twisted up behind, the men covering it with a turban or a knotted scarf. In Cambodia, however, the Chams have short hair like the Malaysians, and wear a little white fez (*kapyah*, cf. Mal. *kopiyah*) on their heads. The women cover their heads with a veil somewhat like a cowl (*halañ*). The Chams have well-proportioned heads, fine profiles, and faces of a broad rather than high type; the nose is not so broad at the root as that of the Annamese; the eye is large and full, frank in look and colour; the mouth is of average size, the lips of ordinary thickness. They are, in short, Asiatics whose type resembles our own. The men wear a *sarong* and a sort of long tunic; the women a skirt, white or with red stripes, and a close-fitting tunic, nearly always green, cut to fit at the neck. They often adorn their ears with studs or precious metals.

The Chams live grouped in communities or villages in the plains, sometimes on the banks of a large river, as is the case with those of Cochin-China and of Cambodia, and sometimes by the sea-shore, as is often the case with those of Annam. The villages of the Chams of Annam are surrounded by a strong palisade of dead wood, and give a first impression of parchedness and bareness, due to the absence of large trees in their enclosure. The Chams believe that the shadow of trees over the house brings ill-luck. In Cambodia and in Cochin-China, where they live nearly always with the Malays, their villages are enclosed by a hedge of bamboos and prickly shrubs. The houses of the Chams of Annam are humble little huts of bamboo and mud, covered with rice-straw—they are not allowed to use *nipah* like the Malays—and built and grouped without regard to artistic taste. The Chams do not build their houses themselves, but get the Annamese to do it for them. In Cambodia and in Cochin-China, where the manners of the Chams have been somewhat modified by contact with the Malays and the Khmèrs, their houses are built on piles, and are practically the same as those of their neighbours.

Although strong in body, the Chams are very mild in disposition. This mildness is accompanied by great indolence and a complete absence of initiative. They have neither commerce nor industry; they weave some stuffs, but they do nothing else beyond cultivating rice, maize, a little cotton, and a few pea-nuts (*Arachnis hypogæa*, L.), and rearing some buffaloes. Oxen and pigs are never seen among them, owing to religious objections. Goats, dogs, hens, and ducks are their only domestic animals. They can build fine light carts, which the Annamese come and buy from them.

4. Ancient religions.—The epigraphy and iconography of Cambodia provide us with fairly accurate and full information on the religion of ancient Champā. That religion was Hinduism, that is to say, the worship, exclusive or combined, of the three gods of the Indian *Trimūrti*—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva,—and of the *śaktis*, or wives, of the last two—Lakṣmī and Umā. Buddhism also played a part, but a much less extensive one, in the life of the Chams.

Brahmā, if we may judge from the small number of images and statues of him which have come down to us, does not seem to have been worshipped very fervently. He is called *Chaturmukha*, and is represented with four faces, only three of which are generally seen, as the figure has its back leaning against something.

Worshippers resort chiefly to Śiva, whose cult is very widespread under the form of the *liṅga*. Even to-day we find in the ruins of several temples libation-tables, or *snana-droṇi*, on which the *liṅga* was formerly set up and from which it has disappeared. All these *liṅgas* have the usual form: they are cylinders of stone more or less rounded at the end. The temple of Pō Kloṅ Garai at Phan-rang even contains a variety of *liṅga* with a face (*mukhaliṅga*). In this *mukhaliṅga* the face, decked with the crown and ornaments belonging to the Cham kings, appears to have been not Śiva but the legendary king Pō Kloṅ Garai, the founder of the temple and identified with Śiva. Similarly, in the temple of Pō Ramē at Phan-rí, an engraved pillar shows us Pō Ramē, one of the last kings of Champa, likewise identified with Śiva. The cult of Śiva, however, was surpassed in importance by that of his *śakti* Umā, who became the great goddess of the Chams, under the names of Umā, Bhagavati, Pō Nagar (=Pō Ino Nögar, Pō Yaṅ Inu Nogar, Yaṅ Pu Nogar) 'the Lady of the kingdom,' 'the holy Lady Mother of the kingdom.' The greatest of the sanctuaries still standing, that of Nha-trang, was dedicated to her.

Viṣṇu and his *śakti* Lakṣmī, though not so extensively worshipped as Śiva and Pō Ino Nogar, appear, nevertheless, to have held a place in the religion of the ancient Chams superior to that of Brahmā. This is attested by various statues, the best preserved of which, that at Biên-hoà (Cochin-China) has passed nowadays into the ranks of Annamese idols, and is situated in the pagoda of Buu-sön, 800 miles N.W. of Biên-hoà. It represents the god seated with his legs bent under him, crowned with the tiara (*mukuṭa*), and decorated with bracelets; he has four arms, the two upper hands holding the conch and the discus, each of the two lower hands holding a club. Lakṣmī also is represented on several monuments, holding what look like lotus-flowers in her hand, and seated under a canopy of *nāgas* (serpents).

Buddhism probably had very little importance, judging from the small number of its sanctuaries, the most famous of which seems to have been the cave of Phong-nha (Quang-binh), where the devotees used to go to buy clay medallions exactly similar to the Buddhist seals found at Bodh-Gayā and at Sohnāgar, several specimens of which are to be seen in the museum of the École française d'Extrême-Orient at Hanoi. As in Java and Cambodia, the Buddhism was that of the *Mahāyāna*. There still exist, as great witnesses to this religious past, the temples, which constitute the only specimens of Cham architecture yet discovered. The most harmonious and best situated, overlooking the sea, is the temple of Umā or Pō Ino Nogar at Nha-trang; the best preserved is that of Pō Kloṅ Garai; the most extensive is the group of eight sanctuaries, which form a veritable city of religion, brought to light in the circus of My-son (Quang-nam) by the exertions of Parmentier and Carpeaux, the architect members of the École française d'Extrême-Orient. All these traces of a lost art have been carefully studied and classified, since 1899, by the efforts of this same École, which desires to restore the most beautiful of them. These buildings, without having the gigantic appearance of the works of Khmèr art, bear witness to real originality. Constructed nearly all on well-chosen sites, on the top of a hill, facing the east, and built of solid brick, they consist of a square tower or a series of square towers built very closely together. Each tower contains a sanctuary in the form of a pyramidal vault, furnished with a door opening out of a porch on one face, while the three other faces are decorated with false doors. All this forms a sort of ground floor that is surmounted by an upper storey set further back, which is an exact reproduction on a smaller scale of the first, and which continues into a third and fourth stage of the same type, but growing smaller and smaller. The richness and variety of ornamentation slightly counteract this apparently intentional monotony.

Islām, which came much later, though we cannot yet tell in what era, has left no monuments.

5. Present-day religions.—The religion of the Chams at the present day is still Brāhmanism on the one hand and Islām on the other, but a Brāhmanism and an Islām so corrupted, so confused with the practice of magic, that they are barely recognizable. The Brāhman Chams are called *Jāt* (Skr. *jāta*) or 'native' Chams: their Musalmān countrymen give them the further name of *Kaphir* or *Akaphir* (Arab. *al-kāfir*) Chams, 'Infidels,' because they have refused to accept the law of Muhammad. The latter name is even accepted by the Brāhman Chams themselves, and neither party sees any opprobrium in the designation. The Musalmān Chams call themselves *Bani* (Arab. *bani*) Chams, 'the Sons [of the religion],' or *Asalam* Chams, that is to say, 'Chams of Islām.' In Cambodia, where all the Chams are Musalmāns, this name 'Bani' is not used.

6. Brāhmanist Chams.—The cult of the Brāhmanist or Hinduist Chams—a vague Śaivite Brāhmanism—has, in our day, only a far-off connexion with the Brāhmanism of the Hindus; and what still survives of this religion, stripped of all

metaphysical concepts, not knowing the names or nature of its gods, is saturated further with Musalmān and animistic influences. In short, as has been said, the vagueness of this worship reveals at a glance the sad degeneracy of this fallen race. Alongside of Indian practices like the worship of the *liṅga* and of Nandin (Śiva's bull), the ritual action which consists in reciting an invocation to Śiva—*namaḥ śivāya*—while touching the finger-joints alternately with the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, and the use of *mantras* in very corrupt Sanskrit (such as *Oṃ taṅpuruśam tatpuruśatya nòmò tatpuruśammukkhai nòmai śibaṅya nòmò*; Sanskrit: *oṃ tatpuruṣaṃ tatpuruṣāya namaḥ tatpuruṣamukhāya namaḥ śivāya namaḥ*), there exists a world of practices and ideas which are foreign to India and borrowed from the Annamese, the Khmèrs, or the half-civilized peoples of Indo-China called 'Savages.' Some of the Chams' agrarian magic rites resemble those of the Malays in every detail, and a certain number of ritual and food restrictions, classed together under the name of *tabuṅ* ('tabu'), appear to be close connexions, like their name, of similar rites among the Malayo-Polynesians. The prayers for the eagle-wood harvest, and the priest's chant over the sacrifice of a buffalo, are purely native. Finally, the co-existence of Islām has still further contaminated the Śaivite Brāhmanism of the present Chams, so that it has now no connexion with Hinduism—which, however, could never have taken deep root in Champā—except by some words and a very few ideas.

(*a*) *Deities.*—The Chams classify their deities into males and females. The great male deities are: (1) *Pō*[1] *Yaṅ*[2] *Mòḥ* or *Amòḥ*, the creator of all and censor of the gods (Siva [?], Brahmā). He has the property, which he shares with *Pō Ovlaḥ* or *Alwaḥ* (Allāh), of being polymorphous. (2) *Pō Jātā*, god of the heavenly regions, who emanates from the foregoing god. (3) *Pō Ovlaḥ* or *Alwaḥ* (Allāh), the creator of *Pō Rasullak* and *Pō Latila*, and dwelling in Mökaḥ (Mecca). He was created by *Pō Ovlahuk*, father of 'nöbi Mohamat' (*nabī Muhammad*). It is quite evident that several of the Chams' deities are simply words, which they have not understood, from the Musalmān invocation: 'There is no other god but God, and Muhammad is his prophet' (in Arabic: *lā ilahū illā ū'llāh wa Muhammadun rasūlu 'llāhi*). This is enough to show the incoherence of their religion.

The female deities are: (1) *Pō Inö Nögar* or *Pō Yaṅ Inö Nögar Tahā*, 'the great goddess, Mother of the kingdom.' *Muk Juk*, 'the black Lady' (Kālī?), and *Patau Kumĕi*, 'Queen of women,' are other names given to this goddess, the most powerful female deity of the Chams. Born from the clouds or from the foam of the sea, she had 97 husbands, among whom was *Pō Yaṅ Amòḥ*, 'the Father God,' and 38 daughters, who were worshipped extensively in former days. She created rice, and presides over agriculture and good harvests. Neither Hindu nor Musalmān in origin, she seems to be a native deity, to whom some of the traits of the Indian Śrī and perhaps also of Durgā have been attributed. Among her daughters there are still held in veneration, each in a special district, *Pō Nögar Darā*, *Pō Byā Tikuḥ* 'queen Mouse' (Gaṇeśa?), *Tara Nai Anaiḥ*, *Pō Śaḥ Anaiḥ*—all virgins, and maleficent deities who must be appeased by sacrifices. (2) *Pajau Yaṅ*, or 'Divine Priestess,' is, on the other hand, a favourable goddess, the dispenser of happiness, who heals diseases and comforts the afflicted. She is invited to all sacrifices. She has no statues or images, but in the imagination of the people she is a woman of thirty. Offerings of fruit are made to her on the first day of the waning moon. She used to live on the earth. *Pō Jātā*, or the King of Heaven, to prevent her from raising all the dead, sent her to the moon, but left her the power of bestowing happiness and health. She gives the souls of the dead who come to greet her a flowering plant (*jrū dī iā bulan*, 'moon-balm'), which makes their journey easy for them to the *ālā tanöḥ riyā*, 'lower regions,' the Cham Hades.[1] *Pajau Yaṅ's* face is seen in the moon, and her name is synonymous with 'moon.' In this name Kern finds the Kawi *pajaṅ*, 'light of the moon'; the age of thirty attributed to her recalls the thirty days of the month. Moreover, the Chams identify *Pajau Yaṅ* with the moon, and explain a lunar eclipse as an act of homage by the lunar deity to the solar deity *Pō Adityak* (Skr. *āditya*); the eclipse of the sun is the homage rendered by *Pō Adityak* to *Pō Jātā*, the deity of the heavens. (3) *Pō Yaṅ Darī* (Skr. *darī*, 'hollow,' 'cave') is the goddess of disease. She dwells in grottos, caves, hollows, dens, or very dense thickets. An upright stone, on which is drawn a white horizontal mark ('to stand for the mouth,' the natives say), is the representation of this goddess. She appears in a vision to an old man, and shows him the place where the stone must be erected; round about this stone, which is set up under a tree, a circular space must be cleared, the diameter of which is not fixed; a circle of dry stones must be formed with the erected stone as centre; and an opening is left to afford entrance into the circle. This constitutes the *tanöḥ yaṅ*, or sacred enclosure. The arrangement of the stones is carried out under the supervision of the man who has had the wonderful dream, and he offers a sacrifice of chickens, cooked rice, and betel—a sacrifice which must not take place either at mid-day or in the night. All who enter the forest must perform the same offering. When coming out of the forest they have only to add a stone to the circle of the *tanöḥ yaṅ*. Such is the cult of Pō Yaṅ Darī at Phan-rang. At Phan-rí she cures fever in little children. She symbolizes the *yoni* ('womb'). She is worshipped wherever there is a hole, a natural cavity, in trees or rocks; a pestle is turned round in the cavity, which has previously been sprinkled with water and alcohol, while an obscene *mantrā* is chanted to win a favour from the goddess.

Alongside of these chief deities we must also mention *Pō Ganuör Mötri*, god of sculptors, engravers, and carpenters; *Pō Pan*, who teaches men the various industries; *Pō Bhauk*, god of storms, of boatmen, and of merchants, who commands the storms; *Pō Rayak*, king of the waves, or the whale-god; and, above all, the deified ancient kings of Champā, *Pō Kloṅ Garai* and *Pō Ramĕ*. They still enjoy such prestige that to-day they constitute, along with *Pō Inö Nögar*, the deities most frequently invoked by the Chams. *Pō Kloṅ Garai* has even taken the place of Śiva in the temple of Phan-rang.

The history of these national gods is naturally full of marvels. *Pō Kloṅ Garai* was born of a virgin-mother, *Pō Śaḥ Inö*, who was subsequently deified, and, after a life full of adventures, became the goddess of merchants. He came into the world covered with leprosy, and a *nāga* cured him by licking him. This god invented the irrigation of rice-plantations, and the

[1] *Pō* (Mal.-Polyn. *po*, *pu*), 'lord,' 'master'—a title given by the Chams to gods, priests, and kings.

[2] *Yaṅ* 'God,' 'spirit,' 'deity,' 'genius,' sometimes 'the king.' This word is found in Malayo-Polynesian (Dayak *saṅyaṅ*; Javanese *yaṅ*, *hyaṅ*; Malay *ka-yaṅ-an*, *yaṅ-yaṅ*, *sembaḥ-yaṅ*; Malagasy **zaṅa* in *zaṅahari*) and in the Indo-Chinese dialects (Bahnar *iāṅ*; Khā pi and Radē *yaṅ*; Stieng *jaṅ*, etc.).

[1] Cf. the Cham expressions *Iā Harĕi*, 'liquid sun,' and *Iā Bulan*, 'liquid moon,' with the title *Jalāṅgeśa*, 'Lord (of the star) of the liquid body,' *i.e.* of the moon, given to Siva (*Inscr. sanscr. de Campā et du Cambodge*, vol. i., inscr. xv. B, 5, pp. 106 and 112). The moon-deity also has the name of *Pō Candrok* (= Skr. *chandra*). The word *iā* in *iā harĕi*, *iā bulan*, may perhaps be simply a corruption of *yaṅ*, 'deity.'

construction of dams and embankments. A five-year-old ox, Kapila,[1] served him as a mount. He raised himself to heaven by his magic power. There he is the protector of men, and his ox carries the dead to Hades. A somewhat incoherent hymn tells of the merits of the god thus: 'The god *Pō Kloṅ* loves maidens. He consents to eat the sacrificial food only if arranged in two rows and offered between the second and third watch. In this way must offerings be arranged so that they may be acceptable to *Pō Kloṅ Garai*. Then he comes down from his mountain, with a beautiful turban on his head, and shoes on his feet, to partake of the sacrifice.'

His companion and servant, *Pō Kloṅ Gaśait*, sprung from a cloud of smoke and dwelling in dark forests, was deified along with him and is celebrated in an even more incoherent hymn: 'It rains in the mountain plunged in darkness; king *Pō Kloṅ Gaśait's* gown and tunic are soaking wet. The rain falls on the mountain; it falls with uproar, pouring through the garments of the king. It rains on Mount Rapat; the god and his wife are bathing. They are up to the mouth in water and the king cannot swim. . . . Deign to accept this sacrifice, O God, and hearken to the prayer of the master of the house.'

Pō Ramē, like *Pō Kloṅ Garai*, was born of a virgin-mother. He watched over the buffaloes of the king until his predestination was revealed to all. He married the daughter of the king—a Cambodian woman. Later on he married an Annamese princess, sent by her father, the king of Annam, to seduce him. A story goes that the Annamese wife of *Pō Ramē*, wishing to ruin the Cham kingdom for the benefit of her own country, asked her husband to have the *kraik* tree,[2] the protector of Champā, cut down, saying that she would then be cured of a supposed disease which the king's doctors had failed to cure. After long hesitation the king gave the order to cut down the *kraik*. A hundred soldiers attacked it with axes, but the wounds of the tree closed up again immediately. The king became impatient and enraged, and, armed with a hatchet, struck the magic tree; blood gushed forth, and groans were heard. The *kraik* fell exhausted, and its blood flooded the ground. The king of Annam declared war on Champā, and *Pō Ramē* was taken and cut in pieces. His Cambodian wife begged for his incisors to make them an object of worship, and her request was granted. The following hymn is devoted to him: 'When *Pō Ramē* descends from the heights where he reigns, his body shines and his head glitters with rays of light. The hair stands on end, the heart is sore afraid when one sees *Pō Ramē*, for his face shines like gold, is limpid as pure water. At the court queen *Akaraṅ* and queen *Than Chan* vie with each other for his favours, but this god, who loves peace, leaves his palace to escape the quarrelling of his wives. Let the god like unto the sun deign to accept this sacrifice and hearken to the prayer of the master of the house.'

(*b*) *Priests*.—If the deities of the pagan Chams are numerous, their priests and rites are not less so. The priestly caste properly so-called (*bòn̈cha* [=Skr. *vaṃśa*] *baśaih*) has at its head a priest of superior rank, the *pordimògru* (Skr. *prathamaguru*?) and three high priests, or *pō ādhya* (Skr. *ādya*), appointed for life, for *Pō Yaṅ Inò Nògar*, *Pō Kloṅ Garai*, and *Pō Ramē*. The priesthood is hereditary (but not obligatory) in the families of the *baśaih*. Consecration takes place at twenty-five years of age, after a long initiation, followed by the marriage of the new priests, who abstain from the flesh of the ox. There is a *baśaih* or *baśeh* (cf. Bahnar *bŏk śoi*, 'sacrificer,' 'priest,' and Pāli *upajjhāya*) in every village. The *baśaih*, charged with the religious service of the people, wears a gown and tunic of white linen, and on his head a white turban, for which a white mitre with red and blue designs is substituted during the performance of his duty. Next in rank to the *baśaih* comes the *ċamenĕi*, deacon-sacristan, who looks after the temples and the objects of worship, arranges the offerings, and dresses the deities; then the *kathar* (Skr. *gandharva*?), who sings the sacred chants, accompanying himself on a two-stringed violin, the body of which is of tortoise-shell (*kaṇi kura*).

Besides these ministers, the *mòdwòn* and the *pajau*, of whom we shall speak below, are officials outside the priestly caste and in direct communication with the deities. The *mòdwon*, initiated by his predecessor, offers sacrifices to all the gods in private ceremonies and in the temples, singing meanwhile, to the accompaniment of a drum, flat on one side, a song which has no meaning for him. The *mòdwòn* is a soothsayer and healer. Lastly, the *oṅ banòk*, 'lords of the dams,' the religious chiefs of canals and works of irrigation, clad in white, preside every year over the work of repairing dams and canals. All the time of these operations they must abstain from sexual intercourse, and must not eat the flesh of the *hakan* fish (silure).

The *pajau* (Bahnar *bòjau*, 'sorceress') is a sorceress-priestess compelled to celibacy, who is found also among several peoples of Indo-China. There is one for every four or five villages. She herself chooses her assistant to take her place in the succession. She reads the future after she has, by means of ecstasy, entered into communion with *Pajau Yaṅ*, or the Heavenly *pajau*; it is natural, therefore, that she should frequently be consulted by the Chams. Like the *baśaih*, the *mòdwòn* and the *pajau* must abstain from certain foods. Under the *pajau*, and qualified to take her place, is the *kaiṅ yaṅ*, 'girdle,' 'loins of the god,' 'she who encircles the deities.' She is a sort of convulsionary priestess who makes a living by presenting offerings to the deities for others. Besides the *pajau*, the Chams have still other officials, called *rijā* or *srwak rijā*, for their private ceremonies. Of 20 years of age or less, they are chosen by the whole family, and are not bound by any rules except to wear a white robe on the days when they are officiating.

All the priests, including the *mòdwòn* and the *pajau*, must abstain from certain dishes in varying degrees, and for varying times. The abstinences, which are binding only in certain months, apply to otter flesh with shallots, hare, chicken, pigeon, ginger, the dish of flesh with oil, the *bakyak* herb (*Phyllanthus sp.*, Euphorbiaceæ), the *katwòn* herb (*Arum esculentum*, Aroideæ), crabs with sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, tortoise, the *hakan* fish (silure), the *krwak* fish (*Annabas sennal*). The fasts belonging to the different days of the week comprise ragout and mince of raw fish with prawns (Sunday); pearl-grey chicken, black chicken, and black goat with spotted belly (Monday); red foods (Tuesday); dark-brown foods (Wednesday); hare and ash-coloured chicken (Thursday); spotted chicken, tortoise, and honey (Friday); eels, lampreys, and the *bakyak* fish or pike (Saturday). The violation of these restrictions means a serious shortening of life.

(*c*) *Festivals*.—Sacrifices and offerings to the gods take place all through the year, and are presented on various occasions of a private nature (illness, birth, marriage, rain, drought, etc.), by the priests, the *mòdwòns*, and the *pajaus*. The most solemn festivals are those of *katē* and *ċabur*. The former is held in September–October, the latter in January–February. At *katē* there are five consecutive days of feasting and sacrifice in the *kalan*[1] and the *bumauṅ*, 'huts of leaves'; and at *ċabur* for the same length of time both in the towers where the *baśaih* officiates, and in the houses where private persons make their offerings personally. Mention must also be made of the *paralau rijā Śaḥ*, 'development of the feast of the goddess *Pō Śaḥ Inò*,' which takes place on the tenth day of the second month of the Cham year (June–July),[2] and which also lasts five days. The ceremonies (offerings, dances, worship of the sea) take place in leaf-huts by the sea-shore, the Brāhman priests and the Musalmān *imāms* taking part in it. On the last day at sunset they throw paste figures of tortoises, buffaloes, and men into the sea. Another curious ceremony is *dih srwak*, 'being stretched out with the body stiff.' In it

[1] This is evidently *Nandin*, the bull of Śiva, but it is difficult to explain how it could have got this purely Sanskrit name (*kapila* = a reddish or brown cow).

[2] This name is given by the modern Chams to *Mesua ferrea* (L.), or ironwood.

[1] Ancient Cham brick temples, in the shape of truncated pyramids or forming a series of retreating stages placed one above the other. The finest are those of Phan-rang and Nha-trang in Annam.

[2] In 1900 it began on the 3rd of June.

are invoked the *prauk* or *prauk patrā*, 'spirits of children who have died young, who inhabit the bodies of squirrels.' The *pajau* with rigid body falls down in a nervous spasm, real or pretended, while the *mòdwòn* beats his flat drum. We may also mention the *yaṅ rijā*, 'the feast of the possessed *or* of possession,' a ceremony analogous to the *thvö rŏṅ*, 'the feast of the possessed' of the Khmèrs, in which a healer, man or woman, called *rijā*, after preparation by a series of magical rites, summons the illnesses which he has cured during the year to a feast where, after eating certain food and drinking alcohol, he is seized with convulsions, pretends to be the incarnation of a spirit, and 'breathes' this spirit over one of the onlookers. The latter, possessed in his turn, passes on the spirit to his neighbour, and so on, from first to last.

Amongst celebrations common to the Brāhmans and the Musalmāns may be mentioned an agrarian sacrifice which takes place every year before undertaking the working of the consecrated rice-plantation, or *hamū ćaṅrauv*. Each proprietor knows by tradition which is the consecrated rice-plantation of the year. After certain offerings placed by the mistress of the field—her husband has only a secondary rôle in the ceremony—in a secluded corner of the rice-plantation where a candle burns, the wife and husband invoke the god *Pō Olwaḥ Tā Alā*, whom the Chams call the 'lord of the lower regions,' but whose name is no other than the Arabic expression *allāh ta'āla*, 'God, exalted be He!'

(*d*) *Sacred vessels and other objects used in connexion with religion.*—The chief sacred vessels and religious objects are:—(1) The *bālaṅòḥ*, 'ark of the sacred fire,' which may not be touched except by the *baśaiḥ*. It used to serve for the consecration of the kings, and is now used for the sacrifices offered at the ordination of the priests. It is a light cage of bamboo, 1 metre in height, cylindrical at the top, and conical at the lower part, and placed on a little square basket containing two wax candles and strewn with raw white rice. The whole is covered over with flowing white cotton crossed by a red band. (2) The *baganraċ*, which only the *baśaiḥ* may touch. It is a tray 30 centimetres long, supported by a framework of sticks and furnished with a cover. It is sometimes rectangular, sometimes with its surface the shape of a violin. It is used for containing the sprinkling-vase, the cups, the metal cruets for the salt, the box of flour for the magic figures, the sacred conch, the rosary, etc. (3) The *habauk*, a copper vase for the lustral water. (4) The *bap*, or *bak*, and the *śop*, libation-ladles. (5) The *kalaiḥ* (Skr. *kalaśa*), a tin vase for the aspersions. (6) The *śaṅ* (Skr. *śaṅkha*), the sacred conch for blowing as a horn. (7) The *ralaṅ hamu*, a bundle of blades of *ralaṅ* (*Saccharum spicatum*, L.) in the form of an S reversed (Ƨ), which the *baśaiḥ* holds in his hand during the sacrifice. (8) The *khak mau*, a large elliptical ring fashioned out of three blades of *ralaṅ* plaited together, which the priest puts on his hand round the four fingers, just below and excluding the thumb. (9) The *karaḥ*, a smaller ring made of similar materials which he wears on his ring finger. (10) The *kaṅom*, the mitre of the Cham priests; it is ornamented with two fillets hanging down behind. (11) The *gai jrŏṅ*, a club made from a rattan whose roots have been plaited in basket form. (12) The *batău rasuṅ*, the block on which the paste is made with which the figures of the deities are smeared. (13) The precious silk cloths for 'dressing' the deities, and the boots of red cloth embroidered in gold, with turned-up toes.[1]

[1] The inscriptions of Champā mention the offering of embroidered clothing to the gods

In their ceremonies the Chams employ three kinds of lustral water: (*a*) eagle-wood water; (*b*) citron water; (*c*) *mu* water (water with *mu*, unpurified calcium carbonate and magnesia, in suspension). The first kind is for aspersions, the second for whitening the face of the *mukhaliṅga* ('the *liṅga* with face-form'), and the third for purifications. *Gahlau* (= Skr. *aguru*; cf. ἀγάλλοχον), 'eagle-wood,' is the most valuable substance used in worship; it is still used by the kings of Annam in the ceremonies they perform. It is an excrescent product of a tree of the family Leguminosæ, the *Aloexylon agallochum* (Lour.) and of another tree of the family of Aquilariæ, the *Aquilaria agallocha* (Roxb.). The ceremony of gathering eagle-wood is very complicated among the Chams; even the Musalmāns take part in it. A Musalmān village is by tradition charged with the gathering of the eagle-wood. At its head is the *pō gahlau*, or 'lord of the eagle-wood,' whose dignity is hereditary. He has under his orders sixteen chiefs of the squad, or *kañi*, and seven hamlets of *Oraṅ Glai*, or *Ra Glai*, 'men of the woods,' a half-civilized people settled in the west of the Cham country. During their absence there must be no games, no laughter, no quarrels in their dwellings, for that would harm their search. Their wives must not speak to any stranger, and if they do not abstain from all sexual relations the greatest misfortunes are sure to occur. For his part, the *pō gahlau* observes all these prescriptions with the greatest care, and abstains at the same time from the *hakan* fish (silure). The same precautions are taken by the *Ra Glai*, who help in the hunt for eagle-wood, and whose villages become *tabuṅ*, 'tabued,' 'interdicted.' All the searchers for the eagle-wood, so long as their search lasts, employ a conventional language (*ar baṅu*, 'flowery language'; *jal śadhŏr*, 'the water of the river'), formed from periphrases, corrupted Sanskrit words, words of dialects foreign to the Cham, or onomatopoetic words. The following are some words of this language:—*mŏrabău*, 'the thing which smells' = eagle-wood; *ćyim ćauṅ*, 'the bird that pricks' = the axe; *bhoṅ*, 'the red' = fire; *garmeṅ*, 'the spider' = the goat; *ŏśdhuk* (= Skr. *oṣadhi*, 'herb'), 'betel'; *ćil*, 'a serpent'; *upbabhup*, 'to eat,' etc.

After two or three months of search the squads generally succeed in gathering from four to fifteen pounds of eagle-wood. The return home takes place solemnly, in arms and to the sound of musical instruments. There is a first series of feasts and festivals, which lasts two days and two nights, at the place where the Chams part company with the *Ra Glai*, and another at the entrance to the Cham village, for the Cham eagle-wood hunters. At the entrance of the Cham village a large shed is built. The women bring the eatables for the festival, the lustral water of sacrifice, and the oil for anointing their husbands, whom they go to meet in high holiday garb, accompanied by armed men. For three days there are sacrifices, banquets, and dances, these last being led by the *pō gahlau* and his wife; but the prescribed abstinences do not yet come to an end. [Before the French occupation, the band of eagle-wood searchers went to deliver this wood to the Annamese mandarins who had claimed it for their king.] Finally, some new sacrifices mark the actual entry into the village and the return to normal life. In the rainy season, the seventh or eighth month of the Cham year, the *pō gahlau* once more ascends with his train to sacrifice a buffalo on the mountain to the deities of the eagle-wood, that they may prosper future searches. A festival of three days follows the sacrifice.

Such are the ceremonies by which the Chams

honour their gods. A persistent tradition, about which, however, they are not very fond of giving an opinion, bears witness to the existence at one time among them of human sacrifices. Friar Gabriel de San Antonio, a Spanish Dominican who visited Champā at the end of the 16th cent., depicts the Chams as 'a people of great wickedness and bad heart,' and relates that on certain days they sacrificed over 6000 persons, whose gall was carefully collected and carried to the king, who bathed his body and head in it. This gall was also used to bathe the statues of the gods.[1] Besides this, it appears that, at the construction of a dam, the *oṅ banòk* at night secretly got hold of a child four or five years old, and drowned it in the irrigation works, in order to win the favour of the deities. Friar Gabriel tells also of a feast which is entirely forgotten by the present Chams, but recalls the procession of the chariot of Jagganāth :

'The Chams have numerous idols, which they place on a chariot on feast days. This chariot is fitted with swords, and the people drag it along, out of piety. Some place themselves under the wheels and let themselves be cut in two ; others offer the foot or the arm, and others the band. Those who survive are beatified, and those who die are regarded as saints. . . . The bodies of the victims, from which the gall has been torn for the service of the king, are gathered together and burnt on the top of a mountain as a sacrifice to the sun.' Friar Gabriel adds that among the Chams 'the dead are burned'—a custom observed even to the present day,—'and widows voluntarily share the funeral pyre of their husbands'—a custom no longer seen.

7. Musalmān Chams or Banis. — It is not known in what year, or how Islām penetrated to the Chams. A chronicle tells that *Pō Olwaḥ* (Allāh) reigned over *Srī Banòy*, their second capital, from A.D. 1000 to 1036, and made a pilgrimage to Mecca. This may have been an Arab chief or a Malay who brought Islām to Champā. We do not know. It is easier to describe what the religion of Muhammad has now become in this country. Of course, the religion varies widely according to the places where it is practised. In Cambodia, where the Banis or Musalmān Chams are in contact with the Malays, Islām is naturally less mixed with heathen practices, and comes nearer to orthodoxy. In Annam, on the other hand, it is in such a state of corruption that it is sometimes very hard to recognize it. An extract from the religious writings of the Banis of Annam informs us that '*Alwahuk* (= Arab. *allāhū*), the uncreated god, holds his seat on the forehead ; *Uwlwah* (*allāh*), Allāh, the Demiurge, on the left eyebrow ; *Mohammat* (=Muhammad), on the right eyebrow ; *Jibarael* (the archangel Gabriel), on the right eye ; *Asan* (Ḥasan), on the left nostril ; *Aśai* (Ḥusain), on the right nostril ; *Hawa* (Eve), on the left ear ; *Adam*, on the right ear.' All their theology, based on the localization, in the face or body of man, of the holy personages of Islām, of its practices and feasts, could not be better exemplified than by this passage.

The ministers of worship among the Bani Chams are: (1) *pō* or *oṅ gru* (= Skr. *guru*, 'spiritual teacher'), chief of the ministers ; (2) the *imòms* (*imāms*), from whom the *grus* are chosen ; (3) the *katip* (Arab. *ḥaṭīb*), minister entrusted with the sermon ; (4) the *mòdin* (Arab. *mūaddin*), the crier of the mosque and singer ; (5) the *ácàrs* (Skr. *ācārya*, 'a spiritual guide or teacher'), masters charged with the teaching of the Law. The word is also used to denote Muhammadan ministers in general, in contradistinction to the *baśaiḥ* of the Hinduists.

The ministers of the cult have their heads shaven. In Cambodia they wear a white fez, which in Annam is covered by a voluminous turban with red, maroon, and gold fringes. The hierarchic rank is marked by the breadth of the fringe. Like the *baśaiḥ*, the *imāms* have a long staff of rattan (for the *oṅ gru* only, the roots of it are plaited like a basket). A white *sarong* and a long white tunic buttoned and cut to fit the neck form their whole costume. On feast days they wear, instead of their turban, a kind of disk with a hole through the centre, and fastened to the fez by a piece of linen ; the whole has the appearance of a judge's cap.

The *imāms* can hardly read Arabic ; still less do they study it. They understand the general drift of the *sūras* of the Qur'ān, which they recite by rote, and which, they say, their fathers used to recite. The fast of *ramwòn* (Ramaḍān) is kept by the priests only. As for the laity in Annam, if they observe it for three days, during the rest of the month they eat a little at midday. The *imāms*, who fast for the whole community, transform the mosque into an encampment for the purpose, where they recite prayers during the whole month of Ramaḍān. They do not leave the mosque except for the great ablutions in the river.

The mosque is a bamboo building, with trellis walls and thatched over with rice-straw ; it is surrounded with an enclosure of dead wood, and its end is turned to the West. At the door are seen a large drum (*agar*), to call to prayer, and the mats used for prayer-carpets, tied up in a bag and hung from the joists. The pulpit (*minbar*) is at the far end. The end of the mosque and the *minbar* are covered with white cloth during feasts.

On Fridays (Cham *jummat*, *jomaat* = Arab. *jum'a*) the *imāms* and the *pō gru*, meeting at the mosque, read some sentences of the Qur'ān, in the presence of the worshippers. Prayer lasts for an hour, and is followed by a meal washed down with rice-brandy, of which all but the priests partake. Purifications are neglected ; their place is taken by digging in the sand, and imitating the movement of drawing the necessary water. The five prescribed prayers are hardly ever said, and circumcision, which takes place about the age of fifteen, is nothing but a symbolic operation. The *oṅ gru* mimics this operation with a wooden knife, after which the newly circumcised receives a new name as 'an initiated person' ; usually the name is 'Alī, Muhammad, Ipbrahim (= Ibrāhim), etc. He still keeps his secular name, however,—the name of some object, quality, or tree,—in his everyday life. On the other hand, the *karoh* (lit. 'seclusion'), or declaration of marriageability of girls, is celebrated with great solemnity. The girls may then marry and put their hair up. Until then they are *tabuṅ*, 'interdicted,' and to violate this interdiction would expose the culprit to serious penalties.[1] The celebrations, presided over by the *oṅ gru* accompanied by the *imāms*, last two days, and are performed for a group of girls, and not for one alone. After prayers addressed to Allāh, to Muhammad, to the Hindu deities, and to the ancestral spirits, a festival takes place at which only the priests eat. Two sheds have been constructed—one for the ceremony, the other for the toilet of the young girls. They sleep in this the first night under the care of four matrons. The *imāms* pass the night in prayer. At seven o'clock in the morning the maidens, dressed in their best and adorned with all their jewels, their hair hanging loose and surmounted by a triangular mitre, come forward preceded by an old woman and a man clothed in white, who carries a year-old infant, dressed like the girls except for the mitre. They proceed to make obeisance to the *oṅ gru* and the *imāms*. The little child is presented to the *oṅ gru*, who puts a grain of salt into his mouth, cuts off a lock of hair from his forehead, and offers him a

[1] See Gabriel de San Antonio, *Breve y verdadera relacion de los succesos del Reyno de Camboxa*, in S. Pablo de Valladolid, 1604, fol. 22. The present writer is preparing a new edition of this work, which has become very rare.

[1] Perhaps this *karoh* is analogous to the legal seclusion for three months imposed by Musalmān jurisprudence on divorced or repudiated wives.

little water to drink. All this is repeated for the young maidens, who then return to their shed in procession. If a girl has violated the interdict the lock of hair is cut from the nape of her neck as a sign of shame. Then another feast, where the priests eat first and the worshippers afterwards, closes this part of the ceremony. About ten o'clock the girls re-appear, their hair put up this time as a mark of their having passed into the ranks of marriageable women; they prostrate themselves before the priests; then all the relatives, and especially the women-guests, come to enumerate the presents of clothing, money, finery, and even fields and buffaloes, which they are giving to such and such a new member. Then, after much bowing, the young maidens go and fetch the viands and presents prepared for the *imāms*, and offer them on trays. The *oṅ gru* makes a pretence of tasting them, and presents a small particle to the little child. A bounteous feast brings to an end the solemnization of the *karŏh*. This ceremony generally takes place only a very little before the marriage of the girls, who are at this time from fifteen to eighteen years old.

Another feast, called *taba* or *tupah* (= Arab. *taubah*), takes place in all the families where there are old men. It is celebrated in a shed built for the purpose; the *oṅ gru* and several *imāms* offer up prayers; the old man and his family make the responses. A sprinkling of lustral water, accompanied by a banquet, closes this ceremony, which blots out the old man's sins, and takes place for each man individually.

Some deeply rooted survivals of the ancient Malayo-Polynesian cults contaminate the Islāmism of the Bani Chams, not to mention the evident corruptions of their cult by that of their brothers the Hinduists. While worshipping Allāh, they also invoke the *Pō Yaṅ*, 'deities,' and offer them sacrifices. They make offerings to the spirits of their ancestors on serious occasions: to get healing, or to gain assurance of the success of an important affair. They offer worship to the *prok*, the souls of still-born children which are incarnated in the bodies of squirrels, and are particularly malignant spirits. To appease them or win their favour, both Banis and Kaphirs pray to them in complicated ceremonies, like the *ḍih srwak*, of which we have spoken above, and its complement, the *dayŏp*, or 'sacrifice of the twilight.' The two sects invite each other to all their feasts, and give each other the place of honour. But the Banis never take part in any cremation. As regards this, a curious old tradition says that at one time they alone were summoned to the side of the Brāhmanist Cham queens in childbed, as being less liable to bring ill-luck than the *baśaih*, who was charged with supplying the corpse with food and drink until its cremation.

Mixed marriages are rare, and especially so between a Brāhmanist girl and a Musalmān, the children having to follow their mother's religion. Nevertheless, perfect toleration is the rule, not only among the adherents, but even among the priests of the two cults. If the Bani Chams have no scruples about worshipping the *Pō Yaṅ*, or Hindu deities, the Kaphirs on their side have included Allāh and Muhammad in their pantheon. They all abstain from pig's flesh, dare not rear oxen, and cut themselves off from all sexual relations on Mondays, in commemoration of the supposed birth of Allāh. Corresponding to the *pajau*, or sorceress-priestess, of the Kaphirs, there is among the Banis the *rajā* or *rijā*, who performs similar duties. The *rajās*, who must be twenty years old, do not form a special caste, and their functions are not hereditary. In short, they are private officials, and do not play a really important part except at certain annual feasts called *rijā*, which seem to correspond to the solemnizations of *katē* and *ćabur* of the Kaphirs, and at which the ancestral spirits are worshipped. These feasts, of Malayo-Polynesian origin, take place in the ninth month (Dec.–Jan.). In the formulas recited at them the name of Java and the Javanese occurs often. We shall describe them briefly.

In an enclosure a large shed is constructed, of new materials as far as possible, and is covered over inside with white cotton cloth. The altar is a rude trough with trays, on which are placed betel, foods, and fruits; and wax-candles are stuck on the edge of the trays, which are further surrounded with coloured cotton threads. From the roof hang images of monkeys, elephants, boats, and carts, all made of paper. A swing, fastened to two pillars, is set apart for the *rijā*. Attended by three *imāms*, she is the chief personage of the fête. The *mŏdwŏn*, with his flat drum, conducts an orchestra composed of a flute, a violin, cymbals, and an elongated drum (*ganŏṅ* = Mal. *gendaṅ*, Javanese *keṇḍaṅ*), and accompanies the *rijā*. The ceremony, which is interrupted by a number of feasts, lasts two days and three nights. It begins with the *bismillāh*, and continues with the invocation of the spirits of the mountains and woods, of the dead, of the spirits of 'beyond the sea,' and, by name, of the thirty-eight deities or spirits.[1] The calling out of their names is followed by prayers from the three *imāms*.

The characteristic part of the ceremony takes place on the second day, at the time when the morning star appears. After the *mŏdwŏn* has invoked the deities, and the *rijā* has performed a special dance in their honour, they take a little rowing-boat, fashioned out of a piece of wood supposed to have come from Java or China to exact tribute. The master of the house where the ceremony takes place pleads ignorance of Javanese, and the *mŏdwŏn* acts as interpreter. In pantomime they place eggs, cakes, and a kind of jointed monkey on the boat. Then they all cut the partition walls and the roof of the shed into pieces, and fight over the cakes. On the third day the *rijā*, accompanied by the priests and the orchestra, proceeds solemnly to launch the boat with the monkey on the river of the village, and this is the end of the ceremony.

Besides this great annual *rijā*, they celebrate others in special cases, *e.g.* to charm the evil spirits who take possession of a girl, or to get healing. They are all celebrated in the same way as the preceding, except that the *mŏdwŏn* alone takes the place of the orchestra, and that the mistress of the house herself often takes the part of the *rijā*.

It would be just as difficult to fit into the domain of Islām the agrarian rites common to the Banis and Kaphirs. They distinguish three kinds of sacred fields:—(1) The *hamū tabuṅ*, which bring death to the people and beasts who cultivate them. Nothing can turn aside their evil influence, which is now cheaply avoided by selling the fields to the Annamese Christians. (2) The *hamū cañrauv*, or sacred rice-plantations, which are regarded as the 'queens' of the other rice-plantations. We have already described the cult of which they are the object. (3) The *hamū klaik lawak*, 'fields of secret labour.' These are worked by stealth, after a sacrifice has been offered, and the buffaloes, ploughs, and offerings have been sprinkled with lustral water. The sacrifice must be renewed at the flowering and harvest of the rice. Perhaps there remain in it some traces of the ancient native cults for appeasing the spirit of the soil that has been reclaimed from the forest.

In regard to the *oṅ banŏk*, or religious chiefs of dams and irrigation, we may at least admit that their functions correspond to the religious respect of Musulmāns for all that is connected with the distribution of water in the hot countries which they originally inhabited. The *oṅ banŏk*, clothed in white, keep certain fasts, and avoid sexual intercourse during the exercise of their ministry. They preside every year over the repairing of the dams and canals. As already stated, they were believed to drown a little child secretly in the irrigation works to assure good irrigation of the fields.

8. Magic rites and various customs.—Black magic, the casting of spells, and sorcery are common to the Hinduist and Musalmān Chams, as well as to the Annamese and Khmèrs, but the latter peoples consider the Chams the abler sor-

[1] Cf. the thirty-eight daughters of Pō Inö Nögar.

cerers. The Chams believe that certain individuals have the power of killing at a distance, or of causing the ruin and downfall of persons, or of trees, by means of magic formulæ. Though the *jalawöc*, or those who extract the gall, have disappeared, the belief persists none the less that fresh human gall gives invulnerability. The life of the Chams, whether Banis or Kaphirs, is associated with innumerable superstitious ideas and practices. The absence of shrubbery round the houses is explained, as we have seen, by the belief that the shade of a living tree brings misfortune.

The construction of a Cham house includes a series of propitiatory rites meant to drive off the evil spirits. The enclosure of dead wood is first raised, and, after the plan of the house has been traced with a line, the pillars are set up—tree-trunks which are to support the building. But first the builders must place a *mantra* engraved on a plate of lead, and always the same *mantra*, in the hole into which the pillar is to be put. Then they sink the north-east pillar, once more invoking the deities. Other *mantras* are laid at the places where the pillars meet the woodwork of the roof; and the roof is then covered with thatch taken from the mountain. Then the master of the house, having chosen the place where his bed is to be, stretches himself out on it for a moment, but does not dare to install himself finally in the new habitation until he has made a sacrifice to the unfavourable powers.

A new cart is never put to use either by the Banis or by the Kaphirs without a ceremony, which consists in a sacrifice to the deities, and aspersions of lustral water on the cart. After this it is plunged into the river, and receives several light strokes of an axe, as a sample of the chastisement in store for it if it does not fulfil its function well.

The Chams never go during the day to take the rice they need from the granary: that is the time when it is asleep. They therefore await its awaking, that is to say, the fall of night. This rice, moreover, has not been put into the granary until the principal matron of the family has cut enough to make three sheaves in the fields. These three sheaves are set upright on the bank of the rice-plantation, and the matron-harvester says to the stems still standing: 'You are fit to enter the granary; follow the sheaves you see here.' In addition to this, after the buffaloes have trodden the rice, a sacrifice is made at the winnowing ground.

The Chams, like the other Malayo-Polynesians, believe in 'favourable' and 'unfavourable' days, and they never undertake anything of importance without being assured, by the consultation of tables, of a propitious day and hour.

9. Birth.—When a child is born, a matron of the village assists at the delivery, and keeps a burning fire[1] near the mother, during a period more or less variable—7 days is the average in Binh-thuận. Then she surrounds the hearth with cotton thread, and lights a cubit-long candle to keep off evil spirits. It is she also who 'breaks up' the fireplace at the end of the lying-in, and who carries the ashes to cross-roads in order to make a pile of them, surmounted by a stone and betel-quid. The Banis omit the sacrifice which is then offered by the Kaphirs to the good spirits. The child receives a name when about the age of six months, *i.e.* just when the first glimmering of intelligence is seen. Children of good constitution and normally born get a 'good' name ('Good-luck,' 'Joy,' 'Concord,' etc.); children prematurely born, deformed, or whose mother has had several miscarriages, get a 'bad' name ('Dog,' 'Cat,' 'Buffalo,' 'Excrement,' etc.). This bestowal of a bad name tricks the spirits who would injure the child; if at the age of 12 years no harm has befallen the child, a bad name is changed for a good one; but this is often forgotten. It is remarkable that several Cham kings have borne the name *Aiḥ* ('Excrement').

10. Marriage.—Boys and girls marry between the ages of 15 and 18. If a girl, Bani or Kaphir, becomes pregnant, unless she lives publicly with a man of the village, she must tell the name of her seducer. The latter, if he admits the deed, has to pay a small fine to the parents, and may marry the girl. If the girl refuses to name the father of her child, she is punished by 50 strokes of the rattan, all precautions being taken to avoid a miscarriage. But cases of seduction are not common. Marriage among the Kaphirs requires very little formality, and cohabitation may take its place for a long time.

Among the Banis, marriage is a little more complicated. It includes a religious ceremony and a very costly banquet. People are often found putting marriage off so long that grown-up children are present at the wedding-feast of their parents. In the cases (which, however, are rare) where the feast takes place before marriage, it is the parents of the boy who supply the greater part of the provisions; those of the girl give the rice and the cakes. Towards evening, the married couple, clad in unhemmed white cotton, and holding each other by the hand or by the gown, go by a road carpeted with mats, so that their feet may not touch the ground, from the house of the young maiden to the shed specially constructed near by. There, in front of the *imāms* engaged in prayer, presided over by the *oṅ gru*, the parents of the betrothed maiden declare her given over to the youth, who accepts her as his wife before all. The maiden goes back to the house, while the *oṅ gru*, who for the occasion has taken the name of Lord Mohammat (=Muhammad), and is accompanied by an *imām* who has received the name of Lord Omar, asks the fiancé, designated by the name of *Pagindā Ali* (=Mal. *baginda* ['prince,' 'majesty,'], 'Alī), what presents he means to offer to his wife '*Phwatimòḥ*' (=Fāṭima). The youth enumerates them, beginning with the silver wedding-ring and ending with the jewels, the ornaments, the buffaloes, and rice-plantations, if there are any. In case of divorce, this dowry remains with the wife. Then two *imāms* take the ring which the *oṅ gru* has just blessed, and go into the house to put it on the finger of the maiden, at the same time asking her if she consents to the marriage. They proceed to fetch the fiancé and the *oṅ gru*, and then they solemnly conduct the married couple into their dwelling. Before going into the house the bridegroom crushes three betel leaves on the threshold. In the nuptial chamber, four venerable matrons spread out a special white cloth over the mat set apart for the newly-married couple. The wife sits down on it, with old women round about her, and her husband at her side. *Imāms* join the hands of the married pair, who are then sprinkled with lustral water, bless them, and after some prayers and moral recommendations leave them alone. The wife then prepares a betel-quid, which she places in her husband's mouth. He throws part of his clothing over her, and finally they both go out to prostrate themselves before the priests and the godparents of both parties. This is the time when the guests offer their presents, a list of which is drawn up. An interminable banquet, to which nearly the whole village is invited, closes the marriage-ceremony.

The position of woman among the Chams of Annam, where there still exist very distinct traces

[1] Hence the expression *diḥ di apuĕi*, 'to sleep near the fire,' meaning 'to be delivered.'

of matriarchy, is an agreeable one. In religious and domestic ceremonies she takes the first place after the priests, and has the right to transmit property. She chooses her husband; the children belong to her and not to the father. Divorce is easy to get and often taken advantage of, being always sought by the wife, who is allowed to keep the children, the common house, and a third of the property, etc.

Adultery is theoretically punished by death, but in practice the penalty is reduced to a few strokes of the rattan and a fine. It is, however, very rare, not owing to the special virtue of Cham women, but because they can, as we have seen, obtain separation from their husbands quite easily.

11. **Disposal of the dead.**—(*a*) *Among the Banis.*—Funeral rites are highly developed among the Chams, partly in honour of the ancestral spirits, partly to prevent the dead man from coming back to annoy or carry off those whom he has left in his house. Islām has been unable to modify completely the beliefs of the Banis on this point, but the funeral ceremonies of the latter are much less complicated than those of the Kaphirs, and—an important point—burial takes the place of cremation among the Musalmāns, while cremation persists among the Kaphirs. After the last breath, the corpse is carried into a shed built for the purpose. It is washed in several waters, wrapped in a piece of white cotton, and laid, without a coffin, in a trench, with the head towards the north. This is done in presence of four *imāms*, who recite prayers, while the family and friends adjure the dead to rest in the tomb and not return to torment the living. Contrary to what takes place among the orthodox Musalmāns, it is the *imāms* who lead the procession. Commemorative services, called *padhis* (Skr. *upādhi?*), with prayers and a feast on the tomb, take place on the 3rd, 7th, 10th, 30th, 40th, and 100th days. A sacrifice is also offered on the tomb in all serious family crises. Finally, in the 5th or 6th month for the poor, in a year for the rich, the corpse is exhumed, and carried with the same ceremonies as before into a certain valley, considered a holy place by the Banis.

(*b*) *Among the Kaphirs.*—Cremation among the Kaphir Chams is a very solemn procedure. The corpse, washed and clothed in a series of white cotton garments, put one on top of the other, has the appearance of a parcel, and the head, though veiled, is the only recognizable part. The body is laid out, with the head to the south, on a kind of luxurious catafalque adorned with candles, and food is placed at the corpse's side. The priests pray beside it night and day, and go through the pantomime, three times a day, of giving it food. During this time, the friends and relatives come from any distance, with lively musical instruments, to feast and laugh unceasingly in the house. They must bear the corpse company, and by their gay talk keep the family from giving itself up to a too violent grief. This may last a week or several months, according to the fortune of the deceased and the condition of the atmosphere. When the corpse becomes too much decomposed, it is at last consigned to the flames. It is laid out on an enormous new catafalque, made by the *baśaiḥ*, and ornamented with figures of animals or flowers in gilt paper. Carriers dressed in white seize the catafalque, round which crowd all the priests and the *pajau*, clothed in white, with a bundle of five candles in their hand. Musical instruments give the signal to march. Mourners, the family dressed in white, and all the inhabitants of the village girdled with white scarfs, carrying lances, swords, and flags, follow the catafalque, which the carriers, under the order of the midwives, keep turning to left and right, so as to mislead the dead in case he should want to return home afterwards. When they have arrived at the place of cremation, the first knock is given by a *baśaiḥ*; then the relatives clear the ground, preparing the pile where the body is placed. After the priests have circumambulated the pile, keeping their right side towards it all the time, the body is uncovered once more to offer it a final repast and to allow the adoration of its friends. Then fire is applied to the pile, which is decorated with the priests' candles, and into which are also thrown some food, all the precious things, clothes, and utensils belonging to the deceased, and the presents, often of real value,[1] which his friends and relatives give him at his death. After cremation the central part of the frontal bone is picked up. This, broken into nine parts, constitutes the 'noble bones,' and is put into a little gold, silver, or copper box called *kloṅ*, and taken back to the former dwelling of the deceased. These *kloṅ* are nearly always bought beforehand, and buried in some corner of the proprietor's enclosure or in the forest. They are never buried in the house, the presence of a *kloṅ* bringing ill-luck and often causing the death of the person for whom it is meant to be kept. The family of the deceased then celebrate *padhi* (Skr. *upādhi?*), or commemoration-services, on the 3rd, 10th, and 100th days after the death, with prayers and feasting.[2] At the *padhi* held on the anniversary, the *kloṅ* are buried beside the rest of their ancestral bones under the *kut*, or family tombstones. These stones, of about three cubits' length, are three in number for women, five for men. They are erected nearly always in the family property, and preferably at the foot of a tree. The poor, for lack of private property, bury their *kloṅ* in the forest. At the feasts of *katē* and *ćaḅur*, care is taken never to omit to pay homage to the ancestral spirits, which are invoked also in cases of illness, accident, and important decisions. These sacrifices, though unorthodox, are offered by the Musalmān Chams of Annam and of Cambodia.

12. **Eschatology.**—The ideas of the Chams of either sect as to the survival and fate of the soul after death are singularly confused. The Brāhmanists generally think that the souls of pious men go into the sun, those of women into the moon, those of servants into grey clouds; but they sojourn there only until their entrance into the heart of the earth (*alā tanòḥ riyā*). Others declare that souls return to the state of the gods, others that they pass into the bodies of certain animals—serpents, crocodiles, squirrels, etc. Each family abstains from eating the flesh of a particular animal. A belief common to all the Chams is that the souls of infants born dead, or dying very young, who have not undergone cremation (among the Brāhmanists only, since the Banis bury their dead), incarnate themselves in squirrels and palm-rats (*Sciurus palmarum*), and would soon become harmful if they were not appeased by means of sacrifices called *sriwak* and *dayòp*.

13. **Cambodian Chams.**—The Chams who came to Cambodia, very probably at the end of the 15th cent., after the decisive fall of Champā, are quite different. Numbering 90,000, they form a veritable nation, which has acquired coherence from the Islām they all profess. They live generally on the banks of the Mekhong or of the Great Lake, and are often on the move. There are also attached to them some villages in Cochin-China, particularly at Châu-dôc and Tây-ninh, and a small group in

[1] They are content sometimes with only passing them through the smoke.

[2] The funeral rites of the Chams are very complicated, and correspond in some parts to those of India, but they include a number of practices which are not found in the Brāhman writings on funerals.

Siam. They are often confounded with the Malays, who are not nearly so numerous as they are, and who almost always settle alongside of them. Intermarriage also is gradually fusing the two races. Very different from their apathetic brothers in Annam, the Banis of Cambodia are active, enterprising, and intelligent, and seem to have acquired all these qualities from living near the Malays. They are chiefly woodcutters, agriculturists, fishermen, and tradesmen, able workmen, and cunning usurers. Their women weave silk stuffs with good taste, but never rear silk-worms, preferring to buy the raw material they need from the Khmèrs or Chinese. Their villages are built on piles, shaded by a clump of false-jujube trees, and surrounded by well-tilled fields, and have not the gloomy appearance of the low huts and parched villages, surrounded with dead wood, of the Banis of Annam. They plant rice, cotton, indigo, and maize; and they rear oxen and buffaloes, but pigs are objected to.

Their Islām, though mixed with native practices, is much more enlightened and thoughtful than that of the Chams of Annam. As they are in permanent contact with Malays and Hindus, who are fervent Musalmāns, and are better instructed in their religion, there is quite a considerable number among them who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. They worship only Allāh, perform the five prayers and the prescribed ablutions, and always abstain from pigs' flesh, and usually from fermented liquors, especially in public. To do otherwise would incur a reprimand from the *imāms*. The Friday assembly (*jòmaat*) always comprises the forty required members.

(*a*) *Clergy*.—The hierarchy of the ministers of the cult consists first of four persons named by the king of Cambodia and forming part of his council. They are assisted by 40 *imāms*. These are the *mòphati*, 'teacher of the Law' (*muftī*), the *tuh kalik*, the *rajak kalik*, 'magistrates' (*qāḍī*), and the *tuon pakĕ*, 'jurisconsult' (*faqīh*). These ministers of the cult are highly honoured by both the Chams and the Malays. Then come the *hakīm* or *hakem*, 'doctors of law and mosque-chiefs' (*hākim*), and the *katip*, 'the official in charge of the prayers' (*haṭīb*). All these priests are clothed in white, have their heads shaven, wear only a little beard, and have a white turban. The *lebĕi* and the *halīm* (=Arab. *'ālim*), the one an official and the other a teacher of the Law, are simply laymen, employed in the mosque. Mention must be made, finally, of the *bilāl* or *mòdin* (*mūaddin*).

The great dignitaries and the *imāms* have wide authority over their congregation. They have the right to apply a certain number of strokes with a stick to those who transgress the religious requirements, use fermented drinks, or traffic in strange idols, etc. The offering of sacrifices and oblations to the deities of the polytheists may incur exclusion from the community, although such a prescription, if exactly followed, would mean the total excommunication of all the Bani Chams.

The Chams of Cambodia now send Cham or Malay missionaries to their fellow-worshippers in Annam, to bring them back to more orthodox practices. They are received and entertained with the utmost cordiality, but their efforts are fruitless against the absolute indifference of the latter and their secular custom of sacrificing to the *Pō Yaṅ*.

(*b*) *Festivals*.—The Chams of Cambodia celebrate the following festivals:—(1) *Ramòwan* (=Arab. *Ramaḍān*) or *Bulan Ŏk*, 'month of fasting,' fixed by the priests, and regularly observed by all the worshippers in the usual way. (2) *Bulan Ŏk Haji*, 'month of the pilgrimage fast,' or *Bulan Oulwah*, 'month of God,' a supplementary fast, when the Banis must not eat before nightfall for five days. It takes place three months after *Ramòwan*. (3) *Rijā Surah* or *Surah* (=Arab. *'Ashūrā*?), 'the feast of the distress,' in memory perhaps of the flight of Muhammad. (4) *Tapat*, the *tupah* (=Arab. *taubah*) of the Annamese Chams, a ceremony for the purification of the sins of old men. (5) *Tamat* (=Arab. *tāmmat*, 'conclusion'), a feast in honour of a young man who has finished his theological studies. Dressed in his finest clothes, and surrounded by his friends, he makes a triumphal entry on horseback into his village, musicians leading the way. (6) The circumcision of boys, which is not a mere pretence as in Annam, is the occasion of a feast. The operator, nearly always the *oṅ gru*, uses a razor and pincers for the circumcision. The youths on whom it is performed must be about fifteen years old. Their relatives offer presents to the operator, and a banquet follows. The *karòh* of the Annamese Banis is not in use for the girls. (7) *Molot* or *Mòlot* (=Arab. *malaṭ*, 'shave'?) is a ceremony which seems confused with that of the cutting of the tuft among the Khmèrs. An *imām*, assisted by at least three colleagues, after reciting prayers and sprinkling a child with lustral water, cuts off a lock of its hair. The child undergoes *molot* only once in its life, between the ages of 3 and 13, and it is on this occasion that it is given a Musalmān name—nearly always Muhammad, 'Abd Allāh, or 'Alī, if it is a boy; and, if a girl, Fāṭima (in Cham *Phwatimòh*). In ordinary life the child is called by the purely Cham name which is given it at birth. The inevitable banquet closes the ceremony.

The Chams of Cambodia, it is evident, are better Musalmāns than those of Annam, but it would be exaggeration to conclude from this that their Islām is always perfectly enlightened and conscious. It is easy, on the contrary, to discover in it a number of practices which are evident survivals of the old Malayo-Polynesian, Hindu, and Animistic cults which preceded Islām, and were originally native to the country. They feel this vaguely, and try to hide them under an Islāmic or so-called Islāmic mask. Thus, like the Malays of Cambodia, they worship a number of saints' tombs, or *ta-lak*; they go to them to obtain healing, before the conclusion of an important affair, etc. The cult consists of the recitation of prayers and formulæ, aspersions of lustral water, a feast near the tombs, and—a Buddhist custom—the freeing of pigeons. This worship of the *ta-lak* has some analogy with the worship of the *kramat*, or mounds supposed to be tombs of Musalmān saints, in Malacca. The worship they give to evil spirits, styled *jin asalam*, 'Musalmān genii,' has its counterpart likewise in the Malay Peninsula.

(*c*) *Sorcery and Sorceresses*.—Sorcery, which can by magic practices cause the death or ruin of people and things, inspires the Banis of Cambodia with great hatred, and the sorcerers, or supposed sorcerers, are often assassinated secretly. These sorcerers, nearly always women, are supposed to transmit their magic power from one to another by means of a midnight initiation in the forest. The person wishing to become a sorceress sacrifices a live cock on an abandoned termite's nest. She cuts it in two from the head to the tail, and has to dance and sing quite naked in front of the altar, until, by a kind of magic attraction, the two halves of the cock begin to approach each other, and the bird returns to life and utters its cry. This devilry ended, the sorceress can bring harm and desolation anywhere at will. Fortunately she is easily re-

cognizable by her swollen and bloodshot eyes, and by the tendency of her face to change colour. These sorceresses are called *kamölai* or *kamòlai bhut* (cf. Skr. *bhūta*), and when they are recognized, by the signs described above, every one hurries away from them in terror. The evil may be exorcized from them by means of *mantrās*, and by the ingestion of unclean substances, which are expected to make the bad spirits that haunt the possessed flee in disgust.

The Banis of Cambodia believe that gall, taken immediately from a man who has been killed for the purpose, is the best charm for invulnerability. They used to be very much dreaded by the Cambodians, who regarded every Cham as a *jalawöć*, 'taker of gall'; this practice does not exist nowadays except as an isolated crime.

The agrarian rites are only a feeble echo of those of the Banis of Annam. When a Cambodian Bani wants to make a rice plantation from part of a forest newly cleared by fire, he chooses a *dies fastus*, sprinkles a handful of rice-grains with lustral water, and puts them in seven holes already bored in preparation; he does not begin the sowing till he has performed this rite. The same procedure is followed also in the case of maize, cotton, or any other plantations. Before a new cart is used, all that is necessary is to light a candle, pour a libation of water over the cart, and utter this imprecation: 'Beware if you do not run well!'

(*d*) *Calendar.*—This is the same for both the Chams of Annam and those of Cambodia. The reckoning by the *śaka* era employed in inscriptions having completely disappeared, they use the duodenary cycle to compute time. Each of the twelve years of this cycle, borrowed from the Turks through the Chinese, bears the name of an animal—rat, buffalo, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, goat, monkey, cock, dog, pig. But, in contrast with what takes place among several peoples who use this cycle, the names of these animals are taken from the ordinary language. Each year, beginning in April–May, contains twelve lunar months, the first ten denoted by numbers, and the last two, *pwaś* and *mak*, having Sanskrit names (*pauṣa* and *māgha*). The week has seven days, the names of which, borrowed from Sanskrit, designate planets. Each day is divided into twelve periods of two hours, and the periods into eight parts with the value of our quarter of an hour. The night is divided into five watches. The time is expressed by means of such forms as 'the cock crows' (=1 o'clock a.m.), 'the cock leaps to the ground' (=2 o'clock a.m.), etc.

In the manuscripts we find traces of a cycle of eight years, named by corrupt Arabic letters and analogous to the Javanese *windu*, and of a method of reckoning time by periods which recall the Javanese *wukus*.

(*e*) *Birth.*—At the birth of a child, the usual fire is kept burning near the mother, and the midwife scatters its cinders likewise at cross-roads, but without the accompaniment of offerings to the spirits. The superstitions connected with name-giving are the same in both countries. On the other hand, education and instruction are a little better cared for here than in Annam, and extend even to the girls. Presents of cloth, rice, or fruits are offered to the master, who teaches his pupils to repeat some verses of the Qur'ān and to read Arabic.

(*f*) *Marriage.*—Marriage is not allowed with a non-Musalmān except on condition that he be converted, which does not, however, happen often with the Khmèrs. They are very faithful to Buddhism, and this accounts for the fact that mixed marriages scarcely ever take place except between Chams and Malays. Bridegrooms are generally 15 to 18 years old, never less; the proposal of marriage is made by the parents, with the help of a female mediator. The fiancé settles a dowry of money on his future wife, which she is to keep in case of divorce not sought by her; then he proceeds to serve in the house of his parents-in-law until his marriage. The wedding, accompanied by long banquets, lasts three days. On the evening of the third day, the youth, decked in a gold-embroidered coat, mounted on a richly-harnessed horse, and shaded by a parasol of honour, surrounded by his relatives and guests, goes to the house of the girl, who waits for him dressed in all her finery, seated on the ground with her legs bent under her, in a shed built for the purpose, where the *imāms* bless the union. The wife places the traditional betel-quid in the mouth of her husband, and he puts part of his clothing over her.

The Chams of Cambodia, richer than those of Annam, sometimes take as many as four wives when their means permit. Few, however, have more than two or three; others have only one. The wife of the first rank has command over the others. The Bani who has become a slave has never any right to more than two wives.

Marriage by capture, although rare among the Chams, nevertheless exists. In it the suitor introduces himself into the house of the girl he wishes to marry if the door is open, draws her close into his arms, and, in spite of the blows applied by the family of the girl, entwines her in a scarf; he is then married, and has only to 'redeem the shame of the family' by means of a sum of money. Divorce is more difficult to obtain and rarer than in Annam. Unions are nearly always fertile, but the Chams of Cambodia further increase their race by foreign elements, by Annamese or Khmèr children whom they accept in payment of bad debts, and whom they cause to be brought up as Musalmāns.

(*g*) *Disposal of the dead.*—This is no more solemn among the Cambodian Chams than among the Banis of Annam. The commemoration services take place at the same times, but without heterodox practices. Burial is once for all; there is no exhumation.

(*h*) *Folk-tales.*—A very competent judge, A. Barth,[1] gives the following appreciation of the Cham tales published by Landes:

'Le fonds de ces récits est un merveilleux étrange, fait d'animisme et de magie, sans aucun alliage mythologique ou théologique. Une ou deux fois seulement on voit intervenir un seigneur Alwah (=Allah). . . . A côté d'une dureté et d'une apathie de sentiments extrêmes, on y trouve des traits d'une sensibilité exquise. Le [conte] no. x. . . . rappelle par plusieurs endroits le conte égyptien des deux frères et il contient aussi les données essentielles de Cendrillon et des épreuves de Psyché. Non moins curieux est le no. v., "Les ruses du Lièvre." Ce conte, qui est également connu au Cambodge et en Annam, et dont plusieurs données se retrouvent aussi dans les *Jātakas*, est une de ces séries de fables reliées les unes aux autres et enchassées dans un cadre commun, dont l'Inde paraît avoir fourni les premiers modèles.'

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[1] *Revue critique*, no. ix., 27th Feb. 1888, p. 161.

CHAMĀRS (total number, 11,137,362 at Census of 1901).—i. *HISTORY*.—**1. Name.**—The name *Chamār*, *Chambhār*, or *Charmakār* (fem. *Chamarin*, *Chamāin*) is derived from the Skr. *charma-kāra*, 'a worker in leather.' In the Madras Presidency, to which they have migrated from the Central Provinces, the Chamārs are also known as *Chamura* (*CI*, 1901, vol. xv. pt. i. p. 149). In some districts of Rājputāna they are called *Bolas* (*ib.* vol. xxv. p. 147). Chamārs frequently conceal their identity by giving only the name of their sub-caste, *e.g.* *Jaiswārā* or *Kori* (*ib.* vol. xiii. pp. 145, 182). The name *Mochī* (*Muchī* or *Muc'chī*), though, as will be shown below, it generally denotes a difference of occupation or of religion from that of the *Chamārs*, is sometimes applied indiscriminately to the latter (*CI*, 1881, vol. iii. p. ciii; 1901, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 388, vol. xxvi. A, p. 196). The Chamārs themselves derive their name by tradition from a princess named Chāmu (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 170), or from *Nona* or *Lona Chamārin*, a deified witch (Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. i. pt. iv. p. 392).

2. Origin and territorial distribution.—(*a*) *Origin.*[1]—The great majority of modern writers upon the subject regard the Chamārs as having been of low caste from the very first. Sherring, indeed, accepted the traditional view of Manu on the ground that their clearly defined caste prejudices were evidence of their semi-Brāhmanical origin. His judgment was influenced by the fact that he had met with several Chamārs of high-bred appearance, and by the prowess of the Dosādhs, whom he considered to be a subdivision of the Chamārs, when they fought under Clive at Plassey (*op. cit.* vol. i. pt. iv. p. 392 ff.). Yet the dark complexion of the Chamārs is so generally recognized as distinguishing them from Brāhmans that it has given rise to the Hindi proverb,

Kariā Brāhman, gora Chamār,
Inke sāth na utariye pār,

which may be freely rendered,

'If the Brāhman be black, if the Chamār be fair,
Let the wise when he crosses a river beware,'

i.e. a fair-skinned Chamār is so rarely seen that his appearance is uncanny and bodes no good (Elliot's *Gloss.* i. 71; *CI*, 1901, vol. i. p. 545). Sir William Hunter, describing the Chamārs of Oudh, says: 'Always on the verge of starvation, their lean, black, and ill-formed figures, their stupid faces, and their filthy habits, reflect the long degradation to which they have been hereditarily subjected' (*IGI*, vol. x. p. 499). Whenever delicate and refined features and a fair complexion are seen in a Chamār, they should, W. Crooke thinks, be attributed to intercourse in recent times between the Chamārs and higher castes (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 169; see also *CI*, 1901, vol. xiii. p. 184). The view has been advanced by E. B. Alexander that the Chamārs of Gorakhpur in N.W. Prov. were originally the retainers of the Aryan invaders rather than themselves the invaded aborigines (*Gazetteer N.W. Prov.* vol. vi. [1881] p. 359). Nesfield, who regards function, and function only, as the foundation upon which the whole caste system of India was built up, classes the Chamārs among the artisan castes of the age preceding metallurgy, and thinks that they have sprung out of several different tribes like the Dom, Kanjar, Habura Cheru, etc., the last remnants of which are still without the pale of Hindu society (*Caste System of the N.W. Prov.* § 49). Risley classifies the Chamārs amongst the Aryo-Dravidians, of which they represent the lower strata, as the Brāhmans do the higher; and in this he appears to have the support of anthropometrical data (*TC* i. 175 f.; *CI*, 1901, vol. i. pp. 499, 500, 503).

(*b*) The *home* of the Chamārs is in Bihār and the United Provinces, but they are steadily migrating to Bengal, where there is no indigenous caste of skinners, tanners, hide-dealers, and cobblers, to compete with them in their multifarious occupations (*CI*, 1901, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 388; R. N. L. Chandra, *Tanning*, etc., p. 2). They are also firmly established and numerous in the Panjāb, Central India, the Central Provinces, Rājputāna, and Bombay (see Ethnographical Map in *CI*, 1901, vol. i., Appendix). As one goes south, the Chamārs decrease in number, their place being taken by leather-working castes of purely Dravidian origin, as the *Shakkiliyar* in Tamil districts, and the *Mādiga* in the Telugu country (*Census of Berar*, 1881, p. 149; *CI*, 1891, *General Report*, p. 199, vol. xiii. p. 301, vol. xxv. pt. i. p. 254 f., 1901, vol. i. p. 545, vol. xxiv. pt. ii. p. 537; *C.M.S. Intelligencer*, Aug. 1900, p. 576 ff.; A. Chatterton, *Monograph on Tanning . . . in Madras Presidency*, pp. 13, 15). In estimating the numbers and importance of the Chamārs, it is important to distinguish between them and the great Mochī subcaste. This distinction is not racial, but either occupational, social, or religious. The occupation of the Mochīs is the making of shoes and other articles from the leather that has been prepared by Chamārs; hence their name, which is derived from the Skr. *mochika*, 'tanner,' 'shoemaker.' When a Chamār forsakes his traditional occupation and becomes a shoemaker, he frequently changes his caste name to *Mochī*, and thus proclaims his rise in the social scale (*Gazetteer N.W. Prov.* 1875, vol. ii. p. 182; *Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 607; *CI*, 1891, vol. xxiv. pt. i. p. 437 f., 1901, vol. xiii. p. 184, vol. xviii. p. 470). In the west of the Panjāb, however, the distinction is one of religion: the Musalmān *Chamār*, though only a tanner, calls himself a *Mochī*. The variations in the Census returns of *Chamārs* and *Mochīs* in the Panjāb in successive Census years may therefore be regarded as some index to the conversions from Hinduism to Islām (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 604; A. J. Grant, *Leather Industry of the Punjab*, § 12; *CI*, 1881, vol. iii. p. ciii, 1901, vol. i. A, pp. 320, 338, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 388, vol. xxvi. A, p. 196; A. Chatterton, *op. cit.* p. 16).

3. Occupations.—The Census Returns for 1901 show that Chamārs are found to hold twenty-three distinct occupations, of which the most important are agriculture and the working of leather. The proportion of agriculturists to leather-workers is given as nearly six to one, but it must be remembered that such proportions vary with the season of the year, because the Chamār is a 'Jack of all trades' (*CI*, 1901, vol. i. pp. 189, 190, 217, 218, 521, vol. i. A, p. 406 f.). The position of the Chamār engaged in agriculture has until recently been that of a serf, tied to the soil and transferred with it. When an estate was divided, no sharer would consider the partition complete until an adequate number of Chamārs had been allotted to him in proportion to his interest in the land (*Gazetteer N.W. Prov.* 1875, vol. ii. p. 396; *IGI*, vol. i. p. 172, vol. x. pp. 71, 499; J. C. Nesfield, *op. cit.* § 49). Except in the Cawnpore district, the poverty of the Chamārs is great; many are unable to afford themselves even a blanket, and are obliged to protect themselves from cold by the use of a mere cloth stuffed, when they can get it, with cotton. One Chamar, on being asked how he passed the night with so little clothing, replied that he slept till the cold awakened him; then he lit a few sticks and warmed himself till the fire went out, when he returned to his cot; and he repeated these proceedings at intervals till the sun rose

[1] For traditions relating to their origin, see Manu, x. 8, 11, 36 in *SBE* xxv. 403 f., 411; Sherring, *op. cit.* vol. i. pt. iv. p. 392 ff.; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 169 f.; *CI*, 1901, vol. xxi. p. 124; Elliot's *Gloss.* i. 69 f.

(*IGI*, vol. iii. p. 284; *Gazetteer N.W. Prov.* vol. iv. p. 288; cf. W. Crooke, *N.-W. Prov. of India*, p. 273). Under British rule, the Chamārs, though still the objects of contempt to Hindus and Sikhs on account of their traditional occupation, are emerging from their menial position (*IGI*, vol. iii. p. 119; A. J. Grant, *op. cit.* § 2).

The Chamār proper deals with the skin of animals at death, or even sooner. From time immemorial one of their perquisites has been the hide of any animal that dies; and the temptation to hasten death by means of poison has frequently proved irresistible.

Three principal methods of cattle-poisoning are in vogue. One of these is simply to give white arsenic wrapped in a castor-oil leaf, which is liked by the cattle. A second method is to grind the *ghunchi* berry to a fine powder, and, having made a paste with water, to roll this into the shape of a long thorn, which is dried in the sun till it is hard, and then pressed into the head or neck of an animal. The third device is to make a poisonous snake bite a piece of rag wound round a pointed stick, which is then forced into the anus of a cow or bullock.

Public opinion, however, is now leading to the expulsion from caste of Chamārs detected in these malpractices (*CI*, 1901, vol. xvi. p. 232; W. Crooke, *TC*, vol. ii. pp. 172, 190, 191; H. H. Risley, *TC* ii. 98 f.). The hide of an animal, when by fair means or foul it has been obtained, is tanned by the Chamār, who places it in a pit, covering it with water containing lime and impure carbonate of soda; after ten days it is taken out, and the hair is removed with an iron scraper. It is then sewn up in the form of a bag and filled with bark solution, and, after hanging from a tree or stand for five days, it is considered to be sufficiently tanned (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 191).

The remaining occupations of the Chamārs range between the 'learned and artistic professions' (13,565 in Bengal) and the 'personal, household, sanitary, indefinite, and disreputable occupations' (8102). The large number of the former class bears evidence to the influence of Western education in breaking down the barriers of caste, and enabling the industrious to rise in social position. Throughout the country nearly every office has its Mochī employed as a clerk, and handling pens and paper instead of hides and refuse (*CI*, 1901, vol. i. A, p. 406 f.; A. Chatterton, *op. cit.* p. 16; A. J. Grant, *op. cit.* § 3). In their degraded occupations, which include the removal of dead bodies, the execution of criminals, the beating of drums at marriages and other festive occasions, the Chamārs infringe upon the functions of Doms and Pariahs (see PARIAHS) (Sherring, *op. cit.* vol. i. pt. iv. p. 393 f.; *CI*, 1901, vol. xiii. p. 182, vol. xvi. p. 232). The Chamār women act as the midwives of the village, and perform menial tasks for the wives of the men whom their husbands serve (W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 175, 190).

4. **Social organization.**—(1) The sub-castes of the Chamārs are reckoned by some writers as seven, by others as numbering more than three thousand. Each locality where Chamārs are numerous possesses its seven sub-castes, but these do not correspond to those of another district; the division into seven is purely arbitrary, and is due to regard for the sacred number, not to any historical cause (Balfour, *Cyclop. of India*, p. 645 f.; Elliot's *Gloss.* i. 70; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 172; *CI*, 1891, xxi. 62–62*e*). In Gwalior, as the smaller sub-castes of Chamārs are included in the larger ones, a man may with truth call himself by the name of either. A Chamār must marry outside the smaller sub-caste (*gotra*) and within the larger sub-caste (*khap*); the distinction, therefore, between main sub-castes and minor ones is that of exogamy or endogamy (*CI*, 1901, vol. xxi. p. 124; cf. A. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*², 1st ser. pp. 156, 174 ff.; *Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 608). In Bengal, however, the intermarriage of all sub-castes is forbidden, and the infraction of this rule renders the offender liable to a fine (*CI*, 1901, vol. vi. pt. i. Appendix, p. xlvi). The following are amongst the most important of the sub-castes of Chamārs:

(*a*) The *Jaiswārā*.—Many of these are servants, but their high position is evidenced by their carrying burdens on their heads, not on their shoulders; any neglect of this custom would render a man liable to be out-casted. They supply most of our syces, and, one of their objects of worship being a halter, any *Jaiswārā* who ties up a dog with this implement has to pay a fine. Their name is probably derived from the old town of *Jais* (Sherring, *op. cit.* vol. i. pt. iv. p. 393; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 173).

(*b*) The *Dhūsiya* or *Jhūsiya*.—These are allowed in some districts to intermarry with the Jaiswārā; in Mymensingh and Shāhābād they are held to be superior to all other sub-castes. Their primary occupation is that of shoe- and harness-makers. Their name is probably derived from a village called *Dhūsi* or *Jhūsi* (Elliot's *Gloss.*, vol. i. p. 70 [Beames' editorial note is corrected in Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. i. pt. iv. p. 394]).

(*c*) The *Jātūa*, *Jatia*, or *Jatiya*.—This sub-caste is most numerous in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Gurgaon. They are despised by other sub-castes, on the ground that they work in horse- and camel-hides; but, on the other hand, their employment of Gaur Brāhmans for priestly services, instead of degraded *Chamārwa* Brāhmans, gives them the position of the highest sub-caste of Chamār. Their name is either tribal, and marking some connexion with the *Jāts*, or functional, and derived from the word *jaṭ*, meaning a camel-grazier (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 608; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 173).

(*d*) The *Chāndars*, *Chāndaurya*.—The members of this sub-caste work only in prepared leather. In Hissār and Simla they are the principal sub-caste of the Chamārs, and hold an important place in the caste throughout Rājputāna. They claim to be descended from *Chāṇūra*, the famous wrestler who was slain by Kṛṣṇa (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 608; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 172 f.; *CI*, 1901, vol. xxv. p. 147).

(*e*) The *Harale Chamārs*.—These are found chiefly in Berar. Their name is derived from *Haralya*, the primeval Chamār who, when Mahā Muni's supply of hides ran short, is said to have shown his devotion to Mahā-deo (see below, p. 353ᵇ) by stripping off a piece of his own skin and making out of it shoes for the god (*Census of Berar*, 1881, p. 149). See artt. DOSĀDHS, KORIS, RAI-DĀSĪS.

(2) For particulars concerning the *self-government* of Chamārs by their *pañchāyat*, see ISLĀM (in India); Beames, in Elliot's *Gloss.*, vol. i. pp. 279–282; *Camb. Mission to Delhi*, Occ. Paper, No. 7, p. 13 f.; B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, p. 24 f.; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 175 f.; *CI*, 1901, vol. vi. pt. i. App. p. xlvi.

(3) We have seen above how intimate is the connexion between the existence of sub-castes and the character of *marriage regulations*. The general laws of exogamy and endogamy admit of qualification in various grades of society, and the nearer we approach to primitive conditions the less stereotyped do such regulations become. Thus in the case of the Chamārs we find that the sub-caste of Dhūsiya is allowed to intermarry with the Kanaujiya, and the sub-caste of Chamārs with the Dosādhs. Their rules of exogamy admit of similar expansion; the descendants from a common stock are called *dayād*, and are not allowed to intermarry, but the limitations of the *dayād* itself are defined with a latitude which corresponds to the wishes and prejudices of those concerned, and the

payment of a fine will cover any but the gravest irregularities (A. Lyall, *op. cit.* p. 163 ff.; W. H. Macnaghten, *Principles of Hindu and Mohammedan Law*[2], p. 63 f.; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 174). The practice of infant marriage is on the increase. The age of the bride varies from three to eight years. At Nāsik, however, the marriage of the poorest Chamār males does not take place till they reach the age of thirty or thirty-five, whilst girls wait till they are fifteen or sixteen (*BG*, vol. xvi. p. 69). The form of marriage is the *āsura* (lit. 'spiritual,' Manu, iii. 21, 31), in which the consent of the father of the bride is obtained for a pecuniary consideration (*BG*, vol. xv. pt. i. p. 357). Polygamy is discouraged, although, when a wife proves to be barren, the *pañchāyat* will sanction bigamy. The re-marriage of widows is fully recognized, except amongst those Chamārs who have risen in the world. This is in accordance with the prevailing custom of the lower castes; for, as recent inquiries have shown, out of 40,000,000 Hindus, 30,000,000, or 75 per cent, permit and even encourage this practice. Widow-re-marriage is indeed a most important factor in the development of the country; for, in very unhealthy tracts, at any rate, the offspring of 'virgin' brides is barely sufficient to make up for the wastage by disease and to maintain the population (W. Crooke, *N.W. Prov. of India*, p. 228 f.). A Chamār widow's first choice is a younger brother of her late husband. If she marries outside her own caste, it knows her no more, nor can she lay claim to her late husband's estate (W. Crooke, *TC*, vol. ii. p. 177 f.).

ii. *RELIGION.*—The religious systems to which the Chamārs adhere form the subject of separate articles, and these should be consulted for information in regard to general principles. It will be necessary here to treat of these faiths only in so far as they are illustrated by the Chamār people in orthodox or unorthodox directions; by those who follow the old paths, and by those whose struggle for religious freedom brings to light the fetters by which they are bound. At the Census of 1901 the following returns were made of the religions of Chamārs and Mochīs (*CI*, 1901, vol. i. A, pp. 279, 299):

	CHAMĀR.	MOCHĪ.
Hindu	11,043,093	531,925
Animist	938	54
Musalmān	16,992	475,540
Sikh	76,263	54
Jain	57	239
Buddhist	19	...
	11,137,362	1,007,812

The term 'Animist' has in this table little more than a negative value; it shows that the 992 persons thus returned did not regard themselves as members of any verbally defined creed (*CI*, 1901, vol. i. p. 349). On the other hand, the border-line between Animism and Hinduism is so shadowy that the latter may be said to include the former, and the numbers professing each may be combined (*ib.* p. 357; W. Crooke, *N.W. Prov.* p. 240 f.). The remarkable omission of Christians from this table is probably to be accounted for by the fact that Christian missionaries instructed members of their congregations to return themselves as Christians without stating their previous caste (Letter from Rev. Dr. Weitbrecht of the C.M.S.; and J. S. Dennis, in *East and West*, Oct. 1905, p. 459). Thus in the Census Returns there appears no return of a *Christian* Chamār, and there is no means of ascertaining how numerous these may be. An account of some Chamār Christians is given below.

1. Hinduism.—(*a*) *Objects of veneration.*—The worship of such inanimate objects as the *rāpi*, or tanner's knife, the plough, and the halter appears to be little more than a pious recognition of these implements as instrumental to the support of those who use them. This worship is readily transferred to such objects as pens, paper, sealing-wax, red tape, and ink, when these become the means of gaining a livelihood. The reverent fear of desecrating other inanimate objects may be associated with totemism, as in the case of the Harbans Chamārs, who, being connected in some way with a bone (*haddo*), will not wear bones in any shape or form (*CI*, 1901, vol. i. p. 357 f.; J. C. Nesfield, *op. cit.* § 49; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 173, *PR* ii. 158).

From the worship of inanimate objects we pass to the worship of malignant spirits, foremost among which are the 'godlings of disease.' Of the seven sisters who are supposed to control small-pox, one of the most malicious is named *Chamāriya*, and can be propitiated only by the offering of a pig by a Chamār or other low-caste priest. Her name may point back to a time when small-pox made its greatest ravages amongst the Chamārs, and its numerous victims were transformed into spirits of evil; for persons who die in any sudden or unusual way are supposed to undergo the change and to require propitiation (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 189, *PR* i. 129). Whatever the illness may be, it is attributed to an evil spirit, who must needs be identified by a sorcerer and appeased by the offering of an appropriate sacrifice.

The worship of the spirits of the departed, when these have been lovely and pleasant in their lives, is a step towards the recognition of benevolent as well as malignant spirits, and is closely connected with hero-worship. The soul of a dead husband is worshipped by his widow under the name *manuṣya deva*, or 'man-god'; offerings of clothing are made to him, and sometimes a pig is sacrificed in his honour (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 189). The Chamārs, with other low-caste Hindus, worship the five *Pāṇḍava* brothers under the name *Panch Pīr*, and in the form of five wooden pegs fixed in the courtyard of the house (*PR* ii. 206). The primeval Chamār, *Mahādeo*, is worshipped by the Chamārs of Berar on a Sunday in the month of Śrāvan; and *Guga* (or *Gugga*) *Pīr* and *Chanu* are also regarded by the Chamārs as being semi-divine (*Census Berar*, 1881, p. 149; *CI*, 1891, pp. 104, 115). Every locality possesses its own minor deities; but, as Animism becomes transformed by philosophy into Hinduism proper, there is an increasing tendency to merge the innumerable lesser gods in the greater ones, and to worship the general principles of creative or destructive power rather than each local manifestation of the same. This is shown in the adoption of such names as *Parameśvar*, 'the Supreme Being,' or *Jagīśvār*, 'the Lord of the World,' and by the worship of the greater gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, as, *e.g.*, that of Kālī, goddess of destruction, whom the Bengal Chamārs invoke to favour them with a murrain, and consequent rich harvest of hides (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 184; *CI*, 1901, vol. i. p. 357; R. N. L. Chandra, *op. cit.* p. 18). The Chamars also occasionally worship the sun, moon, and fire, and at the *Panchainyān* festival offer milk and parched grain at the hole of the domestic snake (W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 185).

(*b*) *Priesthood.*—Of the Chamārs, the *Jatia* sub-caste alone has the privilege of employing high-caste Gaur Brāhmans, and this only in some parts of the Panjāb (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. §§ 294, 608). Other Chamārs have to content themselves with the ministrations of low-caste Brāhmans or of priests of their own caste. Just as the higher castes of Brāhmans form groups corresponding in social and religious status with those to whom they minister, so are the low-caste Brāhmans who serve

the unclean castes subdivided according to the social position of their clients. Thus the sub-caste of Brāhmans who act as the *purōhits* ('family priests') of the Chamārs are known as *Chamārwa* Brāhmans or *Gurras*, and, although they wear the sacred thread and will not eat with those whom they serve, yet they are not admitted to the house of a high-caste Hindu (Sir A. Lyall, *op. cit.* p. 175 f.; *PNQ*, vol. i. p. 237; *CI*, 1901, vol. i. p. 545, vol. xvii. p. 316).

The lower sub-castes of Chamārs have, in place of *Chamārwa* Brāhmans, *masands*, who correspond to the *gurus* ('religious guides') of high-caste Hindus. These *masands* often belong to the Chamār caste, and in some districts are allowed to marry their disciples (*PNQ*, vol. i. p. 237; *Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 294; *CI*, 1901, vol. xvii. p. 166, vol. xxv. p. 147). The Chamārs (Chambhār) of the Deccan call their priests *bhāt*. The *bhāt* is a Chamār, and eats with them, though they do not eat with him. In the marriage ceremony he beats a drum, repeats holy verses, and accepts a fee of about 5s. (*BG*, 1880, vol. xii. p. 114 f.). In addition to the established priesthood, the Chamārs recognize and employ professional astrologers, or *jyotish*; these have no definite constituency, but usually serve about 100 families, and receive from a quarter to three-eighths of the fee offered to the Brāhman (*CI*, 1901, vol. i. p. 199; *BG*, vol. xv. pt. i. p. 355 f.). In the Nāsik district the spiritual guides of the Chamārs are known as *bāva*. The head *bāva* goes on tour once a year with one or two men, who with their cymbals accompany their leader's devotional songs. He is greatly respected by the Chamārs of the district, and on their consenting to keep the three rules of conduct, viz. to abstain from stealing, cheating, and adultery, he admits them to discipleship by bathing and reciting the initiatory verse: 'He (*i.e.* God) is I. This is our true charm for avoiding the eighty-four million wanderings' (*BG*, vol. xvi. p. 70).

(*c*) *Religious rites.*—The rites which are connected with the three epochs of human life—birth, marriage, and death—illustrate in concrete form the general beliefs which have been specified above.

Previous to the birth of a child the spirits of the departed are invoked, with promises of offerings, to vouchsafe an easy delivery; but, not relying wholly upon intercession, the relatives of the mother take the precaution of burning an old shoe and of hanging thorny branches of the *bel* tree in the doorway to scare away the spirits of evil. On the night of the sixth day after the birth the woman sits up all night and worships *Ṣaṣṭī*, or *Chhathī*, the goddess of the Sixth, with an offering of cakes made of barley-flour and rice boiled with sugar. For the first twelve days a cutting instrument of iron is kept near the mother and child, probably, as is still the case amongst some Teutonic people, for protection against evil demons. When the child is about six months old, it is named by a senior member of the family, and is fed for the first time upon grain. Between the ages of five and seven it is initiated by the boring of its ears, and after this must conform to the caste rules in regard to food (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 178).

Marriage ritual likewise bears witness to the belief in ever-present spirits. The marriage ceremony of the richer Chamārs is that called *shādi*, *charh*, or *charhaua*, whilst that adopted by the poor is the *dola*. In the *shādi* marriage various cakes are offered on the second day to the spirits of the departed. A 'wave ceremony' is performed by the bride's mother to ward off evil spirits, and for the same reason she smears her daughter's eyelids with lamp-black, and hangs a necklace of beads about her neck. The actual marriage is performed by the bride and bridegroom walking five times round a plough-beam, which is fixed in the centre of a pavilion; a goat or ram is then offered to *Paramesvar*, 'the Supreme being.' In the Bombay Presidency a post of *salai* (*Boswellia thurifera*) wood takes the place of the plough-beam and is surrounded by twenty-one earthen pots (*BG*, 1880, vol. xii. p. 115). The ceremonies in a *dola* marriage commence with the worshipping of a drum (*dhol*), which is afterwards smeared with a paste of turmeric and rice, and marked with five stripes of vermilion. To the beat of the drum the women march to a neighbouring field, where the senior woman worships *Dharti Māta*, or Mother Earth, and digs up five spadefuls of earth, which are then brought home and placed in the courtyard. In the same place are set an earthenware jar full of water, a plough-beam, and a green bamboo. The actual marriage takes place at night. The names of the bride and bridegroom and of their ancestors are recited, the jar is worshipped, and offerings are made to a fire lighted beside it and to another fire sacred to the household god (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 180–183). When a married girl attains the age of puberty she is tatued; the object of this rite appears to be not only a further initiation into the caste, but to secure her identification in the next world (*PNQ*, vol. i. p. 224; *PR* ii. 32).

There is much variety of custom amongst Chamārs in their disposal of the dead. In the Panjāb, cremation is usual, whilst in Rājputāna the dead are buried in Sirsa and Hissār; indeed, both practices are adopted indifferently, even by members of the same family. In the Bombay Presidency married people are cremated and the unmarried are buried (*BG*, vol. xii. p. 115). Pecuniary as well as religious considerations have considerable weight; some poor Chamārs, on account of the cost of cremation, content themselves with scorching the face of the corpse, which is afterwards buried (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 294; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 183). The ashes after cremation, and the nails of the fingers and toes, if the corpse be buried, are committed to a stream which, whether actually a tributary of it or not, is regarded for the purpose as identical with Mother Ganges (*ib.*). On the day after the cremation an earthen pot full of milk and rice-gruel, with a pitcher of water, is placed outside the house of the deceased, for the use of the disembodied spirit. On the third day cakes of barley-flour are offered to it, and on the tenth day this offering is repeated, and members of the caste are fed. During these ten days water is poured daily upon some stalks of grass planted near a tank, to serve as an abode for the homeless spirit. The repetition of the offerings and the number of feasts given to the caste depend upon the wealth of the family. The belief in the aimless wandering and subsequent purposeful transmigration of the soul, to which these ceremonies bear witness, is, however, by no means universal amongst the Chamārs. Many of them believe that the soul at death passes immediately to heaven or to hell; and the unique event of death, which makes all life's incidents of joy and sorrow alike seem small, appears to sweep aside the thought of a multiplicity of spirits, and to make for a creed which, though very vague, is yet monotheistic in its nature. The cry of the mourners as they accompany the bier to the grave is *Tu hi hai! Tainne paida kia, aur Tainne māria*, 'There is but Thou! Thou hast given and Thou hast taken away' (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 294; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 183 f.; *BG*, 1884, vol. xvii. p. 169).

(*d*) *Theistic sects.*—Of the Chamārs of the Central Provinces more than 50 per cent belong to the *Satnāmi* sect, which was founded, or reformed, by the Chamār visionary, Ghāzi Dās, about A.D. 1820 (see SATNĀMIS). Many Chamārs—their exact

number is not known on account of a confusion of names in the Census returns—belong to the Rai Dāsīs, another sect which owes its origin to a Chamār (see RAI DĀSĪS). A third sect, to which many Chamārs belong, is the *Sivanārāyan* which some modern writers identify with the Rai Dāsīs (see ŚIVA NĀRĀYANIS).

2. **Islām.**—The Census returns of 1901 show a total of 492,532 Muhammadan Chamārs, of whom 475,540 claim to be Mochīs. When once a Chamār has been admitted as a Muhammadan, he becomes, in regard to all religious privileges, the equal of Muslims of the highest social position; Islām therefore offers a road towards emancipation from the thraldom of caste (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 294 [contrast § 607]; E. Bickersteth, in *Camb. Miss. to Delhi*, 'Occ. Paper,' No. 5, p. 4 f.). This fact may partly account for the rapid increase in the number of Chamār converts from Hinduism. In the Panjāb the proportion of Muhammadan to Hindu Chamārs increased from 1 per cent in 1881 to 2½ per cent in 1891 (A. J. Grant, *op. cit.* § 12). The line of demarcation between Hinduism and Islām is not so clear in some country districts as in the great cities; ignorant Muhammadans are found to adopt various Hindu rites and customs, and this laxity must make the transition from Hinduism to Muhammadanism less difficult (E. Bickersteth, *loc. cit.*, p. 6).

3. **Sikhism** (at 1901 Census, 76,263).—Many Chamārs are followers of Rām Dās, the third Guru in succession from Nānak Singh and the constructor of the famous tank at Amritsar. It is not possible to ascertain their number with any degree of certainty, on account of their being confused in the Census returns with the Rai Dāsī Chamārs. The Rām Dāsī Chamārs are true Sikhs, and take the *pāhul*, i.e. the rite of initiation into the Sikh community. The Sikhs being even more strict in their reverence for the cow than are the Hindus, the Chamārs are admitted to membership only upon their exchanging the tanning industry for weaving or similar occupation, and even after initiation they are not regarded by other Sikhs as their equals (H. H. Wilson, *Select Works*, ii. 127, 148; *Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. §§ 294, 606; *CI*, 1891, pp. 145, 158).

4. **Christianity.**—As stated above, the Census returns do not enable us to estimate the number of Christians who were once members of the Chamār caste, because caste finds no recognition in the Protestant Christian Church. Although there have not been such general conversions from amongst the Chamārs as there have been from the corresponding caste of Mādigas in S. India, where 10,000 became Christians in one year (E. R. Clough, *While Sewing Sandals*, p. vii), so that nearly 10 per cent of the population are now nominally Christian (A. Chatterton, *op. cit.* p. 13), yet a very large proportion of the Indian Christians in the Panjāb were once members of this degraded caste. This may be illustrated from the records of one Mission District. In Delhi and its immediate vicinity over 800 Chamārs accepted the Christian faith when the famine of 1877-78 gave the Christian missionaries occasion to show that goodwill towards men is an integral part of the Christian creed. The number of these converts, however, was reduced when they found that membership of the Church necessitated separation from caste and the surrender of caste privileges and heathen practices. This was brought home to them on the adoption by the Cambridge and S.P.G. Mission of a policy of modified segregation of converts. Instead of inviting the Chamār Christians to forsake their own neighbourhood and to establish themselves around the Mission Compound, the missionaries settled a few of the most earnest-minded men with their families in a *basti*, or little square of houses, in the midst of the dwellings of their caste-fellows. The Christian tenants of this *basti* were, as a condition of tenancy, obliged (1) to observe Sunday as a day of rest; (2) to use Christian rites exclusively at birth, marriage, and death; (3) to abstain from the use of *charas*, an intoxicating drug. The experiment was speedily justified, for the impossibility of practising Hinduism on the principles of Christianity was now felt by all concerned. A *pañchāyat* was summoned to determine the relationship between Christian and other Chamārs, and it was decided to 'sift out' the Christians and to expel them from the caste. The crucial test adopted was the worship of a jar of Ganges water. The moral courage of the first five Christians to whom the test was applied failed them; they raised the water to their heads and by this act abjured the Christian faith. The sixth Christian, a man of some position, who had therefore the more to lose by his decision, was true to his new faith in spite of great pressure. After three or four more had followed his good example, the meeting was broken up, as it was realized that the number of staunch Christians was so great that to cut them off from caste-communion was too serious a step to be taken at once. As time wore on the Hindu Chamārs showed no inclination to dissociate themselves officially from their Christian brethren; but the discipline of the Church had in 1887 reduced the number of its adherents in Delhi and its vicinity from 1000 to 700 (*Camb. Miss. to Delhi*, 'Occ. Paper,' No. 7). Since that period, both by the re-admission of the lapsed and by fresh conversions, the number of Chamār Christians has slowly but steadily increased, and in 1906 the number in connexion with the S.P.G. and Cambridge Mission alone was nearly 1200.

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CHANCE.—The word 'chance' is derived from the Latin verb *cadere*, 'to fall,' and gets its specific meaning from a particular reference to the fall of dice. The derivation of the word thus suggests at once the illustration which most completely expresses its significance. For, in the throw of dice, the result in every instance is due to chance, in the sense that no uniformity of sequence between antecedent and consequent can possibly be discovered, however carefully and patiently one may experiment with the various conditions involved. The conditions, indeed, are too complex to admit of any exact determination; so many elements must combine in order to produce a certain specific result that our powers of analysis are wholly incapable of detecting them.

Chance, therefore, may be defined as a complex of causal elements, in which indefinitely various

combinations are possible, and each distinct combination yields a distinct result. Inasmuch as there is no possibility of knowing what particular combination may occur, there is no possibility of forecasting the precise effect which may follow. The relation between specific combinations of causal elements and their corresponding effects is not only unknown, but must ever remain unknown, because the conflicting or conspiring forces which enter at random, now into one combination and again into another, are too many and too various for human intelligence to calculate. Consequently, there is no basis whatsoever for the definite calculation of any future event. But, while definite calculation is impossible, an estimate of general tendencies is quite within the scope of our capabilities. Hence arises the doctrine of chances, or the theory of probability. Such a theory is grounded fundamentally upon the mathematical theory of combinations. It is possible to express the chance of any event so far as to indicate the number of combinations which normally tend to produce that event, in comparison with the number of combinations which tend to produce some other than the event in question. The chance of any event occurring, therefore, such as that of any particular fall of dice, may always be represented in terms of a ratio whose numerator indicates the number of combinations capable of producing the event, and the denominator the total number of combinations both favourable and unfavourable. Moreover, in any set of complex circumstances chance is reduced to a vanishing point in all cases in which any uniformity of sequence may have been established. And uniformity of sequence always appears whenever all the other combinations than those favourable to the happening of an event are rendered impossible. Suppose, for instance, with 'loaded' dice 'double sixes' regularly appears, whatever may be the character of the throw, there is the ready inference that all other combinations of causal elements except those capable of producing 'double sixes' have been effectually eliminated. So also the introduction of a definite purpose at any time into a group of variously combining causal possibilities immediately reduces all these possibilities to zero, except the one designed event. If one draws at random a card from a pack, the chance of its being any previously designated card is, of course, expressed by the ratio $\frac{1}{52}$. But if one examines the pack in order to select a definite card, every one of the other 51 possibilities is at once eliminated by this process of definite intent. Purpose, by its essential nature, tends to uniformity; and, by producing uniformity, it makes chance disappear. The activity of will is always destructive of chance.

There are certain fallacies which are often attached to the concept of chance. Perhaps the most common is that a chance event is an uncaused event. Chance is defined loosely and vaguely as something which happens without a cause, when what is meant evidently is that chance is something which happens without our knowledge of the cause definitely determining it. Chance is an idea which is in no sense whatever opposed to that of causation, but merely to that of a uniform causal relation.

Another fallacy has its roots in the superstition that chance represents a sort of whimsical fate, or, it may be, writ large as FATE, which arbitrarily metes out its good or ill fortune to helpless mortals whose happiness and even destiny are brought under this capricious control. Chance, however, is not a deity; and any superstitious sentiment must give place to a simple matter-of-fact characterization of chance as a complex set of causes, too intricate and too involved to admit of definite determination.

There is still another fallacy, which insists that games of chance, and all forms of gambling, based as they necessarily must be upon chance, are wrong, because there is in all such cases an appeal to the unknown, and therefore in every turn of chance one is tampering with occult forces with which it is not becoming or permissible for man to deal. This, too, is a relic of a superstition which has always clouded reason. Chance as such has no moral significance whatsoever. It is not immoral, but simply non-moral. Chance happenings become immoral solely in consequence of the uses to which they may be put. And the failure to appreciate this has, in many quarters, discredited the real argument against gambling, by raising a false issue and confusing the essential with the unessential. No evil principle can lurk in the simple fact itself of a chance event, whether it be the casting of a lot, the fall of dice, a hand at cards, or the turn of a wheel. The phenomena of chance, however, it must be conceded, lend themselves peculiarly to the practices and devices of the gambler's art, and therefore are brought into ill repute through association with methods whose immoral taint rests wholly on other grounds.

LITERATURE.—The standard work on the subject of Chance is J. Venn, *Logic of Chance*[3], London, 1888; cf. also G. B. Airy, *Theory of Errors of Observations*[3], London, 1879; A. de Morgan, *Essay on Probabilities*, London, 1838; Laplace, *Essai phil. sur les probabilités*[6], Paris, 1840; J. W. Lubbock, *Treatise on Probability*, London, 1844; R. A. Proctor, *Chance and Luck*, London, 1887; W. A. Whitworth, *Choice and Chance*, London, 1901; L. A. J. Quételet, *Letters on the Theory of Probabilities*, London, 1840; I. Todhunter, *History of the Mathematical Theory of Probability*, Cambridge, 1865; G. H. Joyce, *Principles of Logic*, London, 1908; and the standard works on Logic.

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CHANDRAGUPTA.—I. Chandragupta Maurya (*c.* 322–298 B.C.), the founder of the Maurya dynasty, was the grandfather of Aśoka (*q.v.*), and the first emperor or paramount sovereign of India, which at the time of Alexander's invasion (326, 325 B.C.) was parcelled into a multitude of petty States, not subject to any controlling authority. Chandragupta, a relative, apparently illegitimate, of the Nanda king of Magadha (S. Bihār), having incurred the displeasure of that monarch, fled to the Panjāb, where, as a young man, he is said to have met Alexander. After the death of the latter (June 323 B.C.), the exile put himself at the head of certain frontier tribes and defeated the Macedonian garrisons. He effected a revolution in Magadha, the premier State of India, deposed and killed his kinsman, the Nanda king, and seated himself on the vacant throne. He organized a vast army, with which he overran the greater portion of India. It is known that he held effectively the peninsula of Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwār) on the western coast, and it is probable that his sway extended as far south at least as the Narmadā (Narbadā) river. When Seleukos Nikator attempted in 305 B.C. to recover the Indian conquests of Alexander, he was successfully opposed by Chandragupta, who compelled him to cede a large part of Ariana, west of the Indus, and to enter into a matrimonial alliance. These advantages were purchased at the small cost of five hundred elephants. After the conclusion of peace, Seleukos (303 B.C.) sent Megasthenes as his envoy to the court of Chandragupta at Pāṭaliputra (Patna). Although the description of India written by Megasthenes has been lost, numerous fragments of his work have been preserved (ed. Schwanbeck, Bonn, 1846, tr. by M'Crindle, 1877), which probably include all the most valuable passages. His statements continued to be the principal source of European knowledge of India

down to modern times. The Greek observers noted with interest the superficial peculiarities in the mode of life of the Brāhmans and ascetics, but, not being qualified to distinguish the various sects, failed to record particulars with precision sufficient to enable their readers to realize the state of religion in the time of Chandragupta. We are informed that the Brāhmans 'wrap up their doctrines about immortality and future judgment and kindred topics in allegories, after the manner of Plato' (Strabo, xv. 1. 59); that they frequently discoursed of death, and so forth; but such generalities do not make any definite impression on the mind. The writers' vague descriptions indicate that the Brāhmans and ascetics of the olden time were much the same as they are now. Clemens Alexandrinus (c. 200 A.D.) seems to be the first Greek author to mention Buddha (Βούττα). According to Jain tradition, Chandragupta abdicated, retired in 297 B.C. to Sravana Belgola in Mysore, and died there as a Jain ascetic twelve years later, by voluntary starvation.

2. Chandragupta I., founder of the Gupta dynasty (A.D. 320–c. 335), was king of Magadha (S. Bihār), and extended his dominions as far east as Prayāga (Allāhābād). The Gupta era, of which the year 1 ran from Feb. 26, A.D. 320, to March 13, 321, probably was instituted to commemorate his coronation. He was an orthodox Hindu in religion, and his reign marks an early stage in the reaction of Brāhmanical Hinduism against Buddhism which characterizes the Gupta period.

3. Chandragupta II., of the Gupta dynasty, surnamed Vikramāditya, grandson of Chandragupta I., reigned from c. 375 to 413 A.D. He conquered Malwā and Surāṣtra (Kāthiāwār), and so became lord paramount of all India north of the Narbadā river. Fa-hien (A.D. 399–413), the Chinese pilgrim, spent several years in the dominions of Chandragupta II., and formed a very favourable opinion of the merits of the government. Although the sovereign was himself an orthodox Hindu, specially devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu, the Buddhist religion was exercised without hindrance, and its adherents were numerous, rich, and influential. All respectable persons ordinarily followed the Buddhist rules of conduct, and abstained from taking life, drinking wine, and eating onions or garlic. The Buddhist monasteries were liberally endowed with royal grants, and alms were freely bestowed on the monks. Notwithstanding the prosperity of the Buddhist church, and Fa-hien's apparent blindness to the change which was taking place, it is certain that the restoration of the Brāhmanical religion to popular favour, and the associated revival of the Sanskrit language, as distinguished from Prākrit, made rapid progress during this reign.

LITERATURE.—The Greek notices of India are collected in M'Crindle's works, especially *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* (London, 1901). A full account of the three Chandraguptas will be found in Vincent A. Smith's *Early History of India*[2] (Oxford, 1908).

VINCENT A. SMITH.

CHANGE.—Change is so elementary and so comprehensive a conception that it is difficult to define it. Probably the best way, however, to approach the meaning of the term is to indicate its kinds, that is, to give its logical divisions. In this way we may reach its essential characteristic. There are four general types of change. They are (1) Qualitative change; (2) Quantitative change; (3) Local change; and (4) Formal change. It is possible to include the last three types in the general conception of Spatial Change, which we might subdivide into quantitative, local, and formal. Quantitative change can be divided into expansion, contraction, detrition, and accretion. The first two are consistent with absolute identity of the subject expanded or contracted, and the last two involve some addition or subtraction of matter. None of them necessitates local change or motion of the subject from a static position as a whole. Local change is convertible with motion, and means that, whatever other changes accompany it, the whole alters its position in space. Formal change is a change of shape, and may consist with every other type of change except local. Qualitative change is a change in the qualities or properties of a subject, and may consist with a static condition, quantitative, local, and formal. It is illustrated in chemical action and composition.

All changes take place in time and space. They are thus events in substance. Time and space do not change, but are conditions of all change, except that qualitative change may take place without quantitative, local, or formal change. But no change can take place without involving time, and there are no changes in which a difference of time is not involved. Persistence in time is not change but stability.

In its most comprehensive sense, then, change is any fact, event, or action which is contrasted with rest or stability, and involves some element of difference either of quality, space, or time.

It is the fact of change that suggests all inquiries into causes, whether these inquiries be spoken of as scientific or philosophic. Curiosity regarding causal agency begins with the discovery of change and terminates in explanation. No question of explanation would ever arise but for this departure from an inactive condition of things, unless we had other reasons to suppose that mere existence was also caused. Change represents the dynamic, as rest or inertia represents the static, side of things, and hence obtains the credit of instigating scientific and other curiosity. Consequently it is the indication of the existence of new phenomena in the world order, and is the condition of the very existence and conception of progress usually expressed in the process of evolution.

In an earlier period of reflexion it was 'motion' that was supposed to demand explanation, and so was the centre of speculative interest. But the fact is that the term was then more comprehensive than it is now, as will be apparent in the study of those ancient systems of philosophy which turned on this conception. Greek thought, in its earlier development, did not clearly and always, if ever, distinguish between the ideas of motion and change. The term κίνησις did duty for both conceptions, and the consequence was that some confusion occurred in various philosophic theories. Aristotle seems to have been the first to recognize the equivocal character of the term, and in his distinction gave rise to that limitation of the concept 'motion' which has ever since confined it to that of local change or change of place, so that qualitative change became a distinct phenomenon.

The difficulty created by the confusion of motion and change was apparent in the conflict between the philosophies which regarded 'motion' as caused and those which regarded it as eternal and uncaused. Theistic and creationist speculations possessed a weapon of some force against philosophers like the Eleatics who denied all change and motion, but Democritus and Epicurus robbed these of their vantage ground by making 'motion' eternal, this conception having been accepted as reasonable or possible from the philosophy of Heraclitus. With 'motion' uncreated or uncaused, there was nothing left apparently for scientific curiosity. But the distinction of Aristotle opened the way to the admission that motion might be permanent while change of some kind still existed to be accounted for. Philosophic reflexion thus survived, and the confusion of the

two schools ultimately resulted in the modification of the doctrine of inertia, since the resolution of the equivocation in the conception of 'motion' or change made it necessary to conceive one as possibly eternal and the other as only ephemeral.

In early Greek thought, inertia, not a speculatively recognized concept, did not mean what it means in modern scientific parlance. It denoted a state of inactivity or rest, not the inability to initiate a change whether of motion or rest. The consequence was that any observed action might have its cause placed within or without the subject in which it appeared, according to the disposition of the observer. Not having any doctrine of gravitation like the Newtonian with which to reckon, ancient speculation thus enjoyed considerable liberty in the application of internal causes to the phenomena of nature, as a study of its philosophic systems abundantly illustrates. It was natural, taking ordinary sensible experience as the guide, to suppose that weight, an intrinsic property of matter, should give rise to motion, and in fact the atomic systems of the time so conceived the case. In ordinary reflexion, motion, not distinguished from change, was conceived as having a beginning in time, and the normal condition of things was supposed to be that of rest. But in the absence of an idea of attraction or gravitation, self-motion became a conceivable phenomenon, and, at least where vertical direction and a vacuum were supposed, was considered the natural state of matter. This conception involved the possibility of perpetual motion, and so combined the ideas of constancy and change in the same fact. So far as the phenomenon was thus conceived, it was either not caused at all or had no external cause; and, as the conception of causality in subsequent ages became very largely convertible with external agency, wherever the idea was used at all, motion became conceivably an eternal and uncaused fact. The materialist thus had two presumably uncaused facts against the creationist point of view, and they were matter and motion. He admitted, however, as in the Epicurean swerving of the atoms from a vertical direction attributed to free action other than gravity, that any deviation from the existing status required some additional cause to explain it, whether this cause were made internal or external.

This intellectual situation produced two effects. It admitted and widened the conception of change as a fact to be explained, and gave rise to a new conception of inertia which has come to possess all modern thought. As the conception of motion was made consistent with permanence, inertia could no longer indicate rest or inaction, but had to be made convertible with inability to initiate change, whether of motion or rest, without the interposition of an external cause, and this inability was assumed to characterize matter. This made the idea compatible with the eternity of motion which the earlier conception did not recognize, but it left the mind free to inquire for causes in any change from any existing *status quo* of things, and this sufficed to give reason and character to scientific and philosophic curiosity as a quest for explanations. Change became the comprehensive term for all facts or events demanding causes.

Change thus becomes the basis upon which all causal speculations rest, and motion will not figure in the case except as a change of direction or as a phenomenon conceived as beginning in time. Whether the causes sought are internal or external, free or determined, will depend upon the extent to which the doctrine of inertia is applied. If matter is wholly inert, that is, unable to initiate change, the cosmos must remain in a given condition, unless external intervention occurs to cause any assumed or known change from the *status quo.* This conception was the assumption on which the Aristotelian *primum mobile* was accepted, though its inertia was assumed to follow after an initial impulse and no continuous causal agency was supposed. Hence the vantage ground of the theistic and deistic point of view. But, if inertia is not assumed as an absolute condition of matter, internal forces may be conceived as the cause of change and a *deus ex machina* excluded as unnecessary. Whatever cause for change was supposed would have to be immanent, and possibly a *creatio continua*—certainly so, if change were constant. In mechanical physics the doctrine of inertia still prevails, and external causes are supposed to initiate change or motion, though no effort is made to trace the causal agency beyond a given point. Spatial, including quantitative, local, and formal, changes are the phenomena to be explained. In chemistry, qualitative change is the phenomenon to be accounted for, and some relation to internal causation is conceived which does not seem reducible to mechanical agency, and so a question as to the absoluteness of inertia is suggested by it. Whether we shall ever reach the conclusion for final or teleological causes will depend upon other facts than mere change. The adjustment of a variety of means to an end not naturally the result of any one agency is necessary here. But the existence of internal causes, once assumed to account for any change whatever, or any movement towards a result, will leave the way open for analogies with human action for the explanation of real or apparent adjustment to organic ends in nature as reflecting intelligent direction of causes, the changes involved being so complicated as to suggest intelligence as well as internal agency.

LITERATURE.—R. Adamson, *Development of Modern Philosophy*, Lond. 1903, vol. i. part v. ch. ii.; B. P. Bowne, *Metaphysics*, revised ed., N.Y. 1902, part i. ch. iii.; L. T. Hobhouse, *Theory of Knowledge*, Lond. 1896, part ii.; Shadworth Hodgson, *Metaphysic of Experience*, Lond. 1898, vols. i. and ii.; Lotze, *Metaphysic*, Eng. tr., Oxf. 1884, books i. and ii.; Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1883–86, vols. i. and ii.; Taylor, *Elements of Metaphysic*, N.Y. 1904, book ii. ch. v. These works give a sufficient discussion of 'change,' and fairly discuss the topic from different points of view. The most recent book on the subject is D. P. Rhodes, *The Philosophy of Change*, N.Y. 1909.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

CHANGELING.—**1. Definition and characteristics.**—A changeling may be defined as the child of a non-human race left in place of a human child which is stolen away from its mother by members of that race. Adult changelings (below, § 6) are of a different character. In general, the changeling may be the child of fairies or elves (British Isles, France, Italy); of dwarfs, elves, or under-earth folk (Germany, Scandinavia, and among the Slavs and Wends); of various nature-spirits—water-sprites, nixes, wood-folk, wild women, *laumes*, etc. (Hungary, Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Holland, Lithuania); of Nereids (Greece); and, in most of these regions, of a witch or some other demoniac creature; or, travelling beyond the European area, of a variety of beings who will be considered later (§ 7).

The equivalent terms for 'changeling' are: Welsh *plentyn-newid*, German *Wechselbalg*, Swedish *bytingar*, Finnish *luoti*, Polish *odmenik*, Lettish *laumes apmainytas*, Bohemian *podwrznec*, while the Latin form *cambiones* appears in a 15th cent. MS (see Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* pp. 468, 1421, 1754).

The changeling is not always in reality a fairy child. Occasionally it is a stock with the appearance of a child (*FLR* ii. 197), but more usually it is an adult member of the fairy folk, who has assumed that form, as many tales show (cf. § 3). Probably this is a later development of the idea, the changeling being a child in what may be regarded as the more primitive versions. The idea might arise from the belief that fairies, etc., could assume different forms (cf. the Arab *jinn*—in many respects

equivalent to fairies—who transform themselves from baby to giant form, etc., *JAI* xxix. [1899] 253, 259), but in some cases the adult is reduced to child form by a process of beating and squeezing (Craigie, *Scandinavian Folk-lore*, Paisley, 1896, p. 148). In an Icelandic tale the changeling is the husband of the fairy who stole the human child (Arnason, *Icelandic Legends*, 1864-66, p. 113).

A changeling was usually detected by its appearance. It was ill-favoured or deformed, with thick neck and large head; it seldom ceased crying when under observation, and was, to all appearance, imbecile (cf. Luther's description of a changeling seen by him, in his *Table-Talk*). It had also an abnormal appetite, quantity not quality being regarded, but in spite of eating so much it never grew or throve. Sometimes, however, as in the Manx case seen and described by Waldron (*Descr. of Isle of Man, 1731*, Douglas, 1865, p. 29), while abnormal in appearance and incapable of movement, the changeling never spoke or cried, and ate little. Again, when it thought itself unobserved, a changeling would frisk and dance and show every sign of merriment. At other times its appearance was normal, but it would exhibit abnormal musical powers or capacity for work. The stories of changelings, wherever found, show that the act of exchange took place when the human child had been left unguarded for a moment, or through the helplessness of the mother, or by some trick on the part of the fairy thieves, or because the usual precautions against them had not been taken; the theft took place before the child had been baptized.

2. Precautions against the exchange.—Fairies being regarded as pagans, one group of precautions against their kidnapping was of a Christian character. Thus, an effectual method was to place a Bible, or a prayer-book, or a leaf of either, in or near the cradle. Other religious objects—a rosary, a cross, or the like—might be used in this way. Prayer, a pious ejaculation, the utterance of a Divine name, or blessing oneself, would cause the fairies to drop the child either inside or outside the house, if they had succeeded in seizing it. But, above all, baptism was effective, for once the child was baptized the fairies' power over it was gone, as it had now ceased to be outside grace; in other words, it was no longer a pagan, and could no longer be liable to the attacks of non-Christian beings (see BAPTISM [Ethnic], § 13, and cf. a song in D'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth*, London, 1819-20, i. 322, where a child 'Must be christened that very morn, For fear it should die a pagan'). This semi-theological explanation has taken the place of ideas connected with ethnic customs of name-giving, baptism, and purification, by which various dangers menacing the child from spirits, demons, etc., or even danger arising from him in his tabu state, are neutralized, and before the performance of which he is sometimes regarded as not quite human (cf. an instance among the hill tribes of Central India, where, until the performance of the rites of hair-shaving or ear-piercing, the child is regarded as a *bhūt*, or devil, *JAI* xxviii. [1899] 246). More purely magical is another set of precautions. Among these the custom of carrying fire round the child, or having a light in the room until it is baptized, to keep off spirits and fairies from mother and child, is analogous to similar pagan practices (cf. *SBE* xxiv. 277; Martin, *Descr. of West. Islands of Scotland*², 1716, p. 118; Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, pp. 10, 226), and is doubtless due to the primitive idea of the sacredness of fire. In one story a burning brand thrown at a fairy forces her to drop the child (Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1900, p. 81). Placing part of the father's clothing in or near the cradle, or wrapping the child in it, is also used, and has analogies in ethnic custom, the idea being that the father's influence protects the child through the proximity or contact of his clothes (cf. Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 427). Equally effective was it to place iron in some shape or form—utensil, tool, or weapon—in the cradle, on account of the well-known dislike of iron by fairies, etc. An obnoxious odour in the room, *e.g.* that of an old shoe burning in the fire, was useful because of the fairies' dislike of strong odours. Or, as in the Highlands, the door-posts were sprinkled with urine kept for washing purposes (Campbell, *op. cit.* p. 36). Tracing a magic symbol, *e.g.* a pentagon, on the cradle was used in Switzerland (*Morgenblatt*, 1865, No. 32, p. 764). All these methods were effective against every evil influence which might attack the child. Again, sheer force employed by either parent against the intruder would cause him to relinquish his evil purposes.

3. Recovery of the stolen child.—Even after a considerable lapse of time, it was possible for the stolen child to be recovered, and the various methods employed are described with remarkable unanimity in tales from the various European lands where the changeling belief is found. Taking the changeling to church, where the priest touched it, caused its disappearance, as is seen in an old Scots ballad (*FLR* i. 235). Flogging the changeling and laying it in a ditch, whence it was taken by its kinsfolk and the human child returned, occurs in several tales. Sweeping it out of the house, laying it on a manure-heap, throwing it into a stream, and placing it in a grave, are methods found in other tales. Or, to starve or neglect it or to make it cry lustily was enough to procure its removal and the re-instalment of the real child. Or, again, it was threatened with death, or its head was chopped off. Still more cruel was the subjection of the suspected child to fire. It was removed with red-hot tongs, or a cross was signed on its forehead with a red-hot poker, or it was placed in the oven or pressed down on the glowing embers, in the hope that it would be destroyed or would disappear. In tales exhibiting this method, the true child is returned, sometimes with the uttered reproach from the fairy that she had not treated it as the human mother had treated the changeling.

There can be no doubt that in many cases deformed or sickly children, suspected of being changelings, were thus cruelly treated. Cf. actual cases in Ireland, where a child and a woman, believed to be changelings, were, one severely burned, the other roasted to death, in 1884 and 1895 respectively (see Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, p. 121; *FL* vi. [1895] 373); and in Tiree, in 1878, a child was exposed on the shore for several hours by its mother, who thought it was a changeling (*Celtic Magazine*, Inverness, viii. [1883] 253).

In cases where the character of the child was uncertain, a stratagem was resorted to in order to discover its true nature. In one class of stories, with copious variants, the mother is advised to prepare food or boil water in one or several egg-shells, whereupon the changeling cries that he has seen many things (involving a great lapse of time), or has lived so long, but has never seen a sight like that. In another series a sausage is prepared, containing the carcass of a young pig, and set before the child. Here the formula is similar, save that he declares he has never seen a sausage with hide, hair, eyes, and legs. The intention is to make the changeling unwittingly betray his real nature. This is sometimes enough to cause his disappearance and the restoration of the true child, probably because of the belief that supernatural beings fear the discovery of themselves by mortals, as in the similar case of their name, which, when discovered, brings its owner within the power of the human discoverer. But in some cases the story adds that the changeling was threatened with cruel treatment, or was actually punished in some of the ways already described, before the

exchange was once more made. Simrock (*Handbuch der deutschen Mythol.*[6], Bonn, 1887, p. 436) asserts that the purpose was 'to force him to laugh, for laughter brings deliverance'; but, as Hartland (*op. cit.* p. 117) points out, the laughter-incident rarely occurs in the tales, and the betrayal of the changeling's true nature by the admission of his age is rather in question here. In all such stories the changeling is not a real fairy infant, and this may point to their being of later date (see § 1).

Examples of these tales, and of the formula in which his age is expressed by the changeling, will be found in Grimm, pp. 469, 1421; Keightley, *Fairy Mythology*, ed. Bell, London, 1900, pp. 126, 365, 436, 473; Campbell, *Pop. Tales of the W. Highlands*, new ed. Edin. 1890–93, ii. 57; Kamp, *Danske Folkeminder*, Odense, 1877, p. 19; Kristensen, *Danske Sagen*, 1891–6, i. 1049; Hartland, *op. cit.* p. 113 ff.; Scott, *Minstrelsy*, 1839, p. 218. The formula runs: 'I've been in the world 1500 years, and never seen that,' or 'I have seen the egg before [it became] the white hen, and the acorn before the oak, seen it acorn and sapling and oak in Brezal wood, but never aught like this,' or 'I have seen the wood in Tisö young three times over, but never the like of this,' etc.

In other tales nothing short of a visit to fairyland by the parents, usually armed with various articles disliked by the fairies, will suffice for the child's recovery. Again, if the fairy child was treated kindly, this ensured similar treatment for the stolen child, and sometimes led to its restoration.

4. **Purpose of the theft.**—This may be expressed generally in the words of Grimm (p. 468), that 'elves are anxious to improve their breed by means of the human child, which they design to keep among them, and for which they give up one of their own.' The same motive underlies the theft of human mothers or maidens to act as midwives to a fairy mother, to nurse fairy children, or to marry a fairy, which is found in a multitude of stories. Scarcely an example occurs in which the stolen child is ill-treated, and frequently, when it is restored, it remains lucky or skilful in some craft (Campbell, *op. cit.* ii. 57; Keightley, p. 300).

This might seem to give some ground for Simrock's theory (*op. cit.* p. 436) that the motive for the theft originally lay in the desire of the fairies to benefit human children, and that the more selfish motive was not ascribed until later, when growing enlightenment suggested to men that the once beneficent fairies were falling into decay, and now, for self-preservation, resorted to the theft. This, however, finds little ground in the fairy superstition itself, and is not corroborated by the tales taken as a whole. To make the child completely one of themselves, the fairies may have been supposed to give it fairy food or to perform some rite, and hence a folk-belief may underlie the lines of Beaumont and Fletcher (*Faithful Shepherdess*, Act. i. sc. 2) in which they are described as dipping stolen children in a fairy well 'to make them free from dying flesh and dull mortality.' At the same time, when the changeling was a fairy child and not an adult fairy, it had the advantage of being suckled by a healthy human mother. That this was an advantage is seen from the stories of stolen mothers already referred to (cf. also Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imper.* iii. 85), and particularly in a Hessian tale where a woman struggles with a fairy who is stealing a child, which is not restored until the mother has put the fairy's offspring to her breast to nourish it 'with the generous milk of human kind' (Grimm, p. 468). With this may be compared a Scots story in which a mother, nursing her child, is begged by a fairy to suckle her infant. The fairy disappears, leaving it with the woman, who finds rich garments and delicious foods by her side whenever she awakes from sleep (Cromek, *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway*, 1810, p. 302).

Another folk-reason alleged for the theft is that the fairies may have good Christians among them at the day of judgment to assist their salvation—a question as to which they are often represented as standing in great doubt (*FL* vii. [1896] 163). A still more selfish reason for the theft may have been popularly believed, though it is probably of later origin: it was alleged that the fairies had to pay an annual or septennial sacrificial tribute out of their company, to the devil. This is found in the indictment of Alison Pearson, a witch, in 1588; in the ballad of *Tamlane*; and in the tale of *Thomas the Rhymer* (Scott, *Demonology*, 1898, pp. 109, 114, 130, *Minstrelsy*, pp. 221, 231, 423; *FLR* ii. 113), and it may be referred to in a Highland tradition mentioned by Hugh Miller (*My Schools and Schoolmasters*, ed. Edinburgh, 1891, p. 259), to the effect that on an island in Loch Maree the fairy queen sat and gathered *kain* ('tribute') for the devil. Lady Wilde (*Ancient Legends*, 1887, i. 70) also refers to it vaguely as a current belief in Ireland. In the cases cited it is a human victim who is offered; and both Scott and Lady Wilde say that it is a popular belief that infants were stolen for this purpose. Witches were certainly alleged to steal and sacrifice infants to the devil (perhaps a traditional reminiscence of actual sacrifice by women in orgiastic rites to a goddess of fertility); and, as fairies were commingled with witches in late mediæval belief, the custom may have been ascribed sporadically to them. Eating human infants is asserted of fairies in certain tales (Welsh: Rhŷs, *Celt. Folk-lore*, Oxford, 1901, ii. 673; French: Sébillot, *Folk-lore de France*, Paris, 1904–7, i. 229)—perhaps also a reflexion from witch-lore.

In general, infants are in danger from female demoniac beings, or from witches (the two differing but little from each other), who injure, kill, eat, or change them. The Jews feared Lilith, the night-demon, who was especially hostile to children, living on the blood of those whom she slew (Sayce, *Hib. Lect.* [1887], 1891, p. 146; cf. also Blau, in *JE* viii. 87 f.). The *lamia* of ancient Greek myth, who murdered children because Hera deprived her of her offspring, passed into popular superstition as a demoniac being who sucked the blood of children, or was multiplied into the *lamiæ*, who devoured youths (Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.* 1886, iii. 2, 908). These *lamiæ* survive in modern Greek superstition as witch-like hags fond of children's flesh (Bent, *Cyclades*, 1885, pp. 98, 388). In ancient times children who died young were thought to have been carried off by the nymphs (Preller, *Gr. Myth.*[4], 1894, i. 566). The Græco-Roman *striges*, or owl-like bird monsters which tore the vitals of children and sucked their blood (Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 131 ff.), and the *strigæ*, or witch-hags who flew by night and strangled and devoured children, replacing their bodies by a bundle of straw (Petronius, chs. 63, 134), resembled the *lamiæ*, and they still survive in Greece, Italy, and the east of Europe as witches of a similar character (the *strigela*, *strega*, etc. [Garnett, *Greek Folk Poesy*, 1896, ii. 457]). In mediæval belief, demons, *striges*, and *lamiæ*, as well as witches, were commonly supposed to draw infants from their cradles, to maltreat or roast them, to suck their blood, or eat them (Grimm, citing mediæval sources, pp. 1058–60, 1081, 1625). No charge was commoner in mediæval witch-trials than that witches had stolen children and devoured them at the Sabbat; and the midwife, in ages when there was a great mortality of children, was often regarded as a witch. The witch may in this case be the survival of an earlier priestess, and the cannibalistic act the relic of ritual cannibalism and a sacrifice to a goddess of fertility. In many cases, however, the corpse of an unbaptized child was said to have been disinterred and eaten (see Reuss, *La Sorcellerie*, Paris, 1871, pp. 47, 52, 66; Pearson, *Chances of Death*, 1897, ii. 21 ff., 32; Scott, *Demonology*, pp. 172, 231; Görres, *Die christliche Mystik*, Regensburg, 1842, bk. 8, ch. 15). Such beliefs survive in much later folk-superstition. Italian peasants believe in witches who tear the faces of unbaptized children (Hartland, p. 99). In Servia the *Hexen* are especially fond of the flesh of young children (Ploss, *Das Kind*, Leipzig, 1884, i. 113; Grimm, p. 1077). Russian peasants fear the *Baba Yaga*, a female ogre or a witch, who devours children (Ralston, *Russian Folk Tales*, 1873, p. 165); and similar beliefs are found throughout most European lands, while precautions resembling those used against the attacks of fairies are general. Similar deeds are ascribed to female demons resembling the *lamiæ*, and called *devs*, *als*, etc., in Georgian, Roumanian, Armenian, Coptic, and other Oriental tales (Wardrop, *Georgian Folk-Tales*, 1894, p. 56; Leland, *Gypsy Sorcery*, 1891, p. 64; Abeghian, *Armen. Volksglaube*, Leipzig, 1899, pp. 118–120; Gaster, *Græco-Slavonic Literature*, 1887, p. 82). Outside Europe such beliefs are found among savage and barbaric peoples. In Abyssinia the *Werzelyā* is a Lilith who kills children; in W. Africa witches catch children, cut out their tongues, and change their nature so that they become creatures called *asiki* (Nassau, *Fetichism in W. Africa*, 1904, p. 299). In India, among the Vadāls, the birth-spirit in the shape of an animal is believed to devour the skull and heart of an infant on the fifth night after birth (*PR* i. 265), and a similar belief is already found in the Atharvaveda (vii. 10; see Whitney and Lanman, *Atharva-Veda*, Cambridge, Mass., 1905, i. 395; Ploss, i. 120). The Malays believe in a female vampire which sucks the blood of newly-born children (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 1900, p. 327). Among the Ainus the legend of the goat-sucker embodies a belief in a child-stealing demon (Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, 1901, p. 185). For an American Indian instance—a Cree child who turned into an owl by night and ate other children—see Petitot, *Traditions indiennes*, Paris, 1886, p. 462.

Mediæval witches were also supposed to kill newly-born children, or to dig up the corpses of the unbaptized in order to cut off their fingers or hands for various magical uses. This is referred to by Shakespeare (*Macbeth*, IV. i. 30)—the 'finger of birth-strangled babe' was one of the ingredients of the witches'

cauldron—and it is still a popular belief in Sicily (Grimm, p. 1073; Hartland, p. 100). Robbers were also supposed to use the hands of children or adults as candles, the well-known 'hand of glory' (Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths*, new ed. 1888, p. 405 ff.; Stoll, *Geschlechtsleben in der Volkerpsychologie*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 285). The salve, rubbed by witches on their bodies, in order that they might acquire magic power, was made of an unguent obtained by boiling the body of an unbaptized child stolen from its cradle.

5. **Witch and diabolic changelings.**—The witch, like the fairy, was also supposed sometimes to change the human child, obtaining entrance to the house in the form of a bird or an insect, unless the precaution had been taken of placing iron or a broom beneath the pillow. Instances are found in Roumanian and Servian belief (Gerard, *Land beyond the Forest*, 1888, ii. 14; Ploss, i. 113; Leland, *Gypsy Sorcery*, p. 64). Such changelings may have been the offspring of a witch and the devil. Sometimes the devil himself was believed to effect the exchange. Having carried off young maidens, he had intercourse with them and kept them till they were delivered. A human child was then stolen by him, and the offspring of this union was put in its place (Thorpe, *Northern Mythol.*, 1851–2, vol. ii. p. xxi). Such changelings resembled the fairy changeling in ugliness and abnormal appetite; they cried when touched, laughed at any evil in the house, and had a continual hiccup (Reuss, *La Sorcellerie*, 71). Luther's opinions in his *Table-Talk* on this subject are frequently cited. He firmly believed that the devil often changed infants, laying devils in their place. These had a great appetite, were very filthy, and wrought harm to the mothers. He describes one which he had seen at Dessau, and he strongly recommended that the changeling should be thrown into the river. These changelings, in his opinion, were masses of flesh without a soul. Such beliefs regarding diabolical changelings survived into modern times in Prussia and Lithuania (Ploss, i. 113, cf. *Das Weib*[8], Leipzig, 1905, i. 569); but, in the old German legend of Zeno, the devil himself takes the form of the child which he had abstracted (Simrock, p. 483).

In Slavonic belief, the nocturnal demon, *Kikimora*, is a child whose mother cursed it before its birth, and whom the devil stole from her womb. The devil also carries off all children execrated by their parents (Tooke, *Hist. of Russia*, 1799, i. 100). Analogies to this are common in savage and barbaric superstition regarding stillborn children, etc., who become demons.

6. **Adult changelings.**—The carrying off of men and women, especially the latter, by fairies, dwarfs, giants, or the supernatural personages of European and Oriental mythology, the detaining of them in their land, and, in the case of women, forcibly marrying them or compelling them to act as midwives or nurses, are commonplaces of folk-tales wherever found, while in many cases their rescue from their captors is the cause of the strangest adventures (cf. the English tale of Childe Rowland [Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*, 1898, p. 117], and see art. FAIRY). We are here concerned with the theft only in so far as it illustrates the changeling superstition. Here it applies mainly to women in child-birth or before their churching,—a period when they were peculiarly liable to the attack of supernatural influences,—but there are similar instances of girls and men being carried off and a substitute left in their place. To prevent such attacks on women in childbirth, precautions resembling those taken in the case of infants were usual (see § 2; Ploss, i. 110). As a rule, when a child was taken, a genuine changeling was left in its place, but in the case of an adult the substitute was generally an illusory appearance. Frequently it was a log of wood, to which was given the semblance of the woman's corpse, or, less usually, of herself in life. This was also done when a man or girl was carried away. Other methods of substitution occur in certain tales. Occasionally a fairy woman, with the appearance of the stolen wife, was left (Campbell, ii. 76); and a belief is also mentioned to the effect that fairies take the substance and leave only the shadow, or steal the soul, leaving a fairy soul in its room (Scott, *Minstrelsy*, p. 217; Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands . . . of Scotland*, p. 32). But whatever it be, the relatives are overcome by the power of fairy 'glamour,' and believe it to be the living person, or his or her corpse (for examples, see Scott, *Minstrelsy*, p. 222; Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies*, 1895, pp. 8, 23 ff.; Campbell, *Tales of W. Highlands*, ii. 61; Campbell, *Superstitions*, pp. 38, 86; Hyde, *Beside the Fire*, 1891, p. 95; Keightley, p. 392; Gregor, *Folk-lore of the N. E. of Scotland*, 1881, p. 62; Thorpe, ii. 139). In some cases the fairies are seen carrying off the woman; she is rescued, and, after she is taken home, the illusory appearance is destroyed. But frequently the tales are linked on to those of the 'Dead Wife' or 'Orpheus and Eurydice' cycle—a dead wife rescued by her husband from the other world (see DESCENT INTO HADES [Ethnic]). Where the changeling is concerned, the illusory appearance of the corpse is buried, but the real woman appears to her husband in dreams, or is seen nursing her children. She gives directions regarding her recovery, sometimes involving her rescuer's visit to fairyland. These directions are not always carried out, in which case the woman remains a prisoner there. Where she is recovered from the fairy realm, the stories bear a close resemblance to those of the rescue of the dead wife from the other world, showing, as in other cases, that in popular fancy there is little real distinction between the two regions (see Scott, p. 222; Hartland, p. 130 ff.; Lang, 'The Dead Wife,' *Murray's Magazine*, 1887, p. 491; MacCulloch, *CF*, p. 43). Such tales are mainly of Scottish and Irish provenance; but they also occur in Scandinavia, and sometimes the 'appearance' of the woman remains in life. The object of the theft was that the woman might act as nurse to her captor's child, or, in the case of a girl, as his wife or housekeeper. The Irish versions relate that the victim was first struck with a 'fairy stroke,' and apparently fell ill and died (Curtin, pp. 60, 66); this was also a current belief in the W. Highlands (Campbell, *Superstitions*, p. 27).

Cattle were also liable to be 'changed.' A cow was stolen and some substitute left in its place—an alder stock, an old elf, etc., with the appearance of the cow (Campbell, p. 32 f.; Curtin, p. 125).

Similarly, when a witch stole a child, the parents were hindered by spells from seeing its disappearance; and when a witch went to the Sabbat, she left a log in her place by her husband's side in bed (Reuss, p. 39; Grimm, p. 1072).

7. **Origin of the changeling belief.**—(*a*) There is no doubt that this belief must be ultimately connected with the primitive and savage idea, surviving in higher stages, that infants are peculiarly liable to the attack of spirits, demons, etc., with whom they are sometimes associated in nature before name-giving and purificatory rites take place (§ 2). The ritual precautions taken to avoid such attacks often bear a close resemblance to the European methods of keeping off fairies; while, just as baptism was an efficacious remedy against fairies, so the rites referred to had a similar efficacy against spirits (see BAPTISM [Ethnic], § 13). Some examples of the savage and general idea of infants being in danger of spirits have been given (§ 4). Among the Veddas, with whom the arrow has a sacred significance, two arrows are placed before a sleeping child to guard it when its parents have to leave it for some time (*L'Anthropologie*, v. [1894] 243). The Torres Straits Islanders believe in a female spirit who steals and eats children, besides getting rid of wives and personifying them (*JAI*

xix. [1890] 323). In Amboina a spirit called Pontianak steals away infants (Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 58). The Abors of Assam think that the wood-spirits kidnap their children (Dalton, *Ethnol. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 25). Among the Kalmuks, who believe in spirits dangerous to mother and child, the father runs out with a cudgel at a birth, to fight them (Ploss, i. 112). (For other savage instances, see Macdonald, *Africana*, 1882, i. 114, 224; Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, 1881, p. 77; Powell, *Wanderings in a wild Country* [New Britain], 1883, p. 207.) Similar beliefs were current among the Parsis, who employed elaborate rites to keep the spirits and other obnoxious beings at a distance (West, *SBE* v. 316, 343, xxiv. 277). The Romans held that the woodland god Silvanus was dangerous to mother and child, who were protected by men striking the threshold with axe and pestle, and sweeping it with a brush (Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 9), while the Greeks believed that children who died young had been carried off by the nymphs (Decharme, *Myth. de la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1879, p. 332).

Innumerable examples of this universal belief might be given, while no incident is commoner in *Märchen* from all countries than that of children carried off by ogres, giants, or other beings. If, as can scarcely be doubted, such a belief was current among the ancestors of the various European folk who hold the fairy creed, it was inevitable that, when fairies, dwarfs, etc., came to be believed in, similar practices should have been ascribed to them, especially as they were in many cases nature-spirits in origin. This is seen by the fact that the changeling superstition is a fluid one, and is, as shown above, ascribed equally to fairies, witches, the devil, nature-spirits, and occasionally ghosts. Indeed, all the actions ascribed to fairies are also assigned in folk-belief to witches and spirits of all kinds. All alike are in turn derived from a much earlier range of circumstances, in which vague spirits were the prominent actors (see FAIRY). In this connexion it is important to observe that, among peoples with whom the belief is found that spirits, etc., are harmful to children, the actual changeling superstition occasionally exists, probably apart from any influence exerted by European changeling stories.

Many Yoruba tales resemble our changeling belief, though here the child is possessed by a spirit which makes it assume the form of a growing boy and devour quantities of food. The discovery is made by secretly watching the child. Another class of spirits enter a child and eat all its food till it becomes emaciated and dies. In the former case beating the child drives the spirit out; in the latter, an offering is made to it, and iron rings, etc., are hung about the child's body to keep the spirit away; but if this is not successful, incisions are made in the body, and pepper or spices put in them (Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, 1894, pp. 120, 111). Among the Shoshones the mountains of Montana are believed to be peopled by little imps called *ninumbees*, who eat unguarded infants, leaving, instead, one of their own baneful race. Should the mother suckle it, it devours her breast and escapes, while she dies soon after, and, if not watched, is eaten up by her nursling (*NR* iii. 157). A race of cannibal spirits, living under rivers and feeding on human flesh, especially that of children, was feared by the Cherokees. These spirits came unseen to a house just after daybreak, and if any one was found asleep, they shot him with invisible arrows and carried his body away, leaving in its place a shade or image of the victim, which awoke and acted as he did in life. This image had no life in it, and withered away in seven days, when the people buried it, imagining it to be the body of the real child or man (*RBEW* xix. [1900] pt. i. 349). The belief also exists in a curious form in China. If a child's soul leaves its body in sleep, a demon soul may take its place, endangering the mother when she suckles the child. To avert this demon invasion, the ashes of banana skin, mixed with water, are painted in the shape of a cross on the child's forehead. The demon cannot recognize the body thus disguised, and flies off, affording an opportunity for the true soul to approach. But, to facilitate its entrance, the mark must be washed off, else the soul will not recognize its body, and death will follow (*FLJ* v. [1887] 225). Bedawī women with an emaciated child take it to a grave, and, laying it thereon, say: 'Oh, you inhabitants of the grave, come and take your son, and give me back my son!' The child is then left there for some time, and the rite is repeated for several days (*FL* xv [1904] 348). Here the ghosts are supposed to have exchanged the child. (Laying the changeling in a grave was adopted in the W. Highlands as a means of getting rid of it [Martin, *Western Isles*, p. 118].) In Armenia, shears are placed under the pillow at a birth, to keep off the spirit called *Al*, who tears out the woman's liver, or changes and steals her child (*FL* xv. 445). Similar changeling stories are told of *višaps* and *devs* in old Armenian and Persian myth and romance (see ARMENIA [Zoroastrian], § ii. 3; Keightley, p. 17; Ploss, i. 118). In modern Greece the *nereids*, female spirits of Nature, steal and replace a human child by one of their own fractious offspring (Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 125); and elsewhere in Europe, where nature-spirits take the place of fairies, the changeling superstition is also connected with them; *e.g.* in Hungary (the water man or woman), in Moravia (the wild woman), in Bohemia (the wood woman), in Lithuania (the *laume*), etc. (Ploss, i. 112–113). Thus the changeling belief, connected as it is with nature-spirits, demons, etc., may well have existed before it was connected with fairies.

(*b*) Why should children be so liable to the attack of spirits, fairies, and other beings? Their own and their mother's helplessness no doubt made them easy victims of the beings mysteriously surrounding men, ever on the watch for a favourable opportunity of doing them an injury. Again, the child, being in close contact with the mother, shared with her in the 'uncleanness,' the tabu state, into which the sexual crisis of childbirth brought her, and which made her 'dangerous.' This, being an unnatural state, may have been thought to bring her and her child into closer relation with non-natural beings, and therefore to render them more liable to their attacks (we have seen that the unpurified, unnamed, unbaptized child has a demoniac or pagan character). Hence the various purificatory ceremonies which she and the child had to undergo at once removed the tabu state and rid them of the danger of such attacks.

(*c*) This, however, does not fully explain why the belief in a changeling should have arisen. Hence we must allow much to the play of human fancy and imagination, prompted by the living belief in such terrors from outside evil influences of all kinds. Where it was believed that spirits, etc., actually stole children or did them harm, it would be an easy step for the parents to imagine that their child had actually been exchanged for the offspring of the supernatural thieves, especially where a child was emaciated or deformed, or did not thrive, or was especially fractious, gluttonous, or the like. Emaciation and fractiousness, as in the Bedawī and Greek instances cited above, are specially regarded as proofs of the exchange. Again, where a child bore a real or fanciful resemblance to the appearance popularly ascribed to any supernatural being, it would be easy to suppose that he actually was such a being. A hydrocephalous child might well be regarded as a dwarf changeling, dwarfs being supposed to have enormous heads; or, as Ploss suggests (i. 117, 119), a child with symptoms of cretinism would easily be looked upon as a changeling, the traditional form of which resembles that of a cretinous child. Reputed changelings, observed by Luther and by people in much more modern times, always have an unnatural appearance, which is due to disease or to physical abnormality. The belief once formed, many fanciful ideas, such as the changeling superstition everywhere shows, would arise and become part and parcel of it.

Nutt (*Voyage of Bran*, ii. [1897] 230 f.) seeks to explain the origin of the belief in Ireland as (1) the form which the memory of the sacrifice of children ('one-third of their healthy offspring') took when such sacrifices had ceased under Christianity. The children had been carried off by the powers of life, viz. the fairies. Or (2), since sacrificial victims must be young, healthy, and vigorous, probably the sickly and ailing would be rejected. In folk-memory this was translated into the statement that the fairies had carried off the healthy and left in exchange the sickly. Though this may account in part for the Irish changeling belief (in Ireland the old gods were thought to have become a kind of fairies [see CELTS, § v.]), it does not explain the belief as it is found elsewhere, since in general it is connected with the universal idea that infants are in danger from spirits, demons, etc.

(*d*) Nor can we omit from a consideration of the changeling belief the possibility of its containing an element of actual fact, which did not originate, but served to strengthen, the superstition. When the territory of an aboriginal people was invaded by a conquering race, before the two finally came to terms, the former may have lived in seclusion, venturing forth by stealth to harry and raid their conquerors. Women and children would fall victims to them and would be stolen away; nor is it altogether impossible that, when a child was taken, a deformed or weakly child of the aborigines would be left in its place, perhaps with a view to its being benefited by the care of members of the superior race. Many of the fairy and dwarf legends of northern Europe are eminently suggestive of actual fact, and in this sense fairies may once have been a real race, hostile to and tricking the invading folk. Thus existing belief in spirits or other beings with traits akin to those of fairies would be merged in the later traditions of this actual race. This is not to say that the fairy belief originated wholly in traditions of an actual people, for it is much more complex than that (see FAIRY). Some have seen in such traditions reminiscences of an actual pygmy race in Europe (Ploss, i. 111; MacRitchie, *Testimony of Tradition*, 1890; cf. Lang, Introd. to Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth*, 1893, xx-xxv); nor is this altogether impossible, since certain archæological remains suggest it. In any case such traditions based on actual occurrences may have been handed down from the time of the conflict of Neolithic with Palæolithic men, and of men of the Bronze with those of the Neolithic age. Contrariwise, existing beliefs about supernatural beings would easily be alleged of any aboriginal secluded folk whose name, handed down to later generations, became more and more mysterious.

H. H. Johnston (*Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, ii. 513 ff.) has cited some facts which lend support to this theory. He shows that the pygmy races of the Congo region, with gnome-like appearance and tricky character, have some of the traits of the European dwarfs and fairies, and adds: 'It is sometimes related that when the Negro mother awoke in the morning, her bonny, big, black child had disappeared, and its place had been taken by a frail, yellow, wrinkled Pygmy infant, the changeling of our stories' (*op. cit.* 516).

See also BIRTH (Introduction) and FAIRY.

LITERATURE.—Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, London, 1882, ch. 17; E. S. Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, ch. 5; H. Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*, Leipzig, 1884, i. 110 ff. See also most collections of European *Märchen*.

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CHANNING.—See UNITARIANISM.

CHANT.—See MUSIC.

CHAOS.—'Chaos' comes from the same root as χάσκω—the 'yawning' space. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 116), it was before all things and consisted of mist and darkness. From it were begotten Erebos and Night (see Gomperz, *Griech. Denker*, 1896, i. 32-80, 417, 430 f.), as well as Love (Erôs) or Desire (Plato, *Symp.* 178 B). The Stoics, deriving the word from χέω, explained Chaos as the elemental water (schol. on Apoll. Rhod. i. 498), while in the Roman age it became the primeval matter out of which the universe has been constructed (Ovid, *Met.* i. 7 f., *Ars amor.* ii. 470 ff.; see Lactantius, *de Div. Instit.* i. 5). The Orphic cosmology made Æther and Chaos the offspring of Chronos, or Time, and so, along with Necessity, the second principle in the universe (Damascius, *de Prim. Princip.* p. 380 ff.). In the Greek poets the word is sometimes used of the atmosphere; Latin writers identify it with the under world.

Hesiod's conception of Chaos and of creation as a generative process points to the east. Though our knowledge of Phœnician cosmology is derived from late writers, whose accounts of it have been largely coloured by the speculations of Greek philosophy, the cosmology itself is based upon old materials, and in its main outlines probably goes back to an early period. Chaos appears in it as the elementary principle whose union with Spirit (πνεῦμα) produced Desire (πόθος). Desire, in its turn, combined with Chaos and Spirit to generate Môt, which, according to Philo Byblius (Euseb. *Præp. Evangel.* i. 10), was explained to be 'mud' by some, and 'the putrefaction of a watery mixture' by others, and is usually connected etymologically with *mô*, 'water.' From Môt proceeded the egg which contained all the germs of the universe, including the heavenly bodies; this broke in half, and out of the two halves the earth and heaven were formed. Life originated in the thunderstorms that were produced by the heat of the air. In this system Chaos seems to correspond exactly with the Chaos of Hesiod, which consisted of mist and darkness, Môt being rather the Chaos of Ovid. In Gn 1[1.2] the place of Chaos and other abstract principles is taken by a personal God who created the heaven and earth. The conception of Chaos, however, is still left, but it becomes the condition in which the earth was created by the Deity together with the darkness which was spread over the face of the pre-existent deep. The Phœnician idea, however, of the union of Chaos with Spirit is retained in the statement that along with the darkness the Spirit of God also brooded over the deep, though instead of the abstract πνεῦμα we have 'the Spirit of God.'

The Phœnician and Hebrew cosmologies are ultimately traceable to Babylonia, but, while the Phœnician cosmology rejects the polytheism of the Babylonian system, and develops the materialistic side of it, the writer of Genesis 1 rejects both the polytheism and the materialism of the Babylonian original, and admits the agency only of the one Creator. In the Babylonian Epic of the Creation the two primary principles are the Deep (*Apśu*), 'the primeval one,' and 'the Flood' or Chaos (*Mummu*) of Tiamât, the dragon of the unformed and anarchic ocean, from whom were afterwards derived 'the waters above the firmament,' where in the present orderly universe they are safely kept under lock and key. In the account of the Babylonian cosmogony given by Damascius, *Môymis*, *i.e.* Mummu, is made the son of Apśu and Tiamât rather than Tiamât herself under another aspect. Haupt is probably right in explaining Mummu as *Mu-mu*, 'the waters'; the views of Jensen (that the name means 'frame' or 'art') and of Delitzsch (that it signifies 'turmoil') are untenable. In any case, as Gunkel and Zimmern have pointed out (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 401), Mummu represents the origin of things, and the ideograph denoting it proves that it has the primary signification of 'flood.' This is in accordance with the fact that the official cosmology of Babylonia originated at Eridu on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and taught that the earth had grown out of the water, which was consequently the origin of the universe. But the water could be envisaged under two aspects, either as the law-obeying element which provided Babylonia with its annual flood, and over whose surface trade and culture had been carried in boats to Eridu, or as the anarchic element which had brought about the great deluge, and from the midst of which storms and whirlwinds descended upon mankind. In the Epic of the Creation the creation of the world is ascribed to the union of the two forms of the watery element; amongst a people, however, who believed that order was imposed on disorder and law on anarchy, the primordial principle would necessarily have been the watery chaos rather than the deep, which was subject to law. Cf. artt. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY.

LITERATURE.—Cory, *Ancient Fragments* (London, 1826), ed. by Hodges, 1876; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (Göttingen, 1895), pp. 7, 17–29; Zimmern in *KAT*³, ii. i. 507–514.

A. H. SAYCE.

CHARACTER.—'Character' (Gr. χαρακτήρ, from χαράσσειν, χαράττειν, 'to engrave') meant originally the tool employed for drawing and stamping, as well as the impression made therewith—the distinctive mark, especially as used in the minting of coin. As early as the 5th cent. B.C. the word acquired a metaphorical sense, as is shown by the writings of Herodotus, Æschylus, and others, who applied it both in the sphere of ethical psychology and in that of literary criticism. The work on *Moral Characters* (ἠθικοὶ χαρακτῆρες) which bears the name of Theophrastus, the pupil and successor of Aristotle, is, in all probability, a later compilation; nevertheless the Aristotelian school resembled its founder in showing a general predilection for exact observation and distinct portrayal of the various types of human nature. The delineation of such types was set before the public with special clearness and force by the New Comedy, while the rhetoricians likewise devoted themselves eagerly to the subject.[1] In its psychological reference, accordingly, the term χαρακτήρ is used in the writings of later antiquity with great frequency and with manifold shades of meaning. The word, moreover, was also employed in the sense of species or category of literary style, as, *e.g.*, in the distinction of four (or sometimes three) diverse 'characters' of diction.[2] To Latin writers χαρακτήρ was, of course, a foreign word, for which they tried in various ways to find an equivalent in their own tongue.[3] In the language of the mediæval Church the word came into frequent use, acquiring in particular a peculiar religious connotation. From the time of Augustine, 'character' was applied as a technical expression to the spiritual signs which, according to the belief of the Church, were indelibly impressed upon the soul after baptism, confirmation, and ordination. This usage is found fully developed, *e.g.*, in Thomas Aquinas: 'character baptismatis, confirmationis, ordinis,'[4] and it has been maintained in the Roman Catholic Church till the present day.[5] The older varieties of meaning, however, still hold their ground in the recognized speech of the learned, whence the word 'character' found its way into the languages of modern civilization. In these languages, with other significations, it not seldom denotes simply a letter of the alphabet.[6]

In modern times the word was brought into more general notice and application by La Bruyère's *Les Caractères de Théophraste, avec les caractères ou les mœurs de ce siècle*, a work which, published in 1687, exercised a great influence upon the literature not only of France but of other civilized peoples. As a result of its vogue, the analysis and delineation of individual types of personality became once more, as in the later period of ancient literature, a favourite subject of literary interest.[1] At that time the term 'character' was often applied to something in the nature of a representation, sketch, or portrayal,[2] but it was used chiefly to connote the peculiar psychical constitution of an individual—the more permanent qualities of the personality in contrast with its more mutable states. There are, accordingly, many different kinds of character, good or bad. A person of no character is one whose qualities have no distinct stamp. Character would thus appear to be in the main a gift of nature, though the co-operation of the individual will is by no means excluded.

In regard to both the conception of character and the problem involved, a new epoch begins with Kant. First of all, he distinguishes between an *empirical* and an *intelligible* character. The former lies within the region of experience, and is subject to the laws of causality; the latter, on the other hand, is the cause of actions as phenomena, and is therefore free, and independent of necessary law.[3] To this distinction Kant attaches the utmost significance, as it enables him to recognize the operation of both necessity and freedom in human conduct, and thus to harmonize their long-standing antithesis. The distinction also provided a theme of great interest for post-Kantian speculation in Germany, and in particular played an important part in the philosophy of Schopenhauer. A much stronger and wider influence, however, was exercised by the further distinction drawn by Kant—that, namely, between *physical* and *moral* character. His discussion of this subject is found mainly in his *Anthropologie*, the second part of which is devoted to 'die anthropologische Charakteristik.' Moral character alone, he holds, is character in the proper sense: it is not divisible into particular kinds; it is not this or that, but must always remain a single entity. Man's physical character, embracing his natural disposition and temperament, represents merely what nature has made of him; his moral character is what he makes of himself. 'Simply to have a character—*i.e.* a moral character—implies that property of the will by which the subject binds himself to certain practical principles unchangeably laid down for himself by his own reason.' 'The foundation of a character is absolute unity in the inner principle of conduct as a whole.'

This view soon attained a wide diffusion, even outside of Germany, and to it is primarily due the high estimate now set upon the conception of character. Kant proceeds to ask whether the moral life is, or is not, founded upon one's own action—whether it is paramountly one's own, or in greater or less degree superinduced. The importance now commonly attached to the formation of character is likewise traceable to Kant. The term 'character,' however, still retains the sense favoured by empirical psychology. Thus we speak without misgiving, *e.g.*, of an inherited character, of a character acquired by adaptation, habit, and the like. The uncritical use of the

1 On this subject Sauppe, *Philodemi de vitiis lib. x.*, Leipzig, 1853, p. 7 f., writes: 'Peripatetici disciplinae suae principis et auctoris exemplum nulla in re magis secuti sunt, quam ut omnia quae vel in natura rerum existerent vel in vita hominum et publica et privata usu venirent accuratissime observarent et observata sive libris singularibus explicarent sive ad sententias suas firmandas et illustrandas adhiberent. Neque vita ipsa tantum exempla suppeditabat, sed maximam notationum copiam nova comoedia habebat. Quae ut eidem saeculi ingenio originem debebat, atque Aristoteleum illud studium vitam quotidianam moresque hominum observandi, ita quaedam fortasse ex Aristotelis vel Theophrasti libris desumta in usum suum converterat, sed multo plura certe quam acceperat deinde philosophis et rhetoribus suppeditavisse censenda est.'

2 Examples of this usage will be found in the well-known *Thesaurus* (1816–28) of Henricus Stephanus.

3 Stephanus cites the following passages: Cicero, *Top.* xxii.: 'Additur autem descriptio, quam Graeci χαρακτῆρα vocant'; *ad Brutum*, 36: 'sed in omni re difficillimum est, formam (quod χαρακτήρ Graece dicitur) exponere optimi.'

4 Schütz, *Thomas-lexikon*, Paderborn, 1881, *s.v.*

5 So in the decrees of the Council of Trent (Sess. vii. 'de Sacramentis in genere,' can. ix.): 'Si quis dixerit in tribus Sacramentis Baptismo scilicet, Confirmatione et Ordinatione non imprimi characterem in anima, hoc est signum quoddam spirituale et indelebile, unde ea reiterari non possunt, anathema sit.' Cf., further, Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*¹⁰, Freiburg, 1908, nos. 411, 695, 1918.

6 Murray (*OED*) enumerates no fewer than nineteen varieties of meaning in English.

1 Of the development of the word in Germany, an excellent investigation is given by R. Hildebrand, 'Charakter in der Sprache des vorigen Jahrhunderts,' in *Ztschr. f. d. deutschen Unterricht*, vi. [1892] 7.

2 *e.g.* Rabener in his *Satires*, 1755, speaks of the 'originals of my characters.'

3 The leading passage dealing with this distinction is *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (ed. Hartenstein, Leipzig, 1869, iii. 374 ff.).

word in such divergent senses is a fruitful source of ambiguity and confusion.

The term 'character' has also had a somewhat singular history. The one persistent element in its connotation has been the attribute of stability, which, however, pertained first of all to the symbol, then to the thing symbolized, and which, while originally a property induced from without, came at length to denote one generated from within; finally, this stability was at first regarded as in the main a gift of nature, and subsequently as a product of self-activity. The signification of the term has been transferred by degrees from the external to the internal, and from the sphere of necessity to that of freedom. We have here, in fact, a signal illustration of the way in which the spiritual evolution of mankind may reflect itself in the history of a word.

While that definite ethical sense of the term 'character' with which we are nowadays mainly concerned was first imparted to it by Kant, the idea itself is no creation of modern thought. For thousands of years man has striven to find in self-activity a basis for his life, and so to invest his humanity with a certain independence of the external, and a certain stability within. This endeavour found classical expression in Stoicism, and the peculiar type of human character evolved in that school has persisted throughout all succeeding generations. It asserted itself more particularly in many outstanding personalities of the 'Enlightenment' period. Even Kant himself shows a certain affinity with the Stoic system of thought, as may sometimes be traced in his phraseology.

This inwardly directed movement of the human spirit manifests itself for the most part in periods when the conventional relations of life are felt to be unsatisfactory. It proceeds upon the postulate that there subsists within the soul of man a bond of affinity with the cosmic reason, and also the capacity of developing that affinity. In other words, the movement implies that man is no mere link in a chain of natural causation, but a being endowed with a spontaneous energy, and therefore free to determine his own acts. Where human life shows no such power of inward movement, the idea of forming a character is practically out of the question.

In our own age the dearth of character is widely deplored, and not without good reason. The activities of the civilized man of to-day are also largely engaged with the external world, and at the same time his conviction of the existence and presence of an internal world is undermined by so many doubts that it is difficult for him to find an inner foundation for his life and conduct. Then there is also the hurry of modern life, which hardly favours the task of calm reflexion, or of combining the various activities of life into a single and coherent whole. Now, as the disadvantages and dangers of such a method of living are apparent to all, there rises on every hand the cry that more must be done for the building of independent character. Such a demand, it is true, seems on the face of it to involve a contradiction. Character can be formed only in virtue of personal decision and action. It cannot be coerced by external provisions and precautions; mere drill will not make character. Nevertheless, while the vital impulse must always proceed from the individual himself, much may be done by the community in the way of stimulus and support. First of all, there must be in the social environment an effective revival and realization of the idea of an inner world—the primary condition, as has been said, of character-building in the real sense. Further, it is a matter of profound importance that the things of the spirit should be assessed at their true value by the community at large, and that they should not be overwhelmed by the external things so highly prized in our social life. It is indispensable, finally, that wider scope be given to personal and self-directed activity. No one who truly cares for the development of independent character will attempt to direct the course of a man's life by mere mechanical rules and methods. The reformer in this sphere must have faith in freedom, and must not shrink even before the dangers which freedom undoubtedly carries with it.

All this makes high demands not merely upon our system of education, but upon the whole structure of our social life. To treat of these demands in detail lies beyond the purpose of this article. But there can be no question that the problem we have here outlined is one of the most serious and most urgent of the present day.

LITERATURE.—Theophrastus, ἠθικοὶ χαρακτῆρες; La Bruyère, *Les Caractères de Théophraste*, 1687; Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, 1781, and *Anthropologie*, 1798; R. Eucken, *Geistige Strömungen der Gegenwart*[4], 1909. [Reference may also be made to the following: A. Bain, *Study of Character*, 1861; S. Bryant, *Short Studies in Character*, 1894; F. Paulhan, *Les Caractères*, 1895; A. Fouillée, *Tempérament et caractère*, 1895; W. E. H. Lecky, *Map of Life*, 1899; J. MacCunn, *Making of Character*, 1900; L. H. M. Soulsby, *Stray Thoughts*, 1900; C. J. Whitby, *Logic of Human Character*, 1905; F. Paulhan, *Mensonges du caractère*, 1905; P. Gillet, *L'éducation du caractère*, 1909.—Ed.]

RUDOLF EUCKEN.

CHĀRAṆ.—See BHĀṬ, CHĀRAṆ.

CHARAN DĀSĪS.—The Charan Dāsīs are an Indian Vaiṣṇava sect, an offshoot of the *Bhakti-mārga* (*q.v.*). The name is a corruption of the Skr. *Charaṇa-dāsī*, and is derived from the religious name of the founder of the sect, Charan Dās (Skr. *Charaṇa-dāsa*). The number of its adherents is small. They are found in the S.E. Panjāb, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and in the Native State of Alwar. No complete enumeration of the sect was made in the census of 1901, but 1253 were recorded in 1891 in the Panjāb, and 161 in the United Provinces.[1] As for Alwar, all we know is that there the Charan Dāsīs are neither numerous nor wealthy, but have ten small temples and monasteries. The most important of the temples is that at the town of Bahādurpur, the home of the founder's maternal ancestors, in whose honour a small fair is held. Other holy places connected with his history are Ḍaharā, also in the Alwar State, where he was born, and where a *chhatrī*, or ornamented pavilion, is built over the spot in which his navel-cord was buried; and Delhi, where he died. At Ḍaharā his cap and rosary are preserved and exhibited to the faithful; and at Delhi there is a *samādh*, or monument, in his honour, with a temple attached, in which an impression of his foot is shown, and where a fair is held every *Basant Pañchamī* [the vernal feast of the fifth lunar day of the month of Māgh (Jan.-Feb.)].

Although the members of this sect are few in number, it will be advisable to discuss their tenets in some detail, for they are typical of an important group of the so-called 'dissenting' Vaiṣṇava forms of belief, and, moreover, the sect is one of the few concerning which we possess authentic literary documents.

1. Founder.—In order to a right comprehension of such an Indian sect, to whom the life of its founder is still a living memory, a consideration of the historical circumstances of his time is of the first importance. Charan Dās was born A.D. 1703 and died in 1782. These seventy-nine years were a period of calamity for India, and especially for Hindus.

[1] Charan Dāsīs were counted in the United Provinces in 1901, and then numbered 1773. This is nearer the mark than the very doubtful 161 of 1891.

In A.D. 1707, Aurangzib, the oppressor of Hindus, died miserably at Ahmadnagar. Then followed the five years' struggle of Bahādur Shāh with the Sikhs. Bahādur Shāh died in 1712, and, after seven years of internecine strife, Muḥammad Shāh came to the throne. During his weak reign Haidarābād revolted, and Oudh became practically independent. In 1739 India suffered the horrors of Nādir Shāh's invasion. In 1743 the Marāṭhās conquered Mālwā, and, in 1751, Orissa and Bengal became tributary to them. In 1747, 1751, 1756, and 1759, occurred the four invasions of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. By the second he won the Panjāb, in the third he sacked Delhi, and in the fourth the Marāṭhās were defeated by him at Pānipat in 1761. From this time the Mughal empire ceased to exist except in name, and in 1765 the Dīwānī of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa was granted to the British.

It was during these terrible times that many Hindus sought a refuge from persecution and tyranny in ascetic pietism. They found in the horrors that almost daily surrounded them a proof that no religious observances, no obedience to Brāhman priests or to the rules of caste, could give release from the trammels of existence, which they had been taught for generations, and now found by experience, to be nought but misery. To such even the loving faith in a kindly, personal Supreme—the keynote of the *Bhakti-mārga*—seemed to make demands too great for suffering human nature. Some found consolation in self-abandoning resignation (*Prapatti-mārga*), while others, especially in N. India, turned to mysticism, and sought by inward meditation, coupled with morality of conduct, to attain to the release that faith in a God, whose love had become hidden, appeared unable to secure. One of these latter was Charan Dās. He was born at Ḍaharā in Alwar, and was named Ranjīt (Skr. *Raṇa-jita*) by his parents. His father's name was Muralīdhar, and his mother's Kunjo. They belonged to the Ḍhūsar tribe of the Baniyā caste. He came of a pious stock. His father was accustomed to wander in the forest near his home for the purpose of prayer and meditation, and one day went out with this object, but never returned. When search for him proved unavailing, Kunjo took her five-year old son to Delhi, where her father, moving from his ancestral home at Bahādurpur, had lately settled. The lad, who was lame of one leg, showed from his earliest years signs of extraordinary piety, and, as his father had done before him, used to wander in the forest, full of religious questionings. In his nineteenth year, while thus roaming in ecstasy, he came across a holy man named Suk-deo Dās (Skr. *Śuka-deva Dāsa*) of Śukra Tāl, a village near Muzaffarnagar. Later legends have identified this person as a re-incarnation of the famous Śuka-deva who is said to have narrated the Purāṇas. Influenced by the loving words addressed by Suk-deo to the band of children that accompanied him, Ranjīt threw himself at his feet, and besought him to receive him as his disciple, and to carry him, poor lame creature that he was, across (the ocean of existence into the haven of perfect peace). The saint took him on his shoulders (literally or metaphorically), and, after carrying him for some distance, initiated him as a disciple, teaching him the Rāma-*mantra*, or initiatory formula of Rāma-worshippers, and instructing him in faith in God (*Hari-bhakti*) and knowledge of the Supreme (*Brāhma-jñāna*).[1] Suk-deo named his new disciple 'Charan Dās,' or 'Foot-servant,' in token that he was no longer lame in spirit.

The convert returned to Delhi and took up his abode in a cave near that city, where he studied for twelve years, 'continually murmuring Rāma's name and meditating on the Adorable (*Bhagavat*).' He then, about A.D. 1730, commenced to teach others, and founded a sect of his own. He had fifty-two chief male disciples, each of whom founded a local centre of the sect (*gaddī*), all of which are said to be still in existence. The best known of these followers was named Yuktānand. Charan Dās had several female disciples, of whom the most celebrated were Sahajo Bāī and Dayā Bāī. These two were poetesses, and their hymns, overflowing with devotional faith, are much admired.[1]

Many legends concerning miracles performed by Charan Dās are narrated in a work called the *Guru-bhakti-prakāśa*. He is said to have granted his mother a vision of the Adorable in his personal form—a favour which had previously been conferred only upon the Saint Nārada, and to have been denied even to Brahmā (cf. *Mahābhārata*, x. 12,971). He was arrested by Nādir Shāh, but vanished from the prison. When again seized, and loaded with chains, he appeared the same night by Nādir Shāh's couch, and kicked him on the head. The tyrant, full of terror at the sudden apparition, fell at his feet and implored his forgiveness. Another story is that two years previously he foretold the death of the emperor 'Ālamgīr II. (1759). Charan Dās died in 1782 at Delhi, where he was cremated, the *samādh* already mentioned being erected at the spot.

2. Tenets of the sect.—Charan Dāsīs are Vaiṣṇavas, and as such claim to be followers of the *Bhakti-mārga*. As stated in the article on that system of belief (vol. ii. p. 544), although each Vaiṣṇava church has become divided into numerous sects, none of these is opposed to the mother church. Each has been given a name and a separate recognition only on account of the preferences (*ruchi*) of particular teachers for laying stress on particular points. This is as true of the Charan Dāsīs as of the others. The teaching of their founder is a well-recognized phase of Vaiṣṇavism. He, in agreement with other teachers like Palṭū Sāhib, Jagjīvan Dās, Daryā Sāhib, and the better known and far older Kabīr and Nānak,[2] insisted upon two things as of primary importance—the power inherent in the *guru*, or spiritual guide, of conferring salvation, and the mystic power of the Name of the Adorable (*Bhagavat*). The preface to the collection of his hymns takes pains to inculcate that all such sects were founded by great and holy men, and that for members of one Vaiṣṇava sect to condemn the tenets of the founder of another is only to betray ignorance. The man who does this condemns at the same time, *ipso facto*, the teaching of the founder of his own sect, and is thus guilty of grievous sin. With this reservation, the following may be taken as a summary of the main points of the teaching of Charan Dās.

Belief in the Vedas and Purāṇas, image-worship, obedience to caste-rules, pilgrimages, and other outward religious observances, although to a certain degree effectual, are, when compared with *bhakti* directed to the *guru* or with meditations on the name, of no value as means of salvation. By salvation is meant the personal, blissful, endless

[1] These are the terms actually employed by Charan Dās himself in the passage of his *Swarodaya* describing the episode. Other writers of the sect call his doctrines the *Śabda-mārga*, or 'Word-path,' in contrast with the *Bhakti-mārga*, or 'Way of Faith.' How much of the account of the episode is literal and how much metaphorical it is impossible to say. Throughout all his works Charan Dās invariably refers to Suk-deo as his authority, and the sect is even called by some the *Śuka-saṁpradāya*, or 'Church of Śuka.' (Suk-deo is often wrongly called 'Sukh-deo' by later writers.)

[1] Collections of the hymns of both have been printed at Allahabad (Sahajo's in 1908, and Dayā's in 1909), with a summary, in each case, of all that is known concerning them. Both, like Charan Dās, were born at Ḍaharā, and belonged to the Ḍhūsar caste. For the former, see also Devī-prasāda, *Mahilā-mṛdu-vāṇī* (Benares, 1905), where there is a notice with specimens of her hymns. Her father's name was Hariprasād. Nothing more is known about her, but her poems contain valuable information regarding her teacher, or *guru*. She cannot have been Charan Dās's sister, as is said by some. Dayā Bāī's best-known work, the *Dayā-bodha*, was written in 1751.

[2] So similar are the doctrines taught by Charan Dās to those of Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion, that there are actually Sikhs who at the present day also call themselves Charan Dāsīs (see Rose, *Report on the Panjāb Census*, 1901, p. 130).

existence of the soul near the Adorable after release from the bonds of transmigration, exactly as in other forms of the *Bhakti-mārga* (vol. ii. p. 544).

An extravagant respect paid to the *guru* is the common property of most *Bhakti-mārga* sects. In some it is carried even further than by the Charan Dāsīs. It is a favourite Vaiṣṇava statement that the *guru* has two arms. With one he reaches downwards and rescues the proselyte soul from the world of sin, while with the other he reaches upwards and presents the soul, freed from worldly defilement, before the throne of the Adorable.[1] From this point of view he closely corresponds to our idea of a Mediator. It will easily be understood how this belief, held by a population readily accessible to mysticism, could branch out luxuriantly in many directions. In some sects the *guru* has become God incarnate, and claims possession of everything held dear by the devotee—his wealth, his home, nay, even his wife. Amongst others, including the Charan Dāsīs, it has developed into an exaggerated idea of the sanctity of the *guru*. No words can be too strong to describe his spiritual might. He is the General who levels the castle of delusion with a bombardment that has love for its cannon-balls, and that inflicts the wounds of the Word (*śabda*). He is the Hunter who shoots the sinner-deer with the arrow of the Word. He is the Sword of the Word, which cleaves in two the body of Sin. He is the Arrow of the Word, the Javelin of the Word, and so on. He drags the body pierced by him across the bounds of existence, so that it returns not, and lays it, freed from the eighty-four bonds, at the feet of Hari. The believer must know the *guru* and Hari to be one, and yet the *guru* is mightier than Hari Himself, for he protects the sinner from His wrath. He is the Rāma-incarnation, he is the Kṛṣṇa-incarnation, he is the Man-lion-incarnation, and so on.[2] In other words, the tendency of the cult is to divert the adherent's *bhakti*, or devotional faith, from the Deity to the human mediator.

We have stated that its followers refer to the doctrine of the cult as the *Śabda-mārga*, and attention will have been attracted by the importance attached in the above quotations to the *śabda* of the *guru*. *Śabda* means literally 'word,' and is technically applied to the short, pithy verses in which a religious teacher, such as Charan Dās or Kabīr, couched his maxims. But *śabda* has also an esoteric meaning. It is the deified Word, the 'Logos.' In the works of the older reformer, Kabīr, there are many passages[3] which are little more than expansions or paraphrases of the opening verses of St. John's Gospel, and Charan Dās employs very similar language regarding what he calls the 'Limitless Word' (*An-had śabda*).[4] It is, he says, beyond the farthest limit of the beyond. It completely purifies the thoughts. It has no letters and no articulate sound. It is the Supreme Deity (*Parabrāhma*). He who meditates upon it becomes himself the Supreme Deity; he puts on immeasurable glory, and all his error flees. Nothing that is known is like unto it. It is to be considered as the sun, as the moon, as all creation. The soul that possesses self-knowledge, and is absorbed in this limitless One, becomes the Supreme Self (*Paramātmā*). In his meditation he hears the Limitless, and, becoming limitless himself, his earthly desires are all destroyed. His sins and his virtuous actions alike lose their fated fruit.[1]

Closely connected with this view of the deified Word is the doctrine regarding the mystic Name of the Deity. It is here unnecessary to do more than allude to the frequent parallels in other religions. Charan Dās says:

'The Name is inarticulate. It cannot be written, read, or pronounced. Upon this Name must the devotee meditate day and night. The Name removes all sorrow; without it all sacrifices, all austerities, all pilgrimages, all vows are without fruit. To attempt these without the Name is but to grind chaff and expect flour. The Vyāsa made the four Vedas, and carefully weighed their meanings, yet the essence of them all is but the Name of Rāma. Meditation on the Name of Rāma destroys all sins, even the worst. Take the Name when drinking water or when eating food, when sitting down or when rising to walk. Repeat the Name in body, heart, and soul, through every waking hour, for, except Hari, there is no other friend.'[2]

A favourite comparison is that of a holy man with a hero. On account of the similarity to Christian ideas, a few verses may be quoted from the *Surmā kā Aṅga*:

'No hero is equal to the saint who, like the warrior, hath destroyed Illusion with all his army. He graspeth the shield of patience, and with it thrusteth aside the hosts of outward religious observance. Memory maketh he his arrow, kept in the quiver of his heart, and he shooteth it from the bow of meditation pulled by the hand of love. He bindeth to his side the dagger of wise discrimination, and wieldeth the lance of holy sayings. The trumpet of the Limitless Word soundeth in his ears, and filleth him with eagerness for the fray. With heart full of rapture he rusheth to the field of battle, and in his death he gaineth immortality.'

The ideas of the Deity inculcated by Charan Dās are those of other Bhāgavata sects. The Supreme is personal and endowed with all auspicious qualities, and salvation consists in the soul, free from all earthly bonds, dwelling for ever near Him in perfect bliss. As a personal deity He is named Hari or Rāma indifferently. He is also worshipped under the dual form of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and at the present day these are the favourite deities of the sect, although, except in passages avowedly based upon the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the present writer has failed to notice in Charan Dās's own works any special reverence paid to these incarnations.

The practical teaching of the founder is strongly ethical. While he attacks all formal religious ceremonies, and forbids image-worship of any kind, he lays great stress upon the necessity of general morality. The moral code of the sect consists of ten prohibitions. Its members

'are not to lie, not to revile, not to speak harshly, not to discourse idly, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to offer violence to any created thing, not to imagine evil, not to cherish hatred, and not to indulge in conceit or pride. The other obligations enjoined are, to discharge the duties of the profession or caste to which a person belongs, to associate with pious men, to put implicit faith in the spiritual preceptor, and to adore Hari as the original and indefinable cause of all, and who, through the operation of Māyā, created the universe, and has appeared in it occasionally in a mortal form, and particularly as Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana.'[3]

The Māyā, to which allusion is here made, must be distinguished from the Māyā discussed in the Advaita Vedānta of Saṅkara. Many of the modern Bhāgavatas have borrowed the name, using it to indicate the demiurge who created the physical world, with all its evil qualities, in subordination to the Supreme. In the works of other writers, such as Tulasī-dāsa, Māyā sometimes performs an office resembling that of the Satan of the Book of Job.

It is noteworthy that Charan Dās admitted

[1] See, for instance, Govindachārya, in *JRAS*, 1910, p. 587.

[2] This account is quoted from various verses in the *Guru-mahimā* section of Charan Dās's *Bāṇīs*. The extraordinary statement that the *guru* is more powerful than the Deity Himself is not confined to India. A scandal was created in Ireland recently by a story of a Roman Catholic priest using almost the same words with reference to the consecration of the Host.

[3] See G. H. Westcott, *Kabir and the Kabir Panth*, 1908, *passim*, and Index, *s.vv.* '*Shabda*' and 'Word.'

[4] The curious half-Indian, half-Arabic compound, *An-had*, as applied to the Word, is not peculiar to Charan Dās. It is at least as old as Kabīr, and occurs in the Sikh *Granth*. The term 'limitless' includes time as well as space. The 'Limitless Word' has been described to the writer by an Indian friend as the 'eternal sound' or 'unceasing music' ever abiding within the Self—a sort of indwelling Spirit.

[1] Various verses in the *An-had Śabda kī Mahimā*.

[2] Verses taken from the *Sumiran kā Aṅga*. All modern Bhāgavatas lay stress on the power of the Name (cf. Grierson, *JRAS*, 1910, p. 107 ff.). But the Charan Dasis regard meditation upon it as the only means, not as one of the means, of salvation.

[3] Wilson, *Essays on Rel. of Hindūs*, i. 179.

persons of either sex to the full privileges of discipleship, and that no qualifications either of caste or of sex were required for his teachers. As already mentioned, two of his most famous disciples were women—Sahajo Bāī and Dayā Bāī.

Although the founder prohibited image-worship, his followers are not so strict at the present day, and the worship of the more sacred Vaiṣṇava symbols, such as the *Sālagrāma* stone or the *Tulasī* plant, is not uncommon amongst the less particular members of the community. They now even have images in their temples, respect Brāhmaṇas, and, like other pious Hindūs, fast on the eleventh day of each lunar fortnight.[1] Wilson's account of the community may be quoted as the fullest and most accurate :

'The followers of Charan Dās are both clerical and secular; the latter are chiefly of the mercantile order; the former lead a mendicant and ascetic life, and are distinguished by wearing yellow garments and a single streak of sandal, or *gopīchandana*, down the forehead; the necklace and rosary are *Tulasī* beads; they wear also a small pointed cap, round the lower part of which they wrap a yellow turban. Their appearance in general is decent, and their deportment decorous; in fact, although they profess mendicity, they are well supported by the opulence of their disciples.'[2]

The written authorities of the sect are all in the Hindī language. None of them is in Sanskrit. Great stress is laid upon this, and, according to Powlett (*op. cit.* p. 215), writing about the year 1880, 'some time ago they resented the attempt of a learned Charan Dāsī to substitute Sanskrit verse for the vulgar tongue.' They have translations of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. These versions are ascribed, at least in parts, to Charan Dās himself. His original works include the *Bhakti-sāgara* (see below), the *Jñāna Swarodaya* (printed, Delhi, 1876), the *Sandeha Sāgara*, the *Dharama Jahāz*, the *Brahmavidyā Sāgara* (also called the *Charaṇa-Dāsa Sāgara*; pr. Lahore, 1898), and the *Nāsiketopākhyāna* (pr. Bombay, 1882). The *Jñāna Swarodaya*, which is much esteemed, is a small book of only 227 verses. The *Nāsiketopākhyāna* (*sic*) is a version of the story of Nāsiketa taken from the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. The Paurāṇik tale is based on the old and famous legend of Nachiketas told in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*. Under the form of the Nāsiketa legend it was one of the first subjects dealt with in modern Hindī prose, having been written in the then new form of speech by Sadala Miśra, and published in 1803 under the title of *Chandrāvatī*.[3] The most striking part of the work is a kind of *Inferno*, in which the hero is permitted to visit the various hells, and to see the torments of the damned. The damned, and their sins, are described in detail. He is then taken to heaven, and subsequently returns to earth to narrate his experiences. A good edition of Charan Dās's *Bāṇīs* (1908), or shorter poems, and others of the *Bāṇīs* of Sahajo Bāī (1908) and Dayā Bāī (1907), have been published at Allahābād during the past few years. The *Bhakti-sāgara*, together with 16 minor works, was published at Bombay in 1903, and editions of the same treatise appeared previously to this in Lucknow (3rd ed. 1903). The *Bhakti-sāgara* is dated Sam. 1781 (A.D. 1724).

LITERATURE.—The principal materials for our knowledge of the sect are the works of Charan Dās and his disciples mentioned above. Further information is given in a scholarly article by Dēvī Prasāda in the *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Pattrikā*, v. [1901] 132, and in the anonymous introductions to the three collections of *Bāṇīs* printed at Allahābād. The latter are valuable as being founded on materials provided by members of the sect. All these are in the Hindī language. As regards European writers, H. H. Wilson's, in *Essays on the Religion of the Hindūs*, London, 1861, i. 178 ff., is the only approximately complete account. Additional information is given by P. W. Powlett on p. 214 ff. of the *Gazetteer of Ulwur* (Simla, 1880), and by E. D. Maclagan on p. 120 ff. of the *Punjab Census Report for 1891* (Calcutta, 1892). All the above European information is brought together and collated by W. Crooke in the art. 'Charandāsi' in vol. ii. of his *Tribes and Castes of the N.W. Prov. and Oudh* (Calcutta, 1896). The writer is indebted to Prof. J. F. Blumhardt for information regarding some of the published texts.

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[1] Cf. Powlett, *Gazetteer of Ulwur*, p. 215, and Maclagan, *Punjab Census Rep. for 1891*, p. 122.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 179.

[3] See also F. B. Filippi, *Il Nāsiketopākhyānam*, Florence, 1902.

CHARISMATA (χαρίσματα).—'Charismata' is the Gr. term rendered in the EV 'spiritual gifts,' and used to denote certain normal and abnormal expressions of Christian activity in the primitive Church.

1. The linguistic usage.—The word χάρισμα is not found in classical Greek, or apart from early Christian literature except in Philo, *Leges allegoriæ*, iii. 24 ('All things in the world and the world itself are the donation and benefaction and gift of God': δωρεὰ καὶ εὐεργεσία καὶ χάρισμα Θεοῦ). In the NT it occurs 6 times in Romans, 7 in 1 Cor. (5 times in ch. 12), once each in 2 Cor., 1 and 2 Tim., and 1 Peter. In these passages we can distinguish between (1) a general, and (2) a special or technical sense.

(1) In Ro $5^{15.16}$ the term (sing.) is used of God's justification of the sinner by faith in Christ, in 6^{23} (sing.) it is defined as eternal life, in 11^{29} (plu.) it refers to the special privileges bestowed by God upon Israel. In 2 Co 1^{11} it expresses the Apostle's deliverance from serious peril. Ro 1^{11} marks a transition; St. Paul hopes to confer on the brethren at Rome some χάρισμα πνευματικόν, which may be interpreted either generally of advice, instruction, comfort (so Schmiedel, *EBi*, col. 4755), or specifically of the endowments described in Ro $12^{6ff.}$ and in 1 Co 12–14 (so Sanday-Headlam, *Com. on Rom.*[5] 1902, p. 21).

(2) In the two passages last noted the plural is used; in 1 Co 1^7 7^7 and 1 P 4^{10} the singular in a distributive sense; in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^6), the singular again, but in a semi-collective sense, with reference to all the qualifications which an official in Timothy's position should possess, and especially to a qualification for the task of teaching. It should be noticed that in 1 Co 12^1 πνευματικά, and in Eph 4^8 δόματα (closely connected with χάρις, v.[7]), are used practically as synonyms of χαρίσματα.

2. Nature and classification of charismata.—Any inquiry into the nature of the endowments grouped under the technical usage of the term χαρίσματα must be limited in the first instance to the passages in 1 Cor. ($12^{4-11.\ 28-30}$), and Rom. (12^{6-8}) as being primary sources and acknowledged Pauline writings. We may set the three statements in tabular form thus:

1 Co 12ª.	1 Co 12ᵇ.	Ro 12.
* { λόγος σοφίας	‡ ἀπόστολοι	* προφητεία
{ λόγος γνώσεως	* προφῆται	διακονία
πίστις	* διδάσκαλοι	* διδασκαλία
† χ. ἰαμάτων	† δυνάμεις	‡ παράκλησις
† ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων	† χ. ἰαμάτων	† { ὁ μεταδιδούς / ὁ ἐλεῶν
* προφητεία	† ἀντιλήμψεις	† ὁ προϊστάμενος
‡ διακρίσεις πνευμάτων	† κυβερνήσεις	
† γένη γλωσσῶν	† γένη γλωσσῶν	
‡ ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν		

We may confidently group the λόγος σοφίας and the λόγος γνώσεως of 1 Co 12ª, and identify the united concept with the διδασκαλία (plus the παράκλησις?) of Rom., and the διδάσκαλοι of 1 Co 12ᵇ. Another probable identification is that of ὁ προϊστάμενος in Rom. with κυβερνήσεις in 1 Co 12ᵇ. Nor shall we be far wrong in bringing together ὁ μεταδιδούς and ὁ ἐλεῶν (Rom.) and putting them alongside ἀντιλήμψεις (1 Co 12ᵇ). So that in our comparative table, representing by * those charismata which have a place in all three lists, by † those which occur in two, and by ‡ those which are peculiar to one, we have left the general expressions πίστις (Cor.) and διακονία (Rom.). Now

in Ro. 12^{6} πίστις is made the measure of προφητεία, and earlier, in v.^{3}, is spoken of as something of which God has dealt a portion to all; it is thus regarded as a regulative principle of the χαρίσματα. And in 1 Co 12$^{4-6}$ διακονίαι seems to be synonymous with χαρίσματα and ἐνεργήματα, the three terms being each inclusive of the whole range of spiritual gifts.

Various attempts at classifying the χαρίσματα, especially as enumerated in 1 Co 12^{8}, have been made, but with incomplete satisfaction. The earliest is that of Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. 8), thus:

(1) λόγος σοφίας and λόγος γνωσεως—'sermo intelligentiae et consilii.'
(2) πίστις—'spiritus religionis et timoris Dei.'
(3) ἰάματα and δυνάμεις—'valentiae spiritus.'
(4) {προφητεία, διακ. πνευμάτων / γένη γλωσσῶν, ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν}

Bengel and Meyer, assuming that ἕτερος denotes generic and ἄλλος specific distinctions, make this arrangement:

(1) Intellectual: (*a*) λόγος σοφίας.
,, (*b*) λόγος γνώσεως.
(2) Faith and its dependents:

πίστις
deeds (ἰάματα, δυνάμεις) | words (προφητεία) | reason (διακ. πνευμάτων).

(3) 'Tongue' gifts: (*a*) utterance (γενη γλωσσῶν).
(*b*) explanation (ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν).

But it is curious that St. Paul should put prophecy and criticism in the same class as healings and powers; and it is better not to force the distinction between ἕτερος and ἄλλος, but to regard them as used for the sake of variety. T. C. Edwards (*Com. on 1 Cor.*, 1885, p. 314) would group them thus:

(1) Intellectual power (λόγος σοφίας, λόγος γνώσεως).
(2) Miraculous power (πίστις, ἰάματα, and δυνάμεις).
(3) Teaching power (προφητεία).
(4) Critical power (διακ. πνευμάτων).
(5) Ecstatic power (γένη and ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν).

He points out, too, that there is a progress from the most worthy (λόγος σοφίας, 'the power of the spiritual man to understand the Divine philosophy of the revelation in Christ') to the least worthy (γλώσσαις λαλεῖν).

Taking our three passages together, we may (omitting the terms πίστις and διακονία) adopt some such classification as this:

(1) Gifts of power: ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, δυνάμεις, χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων.
(2) Gifts of sympathy: ἀντιλήμψεις, μεταδιδόναι, ἐλεᾶν.
(3) Gifts of administration: κυβερνήσεις, ὁ προϊστάμενος (ἀπόστολοι).
(4) Gifts of utterance:
(*a*) διδασκαλία, λ. σοφίας, λ. γνώσεως, παράκλησις.
(*b*) (ἀποκάλυψις), προφητεία, διακ. πνευμάτων.
(*c*) γένη γλωσσῶν, ερμηνεία γλωσσῶν.

The ἀπόστολος really stands outside such a scheme, as one who participates and exercises all kinds of spiritual gifts.

(1) In this class fall physical cures and cases of exorcism and mental disease, together with the punishment of offenders, *e.g.* 1 Co 4^{21} 5^{5}. The belief in the continuance of such marvellous powers lasted down to the end of the 2nd cent.; Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 39 (*c.* 150), speaks of ἴασις ('healing'), and Irenaeus, *Hær.* II. xxxii. 4 (*c.* 185), tells of everyday exorcisms and healings and occasional raisings from the dead.

(2) This class is summed up in Ac 20^{35}. The care of the early Church for its sick and poor was conspicuous; it is pleasant to find such acts of mercy recorded so persistently among the 'gifts of the spirit.'

(3) There is little or no help here towards a theory of the ministry in the primitive Church. Neither the attempt (by Neander) to prove that at the beginning there were no officials, these only arising when in course of time holders of χαρίσματα passed away, nor the opposite effort to identify each χάρισμα with a Roman or Corinthian church-officer has been successful. The discussion does not centre in the ministry but in the Church; few members, if any, would be absolutely without χαρίσματα, and, of course, any one taking a leading part in worship or administration would have the 'gifts' especially befitting the part he took.

This may be a convenient point for noticing the passage in Eph 4$^{7-12}$, at least a secondary authority for the Apostolic age. Here the words are χάρις (bestowed on each according to the measure of the gift [δωρεά] of Christ) and δόματα (given by the ascended Lord to men). And the enumeration is one not of χαρίσματα as in Cor. and Rom., but of offices—apostles (cf. Cor.), prophets (cf. Cor. and Rom.), evangelists ('missionaries,' cf. Ac 21^{8}, 2 Ti 4^{5}), pastors (ποιμένες; cf. ὁ προϊστάμενος of Rom.), teachers (διδάσκαλοι; cf. Cor. and Rom.). Although this passage thus has several points of contact with our primary authorities, and the Epistle in other places (*e.g.* 5^{18}) bears witness to the vivid enthusiasm which pervaded the early Church as 'filled with the Spirit,' it does not materially advance our study of the question immediately in hand. With the προϊστάμενος we may compare not only the ποιμήν of Eph. but the ἡγούμενος of He 13^{7}.

(4) It is with the gifts of utterance that the most crucial questions arise; and, as has been indicated, they fall into three subdivisions, of increasing difficulty, and possibly of decreasing worth.

(*a*) διδασκαλία and παράκλησις present no trouble. The former implies systematic Christian instruction, the latter the tactful persuasion, the 'wooing note' that wins men to life's finer and higher issues. λόγος σοφίας and λόγος γνώσεως are intimately related. The former should be interpreted in the light of 1 Co 2$^{6.10}$; it is the power to receive and to expound the 'deep things of God' (cf. Ro 11^{33}), His ways of salvation, which can only be taught and learned as the Spirit aids. It is teaching that appeals to the intuitional faculty—the food of the mystic. The latter appeals to the reason, and shows how rational the intuition is. γνῶσις is the buttress of σοφία. How closely indeed the two are bound together is seen by Schmiedel's explanation of γνῶσις as 'the knowledge of what is perceived in an ecstatic condition' (see 2 Co 4^{6}), in short, an intuition; σοφία, again, if interpreted on the analogy of the 'wisdom of the world,' becomes in turn a synonym for reasonable understanding and intelligent consideration. Both words seem thus to be concerned as much with reception as with interpretation; they are methods of appropriating knowledge.

(*b*) προφητεία.—In the Early Church it would seem that the ancient word of Moses, 'Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets' (Nu 11^{29}), had been fulfilled. This conspicuous endowment of the Hebrew folk found expression in John the Baptist (Mt 11^{9}) and in Jesus Himself (Mt 13^{57} 21^{11}, Lk 24^{19}). Since 'the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy' (Rev 19^{10}), it was natural that prophecy, like other charismata, was an endowment of the Church as a whole (Ac 19^{6}, cf. 2$^{17f.}$; 1 Co 11$^{4f.}$), while manifesting itself especially in certain individuals. Outstanding examples are Agabus, Judas, Silas, the four daughters of Philip (Ac 11^{28} 21^{10} 15^{32} 21^{9}), and doubtless these and others similarly 'gifted' moved about from place to place, ranking in importance next to the apostles (1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 2^{20} 3^{5} 4^{11}). Their ministry was apparently confined to believers, and it was distinguished: (1) from that of the teacher by its spontaneity and freshness (like their OT predecessors, they spoke by 'revelation' [1 Co 14$^{6.26.30}$]; sometimes this took the form of a definite announcement of the Divine will, as in Ac 13$^{1ff.}$); (2) from that of the 'speaker in tongues' by its intelligibility. As was the case with the OT prophets, there was comparatively little definite prediction (Ac 11^{28} 21$^{10f.}$) in their utterances, the primary note being a searching appeal that resulted in conviction, comfort, instruction, and edification (1 Co 14$^{24.3ff.31.19}$). Half a century later (according to the *Didache*) the prophet, now apparently more itinerant, retained his importance, taking precedence of the local officials, even at the Eucharist, and yet—as is

confirmed by the evidence of Hermas and Lucian—his sun had begun to set. The regular local administrative order was coming to the front place, and besides there were many counterfeit prophets who were bringing the gift into disrepute. As time went on, victory fell to the regular and permanent element, and, in spite of a continuation of the gift of prophecy such as is witnessed to by Ammia of Philadelphia and Quadratus of Athens (Eus. *HE* V. xvii.), and strenuously attempted by the Montanists (though perhaps their 'prophecy' was more like 'glossolalia'), the enthusiastic and extemporaneous could not hold its own as an institution. The gift passed (it was transformed in passing) to the regular ministry. The great preachers like Chrysostom are the true descendants of the NT 'prophets.' Justin Martyr indeed (*c.* 150) speaks of προφητικὰ χαρίσματα (*Dial.* 82), and the last orthodox contemporary witness is Irenæus (*c.* 185). That the prophet was regarded as Divinely possessed appears from the charisma mentioned in close connexion with prophecy in 1 Co 12^{10} (cf. 1 Th 5^{20}, 1 Jn 4^{1}), that of 'discerning of spirits.' This must be taken as referring to the wide-spread belief in spirits, good and evil, and of varying degrees of power. What tests were applied in this is not clear; that of 1 Co 12^{3} does not carry us far, and the difficulty of finding sure and fitting standards of judgment is well illustrated in the precepts of the *Didache* (chs. xi., xii.).

(*c*) γένη γλωσσῶν.—For our data in regard to this 'gift' we are restricted almost entirely to 1 Co 14, where St. Paul institutes a comparison between the different χαρίσματα, and especially between prophecy and tongue-speaking. It is easier to define this 'gift' negatively than positively, but investigation leads to the following conclusions: (*a*) It is unintelligible (except when interpreted), and bears the same relation to prophecy that discordant music bears to harmony. It is therefore unedifying and unfruitful to the Church, though it has a certain value for the speaker himself (vv.$^{2. 4. 17. 28}$), and as a sign (perhaps a mark of displeasure) for any heathen who might be present at the service, and who would not unnaturally regard the tongue-speaker as mad (v.^{23}). The utterances would be disjointed, varying in tone and pitch. (β) It may have included prayer and praise (see vv.$^{14-17}$; 'blessing' probably covers both these forms). (γ) It is not a foreign speech; for these St. Paul (v.$^{10f.}$) apparently uses φωναί. And it is unlikely that 'interpretation' of a foreign language would have been regarded as a χάρισμα. The antitheses to γλώσσῃ, viz. νοΐ, ἐν γνώσει, ἐν προφητείᾳ, and so on, also preclude such a supposition, to say nothing of the ecstasy rather than the practical evangelizing use that marked the glossolalia. (δ) The explanation of this χάρισμα as 'unusual, archaic, figurative' speech is not satisfactory, though supported by Ernesti, Herder (*SK*, 1829, pp. 3–79; 1830, pp. 45–64), Bleek, and Baur (*ib.* 1838, 618–702). Bleek gives many instances from late Greek writers of γλῶσσα = ἰδιότητες διαλέκτων, but they only prove that the word was a technical grammatical term. More helpful is the use of γλῶσσα to denote an ecstatic oracular response. The 'outsiders' of v.^{23} might well have reckoned the tongue-speakers to be possessed, comparing them with the Pythia (cf. also Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 40–101). (ε) There remains the suggestion put forward by Eichhorn and Meyer, that γλῶσσα here is to be taken in the literal sense of the bodily member. The Spirit so takes possession of a man's faculty of physical speech that, unconsciously to himself, he utters inarticulate cries. Bunsen (*Hippolytus*, 1852, i. 11) describes the λαλεῖν γλώσσαις as 'a convulsive utterance, a nervous affection.' The comparison between the tongue and instruments like the pipe, harp, and trumpet (vv.$^{7-9}$) supports this view. The γλῶσσα is an organ which can be used to produce alike intelligible 'prophecy' and unintelligible 'glossolalia.' In the former the νοῦς plays a large part, in the latter none at all. The tongue-speech might have been described as πνεύματι λαλεῖν (as contrasted with νοΐ λαλεῖν), but that the πνεῦμα was regarded as producing all the other χαρίσματα. The difficulty about this interpretation is that St. Paul applies the plural not only to more speakers than one (12^{30} $14^{22f. 39}$), where alone it is appropriate, but to one speaker ($14^{8\,(18)}$; cf. $12^{10. 28}$ 13^{8}). It also hampers a solution of γένη γλωσσῶν or ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν. Hence Schmiedel's proposal to pass from the instrument to the product by interpreting 'tongue' (in every place except 14^{9}) by 'tongue-speech,' *i.e.* speech which seems to be produced by the tongue alone. Something of this kind is compelled by 14^{26}, which enumerates the definite items of utterance at a religious service.

There is little doubt that such 'tongue-speech' was of an ecstatic kind. Here, as in the Montanists, the Jansenists, the early Quakers, and the revivals of the 18th cent., 'we recognise a sudden awakening of the spiritual nature, and intense emotions of overwhelming fear and rapturous joys' (T. C. Edwards, *Com. on 1 Cor.* p. 222). Jonathan Edwards speaks of 'the extraordinary views of Divine things and the religious affections, attended with very great effects on the body' as accompanying the Northampton (Mass.) revival in 1735 (*Thoughts concerning the Present Revival in New England*, 1742, i. § 5), and the journals of Wesley and Whitefield are full of testimony to the physical effects that resulted from their preaching. The case of the Irvingite 'prophets' is less to the point, as their attempt to repeat the phenomena of the Apostolic age was conscious and deliberate. On the question of 'the Little Prophets of the Cevennes,' see R. Heath's article in *Contemp. Review*, Jan. 1886; A. Wright's *Some NT Problems*, 1898, p. 292 ff.; and P. W. Schmiedel's criticism in *EBi*, col. 4764.

(*d*) ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν.—Just as the μάντις, whose understanding was in abeyance while he delivered his oracles, needed a προφήτης to give the inquirer a rational interpretation of the Divine utterance, and just as to-day there is a distinct place for those who can interpret to the lay mind some great musical or artistic composition, the 'tongue-speaker' needed as his complement the 'interpreter.' Sometimes (14^{13}), like G. F. Watts, he could do this himself; oftener perhaps it was done by others (12^{10} 14^{26-28}). As to the degree of exactness attained by such interpreters we have nothing to guide us. Probably the 'tongue-speeches' were more or less of the same pattern, and the interpreter would follow general lines, getting his clues partly from the tone, the gestures, and the recurrence of certain sounds. The Apostle gave sound counsel in v.^{13}, when he advised the 'tongue-speaker' to foster the additional 'gift' of self-interpretation, which we gather from v.^{15} that he himself possessed.

A word must be said on St. Paul's instructions for the use of the charismata. He speaks of them (1 Co 12^{5}) as διακονίαι, opportunities for service; they are not given for self-satisfaction, but for the service and edification of the whole community. The teaching is the same in ch. 14 and in Ro 12. So in Eph 4^{11} those who are endowed are themselves spoken of as the Lord's gifts to the Church. It is necessary, therefore: (1) that the use of the charisma be regulated and orderly (1 Co $14^{40. 32}$, Ro 12^{6}); in particular, he gives careful rules respecting tongue-speech, and utterly condemns its indiscriminate use; (2) that a proper estimate be formed of the value of the respective charismata.

In the Apostle's opinion (cf. Plato, *Timæus*, 72) the abnormal gifts are inferior in value to the less startling, but more ethical and edifying, manifestations of the Spirit. While he does not forbid 'tongue-speech' (1 Co 14[39]; cf. perhaps 1 Th 5[19]), and for obvious reasons does not suggest in its case any διάκρισις such as is applicable to prophecy, he yet thinks far less of it than of the intelligible forms of utterance—teaching, and the inspired and inspiring preaching called prophecy—as well as of the different forms of government and ministry. The reaction against ecstatic and unhealthy forms of worship thus instituted by St. Paul was largely successful, and succeeding generations completed it, though in a direction which had its dangers, that of hyper-emphasis on ecclesiastical organization.

It is significant that the Pauline notices of 'tongue-speech' are concerned only with the Corinthian Church. The Greek belief in mantic ecstasy and the Greek affection for the mysterious and the eloquent explain the predominance of the question in this community. The phenomenon appears not to have been known at Rome [1] or in any of the other centres to which the Apostle wrote. May it not be that in this church were a few persons of the type we call 'mediums,' and that their utterances were similar to those of Helen Smith of Geneva as described by Victor Henri (*Le Langage martien*, Paris, 1901) and commented upon by F. C. Conybeare (*HJ* i. [1903] 832)?

This medium in one of her trances was an inhabitant of Mars, and herself translated—with the help of another subliminal self-called Esenale—some forty sentences (containing 300 words) of the Martian language spoken during the trances, into French. Analyzing these, M. Henri allots to French sources the syntax and more than a third of the vocabulary of the 'Martian' language, to Magyar some 55 words, to German 25, and to English and Oriental sources 3 and 5 respectively.

Schmiedel connects St. Paul's exercise of the 'gift' with the attacks of his malady (epilepsy), and it is possible that at Corinth there were others similarly afflicted. At the beginning of the 2nd cent. Clement of Alexandria speaks of a language of the demons, and Conybeare refers to a 5th cent. hagiologist's report of a church near Bethlehem where the *daimonizomenoi* or *energumenoi* prayed 'in their own language.'

The fact that Helen Smith in another subliminal mood was an Arab princess and talked Sanskrit may serve as a transition to the narrative of Ac 2, where there is little doubt that, whatever the real nature of the Pentecostal phenomenon, it was regarded by the narrator (Luke, *c.* 95 A.D.) as the power of speaking foreign languages. As time went by, and as the story was told further afield, what was probably the first case of Christian glossolalia (see a short excursus in J. V. Bartlet, *Century Bible* ed. of 'Acts,' p. 384 f.) was interpreted, under the influence of a current belief as to the inauguration of the Old Covenant, as the Divine voice assuming the forms of different national languages. The other cases in Acts (Cornelius, 10[46], and the disciples at Ephesus, 19[6]) are clearly instances of 'tongue-speech,' and have nothing to do with dialects or languages. The author of Acts could never have witnessed the phenomenon himself.

Having dealt with the more direct references in St. Paul's letters to the Corinthians, Romans, and Ephesians, and in the Acts, we must now notice briefly the other allusions to χαρίσματα in early Christian literature.

1 Co 7[7]. St. Paul here says that he is possessed of such self-control as not to need marriage, and describes this self-control as a χάρισμα of God to him. Others may not be so endowed, and he may lack some χάρισμα that has been given to others.

[1] In writing to Rome, St. Paul is throughout more concerned to lay down broad principles won from past experience than to meet in detail difficulties arising from special circumstances.

1 P 4[10]. This Epistle makes no reference to the phenomena described by St. Paul, and in the passage in question the context points to our regarding money, the means of hospitality, as a χάρισμα (cf. Ro 12[8] ὁ μεταδιδούς).

1 Ti 4[14], 2 Ti 1[6]. Here the word must be interpreted of the capacity, spirit, and zeal for evangelistic work, or, as Ramsay ('Hist. Comm. on 1 Tim.,' *Exp.*, Apr. 1910) expresses it, the power of hearing the Divine voice and catching the Divine inspiration, imparted to Timothy when first he was selected as St. Paul's coadjutor. Timothy is reminded that the χάρισμα was not an inalienable office, but was an actual Divine endowment given for a definite purpose, a capacity liable to be 'extirpated by disuse.'

Didache, 1, 5:

'To every man that asketh of thee, give, and ask not back; for the Father desireth that gifts be given to all ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων' (= bounties, temporal as well as spiritual).

Ignatius, *Ep. ad Smyr.* superscription:

'Ignatius . . . to the Church of God . . . which hath been mercifully endowed ἐν παντὶ χαρίσματι.'

Ep. ad Polycarp. ii. 2:

'As for the invisible things, pray that they may be revealed unto thee; that thou mayest be lacking in nothing, but mayest abound (περισσεύῃς) παντὸς χαρίσματος.'

The two passages from Ignatius find closest parallel in Ro 1[7]. Justin Martyr (*c.* 150) in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (ch. 39) says that disciples receive gifts,

'each as he is worthy. . . . For one receives the spirit of understanding, another of counsel, another of strength, another of healing, another of foreknowledge, another of teaching, and another of the fear of God.'

The first three and the last of these are taken direct from Is 11[2f.]. Compared with the Pauline list, we have 'understanding' (σύνεσις) answering to 'knowledge' (σοφία), 'strength' (ἰσχύς) answering to 'power' (δύναμις), and in more identical terms 'healing' (ἴασις) and 'teaching' (διδασκαλία). 'Foreknowledge' (πρόγνωσις) takes the place of NT προφητεία, and the change shows how that gift had deteriorated. In ch. 82, Justin speaks of προφητικὰ χαρίσματα, no doubt meaning prediction, but says nothing about tongue-speech.

Mk 16[17]. The words γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς must mean 'they shall speak in languages newly acquired by them,' and, like the rest of the section (vv.[9-20]), are no part of the original gospel, but depend on Acts and other NT literature.

Irenæus (*c.* 185), *Hær.* II. xxxii. 4:

'Those who are in truth His disciples, receiving grace from Him, do in His name perform (miracles), so as to promote the welfare of other men, according to the gift which each one has received from Him. For some do certainly and truly drive out devils . . . others have foreknowledge of things to come [cf. Justin], they see visions, and utter prophetic expressions. Others still, heal the sick by laying their hands upon them. . . . Yes, the dead even have been raised up. . . . It is not possible to name the number of the gifts (χαρίσματα) which the Church . . . has received, . . . and which she exerts day by day.'

Ib. V. vi. 1:

'In like manner do we also hear (or have heard) many brethren in the Church who possess prophetic gifts, and who through the Spirit speak all kinds of tongues, and bring to light for the common benefit the hidden things of men (cf. 1 Co 14[24f.]), and declare the mysteries of God, whom also the apostle terms spiritual.'

In the first of these passages there is no mention of 'tongues'; in the second, this gift is mentioned, but (1) in close connexion with prophets; and (2) without clear intimation as to whether it is foreign languages or 'tongue-speech' that is meant.

Tertullian (*c.* 200), *adv. Marcion.* v. 8, after comparing the χαρίσματα enumerated by Isaiah and by St. Paul, invites Marcion to produce anything like them among his followers:

'Let him exhibit prophets such as have spoken not by human sense but with the Spirit of God, such as have predicted things to come, and have made manifest the secrets of the heart [cf. Iren.]; let him produce a psalm, a vision, a prayer—only let it be by the Spirit, in an ecstasy, that is, in a rapture, whenever an interpretation of tongues has occurred to him.'

The whole passage is based on 1 Co 14[25f.]. Tertullian does not say that there was 'tongue-speech' in his day, and his account (*de Anima*, ix.) of the sister who had the charisma of ecstatic revelation is spoken of as prophecy. Miltiades, according to Eusebius (*HE* v. xvii. 1), wrote an anti-Montanist work, περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λέγειν ('On the need for a prophet to refrain from ecstasy'). As 'tongue-speech' and ecstasy became absorbed in prophecy, so prophecy in turn was superseded by the fixed official ministry.

LITERATURE.—Besides the commentaries on Rom., 1 Cor., and the other passages in question, see D. Schulz, *Geistesgaben*, Breslau, 1836; W. R. Cassels, *Supernatural Religion*, London, 1877; Gunkel, *Wirkungen des heil. Geistes*, Göttingen, 1888, [2]1900; Beversluis, *De heilige geest en zijne werkingen*, Utrecht, 1896; Weinel, *Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister . . . bis auf Irenœus*, Freiburg, 1899; P. W. Schmiedel, in *EBi*, cols. 4755–76; Dawson Walker, *The Gift of Tongues*, Edin. 1906; T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and Ministry in the Early Centuries*, London, 1902; Paul Feine, *Theologie des NT*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 463–470; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[3], 1891, ii. 141, and other literature cited in the course of the article.

A. J. GRIEVE.

CHARITES (Χάριτες, *Gratiœ*, 'Graces').—**1. Mythology.**—Originally the Charites were Nature-goddesses, and of this we shall find traces in their worship. But in mythology they are the personifications of grace and charm, and it is in this character that they form a distinct and lovely expression of the Greek genius. When they meet us in Homer, they are humanized, indeed, but still shadowy, conceptions with which poetic fancy has only begun to play. Charis, *the* Grace, is the bride of Hephæstus (*Il.* xviii. 382), and Pasithea is mentioned as one of a whole family of Charites (xiv. 267), who may be compared with the Nymphs in Virg. *Aen.* i. 71, but beyond this we hear of nothing definite regarding them—neither names, number, nor parentage. Hesiod, whom later writers generally follow, is much more definite. He tells of three Charites—Euphrosyne, Thalia, and Aglaia—daughters of Zeus and Eurynome (*Theog.* 907–9). Pindar mentions the same three (*Ol.* xiv. 13), and speaks of Zeus as their father. Their mother he does not name. As figures in national Greek religion the Charites remained a triad, and bore for the most part their Hesiodic names. But, according to the conception of the Charites uppermost in the poet's mind, religious fancy played freely with the question of their parentage. Thus Hera, Aphrodite, and many lesser divinities are named as their mother, while Dionysus, Uranus, and Helios dispute with Zeus the honour of their paternity. Sometimes mythology takes a very different turn. Thus Cicero (*de Nat. Deor.* III. xvii. 44) describes Gratia as a child of Erebus and Night. This seems to belong to the same circle of ideas as Hom. *Il.* xiv. 269 ff., where Hypnos (Sleep), referring to Hera's promise to give him Pasithea for his bride, bids the former swear to him by the inviolable waters of the Styx. According to a scholiast on *Il.* xiv. 276, Lethe was called mother of Charis, because gratitude (χάρις) is so easily forgotten.

2. Symbolism.—In general the Charites are a symbol of grace or charm. They reflect the characteristically Greek ideal of a life, whether human or Divine, from which ugliness and pain are banished. As their names indicate, they are associated chiefly with life's festive aspect. Euphrosyne speaks of mirth, Thalia of abundance, Aglaia of splendour. In the hour of dance and song, of feasting and carousal, the Charites give free course to joy, loosening the bonds of unsocial restraint; but they are equally the foes of licence. According to Panyasis (*c.* 489 B.C.), the first cup at the banquet belongs to the Charites, the Horæ, and Dionysus; the second to Aphrodite and Dionysus; but with the third come Hybris and Ate (wanton excess and baneful rashness) (Athen. ii. 36). The witness of Horace is still clearer: 'tres prohibet supra Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia' (*Od.* III. xix. 15). But the influence of the Charites does not end here. They give its charm to everything which makes life glad, full, and beautiful. 'What has man that is lovely and desirable,' says Theocritus, 'without the Charites?' (*Id.* xvi. 108 f.). As the chaste Charites aid the gods themselves in ordering dance and feast, and preside over all their works, so they give to mortals the sweetness and the joy 'if one be skilled in song, or comely, or of fair renown' (Pind. *Ol.* xiv. 5 ff.). It is their wreath which graces the victor's brow, their choir which sounds his glory (Pind. *Ol.* iv. 10, vii. 12 f., xiv. 4 ff.; *Nem.* v. 54, vi. 38; *Pyth.* v. 48). Their love of song they share with the Muses, dwelling with them upon Olympus (Hes. *Theog.* 64; Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 673, etc.). But the Muses are more sedate than the Charites. So in Olympus, Apollo harps, the Muses sing, but the Charites, with the Horæ, Aphrodite, and other youthful goddesses, dance (*Hom. Hymn. in Ap. Pyth.* 10 ff.). The same link that bound the Charites to the Muses bound them closely to Apollo. They had their seat beside the Pythian Apollo (Pind. *Ol.* xiv. 10), while the statue of the Delian Apollo held three Charites in its hand (Paus. IX. xxxv. 1, etc.). With Aphrodite their connexion is especially close. They give love its charm, and especially the finer grace which alone can make it lasting. So, as her handmaids, they bathe and anoint the goddess, dress her for the banquet in perfumed robes of their own working, animate her by dance and song (Hom. *Il.* v. 338, *Od.* viii. 362 ff., xviii. 192 ff.; *Hom. Hymn.* iii. 61; Sappho, *ap.* Himer. i. 4; Hes. *Opp.* 72 f.; Paus. VI. xxiv. 5, etc.). Nor was it only for Aphrodite that they wrought fair garments, but for Dionysus also and other gods (Apol. Rh. iv. 424 ff.).

This may suggest to us the relation of the Charites to art. They supply the charm without which the artist's skill and labour are vain. Hence it was that Charis became the bride of the smith Hephæstus (see above). Nor is it otherwise with literature. Even Athene depends on the Charites, who give grace to learning, for which reason Plato counsels his pupil Xenocrates to offer to the Charites. To the poet they are indispensable, as are the Muses. But the latter speak rather of the source of the poet's inspiration, the former of his power to please. It was from this point of view that Pindar described himself as tilling the garden of the Charites (*Ol.* ix. 27), and that Theocritus spoke of his poems as 'my Charites' (*Id.* xvi. 6). They also, it would seem, symbolized the charm of winsome speech. This is probably implied by their frequent association with Hermes (on the connexion, see Furtwängler, in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Chariten'; cf. also Cornut. *de Nat. Deor.* chs. xvi. xxiv.; Eudoc. *Viol.* p. 153). Often, too, they are mentioned in company with Peitho, the goddess of persuasion (Hes. *Opp.* 73; Pind. frag. c. 10; Plut. *Conjug. Præc. Proœm*, etc.), and Hermesianax actually named her as one of the Charites (Paus. IX. xxxv. 1, where, however, the text seems doubtful). Lastly, a word may be said on their frequent association with the Horæ (or Seasons). It must suffice to observe that they are usually, though not always, related to the Horæ, as the life of man is to the life of Nature. Thus, while the Horæ ripen the vine, the Charites help man to enjoy it (cf. Athen. ii. 38); while the Horæ crown the divine child Pandora with flowers, the Charites adorn her with golden necklaces (Hes. *Opp.* 73). But the spirit of both is the same. The Charites, like the Horæ, delight above all in flowers, and love, and vernal freshness (cf. above; and also, for the Charites, Stesichorus [Bergk's *Poetæ lyrici græci*[4], iii. 221]; Ariphron [*ib.* iii.

597]; Hor. *Od.* I. iv. 6, xxx. 6, IV. vii. 5; Ov. *Fast.* v. 215 ff.).

3. **Worship.**—It is in local cult rather than in national mythology that the oldest Greek religious conceptions are found. The Charites are no exception to this rule, for their worship affords distinct traces of their original character of Nature powers. The most important seats of their worship were the Minyan Orchomenos in Bœotia, Athens, and Sparta. At Orchomenos we read that Eteocles was the first who sacrificed to the Charites, and that they were represented by natural stones which were said to have fallen to him from heaven. Further, we are told that their sanctuary was the oldest in Orchomenos, and that Eteocles 'instituted three Charites'—whose names, however, the Bœotians did not remember (Paus. IX. xxxv. 1, xxxviii. 1; Theocr. *Id.* xvi. 104). Now, at Athens only two Charites were originally worshipped, and at Sparta they were always two (Paus. IX. xxxv. 1), while the above somewhat ambiguous references to their worship at Orchomenos suggest that there also two may have been the original number. In view of these as well as of other facts relating to the Charites, J. E. Harrison observes:

'The ancient Charites at Orchomenos, at Sparta, at Athens, were two, and it may be conjectured that they took form as the Mother and the Maid'—the ordinary twofold aspect of Nature goddesses (*Proleg. to Study of Gr. Rel.* 287).

Much of what follows in this paragraph points in the same direction. At Orchomenos the temple of the Charites stood near the city, in the rich vale of the Cephissus. In its neighbourhood was a temple of Dionysus, and a spring sacred to Aphrodite (Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* i. 720)—both, as we have seen, closely related to the Charites. To the temple of the Charites the peasants of the countryside brought a priestly tithe. In honour of the goddesses there was a festival (the Χαριτήσια) with musical contests, of which records are still extant (*CIG*, nos. 1583, 1584). The Χαριτήσια were, further, celebrated with nocturnal dances, after which cakes of roasted wheat and honey were distributed (Eustath. *ad Hom. Od.* xviii. 194). This worship as a whole (and notably the last-named feature) points clearly to goddesses of natural plenty and fertility. At Athens, as already noted, the original Charites were two. Their names, Auxo and Hegemone, are such as belong to spirits of vegetation. Auxo is the goddess of growth, Hegemone the 'conductress' of the growing plant, as Furtwängler puts it, 'to light and bloom and fruit.' They were invoked along with Helios, with Thallo and Carpo (the Horæ of Spring and Autumn), and Pandrosos, goddess of dew (Paus. IX. xxxv. 1; Pollux, viii. 106). In front of the Acropolis stood the images of three Charites, said to be the work of Socrates, but associated with them was one of those secret cults which belong especially to Nature-worship (Paus. IX. xxxv. 1). In Aristoph. *Thesm.* 300 the Charites are invoked in company with agrarian deities, and at the Eleusinia they received an offering along with Hermes (A. Mommsen, *Heortol.*, 1864, p. 257), 'whose worship as the young male god of fertility, of flocks and herds, was so closely allied to that of the Charites' (J. E. Harrison, *op. cit.* 291). At Sparta the two Charites were known as Cleta and Phaenna (sound and light)—names which speak of Nature, while also suggesting the life of man. The Spartans built a temple for them on the river Tiasa (Paus. III. xviii. 4, etc.), and at Sparta itself was a temple of the Charites and Dioscuri (*ib.* xiv. 6). We read also of cults of the Charites in Paros, Thasos, Cyzicus, Elis, Olympia, and Hermione.

4. **Art.**—The treatment of the Charites in art is a large subject, of which only the barest outline is here attempted. The representations may be divided generally into the two great classes of the draped figures and the nude. These were the productions respectively of an earlier and a later age (Paus. IX. xxxv. 2). The triad of Charites was early represented in art. Sometimes they figured in independent groups, and sometimes as the adjuncts of some superior deity, as in the case of the Zeus of Pheidias, above whose throne were, on the one side, three Horæ, on the other, three Charites (*ib.* V. xi. 7). In the earlier period no attempt seems to have been made so to arrange the figures as to express a single unifying idea. They stood separate from each other, and were sometimes distinguished by separate attributes. Thus the Charites on the hand of the Delian Apollo (see above) held, the first a lyre, the second flutes, and the third a syrinx at her lips. Later on we meet with a type in which they hold one another's hand, tripping the while lightly to the left in a solemn dancing measure. We have examples of this type on relief fragments and on coins. It was the Hellenistic age which, in its search for sensuous charm, developed the naked type of Charites, but it seems to have been preceded by a period when a composite type prevailed, in which the figures are only partially draped. Thus Seneca, referring to a type of Charites, which was apparently known in the time of Chrysippus (3rd cent. B.C.), describes them as 'manibus implexis solutaque et perlucida veste' (*de Benef.* i. 3). But that even in the 3rd cent. the nude type had been introduced is rendered probable by a fragment of Euphorion (*c.* 221 B.C.), in which he alludes *χάρισιν ἀφαρέσσιν*. Once introduced, the nude type attained such vogue that for the Roman period we cannot point with certainty to any example of the other. The figures do not in this, as in a previous type, stand in a line with hands joined. The arrangement rather suggests a circle, in which two Charites face the beholder, while the third and central figure is seen from behind, the whole forming a charming composition. Examples of it are found chiefly on wall-pictures and cut stones.

LITERATURE.—Roscher, *Lex. d. Mythol.* i. 873 ff. (Leipzig, 1884-90); Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 2150 ff. (Stuttgart, 1899); Schoemann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alterthumer*, Berlin, 1897, vol. ii.; Preller-Robert, *Gr. Mythologie*[4], i. 481-484 (Berlin, 1894); K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos* (Breslau, 1844); Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Mythol.*, London, 1853, vol. i.; J. E. Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Gr. Rel.*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 286-299, 438, 439; H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 131 ff.; O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, index *s.v.* 'Charites.'

I. F. BURNS.

CHARITY.—**1. Its nature.**—Charity is a species of goodwill or benevolence, and, therefore, attaches itself to the amiable and generous side of human nature. It is a fixed attitude of the soul; no mere mood or passing impulse, but a disposition, showing itself outwardly in kindly sympathetic deeds. It is essentially social and unselfish; and the principle of it is, 'I am a man, and take an interest in everything pertaining to humanity' (*homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*, Ter. *Heaut.* I. i. 24). Consequently, it is magnanimous: it thinks the best of human beings, and has for its end their interests and welfare. It is joined also with humility, not grudging to stoop if only it may serve. It acts in a twofold way, positively and negatively—it confers benefits, and it refrains from injuring; on the other hand, when itself injured, it is swift to forgive. It is thus no mere emotion, but involves, besides, both intellect and will. It is feeling that issues in doing; but, as the doing is of the nature of beneficence, it is regulated by wisdom and discretion. Hence, charity may sometimes assume an austere and even apparently an unsympathetic aspect towards its object. When that object's real good cannot be achieved without inflicting pain and suffering, charity does not

shrink from the infliction: it will even refuse to be tolerant, if tolerance means simply complaisance that would work harm. It is, further, in league with justice, and eschews favouritism and partiality, not allowing itself to be misled by mere fondness. Moreover, a sharp distinction must be drawn between charity and amiability or good nature—the latter of which is frequently a weakness and may be detrimental to true charity, although it may also be turned to account in its service.

'There is a softness and oilkiness of temper,' as an 18th cent. writer quaintly puts it, 'that cannot say nay to anything; but he that can never refuse a favour, can hardly be said ever to grant one: for it is wrested from him, not given; he does it to rid himself of an opportunity, and save the trouble of a denial, in which case it is a weakness rather than a virtue. Hence good nature is often called, and sometimes really proceeds from, folly, which gets no thanks when it proves most beneficial: for men applaud themselves for having gained a compliance by wheedling or pressing, and secretly laugh at the silly thing that could be won by such artifices' (Tucker, *The Light of Nature Pursued*, i. 252).

From all this it will be seen that charity presupposes the exercise of the sympathetic imagination—the power of entering into the experiences of others and making them one's own; the power of realizing (not only understanding, but also appropriating) others' circumstances, point of view, ideas, purposes, aspirations, motives, pleasures and pains, joys and sorrows. Only thus can it be effective, rejoicing with them that rejoice; weeping with them that weep (Ro 12[15]).

Now, this which holds good of charity regarded as a moral excellence is applicable also to Christian charity. But there are specific differences. Charity as 'the royal law,' 'the perfect law, the law of liberty' (Ja 2[8] and 1[25]), has its own distinctive features. In the first place, in Christian charity, goodwill is transformed into love (ἀγάπη)—love in the highest and purest sense of the term, in contradistinction to the tender emotion of that name which is associated with passion. In the next place, Christian charity draws its inspiration from a religious source: it is not begotten of men, but of God. Lastly, the actuating motive of it is religious also.

We may glance at these characteristics in turn:

(1) First, *the transformation of charity into love* is the elevation of a merely virtuous disposition, altruistic and unselfish, into a Christian grace or 'theologic virtue.' For love, in the NT, is set forth as constituting the essence of God; and it is represented also as a Divine gift to man which the Spirit of God has breathed into his soul. As thus conceived, it is based on reverence, and so is the great cementing force between man and man; for man is now viewed as formed in God's image, and every human being is regarded as having in him great potentialities—he is a 'brother' in the truest sense, and possesses native worth and dignity, however much obscured they may be in fact. Yea more, he is the object of the Saviour's love and of His redemptive work, and may be 'renewed in the spirit of his mind' (Eph 4[23]), and thus become a member of the Christian kingdom. The mere appreciation of the solidarity of the human race might secure charity as fellow-feeling, but charity is transformed into love only when we realize that we 'are all one *in Christ Jesus*' (Gal 3[28]).

(2) In the next place, charity as love *draws its inspiration from above.* It is not, in the first instance, regard or even affection of human beings for each other—*that* might arise from the natural feeling of fellowship or from the necessities of social intercourse; it springs from the realization of man's primary relation to God as son to Father, and so is love of man *for the sake of God*: 'this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God love his brother also' (1 Jn 4[21]). Hence the Christian's charity can be wide and liberal. As it is directed towards men as God's sons, it is based on and imitates that of God Himself, who 'is kind toward the unthankful and evil' (Lk 6[35]), who 'maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust' (Mt 5[45]). Hence, also, it is stable and unceasing, and not merely fluctuating and uncertain.

(3) But, thirdly, *the motive of it is devotion to Jesus as man's Saviour*—attachment to His person, and eagerness to please and to serve Him. Consequently, it is a 'new' love—new in kind and new in measure: 'A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; *as I* have loved you, that ye also love one another' (Jn 13[34]). The motive makes all the difference. For charitable deeds may spring from desires that strip them of their spiritual value. Deeds there must be in *all* cases of charity—the enthusiasm of humanity will and must manifest itself in outward conduct; but, though beneficent, they may not be intrinsically worthy. It is a mistake to identify charity with beneficence. Of this St. Paul was quite aware when, in the famous passage on charity in 1 Co 13, he says, 'And if I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and if I give my body to be burned, but have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.' In other words, even almsgiving and ministering to the wants of the needy, which at first sight appear to be pre-eminently Christian charity, and which (judging from the present use of the term as the equivalent of 'almsgiving') seem now, not unfrequently, to be regarded as exhausting it, may be nugatory: concern for the poor, laudable though in itself it is, may spring from a wrong motive, and thus be vitiated. So also self-sacrifice, unless its motive be right and noble, may be futile. Charity certainly means 'going about doing good'; but it is not Christian unless there be in it a distinct reference, direct or indirect, to the will and the intent of the Saviour, and unless it be measured by the love that He bears to men; not forgetting that He accepts service to our fellow-men as service to Himself—'inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me' (Mt 25[40]).

But, estimated in this way, certain things become distinctive of it. (*a*) Note its relation to hate. Love is the opposite of hate: the two are antithetic—where the one is, the other is shut out. And yet, according to the psychologist (see, *e.g.*, Bain's *Dissertations on Leading Philosophical Topics*, 1903, pp. 84–104), both are native to human nature; and they react on each other. It is a commonplace of Psychology (see, *e.g.*, Spinoza's *Ethics*, pt. iii.) that hatred of a person whom one formerly loved is intensified by the very fact of the previous love; just as previous dislike of a person may intensify our affection for him, once we are drawn towards him. But Christian love excludes hatred—hatred of persons (misanthropy)—absolutely. If it were lawful to hate any one, it would surely be one's enemies; and yet the Christian is commanded, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you' (Mt 5[44]). The meaning of this is that both the measure and the nature of love are estimated from the standpoint of the love of Christ; and if the disciple is to be as his Master, hatred must be expelled from his heart. And if hatred is expelled from his heart, along with it are expelled all the malignant emotions—anger, retaliation, revenge, envy, jealousy, and the like. Meekness is now raised to a supreme position, and to it is the final victory promised: 'Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth' (Mt 5[5]).

(*b*) Christian charity is not to be limited by considerations either of merit or of gratitude in the

recipient. As it is required to be after the pattern of Christ's love, it must proceed on the lines of generosity and mercy, not on those of strict legal justice. Had Christ waited till mankind merited salvation, salvation would be still to seek. Had He insisted as a preliminary condition that His work must be repaid with immediate gratitude, the world would be heathen still, sitting in the darkness of the shadow of death. But what He did was quite different. Apart from merit and apart from gratitude on the side of the recipients, He poured out His love upon mankind, and sealed it with His death; and, on the cross, He pardoned even before His mercy was asked: for those who crucified Him, even at the very moment of their ignoble glorification in their unholy deed, He prayed, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do' (Lk 23^{34}). His was 'an all-embracing love, not swayed by feelings or emotions or preferences'; and the command to His disciples is, '*As I* have loved you, that ye also love one another' (Jn 15^{12}).

(*c*) In the last place, Christian charity, on its practical side, is to be guided by the golden rule, 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them' (Mt 7^{12}). This is no mere dictate of prudence: it is not only a counsel of humanity and fellow-feeling and a check to individual selfishness (as such, the rule is virtually common to all great ethical systems of whatsoever age and whatsoever country); it is an acknowledgment also that every human being is the creature of God formed in His image, and, as formed in His image, is the object of Jesus' love, and that no one is to regard himself as, of personal right, dearer to the Creator than another, or of more intrinsic worth—each is a human soul (none more, none less) bearing the Divine stamp and potentially an heir of the promises. Yea, for each equally Christ died, so that all may become members of the same Body. Under any view of it, the brotherhood of mankind is an organic unity; but, in the Christian conception, it is organic in a special sense—namely, because Christ is the Head of humanity, and so binds men together by first binding them to Himself, and imparting to them of His own life.

Christian charity, then, is love of men for the sake of God (God as revealed in Christ), and is stimulated by the love of Christ for man. This implies that love to God comes first in our estimation, and that in this love the other has its origin and its significance: brotherly affection (in the Christian sense) is founded on piety. What, then, is the relation between Christian charity and the allied Christian graces—faith and hope? Clearly, charity is the atmosphere in which they live and thrive; or it is the motive-power by which they are actuated. If 'faith' means acceptance of Christ's word and trust in His person, then, of necessity, it 'worketh by love' (Gal 5^6), and is really effective only when love is supreme. If, in like manner, we mean by 'hope' expectation based on the Divine promises, then again love becomes the moving force; for expectation could not be kept up in the face of earthly troubles—in the face of delay and hindrances and disappointments. Much less could it increase, as it usually does, as the believer's life advances, if it were not prompted and sustained from this source. Love is not only (what St. Paul calls it) 'the greatest' of the Christian graces (1 Co 13^{13}); it is also the stimulator and the indispensable condition of the other two.

2. **Consequences.**—That being so, let us see the practical consequences of Christian charity. As its basis is love to God issuing in love to man for God's sake, obviously Christian charity is the supreme dissolvent of all barriers (opinions, feelings, habits, customs, prejudices, principles alike) that would keep man apart from man—of all distinctions that are of the nature of caste, and that would foster self-importance in the individual and lead to injustice and contempt towards others. For the same reason, it overflows in good works—in deeds of practical beneficence, including, of course, the negative beneficence of restraint, or refraining from insult and the infliction of injury when revenge is in our power. In this way, it goes far beyond even what was attained by 'the high-minded man' of Aristotle, who 'readily forgets injuries . . . and is not apt to speak evil of others, not even of his enemies, *except with the express purpose of giving offence*' (εἰ μὴ δι' ὕβριν, *Nicom. Ethics*, iv. 3. 30 and 31).

Perhaps it may be thought that the sentiment of universal brotherhood (such, for instance, as the Stoics cherished) would do the same thing. But the difference lies here—the sentiment of universal brotherhood is simply on the plane of morality and natural or social affection; Christian charity rises higher and grounds the sentiment in religion, in apprehension of the Fatherhood of God and the universal redemption wrought out by Christ. The point of view in the two cases is entirely different; but the results achieved are different also. The cosmopolitanism of the Stoics, though noble in many ways and conducive to tolerance and sympathetic regard for others, did not effect any wide-spread reformation in the world: it was very much a doctrine and a sentiment of the philosophers, confined, therefore, to the few and not practically operative for the many. But Christian charity, inspired from above, and directed to Divine ends, is no mere philosophical doctrine; it appeals to all mankind, has effected great things, and has in it the energy to effect more. To it, civilization owes an enormous debt. It has been largely instrumental in the elevation and emancipation of women, and in the abolition of slavery in the world; it has broken down race antipathies of long standing, and shown the true nature of class distinctions; and it has made friends of foes in many instances when war and hostile opposition would only have embittered enmity and made hatred all the more intense. What, still further, it has done on the side of philanthropy and charitable institutions (thus taking under its wing the poor, the degraded, and the needy) and of humane treatment both of human beings and of the lower animals, and how it has entirely changed men's views of human life, impressing them with the notion of its sacredness and of the duty of conserving it—need only to be mentioned. If, notwithstanding, 'the parliament of man, the federation of the world' has not come and seems long in coming; if, even in Christian countries, great social questions are still unsolved and oppression has not fled the earth; if capital and labour are still at feud, and 'man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,' that is not the fault of Christian charity, but arises from the imperfect appreciation of what Christian charity really is, by many of those who profess adherence to the Christian faith. It will come when men fully realize the meaning of the two sayings—'If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen. And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God love his brother also' (1 Jn $4^{20f.}$); and 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another' (Jn 13^{35}).

3. **The term 'charity.'**—This is the English equivalent, through French, of the Latin *caritas*. Now, *caritas* in Latin originally meant 'preciousness,' 'high price,' 'dearness'; and, in its secondary

sense, it was applied (so Cicero tells us) to love of the gods, of one's parents or one's country, and the like, while love of wives and children and brothers was more properly designated *amor* (*Part. Or.* xxv. [88]). If that is so, then *esteem* is the essence of the sentiment, and the idea of *value* attaches to the object of it. In that way, it is a term particularly suitable for the Christian vocabulary, and may very well be used to translate the NT ἀγάπη —in which, rather than in any synonymous Greek term (such as ἀγάπησις or φιλία), the same two ideas of *worth* or *value* and *esteem* are prominent, and where also the application is first made to man's attitude towards God. 'Charity' is very proper English for ἀγάπη (derivation and classical English usage alike conforming); and it may be doubted, without carping, whether the RV of the NT has done well in uniformly translating ἀγάπη by 'love.'

On the other hand, it is perfectly obvious how the term 'charity' should have come to contract its present narrow meaning of consideration for the poor, the outcast, the needy, the infirm; so that 'a charitable contribution' is a contribution in behalf of one or other of these, and 'a charitable institution' is one maintained by voluntary liberality for their benefit. The poor, the outcast, the needy, the infirm, were Jesus' peculiar care, and He left them as a special heritage to His followers. Nevertheless, while it is 'charity' to help the needy whom evil fortune has overtaken, or to minister to the wants of the afflicted and the weak who cannot adequately provide for themselves, it is no less charity to try to prevent the need for such help, and to remove the conditions of society which bring members of the community into straitened and harrowing circumstances. By the figure of synecdoche, a part has been put for the whole; but the wider meaning of the term is the correct one, and it may fitly be retained.

LITERATURE.—Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Pars ii. Quæstiones 23–32; A. Tucker, *The Light of Nature Pursued* (1837), chs. on 'Benevolence' and 'Charity'; J. Butler, *Sermons*, ix., xi.–xiv.; W. E. H. Lecky, *Hist. of Eur. Morals*, vol. ii. (1869); Seeley, *Ecce Homo* (1866); H. Sidgwick, *The Methods of Ethics*[4], bk. iii. ch. iv. (1890); H. L. Martensen, *Christian Ethics (Individual)*, in Clark's 'For. Theol. Lib.' i. (1881) 159–338; Newman Smyth, *Christian Ethics*, pp. 223–231 (1892); W. L. Davidson, *Christian Ethics*[3], chs. xi., xii. (1907); T. B. Strong, *Christian Ethics*, Lects. iii., iv. (1896); A. M. Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion* (1902); G. G. Findlay, 'Studies in the First Epistle of John,' in *Exp.*, 6th series, vols. viii., ix.; S. E. Mezes, *Ethics: Descriptive and Explanatory* (1901), ch. xii. For a succinct account of linguistic usage, see the art. 'Charity' in Hastings' *DB*.

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING.

Primitive (A. H. KEANE), p. 376.
Biblical (W. A. SPOONER), p. 380.
Buddhist (T. W. RHYS DAVIDS), p. 381.
Christian (C. T. DIMONT), p. 382.
Greek (W. J. WOODHOUSE), p. 386.
Hebrew.—See BIBLICAL.
Hindu (A. S. GEDEN), p. 387.
Jewish (M. JOSEPH), p. 389.
Muhammadan.—See LAW (Muhammadan).
Roman (J. S. REID), p. 391.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Primitive).—By 'Charity' is here to be understood that kindly and unselfish feeling of benevolence towards others which is covered by the term 'Altruism' (*q.v.*), introduced by Comte, and popularized by Herbert Spencer. It thus answers to the sentiment of charity and love of our neighbour which is illustrated by the parable of the Good Samaritan, and expounded almost for the first time in the Pauline and other NT writings. Owing, no doubt, to the impressive character of these documents, and to their intimate association with the higher forms of religion, it is generally supposed that the altruistic sense is not an attribute of early man, but a later development fostered by the growth of the more advanced religious systems. That it constitutes a conspicuous feature of these systems is admitted, and will be fully dealt with in connexion with the treatment of all the great religions. The present article will therefore be confined to the lower races, and its main object will be to show that the feeling in question is not limited to cultured peoples, but is an attribute of humanity itself, one which goes back to the rudest societies, which share it in common with many animals—many groups of birds and mammals, and even of insects (bees, ants).

After devoting years of study to this universal instinct of solidarity and sociability, Prince Kropotkin asks whether it may not be taken 'as an argument in favour of a prehuman origin of moral instincts, and as a law of Nature,' thus mitigating the harshness of the *homo homini lupus* of Hobbes, and the 'teeth and claws of red' of some recent Darwinists *à outrance* (*Mutual Aid*, Introduction). It is here shown that Huxley's 'Struggle for Existence and its bearing upon Man' may be largely superseded by 'Mutual Aid as a Law of Nature and a Factor of Evolution,' where 'mutual aid' may be taken as practically equivalent to 'altruism' and 'charity' as above defined. It should be noted that, in the subjoined instances of unselfish sympathy and pity drawn from savage or uncultured peoples, religious sanction is in most cases to be understood, even where it is not specially mentioned as a dominant motive. All such practices acquire by heredity the force of tribal law, which in the early stages of society always enjoys a kind of religious sanction. 'The *adat* (custom) is our religion'—a remark often made by Oriental peoples —sums up this aspect of the subject. A case in point is the custom of depositing the personal effects of the dead with them—a custom which was kept up after the original motive had been forgotten, because it later became a religious observance. 'It receives a mystical interpretation, and is imposed by religion' (Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*, p. 98). So also with tabu, the totem, hospitality, and many other tribal observances.

In his *Descent of Man*[2] (p. 63 f.), Darwin points out that the physical weakness of man is more than counterbalanced partly by his intellectual faculties and partly by his social qualities, which lead him *to give and receive aid from his fellow-men*. This principle of 'give and take,' from which sprang pure altruism in remote times, prevails throughout the New World, and is conspicuous especially amongst the northern Amerinds.

Thus Dellenbaugh, quoting Powell, writes that 'no friendly stranger ever left an Amerind village hungry, if that village had a supply of food. The hungry Indian had but to ask to receive, and this no matter how small the supply or how dark the future prospect. It was not only his privilege to ask, it was his right to demand. The Amerind distribution of food was based on long custom, on tribal laws; food was regarded, like air and water, as a necessity that should in distress be without money and without price. Hospitality was a law, and was everywhere observed faithfully till intercourse with the methods of our race demolished it. Among isolated tribes it is still observed; among the Mokis (Pueblo Indians) a hungry man *of any colour* is cheerfully fed. . . . At first, too, the Amerind extended the law of hospitality to the new-comers, and the Europeans would have starved to death in some instances had it not been for the timely aid of the race in possession of the soil, and whose reward was subsequent destruction' (*The North Americans of Yesterday*, pp. 354 f., 447).

How largely this tribal law was based on religious grounds is seen in the *Mandans*, a now

nearly extinct Siouan tribe of the Middle Missouri Valley, whose custom it was to share the captured game with any one who might come to the home of a successful hunter and ask for it.

'The Mandans were a very liberal and hospitable people; food was practically common property in the village. No man could become a chief without much giving of presents, and giving was considered a great honour, the gifts which a man had made being painted on his robe along with his deeds in war. The hospitality of the Mandans is mentioned by every visitor. Verandrye speaks particularly of his kind reception, their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away. Even their worst enemy, when once in their village, had nothing to fear, and was treated with all kindness' (Will and Spinden, *The Mandans*, 1906, p. 127).

Like the Muskhogeans of Georgia, the Mandans declared that this and many other customs were taught them thus, and consequently they always did them a certain way (*ib.*). In other words, the teachers were Divine lawgivers, like Quetzalcoatl and Wotan, and the usages came to be regarded as of Divine origin.

It was much the same with the *Eskimos* and *Aleuts* of the extreme north, and even amongst the degraded *Fuegians* of the extreme south. Eskimo society is essentially communistic, the sense of individuality not having yet been developed. Each person looks upon himself, not as an independent unit, but as a member of one 'body politic,' so that the altruistic sense is diffused throughout the community. Hence the idea of personal property scarcely exists, except for arms and the like, and wealth is accumulated not for the benefit of the individual, but in the interest of the tribal group.

'When a man has grown rich he convokes the folk of his clan to a great festival, and distributes among them all his fortune. On the Yukon river, Dall saw an Aleut family distributing in this way 10 guns, 10 full fur dresses, 200 strings of beads, numerous blankets, 10 wolf furs, 200 beavers, and 500 zibelines [sables]. After that they took off their festival dresses, gave them away, and, putting on old ragged furs, addressed a few words to their kinsfolk, saying that, though they are now poorer than any one of them, they have won their friendship. Like distributions of wealth appear to be a regular habit of the Eskimo, and to take place at a certain season after an exhibition of all that has been obtained during the year' (Kropotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 97).

And Rink is quoted as stating that the principal use of the accumulation of personal wealth is for *periodically* distributing it, and as mentioning the destruction of property for the same purpose of maintaining tribal equality. The present British Trade Unions, also communistic, aim at the same results by preventing the best hands from earning more wages than the less skilful or more indolent. But there is a great difference from the altruistic standpoint, since what one does from a genuine feeling of fellowship the other does from purely selfish motives. The Eskimo is obstructive at the lowest rung of the social ladder, and the Unionist is destructive at the highest.

Of the Aleutian Islanders in their primitive state we have an excellent account from Veniaminoff (*Notes on the Islands of the Unalaskan District* [in Russian], 1840), who tells us that in times of prolonged scarcity their first care is for their children, to whom they give all they have, though they may have to fast themselves. Indeed, the devotion of parents to their offspring, though rarely expressed in words or fondlings, is comparable with that of the New Hebrides mothers and aunts who, on the loss of a specially beloved child, will kill themselves in the belief that they will thus be able to continue nursing it in the next world (W. Wyatt Gill). Veniaminoff mentions a personal incident which illustrates the forbearance and generosity of the Aleut natives. Some dried fish presented to him by one of them, but forgotten at his sudden departure for another district, was kept by the donor for over two winter months of great scarcity, and on the first opportunity restored to him untouched.

Similar accounts of the extreme altruistic sentiment characteristic of many Siberian aborigines are given by Middendorff, Schenck, Finsch, Sieroshevski, and other trustworthy observers.

Samoyedes, Ostiaks, Yakuts, Tunguses, and most other Hyperboreans are animated by the mutual-aid spirit, which everywhere influences the social organization, and often forms part of their religious systems. Such customs as doing to death the aged and the infirm, which are regarded with horror by more advanced peoples, are based on distorted altruistic motives, while the voluntary victims themselves submit to the sacrifice in the supposed interests of the community. 'When a savage feels that he is a burden to his tribe; when every morning his share of food is taken from the mouths of his children; when every day he has to be carried across the stony beach or the virgin forests on the shoulders of younger people, he begins to repeat what the old Russian peasants still say, "I live other people's life; it is time to retire." And he retires. So the savages do. The old man himself asks to die; he himself insists upon this last duty towards the community, and obtains the consent of the tribe; he digs his own grave; he invites his kinsfolk to the last parting meal. The savage so much considers death as part of his *duties* towards his community that he not only refuses to be rescued, but when a woman who had to be immolated on her husband's grave was rescued by the missionaries, she escaped in the night, crossed a broad sea-arm swimming, and rejoined her tribe to die on the grave. *It has become with them a matter of religion*' (Kropotkin, p. 103).

But, besides this *negative* kind of tribal almsgiving, *positive* and absolutely disinterested succour of the needy and helpless prevails throughout the whole of Siberia. Thus the Samoyedes are full of pity for the poor, with whom they are ever ready to share their last crust. Friends or relatives reduced to destitution are always hospitably treated and provided with food and lodging, and orphans are frequently adopted who might otherwise be doomed to perish of want.

Still more significant in this respect is the action of the Turkish *Yakuts*, who occupy a wide domain in the Lena basin. Thanks to their benevolent nature, the very poorest live through the hard winter months, especially in the northern districts, where the primitive customs still survive, and where the struggle for existence is most severely felt. In the more advanced southern parts,

'the custom is already coming in to sell food to travellers, and even to neighbours, but in many parts of the north they consider it a shame to trade with food. Even the poorest think it an offence if it is proposed to them to take money for lodgings or food. Travellers in winter take hay from the stacks on the meadows, with which to feed their animals, and it is regarded as right. . . . Care for the poor and unfortunate has always been regarded as an obligation of the *sib* [clan or family group]. Impoverished families are cared for in their houses, while the helpless and paupers go about amongst the householders and take their places at the table with the members. . . . According to the notions of the people, it is sinful to despise the unfortunate, who are, however, distinguished from professional beggars living on alms. . . . Even now they are inclined to regard the dwelling as a common good. Any one who enters may stay as long as he will. A traveller has a right, according to their notions, to enter any house at any hour of the day or night, and establish himself so as to drink tea or cook food, or pass the night. The master of the house does not dare to drive out, without some important and adequate reason, even one who is offensive to him' (M. Sieroshevski, 'The Yakuts,' *JAI* xxxi. 69 f.).

A far more extensive territory between the Lena and the Pacific Ocean is roamed by the nomad Mongoloid *Tunguses*, whose Manchu cousins have given her present dynasty to China. All observers are unanimous in their praise of the moral qualities of the Tunguses proper, who are described as a 'heroic people' whose altruistic sense is so highly developed that they would almost seem to care more for others than for themselves. In the pagan state, long before their nominal conversion to Russian orthodoxy, tribal usage made hospitality the first of duties, permitting all strangers, without exception, to share alike in the food of each. The sense of personal property is now well developed; but formerly there were neither rich nor poor, and everything, even the hunting and fishing grounds, was held in common, as it is still amongst the Eskimos and many other primitive peoples. But

the unselfish spirit engendered by the communistic social system still survives, and is another signal proof that the feeling of fellowship is not an aftergrowth, but perhaps lies at the very basis of all human societies.

On both sides of Lake Baikal dwell a Mongoloid people collectively known to the Russians as *Buriats* (*q.v.*). A long-standing unwritten law of these Siberian Mongols, who have no private property in land, requires that when a family has lost its cattle, the richer members of the *ulus* (village community) shall give it some cows and horses that it may raise fresh stock, and thus be saved from abject want. On the other hand, a really destitute man without a family takes his meals in the huts of his neighbours.

'He enters a hut, takes—by right, not for charity—his seat by the fire, and shares the meal which always is scrupulously divided into equal parts; he sleeps where he has taken his evening meal. The Russian conquerors of Siberia were so struck by the communistic practices of the Buryats that they gave them the name of *Bratskiye*, the "brotherly," and reported that with them everything is in common; whatever they have is shared in common. The feeling of union within the confederation is kept alive by the common interests of the tribes, their folkmotes, and the festivities which are usually kept in connexion with the folkmotes. The same feeling is maintained by another institution, the *aba* or common hunt, which is a reminiscence of a very remote past, and the produce of which is divided among all the families. In such *abas* the entire Buryat nation revives its epic traditions of a time when it was united in a powerful league' (Kropotkin, p. 140).

The feeling of sympathy towards strangers is universal amongst the Buriats and all their Mongol kindred. Bastian tells us that the Mongol who refuses shelter to strangers is liable to the full blood-compensation, should they suffer therefrom (*Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, iii. 231). Thus is altruism legalized, so to say, throughout the vast Mongol domain.

Coming to Africa, we are at once reminded of the classical episode in the life of Mungo Park, who was rescued from dire distress by the motherly devotion of a lowly Negroid woman. On seeing his sad plight, she took him to her home, revived him with a refreshing meal, and then as he slept the women-folk resumed their spinning, singing the while far into the night how

'The winds roared, and the rains fell,
The poor white man sat under our tree;
He has no mother to bring him milk,
No wife to grind his corn';

with the refrain,

'Let us pity the white man,
No mother has he.'

Surely no more touching picture of unselfish compassion is recorded in history; and that it was not an exceptional case is shown by that other incident of a passing female slave who, struck by the traveller's famished look, at once supplied him with food, and was gone without waiting for a word of thanks. This is almsgiving in the truest sense of the word. Nor is it confined to the Upper Niger districts traversed by Mungo Park. The neighbouring *Wolofs* of the Lower Senegal river are equally distinguished for their boundless hospitality towards friends and strangers, and all travellers meet with a hearty welcome. 'The unfortunate, the helpless, and the infirm are objects of commiseration; they are received in every household with the greatest alacrity, and are instantly provided with food, and even with clothing if their condition requires it' (Featherman, *The Nigritians*, p. 349). This trait appears to be unquestioned, although in some other respects a somewhat dark picture of the moral character of these Senegambians has been drawn by Le Maire, Barbot (in Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, 1732, vol. v.), and other early writers. The *Fulahs* of the same region are generous and hospitable to their own people, and always ready to relieve the wants of the infirm and aged. Of the *Hausas* also, the dominant nation of Central Sudan between the Niger and Lake Chad, we read that the wealthy classes are reputed to be extremely charitable and benevolent, and that in Kano and other large cities they daily distribute a certain measure of rice and milk to the poor. Most of the Hausas, however, have long been Muhammadans, so that this custom should perhaps be credited to the teachings of the Qur'ān, with which we are not here concerned. But the formerly powerful *Bakunda* nation south of the Congo are still pagans; yet at the command of their ruler, the Muata Jamwo, they treated all strangers and white travellers with the utmost kindness and hospitality, freely supplying them with an abundance of provisions without expecting anything in return. Similarly the *Wagogo* of the seaboard east of Lake Tanganyika not only mutually entertain each other at friendly gatherings, but also give passing strangers a generous welcome.

'The visitor is greeted with the usual salutation of *yambo*; a stool is offered to the guest, while the master of the house is seated on the ground. A meal is instantly prepared, and the stranger is regaled with the best the larder affords; and, on parting, a goat or a cow is sometimes offered to him as a present, if the host is sufficiently wealthy' (Featherman, *op. cit.* p. 96).

This picture applies equally to many of the *Zulu-Xosa* tribes, and still more to the *Hottentots*, who display towards children that extreme devotion which we have already seen exemplified amongst the Siberians and Melanesians. Early observers tell us that the Hottentots readily divide their food with the hungry, and that a mother will give her famished offspring the last morsel without tasting it herself. They were noted for their unselfish liberality and attachment to friends and kindred, with whom they would share their last stock of provisions, though starvation stared them in the face.

'While they treated their enemies with the greatest barbarity, they manifested the utmost generosity towards their relations and the members of their own tribe, and even visiting strangers were welcome to the hospitalities of the kraal' (Featherman, p. 501).

The Hottentots of Great Namaqualand display extreme kindness towards strangers; and so natural with them is the exercise of hospitality that they look with contempt on the selfish members of the community who eat, drink, or smoke alone. Although the aged and infirm are generally cared for, yet circumstances may arise when they have to be abandoned to their fate. They are not, however, put to death or buried alive, as amongst the Siberian aborigines (see above), but, when the tribe has to remove to some distant camping ground, those who, through physical helplessness, cannot follow are placed in an enclosure of bushes, and, if possible, supplied with a quantity of food and water, after which they are left to perish in the wilderness.

We cannot speak of the *Vaalpens*; but the *Bushmen*, next lowest in the social scale, have by recent observers been vindicated from the indiscriminate charges of brutal savagery brought against them by their former European exterminators. They are shown to have been originally as gentle and humane as other inoffensive aborigines, and by no means destitute of the altruistic sentiment. Featherman had already pointed out that they were originally a mild, well-disposed, happy, and contented people, and in private life kind, generous, and hospitable. But their character was greatly modified by the violence and oppression of the whites, who took possession of their territory and drove them into the interior, where they were compelled to find subsistence, as best they could, on the borderland of barren and inhospitable deserts.

All this is now fully confirmed by G. W. Stow, whose *Native Races of South Africa* (1905) deals more particularly with the Bushman aborigines. His general conclusion, based upon a close association of many years with the survivors, is that

they were at first both more intelligent and of far more gentle and friendly disposition than has hitherto been supposed. Later, however, to save themselves from extinction, they developed a cruel and revengeful spirit, while still preserving much of their naturally kind and sympathetic nature, as is frankly admitted by those white settlers, travellers, and others who treat them well, and to whom they in return render faithful service as guides or attendants, and in other capacities. Their fondness for children is as sincere and unselfish as that of so many other primitive peoples. Thus a strong altruistic feeling can no longer be denied to these 'human wastrels.'

Although the *Kabyles* of North Algeria and Morocco are now Muhammadans, a reference may here be made to their peculiar social organization, which dates from pre-Muslim times, and has been elaborated in the best interests of all the members of the community.

Everything is regulated and controlled, not by the theocratic *shaikh*, as amongst the surrounding Arab tribes, but by the *jamʿa*, or public assembly, which is framed somewhat after the manner of the early English *Witenagemót*. Only it is more democratic, all adult males being admitted to its meetings, and having a voice in its decisions. This is because the Jamʿa is not a national but a tribal or village gathering, from which no member of the tribe could very well be excluded. Mutual help on a communistic basis, and with special regard for the poor and destitute, is the ruling principle; so that, for instance, certain garden plots and fields, sometimes cultivated in common, are set apart for the lackland members of the community. And, as many of these cannot afford to buy food, supplies are regularly bought with the income derived from fines, public grants, the tax levied for the use of the communal olive-oil tanks, and other sources, and distributed in equal parts amongst them. Even when a sheep or bullock is killed by a family for its own use, the fact is often proclaimed by the village crier, so that the sick and needy may come and help themselves. All strangers have a right to housing in winter, and their horses may graze on the 'common' for at least one day and night. But in times of general distress all may reckon on almost unlimited succour. During the famine of 1867–68 the Algerian Kabyles sheltered and fed all comers, natives and Europeans alike. While the people were perishing of hunger in other districts, not a single death from starvation occurred in the Kabyle territory. The Jamʿas, stinting themselves, had organized a regular system of relief without applying for help to the French Government, considering their action merely as 'a natural duty.' In the European settlements, but not in Kabylia, stringent police measures had to be taken to prevent the disorders caused by the influx of famished strangers; the Jamʿas needed neither aid nor protection from without (Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, ii. 58). Yet no decadents or thriftless proletariat classes have been generated by this apparently reckless almsgiving. The mutual-aid principle, continued for long generations, has, on the contrary, fostered a high sense of honour and fair play, a sentiment specially characteristic of the Berber people.

By Brough Smyth the moral character of the *Australian* in general is thus summed up:

'He is cruel to his foes, and kind to his friends; he will look upon infanticide without repugnance, but he is affectionate in the treatment of the children that are permitted to live; he will half murder a girl in order to possess her as a wife, but he will protect and love her when she resigns herself to his will. He is a murderer when his tribe requires a murder to be done; but in a fight he is generous, and takes no unfair advantage. He is affectionate towards his relatives, and respectful and dutiful in his behaviour to the aged. He is hospitable' (*The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i. p. xviii.).

Thus here also we have affection, kindness, hospitality, and the usual love of children, which are the essential elements of the altruistic sense. Several instances are given of wives refusing to survive their husbands and conversely, and even of men sickening to death on the loss of a friend. Of two Portland Bay natives imprisoned in Melbourne, one fell ill and died, and the other, till then in good health, felt the stroke so keenly that he too was found dead in his cell next day. A young woman of the Mount Macedon district was so grieved at the loss of her husband that she burnt and mutilated herself, sat night and day moaning most plaintively, refused all food, declared she would follow him to the grave, and so pined away, and in a few days was laid by his side (*ib.* i. 138).

E converso, an old man of the Middle Swan district died literally of a broken heart on the death of his wife, to whom he was devotedly attached. The case is recorded of a white man who was known to be hostile to a fierce tribe on the north coast; hence, when captured by them, he expected instant death. 'They, however, led him to their camp, fed him until the following morning, when they took him in safety to his companions' (ii. 229). They commiserated him because he was helpless and hungry, and thus showed their fellowship with our common humanity.

Space forbids more than the barest reference to similar acts of kindness and generosity, as to Buckley, who lived for over thirty years with the Victoria natives; to the shipwrecked Murrell, who lived with the Queensland people for seventeen years, and was treated by them with extraordinary kindness; to Thomas Pamphlet and to King, who had the same experience when entirely at the mercy of the Cooper's Creek tribe. A tragic instance is mentioned of a native who lost his life through his attempt to rescue a child from the enemy. But the love of offspring is so general that it needs no illustration, and the conclusion may be confidently accepted that

'the Australian native is kind to little children, affectionate and faithful to a chosen companion; shows exceeding great respect to aged persons, and willingly ministers to their wants; he has great love very often for a favourite wife; he is hospitable, and he can be generous under very trying circumstances' (i. 25).

Of the *Papuans*, with whom may here be included both the *Melanesians* and *Polynesians*, it must suffice to state, on the high authority of the Russian traveller Miklukho-Maclay, that when well treated they are very kind. Their love of music and the dance bespeaks a sociable disposition which is itself akin to the altruistic sense.

In Europe fresh light is being constantly shed on the social relations that must have prevailed during the Stone Ages. Here the chief centre of human activities appears to have been France, and it is natural to find that the French archæologists are continuing the study of Palæolithic and Neolithic times so brilliantly begun by Boucher de Perthes and his immediate successors. The collections of the indefatigable M. Ed. Piette, late President of the French Prehistoric Society, have raised Palæo-ethnology to the dignity of a science, and shown that the horse, if not other equidæ, had undoubtedly been tamed by the art-loving cave-men of the Dordogne in the Pleistocene epoch. But here we are more interested to learn that these cave-men were already constituted in organized communities on the mutual-aid principle. They formed social groups in the Lourdes, Mas d'Azil, and other spacious caves, whose contents reveal steady progress in culture from period to period—animals harnessed and slaughtered for food, the hearth (showing a knowledge of fire), conventional carvings, 'le symbole sacré, en realité le premier rudiment d'écriture,' and so on (*L'Anthropologie*, Jan.–April, 1906). Clearly these Dordogne troglodytes were sociable, and we have now learnt that sociability is inseparable from solidarity and the altruistic sentiment—an attribute of humanity itself

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A. H. KEANE.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Biblical).—**I. In OT.**—While we have in the Book of Genesis not infrequent reference to hospitality, we have no mention of alms either asked for or received. The first mention of any form of relief is to be found in that part of Exodus which is known as 'the Book of the Covenant,' which is certainly very ancient, written, as Driver remarks, for a people in a simple and primitive stage of agricultural life. In this it is enjoined that the produce of the Sabbatical year, during which the land is to lie fallow, is to be reserved, 'that the poor of thy people may eat' (Ex 23^{11}). The next notice occurs in Lv 23^{22}—a part regarded by most critics as also ancient, belonging to what has been described as 'The Law of Holiness'—and provides that, when the Israelites reap the harvest of their land, they shall not reap the corners of their fields, neither shall they gather the gleaning of their harvest, but shall leave them for the poor and the stranger (see also 19^{10}). In a later chapter there are various provisions made as to the help which a poorer member of a family is to receive from its better-to-do members: his possessions which he has sold are to be redeemed; if he has become incapable of work, he is to be supported; if he has sold himself into slavery, he may and should be redeemed (25$^{25ff. 35. 47ff.}$). Deuteronomy represents a still later development in the history of Hebrew legislation. By many it is regarded as dating in its present form from the reign of Josiah and the re-finding of the Law. Any way, the legislation relating to the relief of the poor and destitute is much more precise and full than any we have yet met with. In ch. 15 it is enacted that in the seventh or Sabbatical year, every creditor shall release, *i.e.* remit, everything that he has lent to his neighbour; he is not to exact repayment either of his brother or of his neighbour 'because the Lord's release has been proclaimed.' There will not, it is promised, if God's commandments are observed, be many poor in the land; but, inasmuch as the poor will never cease out of the land, the wealthy man is not to grudge his poor brother the help he needs, even though the year of release be close at hand, but it is God's command that he open his hand unto his brother, to the needy and the poor that are in the land (Dt 15$^{9-11}$). In the Book of Job, in the Psalms, and throughout many of the Prophetical books the position assigned to the poor, and the obligation of the rich and powerful towards them, are more difficult to make out, for the word *'ānī*, 'poor,' is employed in a different sense from that which we have been hitherto considering, and at times another word, *'ānāw*, is used, denoting not so much those who are needy, as those who are meek and humble and gentle. It is the oppression of such by the great and powerful which prophet, psalmist, and preacher alike deprecate (see art. 'Poor' in Hastings' *DB* iv. 20). But, while this is so, the humble would be for the most part actually poor also; and the earnestness with which consideration and care for them are enforced in these books does show an ever-increasing regard for the 'poor'; and one cannot doubt the anxiety alike of psalmist and prophet to redress their wrongs and to make their lot more endurable than it then too often was. In the earlier days of the monarchy, while we hear, indeed, of rich and poor, wealthy and needy, the complaint of the poor can scarcely make itself heard, and appears seldom in the Historical books dealing with this period; but with the advent of the prophets this ceases to be the case, and almost all the Prophetical books ring with denunciations of the oppression of the poor by the powerful, and of the evils which the tyranny and wrong-doing of the rich impose upon them (*e.g.* Am 2$^{6. 7}$ 8^6, Is 3$^{14. 15}$ 10^2 32^7). But for the cure of this state of things the prophets looked to the establishment of a righteous rule, the sway of a just and benevolent king, rather than to any system of private charity or almsgiving. They recognized keenly the evils from which the poor suffered, but invoked legislation or improved social conditions rather than individual generosity to effect a remedy.

Something of the same kind may be said of the references to the poor in the Book of Job. Their tyrannical conduct towards the poor is one of the charges which Job most constantly brings against the prosperous rich; the oppression of those who were humble and meek, and so poor in that sense, is one of the main causes that make the prosperity of the wicked so difficult and grievous a problem to him; on the other hand, he regards the consideration and assistance he had himself ever extended to those who were in need or want—to the widow, the fatherless, the naked, the afflicted—as one of the chief claims he had upon God for better treatment at His hand (Job 31$^{16-23}$). In such a passage as this we get a distinct recognition of almsgiving as a duty, and also of the esteem in which, when this book was written, it was already beginning to be held. Very similar to this passage are many in the Book of Proverbs. On the one hand, the poor are regarded as liable to be oppressed and ill-treated by the powerful and prosperous, but as persons also on whom, as compared with the powerful, the blessing of God rests; on the other hand, there is a growing consciousness throughout these writings that the relief of the needy, the succour of the oppressed, is an act meritorious in itself, acceptable to God, bringing down upon the performer of it both the favour of God and the praise of men (Pr 14$^{20. 21. 31}$ 21^{13} 28^8). It is to be observed in this connexion that there had grown up in the LXX version of these books a specific word ἐλεημοσύνη (the origin, of course, of the word 'alms') denoting at once the pitifulness and kindly feeling from which almsgiving should spring, and the acts of mercy and kindness in which that feeling expresses itself. The emergence of this word is itself an important testimony to the increasing value which was set alike upon the feeling and the acts to which it gave rise (see Hastings' *DB* i. 67). The remnant who returned from the Captivity seem not to have been for the most part wealthy men; there was consequently much poverty among those who settled in Palestine, and Nehemiah complains of the hardships the poor suffered from the mortgages which they were compelled to make of their properties, and from the slavery they had to incur in their own persons or in those of their children, when they found themselves unable to meet the debts they had contracted (Neh 5$^{1-13}$). The result was that in the centuries that follow the return from the Captivity, almsgiving fills a larger and ever larger part among the religious observances which were encouraged or commanded. In all the Books of the Apocrypha, but particularly in Tobit and Sirach, it is much insisted upon as a duty, as a meritori-

ous act, and as an atonement for sin (To 12^{8-10} $14^{7,11}$, Sir 3^{30} 7^{10} 16^{14} 31^{11} 40^{17}). In the Talmud it holds even a higher place, being often identified with the whole of righteousness,[1] and being regarded as the sum and summit of excellence. It was the reputation which came thus to be attached to it as the very highest of all the virtues that caused it to be practised for those purposes of ostentation and self-glorification which our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount so severely condemns (Mt 6^{1-4}). See, further, art. CHARITY (Jewish).

2. In NT and the Apostolic Church.—Christ in the Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere in His teaching enforces, at least as earnestly as the Jewish Rabbis, the duty of almsgiving. It is assumed that His followers are to do alms, only their almsgiving must be done out of pure charity (Christians seeking to be perfect even as their Father which is in Heaven is perfect), not from any desire for display, or praise, or self-aggrandizement (Mt $6^{1ff.}$). In the parallel sermon recorded in Lk. the injunctions are even more numerous and express: 'Give, and it shall be given unto you'; 'Give to every one that asketh thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again'; 'Love your enemies, and do them good, and lend, never despairing; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be sons of the Most High: for he is kind to the unthankful and evil' (Lk 6^{30-38}). That which He enjoined He promoted also by His example, spending much of the time of His public ministry in alleviating the ills from which men suffer, going about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil, because God was with Him (Ac 10^{38}).

Yet we must not think of Christ as a weak philanthropist. Just as He tells men in their own case that they are to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and that all other things shall be added unto them, so in helping others, He would have His followers show more regard to the care of the souls of their fellow-men than to the relief of their bodies; and He Himself, in effecting cures or giving aid, seeks not the immediate relief, but the ultimate improvement of those whom He assists. There is another point which it is necessary to bear in mind, viz. that the ground on which our Lord bases the duty of mutual help among Christians is the relation in which all men stand to God and to Himself; this at once constitutes them brethren; and inasmuch as all are ideally members of a society which is pervaded by a common spirit, all are bound in virtue of that membership to help one another. 'Bear ye,' says St. Paul, in the spirit of the Master, 'one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ' (Gal 6^2). But it is obvious that, in so far as benevolence and almsgiving are prompted by such a motive and inspired by such an ideal, boasting or display of any kind would be out of the question.

Let us turn next to consider how the teaching of Christ and His example took effect in the conduct and teaching of His earliest disciples. The immediate result of the outpouring of the Spirit which took place on the day of Pentecost was the establishment of a voluntary self-imposed system of communism, the richer members of the community contributing all, or almost all, their goods to relieve the necessities of their poorer neighbours (Ac $2^{44,45}$). Not every one, it would seem, sold his goods; those who had not more than enough for their own necessities supported themselves; but those who had a superfluity of possessions sold or used them for the common good ($4^{34,35}$). Charity on such an heroic scale as that did not, and could not, last; the instance of Ananias and Sapphira shows that the spirit which should have prompted it was sometimes counterfeited; and perhaps the evils which are sure to result from supporting people in idleness quickly showed themselves in the Church at Jerusalem, as we know from St. Paul's warnings that they began to do in other churches as well (2 Th $3^{10ff.}$). But, while the charity of the early days was not continued on the same heroic scale when the first enthusiasm had passed away, an active, practical, unstinted almsgiving continued long to be a very marked feature of the Christian churches, and ultimately of the Christian Church. The brethren, when they extended to St. Paul the right hand of fellowship, and recognized that the mission of him and Barnabas was to be to the Gentiles, added the proviso that they should remember the poor, a proviso which St. Paul himself was anxious to observe (Gal 2^{10}). Accordingly, in order to carry this out, and thereby to knit more closely into one community the divided Churches of Jews and Gentiles, we find him organizing most carefully, both in the churches of Macedonia and in those of Achaia, a collection and contribution of alms of which he was to be himself, though accompanied by representatives of the different churches, the bearer to the brethren which were at Jerusalem (2 Co 8 and 9). The direction which he gives (1 Co 16^2) for a weekly collection of alms in this case seems to have been the origin of a custom which was largely followed in the different churches, and has continued in force to our own day.

Nor was the need of almsgiving and of showing pity to the poor less insisted on by the rest of the Apostolic College than it was by St. Paul. Not only does St. James denounce in strong terms the oppression of the poor by the rich (Ja 5^{1-6} 2^6), but he sums up the whole of religious service in these words: 'Pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world' (1^{27}). The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (13^{16}) concludes his practical advice to those whom he addresses with these words: 'To do good and to distribute forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.' Lastly, St. John puts the duty in the clearest light, connecting most closely the service of man with its originating motive in the love of God: 'Whoso hath the world's goods,' he says (1 Jn 3^{17}), 'and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?' We see then how in the teaching of our Lord Himself and of His immediate followers almsgiving, or the relief of the poor, was recognized as one of the primary duties of the Christian life, one which grows immediately out of the relations in which men stand through Christ to God, which is the immediate result and outcome of the recognition of that relation. See, further, art. CHARITY (Christian).

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[1] On the LXX use of the word ἐλεημοσύνη, see *HDB* i. 68.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Buddhist).—The early Buddhists adopted Indian views on this subject, which forms no part of the teaching peculiar to themselves. Almsgiving (*dāna*) is not mentioned in the Eightfold Path, or in the Five Precepts for laymen. When the author or editor of the *Dhammapada* made that anthology of verses on each of twenty-six subjects important in Buddhism, *dāna* was not one of them. But *dāna* occurs in several passages of the older books. It is one of the really lucky things (all ethical, *Sutta Nipāta*,

263). The five right ways of giving are to give in faith, to give carefully, to give quickly, to give firmly, and to give so as not to injure oneself or the other (*Aṅguttara*, iii. 172). Another set of five are to give carefully, thoughtfully, with one's own hand, not a thing discarded, and with the hope that the donee will come again (*ib.*). The theory is that the merit of a gift grows in proportion with the merit of the donee (*Aṅguttara*, i. 162; *Dhammapada*, 357-9). As Buddhology began its fatal course, *dāna* was made one of the *pāramitās* (not found in the older books), that is, of the qualities in which a Buddha must, in previous births, have perfected himself. It is in this connexion that we have the well-known stories of the extremes of almsgiving, such as that of King Sivi who gave away his eyes, and of Vessantara who gave away not only his kingdom, but all that he possessed, and even his wife and children. These legends, both of which have a happy ending, are most popular among the Buddhist peasantry. The ethics of the Vessantara story, which is much open to doubt, is discussed in the Milinda (ii. 114-132 of Rhys Davids' tr.). The same book tells of ten gifts which must never be given—intoxicating drinks, weapons, poisons, and so on. But best gift of all is the gift of *dharma*, which may be roughly translated, in this connexion, by 'truth' (*Dhammapada*, 354), and the Five Great Gifts are the five divisions of one's own virtuous life (*Kathā Vatthu*, 7. 4) regarded, from a similar point of view, as gifts to others. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Christian).—**I. Early period.**—The first period begins with the epoch of the Flavian emperors. Up to that time poverty was not wide-spread in the Empire, but after that date conditions changed for the worse. The yeoman disappeared before the encroachments of the *latifundia*, or large country estates. His place was taken by slaves, and those who had formerly been free labourers drifted into the idle mobs of the towns. At the same time the pomp and, therefore, the costliness of the Imperial court were increasing, and taxation was becoming proportionately heavier. This combination of causes produced a poverty with which the early Church was bound to deal. In the methods adopted it is possible to trace a clear development from simple congregational relief to a more complex system in which the management of the funds set apart for charitable ends was centralized, and relief was officially administered in institutions built for the purpose. The transition from the one to the other was made in the 4th century. The official recognition then accorded to Christianity at once allowed a far greater freedom to organize than had hitherto been possible, and this was felt in the department of charity as elsewhere.

During the first three centuries there were two methods in vogue in the Church by which alms were collected for the use of the poor. One of these was an imitation of the monthly collection allowed by law to the recognized *collegia* in the Roman Empire. A chest (*arca*) was kept in the church, and into this every member was expected to put a contribution at least monthly; the amount was left to the conscience of the giver (Tert. *Apol.* 39). These offerings were expended on the relief of the poor, provision of funeral expenses, education of boys and girls, and the care of shipwrecked mariners, and of such as were in prison or committed to the mines for the cause of Christ. Besides this *arca* there were also the collections at the Eucharist, which were called oblations. At first composed of all kinds of natural products, they were later confined to bread and wine. When enough had been taken to supply the sacred elements needed for the celebration, the rest was distributed among the poor. It is probable that money was also offered at the same service. Justin (*Apol.* i. 67) speaks of money deposited with the 'president' for purposes of relief. Besides these sources there were other offerings, conspicuous among which were gifts from rich men, *e.g.* Cyprian. As yet all such gifts were voluntary, the only exception to this being the law of firstfruits, which had already received recognition at the period of the *Didache* (c. 13). Tithes, although mentioned with commendation by Cyprian (*de Unit.* 26) and Origen (*Hom. in Num.* xi. 1), were not yet required by a fixed law of the Church.

The distribution of these oblations and alms was entrusted to deacons. It was their duty to make diligent search for those who were in affliction or need, and report their names to the Bishop. A list of such names was kept, called the *matricula*. The independence of the deacons in allotting relief was limited and made strictly subordinate to the judgment of the Bishop (*Const. Apost.* ii. 31, 32, 34). When it was necessary to carry relief to women, recourse was had to the ministry of widows or deaconesses. These two classes are not to be confused. For the first three centuries the work was performed by widows. At the end of the 3rd cent., in the East, deaconesses began to replace the widows, but this example was not followed in the West.

The effects of the liberality of this period were far-reaching, and touched many classes. Foremost among those who received support were the widows and orphans. Then came the sick and disabled. It was also the duty of the deacons to visit any of the brethren who were cast into prison and to minister to their necessities—a task sometimes involving danger. To these charitable offices must be added the burial of those who left no means for the purpose, and also the care of slaves, and the duty of showing hospitality to Christians on a journey. Lastly, the *Didache* has revealed to us the fact that it was held to be one of the offices of the Church to provide work for those of its members who lacked it (c. 12).

The ethical aspect of almsgiving during this period was characterized by simplicity. The motive which inspired its charity was love of one's fellow-men (cf. *e.g.* Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* iii.). Here and there we meet the opinion that almsgiving was a work of merit which brought spiritual gain to the giver; this appears as early as Tertullian (*de Monog.* 10). But this does not as yet find general acceptance. Nor were benefactors required to look too strictly into the deserts of the recipients. While the *Didache* (c. 1) recommends some caution in this matter, Clem. Alex. forbids any very close scrutiny. Such differentiation as was exercised concerned the source rather than the destination of a gift. Contributions were not accepted from tainted sources. Marcion brought 200,000 sesterces into the Church, but it was returned when he fell into heresy.

With the middle of the 4th cent. we enter upon the second part of the early period. Simultaneously the need of charity and the means of supplying it were greatly increased. The larger need arose through the changing circumstances of the Empire. Court luxury and the pressure of external foes demanded a constant growth of taxation, which resulted in wide-spread distress. The sermons of the great preachers of the period are full of evidence for this (Greg. Nyss. *de Paup. Amand.* Orat. ii.; Chrysost. *Sermo de Eleemos.*). A typical instance may be found in the Church at Antioch, where, of 100,000 Christians, Chrysostom

reckoned that 10,000 were very poor (*Hom. in Matt.* lxvi. 3).

To cope with such extraordinary necessity it was no longer enough to trust to individual benevolence, and the Church had to organize a regular system of relief on a scale much larger than anything hitherto attempted. The earlier congregational method was now replaced by one which may be called diocesan. All the churches of one city, and also those of the surrounding neighbourhood, were subordinated to the Bishop of the city for this as for other purposes. Now that Christianity was allowed by the State, there was no lack of resources. Gifts of all kinds flowed in abundantly, and a permission first granted by Constantine to make bequests to the Church allowed the dead as well as the living to be contributors. Also, as this period advanced, the duty of paying tithes came more and more into prominence, until at the Synod of Macon in 583 it was embodied in a rule binding on all Christians.

The relief of the poor was no longer effected by each congregation acting for itself through its deacons, but by the Bishop, either in person or through his steward. He worked upon the principle that the poor had a primary claim upon the property of the Church—a rule which received formal recognition in the law that Church revenues should be divided into four parts, of which one at least should be devoted to almsgiving. This rule was especially insisted upon by Gregory the Great (*Epp.* iii. 11, iv. 42), whose management of Church estates is well illustrated by his preparations for the conversion of England, for which he drew upon the patrimonium of the Church in Gaul (see his letters collected in Mason's *The Mission of St. Augustine*, 1897). Every Bishop was expected to give freely of his revenues for the relief of the poor, and, though there were some exceptions, yet, as a whole, the episcopate lived up to this expectation. Chrysostom, *e.g.*, supported as many as 7000 persons, and Ambrose was noted for his liberality to the needy. Although in theory this charity was not bestowed on the unworthy (Basil, *Ep.* 150; Ambrose, *de Offic.* ii. 16), in practice there was but little discernment, and the general view was that expressed by Greg. Naz. (*Orat.* 19), when he declared that it was better to err by giving to the undeserving than by failing to give to the deserving. To be deserving it was not even necessary to be a Christian, for the Emperor Julian bears witness that the heathen were included among those who received alms from the Church (*Ep.* xxx. 49). The Bishop had in a manner taken the place of the old Roman noble, and distributed largess after the same fashion as his prototype—a comparison which illustrates the change from the early days of the Church, when almsgiving was exercised by the congregation of a church with simplicity and in a sphere which was comparatively limited.

It was in this period that Christian benevolence began to make provision for the helpless by the erection of hospitals, using the name in its widest sense. It is doubtful whether this can be carried back to the days of Constantine, but that the institution was known in the time of Julian is clear from that Emperor's efforts to imitate it (Soz. v. 16). Refuges were established for the sick, the poor, the orphans, the aged—in a word, for all who were unable to help themselves. They were supported either from the general revenues of the Church or by benefactions specially made for the purpose. For a time the State also gave some assistance, but eventually the task of maintaining the hospitals was left entirely to the Church. At first these institutions were under the direct control of the Bishop, and he supervised those who served in them, called in the East the *parabolani*. But, as time advanced, they became independent, and those who ministered in them received a clerical status and a common rule—a change which foreshadowed the coming of the Hospitallers of the Middle Ages.

But it was not only in the outward forms of the distribution of alms that this era witnessed a transition; there were also developments in doctrine which powerfully affected the theory of almsgiving. These displayed themselves in the view taken of the origin of private property, and in the increasing tendency to regard almsgiving as a good work which earns merit in the sight of God. The possession of private property was frequently alluded to by the Fathers as a perversion of God's law. A typical instance of this is found in Ambrose, when he says, 'Natura jus commune generavit, usurpatio fecit privatum' (*de Off.* i. 28). Similar statements are found in Basil (*Hom.* xii. 18), Jerome (*Ep. ad Helvidium*), and Chrysostom. But it is clear from history and from other Patristic passages that this opinion was not carried to the logical conclusion, which would have been the prohibition of all holding of private property. Just as in the earlier days the declaration of the *Didache*, οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι (c. 1), and Tertullian's rhetorical flourish (*Apol.* 39), 'omnia indiscreta apud nos, præter uxores,' must be read in the light of the *Quis Dives salvetur* of Clement—where the misuse, but not the mere possession, of wealth is condemned—so now, whatever the abstract theory, it was allowed that wealth might be held without sin so long as the claims of the poor were remembered (*e.g.* Augustine, *Sermo* 50, § 7). Community of goods was not demanded as a matter of obligation for the ordinary Christian. For him was now laid down the distinction between necessary and superfluous goods, accompanied by the direction to give alms freely of the second class. This division, implying, as it did, that no claim for almsgiving could be made except on superfluities, was productive in later ages of results ethically vicious. Sidgwick (*Hist. of Ethics*, 1886, iii. sec. 4) compares the attitude of Christian leaders of this period towards property with their attitude towards slavery. Neither property nor slavery was accepted as compatible with an ideal condition of society, but both were looked upon as unavoidable accompaniments of society as it then was. The practical effect of this was that those who avoided the possession of wealth by lavish bestowal of their substance in almsgiving were accounted to have chosen the higher life, and this was in itself a powerful incentive to charity.

This point of view was reinforced by the development of a doctrine which had already appeared in earlier days, but did not bear its full fruit until this epoch. Polycarp (*Ep.* 10) had written that almsgiving frees from death, quoting Tobit 12⁹. Hermas (*Simil.* ii.) teaches that almsgiving procures reward from God by reason of the prayers of the grateful recipients. Origen developed this theory, and Cyprian still further emphasized it in his *de Opere et Eleemosynis* (see Benson's *Cyprian*, 1897, ch. v.). He asserts that almsgiving can bring renewed cleansing to souls which have lost their baptismal purity (2), can make prayers efficacious, and free souls from death (5). This doctrine, when combined with that of Tertullian on the satisfaction rendered to God by penance (*de Pœnit.*), accounts for the views prevalent in the 4th and following centuries. Chrysostom praises the presence of beggars at the church door as giving an opportunity to those entering to cleanse their consciences from minor faults by almsgiving (*Hom. in 2 Tim.*). Ambrose

reckons almsgiving as a 'second bath of the soul' (*Sermo de Eleemos.* 30). Augustine also teaches its efficacy for obtaining forgiveness for light offences (*de Fide et Oper.* 26). With this Father comes in the addition which was to mean so much in later days, namely, the belief that almsgiving could atone for the sins of the departed as well as for those of the living. In the *Enchiridion* (110) he places the bestowal of alms side by side with the offering of the Eucharist for this purpose. But in treating of this subject he is careful to limit the efficacy of charity to those whose lives were acceptable to God. It availed nothing for living or dead who were of evil reputation. But, however carefully Augustine and his contemporaries might guard this doctrine, it is obvious that here was the germ of later abuses. As the belief in Purgatory grew, it became part of the common creed that almsgiving would secure large abatement of the torments awaiting men in that state; and, on the epitaphs of the period, charity is now recorded in connexion with the *redemptio animi.* From this it is but a step to the system of the Middle Ages.

2. Mediæval period.—The history of almsgiving during this period is distinguished by two characteristics. The Church was the only channel of charity; secular government did not undertake to supply the needy or to succour the distressed, but left the task to ecclesiastical organizations. This was the first mark of this epoch. The second was the total lack of any attempt to co-ordinate the activities of the various agencies by which alms were distributed. The ecclesiastical bodies and monastic orders received and gave help without any regard to the possibility that others might be doing the same work among the same people. This was even more true of the Continent than of England, for the parochial system, which took firm root in England and did in some measure serve as a local centre for charitable work, was not a practical factor in the Church life of the Continent.

That this lack of organization was not felt to be an evil was largely due to the tendency prevalent throughout this period to regard almsgiving solely from the standpoint of the giver. The chief object of charity was to secure eternal life for the bestower, and it mattered little who might be the recipient. There are, no doubt, writers who remembered that charity must retain as its chief objects the *gloria Dei* and *utilitas proximi* (St. Bernard, *Trac. de Mor. et Off. Episc.* 3), but they are the exception. The habit of looking at an alms solely as a passport to salvation grew so steadily, that although Thomas Aquinas still treats of 'eleemosyna' under 'charitas,' by later doctors it is transferred to 'pœnitentia,' where it stands as one of the three elements of 'satisfactio.'

In the *Summa* of Aquinas (ii. 2, quæst. 66) the opinion of Ambrose on the question of private property is taken up and developed. It is declared to be unlawful to regard anything as a private possession *quoad usum,* but lawful to do so *quoad potestatem procurandi et dispensandi*; that is, a man may not so appropriate wealth as to prohibit others from asserting any claim upon it. Property may become an *impedimentum charitatis,* or even, as later writers put it, *incendii infernalis materies.* Poverty is the higher state, and the beggar is more meritorious than the rich man. These statements are the complement of the detailed treatment of almsgiving given previously in ii. 2, quæst. 32 of the *Summa.* 'Eleemosyna' is there divided into the two classes, *corporalis* and *spiritualis.* There are seven species in each class, expressed in the lines, 'Visito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo, Consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora,' the seventh spiritual alms being teaching, which is included in 'consule.' *Eleemosyna spiritualis* is adjudged superior to *corporalis,* for the characteristic reason that it brings greater reward to the bestower. The extent of the obligation to bestow alms is decided by reference to the capacity of the giver and the need of the recipient. The goods of the almsgiver are distinguished as supporting either his life (*vita*), his position (*status*), or his appearance in the eyes of the world (*decentia*), and in each of these divisions there are some things which are *superflua* and others which are *necessaria.* Similarly, the need of the recipient may be either *extrema, gravis,* or only *communis.* To refuse *superflua decentiæ* or *status* to any one in extreme or grave necessity is a mortal sin, but outside these limits almsgiving is a counsel to be followed rather than a command to be obeyed under pain of penalty.

In estimating this teaching, the lawlessness of the age to which it was addressed must be taken into consideration. Definite and detailed commands alone secured attention. Nevertheless, such minute rules were mechanical, and opened the way to the danger of evasion which awaits all such systems. It was only requisite for a man to maintain that all his possessions were *necessaria,* to escape altogether from the obligations of charity. This perversion actually took place, and it became needful in later times to anathematize the opinion that not even of kings could it be said that any of their wealth was superfluous.

In the practical recognition of almsgiving the earlier part of this period was conspicuous, but the later part, although by no means lacking in the virtue, showed distinct signs of deterioration. Of the institutional methods of exercising charity, the most prominent may be noted under the following heads:—

(1) *Monasteries.*—Among the ideals of early monasticism a high place was assigned to self-denial, which threw worldly possessions into the common stock to be used for the glory of God in the service of men. From the money so gathered the poor were relieved, the sick supplied with food and medicine, schools erected for children, and hospitality provided for travellers. This charity was guided by the wisdom which could alone make it truly effective. It was administered by a special official, the almoner, and he was bidden to select carefully the recipients of his alms, to spare the feelings of those who had seen better days, to visit the sick, and to give no relief permanently without consulting the head of the monastery (see, *e.g.,* the Augustinian rule in *Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory at Barnwell,* ed. J. W. Clark, 1897). The most remarkable expression of this spirit was that which appeared in the lives of St. Francis of Assisi and his followers. To the saint who saw no merit in the saving habits of the ant (*Sayings of Brother Giles,* ch. vii.) the highest ideal was an absolute poverty, which left perfect freedom to minister to others. Among the many charitable exploits of the Franciscan Order, mention must be made of the establishment of the *monts de piété,* lending-houses which were founded to advance loans, either without interest, or at a very low rate, to poor people who otherwise would have been the victims of Jewish usury (Grote, *Hist. of Greece,* 1846–56, pt. ii. ch. xi. App.).

As the centuries advanced, decay attacked both elements of the earlier monastic rule. Charitable deeds were supported not from the common fund, but by donations granted for the special purpose, and no trouble was any longer taken to discern between worthy and unworthy among the applicants. Hospitality decreased, and the right to entertain travellers was let out to neighbouring

innkeepers (*e.g.* at Glastonbury). By the time of the Reformation these defects had deprived monastic charity of much of its virtue. While the monks, no doubt, assisted many who deserved their help, they also demoralized many more by the indiscriminate bestowal of doles.

(2) *Hospitals.*—These foundations, which were exceedingly numerous, although governed by the Knights Hospitallers, were of a religious character, the rule of the Augustinians being usually observed within their walls. The black cloak of this Order is still worn, *e.g.*, by the bedesmen of St. Cross. From their original connexion they were sometimes known as 'Commanderies,' of which a typical instance is to be seen in the still existing Commandery at Worcester. In such houses travellers were entertained, and a refuge provided for the sick and infirm. To this might be added the relief of the local poor. (For a magnificent example of this see the account of St. Leonard's, York, in Cutts' *Parish Priests and Their People*, 1898, p. 505.) The Hospital was placed under the charge of a Master or Warden assisted by chaplains or canons, among whose duties was the obligation of saying mass for the soul of the founder. The decay of these institutions set in when they came to be regarded as preferments for the support of the clergy, and the greater part of their funds was diverted for this purpose.

(3) *Chantries.*—These were not, as is commonly supposed, established merely to provide masses for the souls of the departed. The larger part of the income attached to them was frequently assigned to the relief of the poor (see Gasquet, *Parish Life in Mediæval England*, 1906, p. 96).

(4) *Gilds.*—Often named after some church or patron saint, these societies existed primarily for religious purposes, but included in their scope many works of charity. Help was given to brethren in want, or sick, or wrongfully cast into prison; girls were furnished with dowries; and money was found for the funerals of departed members.

(5) *The Parish.*—In England parochial organization made the relief of the poor one of the special objects of care. One-third of the tithe was especially reserved for charitable uses, and this was augmented by collections in church, and by free-will offerings and bequests bestowed not only by the rich, but by all classes of the parishioners. It was the duty of the churchwardens to administer these funds by making grants or loans to worthy applicants. A common method of laying out such money was in the purchase of a few kine and sheep to form a common parochial stock, the young animals and the milk being sold and the proceeds devoted to charity.

Beside these institutional charities must be noticed the private exercise of almsgiving, of which the obligation was generally allowed by men of substance throughout this period. Among the Saxon kings the almoner was already a regular member of the court (see story of Oswald in Bede, *HE* iii. 7). The custom of appointing a similar official in episcopal households was made a law binding on all Bishops by a constitution of Stephen Langton. At the doors of ecclesiastical and secular notables it was common to have a daily distribution of doles of money or food carried out on a lavish scale. We hear of a Bishop of Ely giving warm meat and drink daily to 200 people; and, as late as the time of Henry VIII., Thomas Cromwell is found showing a like generosity to the multitudes who crowded at his gate. Nor was charity confined to men of great estate. Latimer's father, with a farm at £4 a year, was not forgetful of it (see First Sermon before King Edward VI.). In the supply of such doles a large part was played by testamentary bequests. By the Council of Chelsea (816) it was decreed that a tenth of a Bishop's possessions should be given to the poor after his death, and this model was widely copied. John of Gaunt ordered that his body should not be buried for forty days, and that fifty marks should be distributed on each of those days, and 500 on the last day. In such bequests the rule of 'first come, first served' was the only one which was followed, with the result that funerals were the happy hunting ground of professional mendicants. The only qualification needed to obtain the dole was attendance at the dirge of the testator. This instance forms a fitting close to our review of the mediæval period; for, while it shows that there was no lack of almsgiving during that era, it illustrates also the weaknesses which made it so ineffective as a cure for social evils—namely, the concentration of attention on the supposed profit it brought to the bestower, and the total neglect of the character of the recipient.

3. Modern period.—The transition from mediævalism to the modern view began on the Continent sooner than in England. This was the natural result of the peculiarity which marked the course of the Reformation in England, where it was first political and then religious—an order which was reversed on the Continent. While Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were making it their chief concern to effect a permanent breach with Rome, the German and Swiss Reformers were developing the ethical and religious tenets of the new movement. It is in Germany that we meet with the first direct contradictions of the mediæval principles of charity, shown in three well-defined instances. In 1388 at Nuremberg a charitable fund was opened, from the management of which ecclesiastics were expressly excluded. In 1428 at Frankfort a board was established for the relief of the poor, and directions were given that they were to conduct a strict inquiry into the fitness of applicants for help. In 1520, Luther, in his *Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, denied the right of mendicancy to be esteemed a natural feature of society. The application of these principles where the Reformation prevailed led to the transference of Church property to charitable and public uses. A striking instance of this was seen at Zürich, where Zwingli appropriated the monastic funds for educational purposes, while at the same time he suppressed beggars and allowed relief only for the infirm and aged.

In England, on the other hand, the immediate result of the Reformation was the practical extinction of charity for the time being. The religious houses had, however imperfectly, recognized the duty of almsgiving; but when they were dissolved the revenues were squandered by the king and his worthless courtiers, who seized the estates without any sense of the responsibilities attached to them. The strongest witness to the deplorable results of this may be seen in the sermons of Latimer, of whose laments a sentence from the sermon *On the Ploughers* is a fair summary: 'Charitie is waxed colde, none helpeth the scholer, nor yet the pore.' The attempts of historians to controvert this by adducing the names of schools founded by the early Tudors effect nothing. The sums allotted to such purposes were a mere drop in the great pillage. The results of such a violent revolution were for a time disastrous. It is not fair to say that it created the multitude of beggars who now appeared, for they were largely the offspring of the previous system of doles, by which (in the words of Fuller) 'the abbeys did but maintain the poor they made.' But the dissolution of the religious houses suddenly flooded the country with hosts of homeless people

before the nation had had time to set up a Poor Law, or private consciences had been trained to dispense alms not only with liberality but also with wisdom. An attempt to remedy this was made in 1536, when an Act was passed ordaining 'that no person shall make any common dole, or shall give any ready money in alms otherwise than to the common gatherings.' But for the moment the country was full of 'valiant rogues' and 'masterless men,' whose threats made this enactment inoperative (see Bosanquet, *Aspects of the Social Problem*, 1895, ch. xiii.). Before the end of the reign of Edward VI. a better day began to dawn. Private charity revived, and individuals took up the good works formerly performed by the religious bodies, *e.g.* the building of hospitals and the making of roads (cf. G. Herbert, *Thanksgiving*, 'I'le build a spittle, or mend common wayes'). In 1551 a legal distinction was drawn between the 'rogues' and 'those who are poor in very deed' (see Fowle, *Poor Law*[2], 1893, ch. iii.), for whose support a weekly collection was ordered to be made in every church. From this time forward the public relief of the poor belongs to the story of charity organization, and all that remains for the purposes of this article is to record some expositions of the principles which have been held to underlie almsgiving by private individuals.

An examination of typical opinions shows that men have only slowly learned to consider almsgiving from the point of view of the recipient. Although it may not be in the mediæval terms, yet there is always a tendency to give too much prominence to the consequences to the giver. The *Homilies* of Edward VI. and Elizabeth illustrate this. In the First Book almsgiving is treated under 'Good Works,' and it is proved that without faith it is of no effect, that is, to the bestower. In the Second Book, containing a special discourse on almsgiving, we are still confronted with the same point of view. Alms are to be given as pleasing to God, deserving of merit, and productive, through God's approval, of prosperity in this world. This one-sided theory received a notable correction in the writings of Jeremy Taylor. In *Holy Living* (ch. iv. sec. 8) we reach the more balanced consideration which includes both sides. The almsgiver is to acquire a 'true sense of the calamity of his brother,' and those in want are to receive in proportion to their need. No alms are to be given to vicious persons if such help might enable them to continue in their sin. Among the persuasives to almsgiving, the love of God and the example of Christ are the most effectual. Taylor thus marks a great advance towards the recovery of the primitive doctrine which based charity on the debt of the Christian to his Lord, and the right of the needy to ask help. That his teaching was not universally accepted is evident from the pages of another famous book, the *Serious Call* of William Law. In ch. viii. the portrait of the virtuous life of Miranda is completed by a reference to her method of dispensing charity. While her motive is the reflexion that the poor are as dear to God as she is herself, she declines to regulate her gifts by any consideration of the deserts of the recipients. After quoting the text that God makes His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, Law proceeds: 'This plainly teaches us that the merit of persons is to be no rule of our charity.' It is known that he put this principle into practice at King's Cliffe with disastrous results. The only instance in which such a disregard of the character of the recipients could be condoned was in the case of those in prison. The barbarity of the age, as John Howard afterwards discovered, left these poor creatures dependent on private almsgiving for many of the necessaries of life, and their relief was a duty frequently undertaken by the charitable.

This survey of theories of almsgiving points to the conclusion that the true law for it will be found in the gathering up and harmonizing of the teachings of the past. With Ambrose the Christian regards property as a trust, not as an absolute possession. With Thomas he learns that much can be saved for charitable uses by a strict discernment between the *necessaria* and *superflua* among his needs. To this he adds from Jeremy Taylor the motive which differentiates Christian charity from mere benevolence—the sense of a debt owed to the Saviour. This corrects the mediæval mistake; for almsgiving is seen to be not a way of earning redemption, but a natural activity of men already redeemed. The modern contribution seems to lie in taking up and developing the spasmodic attempts of former ages to consider the recipient as well as the giver. The closer study of the example of Christ in the Gospels has shown that true charity must make its first aim the permanent raising of character. This at once deprives of any title to be called charitable all easy bestowal of doles which rests on no knowledge of the recipients. True charity demands careful study of character and personal history, and patience to follow through any effort to help until some lasting result has been produced. The emphasizing of this side of the question is the peculiar achievement of our own time in this sphere (cf. C. F. Rogers, *Charitable Relief*, 1904, ch. i.; Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, 1901, ch. v.).

LITERATURE.—Besides the books mentioned in the article, see Uhlhorn, *Die christliche Liebestätigkeit*[2], 1895 (tr. of first part, *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, 1883 [a masterly survey]), and the same writer's art. 'Die Liebestätigkeit in Mittelalter' (*Zschr. f. Kirchengesch.* iv.); Harnack, *Ausbreitung*, 1902 (tr. *Expansion of Christianity*, 1904, vol. i. ch. iii.); Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*[9], 1890, i. 62–100; Ashley, *Economic History*[3], 1894, bk. i. ch. v.; Ratzinger, *Gesch. der kirchl. Armenpflege*[2], 1884; art. 'Charity' (Loch), in *EBr*[10]; B. K. Gray, *A Hist. of Eng. Philanthropy*, London, 1905, p. 1; R. L. Ottley, *Christian Ideas and Ideals*, London, 1909, p. 226; W. P. Paterson, in the *Expository Times*, vol. vi. [1895] p. 108; and, for modern Rom. Cath. view, art. 'Aumône,' in Vacant, *Dict. de théol. Catholique*, Paris, 1905.

C. T. DIMONT.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Greek).—The practice of almsgiving among the ancient Greeks cannot be deduced from any general religious or philosophic principle. That is to say, it was not inculcated as an item of a national ideal of conduct, reflected back upon the individual as a command of religious or philosophic sanctity. So much is true, at any rate, of the Greeks of the great age, in whom the instinct of generosity existed only in rudimentary form. It was also affected by their fundamental conception of the relationship between the individual and those various groups (of family, clan, and State) apart from which he was, if not inconceivable, at least shorn of the major part of his *raison d'être* in the world. Hence in Hesiod (*Works*, 327 ff.) the list of principal offences against the social order, all equally exciting the wrath of Zeus, stands as follows: (1) injuring a suppliant or guest,[1] (2) seducing a brother's wife, (3) defrauding an orphan, (4) unfilial conduct to an aged parent. All these turn upon the injury of some member of the household. This group-relationship hardly taught social morality, says Lotze, speaking in particular of family life. For 'special and unique relations bind the members of a family together by feelings which do not flow from general duties of men towards their fellows;

[1] Similarly in Homer beggars and vagrants are under the protection of Zeus Xenios, no less than 'strangers,' *i.e.* visitors of higher social rank. See *Od.* xiv. 56 ξεῖν', οὔ μοι θέμις ἔστ', οὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι, | ξεῖνον ἀτιμῆσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες | ξεῖνοί τε πτωχοί τε. Here by courtesy the epithet ξεῖνος is bestowed upon Odysseus, who to look on is but a beggar. See also vi. 207, xiv. 389 and 404 ff., xvii. 483 ff.

these feelings do indeed incidentally enrich life . . . but, so far from illuminating men's consciousness of general moral duties, they only obscure it' (*Microcosmus*, tr. Hamilton-Jones, 1885, ii. 497).

Almsgiving therefore necessarily, so far as the Greeks are concerned, was but a small special derivative of that general form of conduct which may be summed up as hospitality (see HOSPITALITY [Greek]). And even after the birth of ethical speculation the view was too narrowly focused upon the self to lead to any wide conception of the claims of poverty upon wealth. The dignity of his own personality is the lodestar of the 'liberal' (ἐλευθέριος) and 'magnificent' (μεγαλοπρεπής) man of Aristotle's classification. Not until the rise of Stoicism do we find insistence upon the duty of mercy in dealings with fellow-men, based upon an obligation as fundamental as that of justice (Zeller, *Stoics*, etc., tr. Reichel, 1870, p. 296).

In the Homeric world the 'worthless outcast' (*Il.* ix. 648, ἀτίμητος μετανάστης [with Leaf's note]) is an enemy of society (*ib.* 63, ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιστος ἀνέστιος, 'banished from tribe and law and home'), and may be slain with impunity. Safety must be found by entering within some other family group, under the regulations and conditions prescribed by custom (cf. xvi. 573 [with Leaf's note], also the story of Adrastos and Crœsus [Herod. i. 35]; Themistocles at the palace of King Admetos [Thuc. i. 136]). The bond of hospitality is a means whereby the individuals of two naturally unconnected groups may be brought into intercourse. One party assumes the rôle of protector of the other. It is from this relationship, the practical exhibition of which was satisfying to the vanity which formed so large an ingredient in the ancient Greek character, that there sprang, on a lower plane, the phenomena connected with beggars and almsgiving exhibited in the somewhat advanced society depicted in the *Odyssey*.

In the *Odyssey* the professional beggar is a recognized inevitable adjunct of the great house (xviii. 1 ff., Iros the πτωχὸς πανδήμιος [with Monro's note]; cf. xviii. 48). He runs on errands, but otherwise is of little use. He is naturally resentful of any intrusion upon his 'pitch' (cf. Hesiod, *Works*, 26, πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει: hence the quarrel between Iros and Odysseus). The significant emblems of the trade were the staff, the wallet hung by a cord, and the ragged, dirty garb (*Od.* xiii. 434 ff.; cf. Aristoph. *Clouds*, 921 f., *Ach.* 432 and 448, ἀτὰρ δέομαί γε πτωχικοῦ βακτηρίου).[1] Equipped with these, the beggar is described as 'going louting through the land asking alms' (*Od.* xvii. 227 f., πτώσσων κατὰ δῆμον βούλεται αἰτίζων βόσκειν ἣν γαστέρ' ἄναλτον), or else 'stands about and rubs his shoulders against many doorposts, begging for scraps of meat' (*ib.* 220; cf. 339 f., ἶζε δ' ἐπὶ μελίνου οὐδοῦ ἔντοσθε θυράων, | κλινάμενος σταθμῷ).[2] Naturally it is food chiefly for which the beggar looks; and Telemachus sets an example to the suitors by giving the pretended beggar Odysseus a 'whole loaf, and of flesh as much as his hands could hold' (*ib.* 343, cf. 365 ff.); but a suit of clothes is promised by Penelope as reward for tidings (*ib.* 557). Odysseus (in *Od.* xv. 319) offers menial service of 'handy man' in return for his keep; so that there were varieties of beggars even then. Iros was evidently a bad specimen, and famous only for his belly (xviii. 2 f., μετὰ δ' ἔπρεπε γαστέρι μάργῃ, | ἀζηχὲς φαγέμεν καὶ πιέμεν). And so we find Homer familiar with the tramp who lies glibly for entertainment (xiv. 124), and with the 'sundowner' and loafer who will not work (xviii. 357 ff.).

As civilization advanced and the primitive hospitality decayed, the lot of the beggar must have become harder the more almsgiving came to depend upon the capricious impulse of the individual. The ruthlessness of ancient society, in which one must be hammer or anvil, is largely concealed from us by the fact that, with few exceptions, it is only the class which enjoys wealth and power that is articulate; that is to say, ancient literature is mainly aristocratic in origin. Hesiod affords a glimpse of the poverty which subsists upon the grudging alms of neighbours until patience is exhausted (*Works*, 400 ff.). In Athens the ἔρανος, or collection taken up to relieve an acquaintance in difficulties, was a form of almsgiving that probably became at times very burdensome (cf. Theophr. *Char.* 6, καὶ ἐν τῇ σιτοδείᾳ δὲ ὡς πλείω ἢ πέντε τάλαντα αὐτῷ γένοιτο τὰ ἀναλώματα διδόντι τοῖς ἀπόροις τῶν πολιτῶν· ἀνανεύειν γὰρ οὐ δύνασθαι). Money so given was regarded as something between a loan and a gift; probably it often was but a thinly disguised alms.

The duty of private almsgiving must, in Athens at least, have been less imperatively felt, owing to the fact that there was in operation a State system of outdoor relief for infirm paupers (ἀδύνατοι).[1] Its origin was referred to the time of Solon or Pisistratus, *i.e.* as early as the 6th cent. B.C. (Plut. *Sol.* 31). Persons who were unable through bodily infirmity to earn a livelihood, and had less than three *minæ* (say £12 stg.) of private property, were given a small allowance by the State.[2] Originally this relief had been confined to those invalided through military service.[3] Probably certain other conditions were required to be fulfilled in addition to those specified by our authorities. Citizenship would certainly be requisite, and freedom from ἀτιμία (see ATIMIA); also it must have been required that the claimant had no near living relatives in a position to support him. On the other hand, it appears from the speech of Lysias on behalf of a claimant for relief that the words of Aristotle, 'unable to do anything to earn a living,' cannot have been taken *au pied de la lettre*. Public office was naturally forbidden to recipients of State relief (Lysias, *Or.* xxiv. 13). The list of claimants was scrutinized annually by the Council of Five Hundred, before which all appeared in person. The list of recommendations was then formally sanctioned by the Assembly (Lysias, *l.c.* § 22, ἡ πόλις ἡμῖν ἐψηφίσατο τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον).[4] The allowance seems to have varied in amount. In the time of Lysias (*c.* 400 B.C.) it was one *obol* a day (Lys. *op. cit.* § 26, περὶ ὀβολοῦ μόνου ποιοῦμαι τοὺς λόγους); in the time of Aristotle it was two *obols*; an intermediate sum (or possibly the adoption of a monthly dole) is implied in the 9 *drachmæ* (=54 *obols*) a month, of Philochoros *ap.* Harpocration.

LITERATURE.—The subject does not appear to have been treated hitherto. Scattered notices only are found in connexion with allied topics, as, *e.g.*, beggars in Homer in P. G. Egerer, *Homerische Gastfreundschaft*, 1881. On Athenian State-relief, see Böckh, *Public Economy of Athens*[2], 1842, i. 312 ff.

W. J. WOODHOUSE.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Hindu).—Almsgiving (*dāna*) among the Hindus is primarily a

[1] As afterwards adopted by Diogenes and his brother Cynics (Diog. Laert. vi. 13 and 22, etc.).

[2] For this distinction between town and country begging, cf. *Od.* xvii. 18 f., πτωχῷ βέλτερόν ἐστι κατὰ πτόλιν ἠὲ κατ' ἀγροὺς δαῖτα πτωχεύειν. In the country, work might be the price of alms.

[1] It is not clear whether the term ἀδύνατος used in this technical sense refers only to bodily infirmity or included also the idea of poverty (Jebb, *Attic Orators*, 1876, i. 249, note 1). There seems no doubt that both ideas were necessarily included.

[2] Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 49. 4, νόμος γάρ ἐστιν ὃς κελεύει τοὺς ἐντὸς τριῶν μνῶν κεκτημένους, καὶ τὸ σῶμα πεπηρωμένους ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι μηδὲν ἔργον ἐργάζεσθαι, δοκιμάζειν μὲν τὴν βουλήν, διδόναι δὲ δημοσίᾳ τροφὴν δύο ὀβολοὺς ἑκάστῳ τῆς ἡμέρας.

[3] Plut. *Sol.* 31 [ὁ νόμος] ὁ τοὺς πηρωθέντας ἐν πολέμῳ δημοσίᾳ τρέφειν κελεύων.

[4] But the reference here may be to the original law ordaining the distribution of relief, while the annual scrutiny and authorization of relief may have been within the administrative competence of the Council without further reference to the Ecclesia.

religious obligation, and differs in some important respects both in conception and in practice from that which passes under the same name in the West. Of almsgiving, as the bestowal of gifts upon the poor and needy, prompted by a feeling of sympathetic compassion, Hinduism knows nothing. But the habit of generosity, of sharing possessions with others and relieving their wants, is perhaps more wide-spread in India than in any other country. It is clear, moreover, that only where such an obligation is universally recognized and acted upon can companies of wandering ascetics, as in India, move hither and thither without restraint throughout the land, confident everywhere of finding support and having their wants freely supplied. Manu also declares that liberality is the special virtue and duty of men in this Kali age.[1] The only rightful recipients of alms, however, are the Brāhmans and the various orders of ascetics. These alone have a claim to support and gifts (*dakṣinā*) from all other classes of the community; and from such donations merit accrues to the giver, the amount of which is in direct proportion to the value of the gift.

In India, therefore, almsgiving is inspired by a religious motive, the desire to secure personal advantages and reward in a future life. The theories and teaching of the Hindu books leave no room for the play of disinterested generosity; although many Hindus are in this respect better than their creed. And it is only among certain communities of monks, who devote a part at least of their time to charity and the relief of the poor, that anything approaching the Western conception of almsgiving is found.[2] There can be little doubt that here we should recognize the kindly and humane influence of Buddhism. At festivals also and on occasions of pilgrimage the abbot of a monastery will entertain all comers regardless of expense.[3] The underlying motive of the act, however, is in these instances still Indian, not Western or Christian. Generosity is, indeed, enjoined upon monks, as part of their vows. Those who can give nothing else must give their books. Ordinarily, however, monks and ascetics do not bestow, but receive.[4] And the need and opportunity for almsgiving in the wider sense, within the laity and among the non-Brāhmanical part of the population, have always been met to a considerable extent in India by the usages and institutions of caste and the joint family life, which throw upon the whole circle the burden and obligation of the support of each individual.

As early as the Vedic hymns, gifts (*dāna*, *dātra*, *dakṣinā*) take a prominent place in the thought and teaching of the poets; and the virtue and merit of the giver are repeatedly emphasized.[5] In the Vedic literature generally, and in the later *smṛtis*, especially in the Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas, one of the chief duties incumbent upon a householder is charitable giving (*dātṛtā*, *dātṛtva*);[6] and careful, if not always consistent, definitions are given as to the persons (*dānapātra*) upon whom such alms may be bestowed.[1] Manu lays down distinct and ordered rules on the subject, which, except as interfered with or modified by European influence, govern Hindu practice to the present day.[2] Such gifts are said to be *dharmārtham*, 'for the purpose of (acquiring) religious merit'; a chapter of the Skanda-Purāṇa bears the title *Dānadharma-vidhi*, 'rules for almsgiving'; and Hemādri devotes the second part of his great work to the same theme.[3]

Thus all Hindu ascetics live by alms; in contrast with the laborious and self-denying lives of many similar communities in the West, they may not and do not in any case earn their living by work, but are dependent upon the charity of others. The institution and habitual practice of begging on a wide scale, together with the rules regulating it, are of great antiquity in India. And the burden of supporting an army of wandering mendicants, whose lives are unproductive, must always have pressed hardly upon the poorer classes of the population. It was from Brāhmanism that Buddhism inherited the duty of liberality towards those whose lives were devoted to the service of religion, developing and systematizing an ancient principle and placing it on broader foundations. Śākyamuni himself in a former birth had borne the title of *dānaśūra*, 'a hero in liberality.' Such practices, therefore, were no novelty in Buddhist ethical and social duties. Jainism also, the second great protestant community of the early centuries, while rejecting the extravagant claims of the Brāhmans, maintained the right of the devotee and ascetic to support at the public expense.[4] In neither case was a new principle introduced, but a long-standing custom was sanctioned and continued for the benefit of the ascetic orders and the teachers of religion.

Such gifts were, broadly speaking, of two kinds. Grants of landed estate, dwelling-houses, etc., taxes derived from villages, and tithes, held the first place. More irregular and occasional were the donations of money or food, which at all festivals, anniversaries, household ceremonies, etc., the Brāhmans received as their perquisites. To the latter class belong the contributions in kind, which the wandering mendicant exacts from the fears or superstitions of the ignorant villager.[5]

[1] Manu, i. 86: 'In the Kṛta age the chief (virtue) is declared to be (the performance of) austerities; in the Tretā, (divine) knowledge; in the Dvāpara, (the performance of) sacrifices; in the Kali, liberality (*dāna*) alone.' Cf. the description of Bhārata Varṣa (India) in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ii. 3. 12:—*dānāni chāttra dīyante paralokārtham*, 'there also gifts are bestowed for the sake of the other world.'

[2] Barth, *Rel. of India*, p. 213, instances the Kāṇphāṭas of the Panjāb and Nepāl. But the same is true of other sects.

[3] See, for example, Oman, *Mystics*, etc. p. 260 ff.

[4] The direction of Vasiṣṭha, ix. 8, that the hermit 'shall only give, not receive,' is, we believe, entirely isolated, and as opposed to the general rule as it is to universal practice.

[5] e.g. *Rigv.* i. 13. 11, 'May the splendour of the giver be foremost' (*SBE* xlvi. 9). Cf. the praise of Rudra, 'the giver of many gifts,' ii. 33. 12.

[6] Vas. viii. 16, 'all mendicants subsist through the protection afforded by householders.' Liberality is the duty of the first three castes (Baudh. i. 10. 18. 2 ff., Vas. ii. 13 f., Āpast. ii. 5. 10. 4 ff., where Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are expressly prohibited from receiving alms; cf. *ib.* ii. 8. 20. 1 ff., Baudh. ii. 3. 5. 19, 7. 13. 5, Gaut. v. 32 ff.). Vas. xxix. 1, 'through liberality man obtains all his desires' (cf. 9 ff.); xxix. 17, 'he who gives to a Brāhmaṇa a vessel filled with water for sipping will obtain after death complete freedom from thirst' (cf. *ib.* viii. 6, Gaut. v. 20 ff.). So in the Upaniṣads and elsewhere 'sacrifice and almsgiving' are the special duties of the Brāhman as *gṛhastha* (Bṛh. 4. 4. 22, *Chānd.* 2. 23, *Taitt.* 1. 9, cf. Deussen, *Upan.*, 1906, p. 371 f.).

[1] Vas. xi. 17 f., the householder shall feed 'three ascetics or three virtuous householders . . . he may also feed pupils who are endowed with good qualities' (cf. *ib.* 27 ff., Gaut. xvii. 1 ff., Baudh. ii. 3. 5. 9 ff., 10. 18. 4 ff., 14, Āpast. i. 1. 3. 25 f., ii. 5. 10. 1 ff.). It is the special duty of the student (*brahmachārin*) to beg alms for his teacher (Gaut. ii. 8, iii. 14 f., Baudh. ii. 10. 18. 4 ff.); for the student not to ask for alms is a sin (Baudh. i. 2. 4. 7; cf. *Śat. Brah.* xi. 3. 3. 5 ff., *al.*).

[2] Manu, i. 88 ff., xi. 2 f. Among the six duties of a Brāhmaṇa are enumerated the giving and receiving of gifts, but the last again is forbidden to Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, x. 75 ff.; cf. iii. 95 ff., 125, 132, iv. 31 ff., 192. iv. 226 ff., 'Let him, without tiring, always . . . perform works of charity with faith . . . let him always practise . . . the duty of liberality. . . both he who respectfully receives (a gift), and he who respectfully bestows it, go to heaven'; cf. vii. 82, 85 ff., xi. 6; it is incumbent upon kings in particular to be liberal in gifts, vii. 79, 134–136, xi. 4, 22 f.—even to the extent of bequeathing all their wealth to Brāhmans, ix. 323.

[3] The *Dānakhaṇḍa*; see Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 97, n. 4; Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 104; A. A. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, 1900, p. 429 f. *Dānastuti*, 'the praise of gifts,' is the general title of a whole department of Sanskrit literature; see Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*[2], London, 1860, p. 493 f.

[4] *Āchārāṅga Sūtra*, ii. 1–7, *passim*; J. G. Bühler and J. Burgess, *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, London, 1903, p. 12 ff.

[5] The facilities for travel afforded by the railways have greatly increased the numbers attending the more popular and celebrated festivals. It would have been expected that the

The *mahādāna* ('great gifts') were ten or sixteen in number. Of these gold was the most important, then estates, buildings, village-taxes, etc. Of gifts in gold the most costly, and therefore the most meritorious, was the *tulādāna* or *tulāpuruṣa.* The donor caused himself to be weighed in the scales against an equivalent of gold, which was then distributed in largess to the assembled Brāhmans. A king of Kanauj in the 12th cent. is said to have repeated this costly donation a hundred times; another example quoted is that of a minister of Mithila in the early part of the 14th century.[1] Hiuen-Tsiang gives a marvellous account of the benefactions of Siladitya, sovereign of Kanauj *circa* 640 A.D., who was accustomed once in every five years to give away in alms all that he possessed.[2] A similar act of lavish charity was occasionally performed with silver substituted for the more valuable metal. In certain initiatory rites connected with the assumption of the sacred thread a figure of a cow or sacred lotus made of gold plays a prominent part; and this after the ceremony is broken up and the fragments distributed to the Brāhmans or gifted to the temple.[3] Similarly after a banquet the royal or wealthy host will at times bestow upon his guests the costly dishes of gold and silver that have been employed in the feast. Grants of land or revenue to monastic institutions or to Brāhmans have always been frequent in India. Such grants are recorded as early as the inscriptions of Aśoka; and, according to the legend, the same emperor in his later life had to be restrained almost by force from ruining himself and his house by his extravagant generosity.[4] Similar gifts and dedications are far from being uncommon at the present day. To provide free meals for Brāhmans is also an act of great merit, the virtue of which increases with the number of Brāhmans fed. On a less scale this is done at every household ceremony, anniversary, or feast; and at the great festivals large provision is made, and numerous companies of pilgrims and ascetics gather together, and are entertained often for several days. The example of Uṣavadāta is quoted, who, in a cave inscription attributed to the 1st cent. of our era, boasts that he provided annually for the wants of 100,000 Brāhmans, with gifts of 100,000 cows, sixteen villages, pleasure-grounds, tanks, etc.[5] In ancient times such records are numerous of kings who maintained a number of Brahmans at their own cost for a prolonged period, or even for life. And, like the monastic orders of the Middle Ages in Europe, the Indian orders of monks became rich in the possession of estates, 'property belonging to the god,' *devasva, devasthāna*, in some instances a considerable proportion even of the land and revenue of a State passing into their hands.

In the North of India what might thus be termed systematic almsgiving, donations more or less in the nature of a regular contribution or tithe for the support of communities or individual teachers, *gurus*, holding official positions as recognized heads of a sect or school of thought, are now less usual than in the South. The *gurus* themselves exercise a less wide and powerful influence. In the South regular fees are exacted, and every means short of legal or actual compulsion is adopted to ensure payment. These *gurus* go on circuit through the principal cities of their dioceses, and their visits are made the occasion for demanding the recognized fees and gifts. The formal grants also to religious institutions more usually than in the North take the form of revenues assigned for the support of the resident monks or priests. And, as far as the motive and aim of the donor are concerned, such grants are hardly distinguishable from the more indiscriminate and irregular largess practised at the festivals or in the country districts.

In the case of private gifts the rule was laid down that no one was so to impoverish himself by his liberality as to leave wife or children destitute.[1] Other regulations prescribed a limit of a thousand cows,[2] defined the fees which might be required,[3] or forbade the acceptance by one of a gift which had been refused by another,[4] or the parting with a gift on the day on which it had been bestowed.[5] The recipients, moreover, were carefully graduated according to their worth;[6] and upon some it was altogether a sin to confer presents.[7] In theory also it is obligatory upon every twice-born man, after he has lived the life of a householder, *gṛhastha*, and begotten a son to carry on his line, to part with all his goods and possessions to Brāhmans, and to go forth homeless and resourceless, adopting the life of an anchorite in the forest, *vānaprastha*, and later that of a wandering mendicant, *sannyāsin*, begging his food from door to door. Such mendicants ordinarily possess nothing but an alms-bowl, made out of a coco-nut or sometimes of brass, with a water-pot, and in some instances a staff and rosary. Instances have not been unknown, even in recent times, of men of education and influence and wealth, who have elected to abandon all, and devote the closing years of their life to poverty and religious contemplation, dependent for support upon the charity of their fellow-countrymen.[8]

Almsgiving is also practised by Hindus in the form of gifts and endowments for hospitals for animals. These foundations are often of considerable antiquity. At Benares and elsewhere, sick, maimed, and diseased cows are provided with shelter and food by the munificence of pious donors and the daily offerings of the faithful.[9] The total volume of such charitable gifts in India must be very considerable.

LITERATURE.—*Sacred Laws of the Āryas*, tr. G. Bühler, *SBE*, vols. ii. xiv.; Manu, *SBE*, vol. xxv.; J. C. Oman, *Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, London, 1905, p. 41 f., ch. xi., and *passim*; A. Barth, *Religions of India*², London, 1889, pp. 97 f., 274 f.; J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 1896, p. 104 ff. See also artt. ASCETICISM, MONASTICISM.

A. S. GEDEN.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Jewish).—The teaching of the Apocryphal literature faithfully reflects the spirit of the OT. Ben Sira exhorts to charity: 'Let it (thy money) not rust under the stone' (Sir 29^{10}). Alms 'shall fight for thee better than a mighty shield and a ponderous spear' (v.^{13}). But charity is to be thoughtful and considerate: 'Defer not to give to him that is in need,' for to do so is 'to add more trouble to a heart that is provoked (4^{3}; cf. 29^{8}). The quality and virtue of charity, too, are determined by the kindness that goes with it: 'Lo, is not a word better than a gift? And both are with a gracious man' (18^{17}). On the other hand, the needy borrower is reminded that he also has duties ($29^{2ff.}$); while the poor generally

fees to the officiating priests would have increased in like proportion. This does not seem to be the case. And the somewhat curious explanation is offered that the pilgrim now visits many shrines, and impartially distributes among them gifts which were formerly concentrated on one altar.

1 Barth, p. 97, n. 3; Jolly, p. 105.
2 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 1906, i. 214; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 1904, p. 290 ff.
3 W. Crooke, *Things Indian*, 1906, p. 499 f.
4 See art. AŚOKA; V. A. Smith, *Aśoka*, Oxford, 1901, p. 193 f.
5 *ASWI* iv. 99 ff., quoted in Jolly, p. 106.

1 Bṛhaspati, 15. 3; Narada, 4. 4, quoted in Jolly, p. 105.
2 *Śatapatha Brahmaṇa*, 4. 5. 8. 14, cf. ff.
3 *Ib.* 5. 2. 4. 9, 3. 1. 4, *al.*
4 *Ib.* 3. 5. 1. 25.
5 *Ib.* 14. 1. 1. 32.
6 Vas. iii. 8 ff.; Manu, iii. 96 f., 128 ff., 148, iv. 31, etc.
7 Manu, iii. 138, 141, 151 ff., *al.*
8 Oman, p. 11 note, quoting from *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 346–348; Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*⁴, 1891, p. xxi f.
9 The Anna Purna, or Cow-temple, at Benares was erected in 1725 by a Rājā of Poona.

are taught the beauty of independence: 'Better is the life of a poor man under a shelter of logs than sumptuous fare in another man's house; it is a miserable life to go from house to house' ($29^{22,24}$). The Book of Tobit is an exhortation to almsgiving, which, it declares (To 4^{10} 12^{9}), 'delivereth from death.' The Maccabees, after victory, first set aside a share of the booty for the wounded and for the widows and orphans, and then divided the residue among themselves (2 Mac 8^{28}). Philo (*de Caritate*, 17-18) inculcates the broadest view of charity. It is a debt due to all men, including strangers, slaves, and enemies. Josephus, too, declares (*c. Apion.* ii. 29) that Moses laid down the following duties as due to one's neighbour without distinction: giving him fire, water, and food; showing him the road; burying the dead.

The obligation of charity is especially emphasized by the Talmudic Rabbis. It outweighs, they declare (*Sukkah*, 49*b*; *Baba bathra*, 9*a*), all other duties. It is one of the pillars of the world, *i.e.* of society (*Aboth*, i. 5). By the side of the poor stands God Himself, pleading for His hapless children (*Midrash Rabbah* to Lv 25^{25}); and he that feeds the hungry feeds God also ('Agadath Shir Hashirim' in *JQR* vi. 696; cf. Lowell: 'Who gives himself with his alms feeds three: himself, his hungry neighbour, and Me'). Charity blesses the giver even more than the recipient (*Gittin*, 61*a*). Even the poor must give charity (*ib.* 7*b*). But the widest interpretation is put upon charitable duty. Greater than almsgiving, says the Talmud (*Sukkah*, 49*b*), is *gemiluth chasadim*, i.e. benevolence in the largest significance of the term, especially that which takes the form of personal service. It comprises seven things: feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, tending the sick, burying the dead and comforting the mourner, ransoming captives, educating orphans, and dowering poor brides. The soul is asked concerning these duties at the last judgment (*Midrash Tehillim* to Ps 118^{19}; cf. the interesting parallel in Mt $25^{35ff.}$). In three things, add the Rabbis, *gemiluth chasadim* surpasses almsgiving: no gift is needed for it but the giving of one's self; it may be done to the rich as well as to the poor; it may be done not only to the living, but to the dead (*Sukkah*, 49*b*). He that studies the Law, but fails to do these acts of love, lives without God (*Abodah zara*, 17*b*). Benevolence, moreover, must be proportionate to the circumstances of the giver and the recipient alike. The giver must devote to charity at least a tenth of his income, but not more than a fifth, lest he come to seek charity himself (*Kethuboth*, 50*a*). Clothing must be given to the naked, furniture to him who lacks it, a spouse to the unmarried (*ib.* 67*b*). If the man has fallen from affluence to indigence, and was wont to ride a horse, and to have a slave running before him, he must have both horse and slave. But, say the Rabbins, 'thou art commanded to give him only "sufficient for his need" (see Dt 15^{8}); thou art not enjoined to enrich him' (*Kethuboth*, 67*b*).

Appeals for charity must be scrutinized in order to defeat imposture, but not too strictly. A stranger who says he is hungry, and asks for bread, is to be relieved without inquiry; if he asks for clothes, investigation must precede relief (*Baba bathra*, 9*a*). But, according to one Rabbi, 'We ought to be grateful to impostors, seeing that, by assisting them, we atone for our neglect of the deserving' (*Kethuboth*, 68*a*). Among these impostors, sham cripples are mentioned (*Peah*, viii. 9; *Kethuboth*, 68*a*). Itinerant beggars should be relieved with small gifts only (*Baba bathra*, 9*a*). If they ask for food, they should be given a loaf of bread of not less than a specified value; if they ask for lodging, they should be given a bed, oil, and pulse, to be supplemented on the Sabbath by three meals, fish, and vegetables (*ib.* 9*a*; Mishn. and Toseph. *Peah*, viii. 7). If the applicant is well known, the assistance must be commensurate with his former station (*Kethuboth*, 67*b*). If a poor man is averse to accepting a gift of money, it must be offered to him under the pretext of a loan, or of a present sent by a friend (*ib.*). But if a man has money, and asks for charity in order to save it, he must not be assisted (*ib.*).

The niggardly who refuse to give charity, or to give proportionately to their means, must be coerced by the authorities (*beth din*), who, if need be, must have the offender beaten until he does their bidding (*Kethuboth*, 49*b*). On the other hand, they must forbear to apply to a man who gives when he cannot afford to do so (*Baba bathra*, 8*b*). Even children must give small sums in charity (*Baba ḳamma*, 119*a*). Charity, moreover, begins at home. One's parents come first, then brothers and sisters, then the poor of one's town, lastly those living elsewhere (*Baba mezia*, 71*a*; *Tana d'be Eliyahu*, 17). A woman must be helped before a man, age before youth, the weak before the strong (*Menorath Hamaor*, iii. 7. 2, 8). He who goes on business to another town must help to support the poor of the place (*Megilla*, 27*a*). Charity must be extended equally to Jew and Gentile (*Gittin*, 61*a*). The duty of ransoming captives takes precedence in all benevolent obligation (*Baba bathra*, 8*b*); the materials for building a synagogue may be sold in order to fulfil this duty (*ib.* 3*b*). In giving charity, regard must be had for the self-respect of the recipient. 'Greater is he that lends than he that gives, and greater still is he that lends and, with the loan, helps the poor man to help himself' (*Shabbath*, 63*a*). Maimonides (*Hilc. Mattenoth Aniyim*, 10. 7 ff.) enumerates eight degrees of benevolence, the highest of which he assigns to the kindly help that saves the poor from pauperism. Nor is charity sufficient in itself; kind thoughts and words must go with it. To give liberally to the poor, but with sullen look, is to rob the deed of all virtue; to be able to give nothing, but to add to the confession of this inability a word of sympathy for the applicant, is to make 'the heart' of the needy 'sing' (*Baba bathra*, 9*b*; *Midrash Rabbah* to Lv 25^{25}; Maim. *op. cit.* 10. 4-5; cf. *Aboth d' R. Nathan*, ed. Schechter, Vienna, 1887, 24*b*). The best charity is that done in secret (*Baba bathra*, 9*b*); and it is related (*Sheḳalim*, 5. 6) that in the temple there was a chamber called the 'Chamber of the Silent,' where the rich placed their alms, and the poor received them, in ignorance of each other's identity. 'He that gives alms publicly is a sinner' (*Ḥagiga*, 5*a*). The denunciation in the Gospels (Mt $6^{2ff.}$) of the hypocrites who sound a trumpet when they give alms was echoed or anticipated by the Rabbis. Almsgiving was a special feature of the observance of a fast-day; another was the sounding of the *shophar*, or horn (*Sanh.* 35*a*; *Berakhoth*, 6*b*). Possibly this will explain the above statement in Matthew, which charges the hypocrites with sounding a trumpet when giving charity.

But, while benevolence is extolled, the poor are exhorted to suffer all possible privation rather than accept charity. Independence and self-help are Talmudic ideals. 'Flay a carcass in the street for a pittance, and be beholden to no man' (*Pesahim*, 112*a*). And the Jewish grace after meals includes a supplication to be spared the shame of having to accept 'the gifts of flesh and blood.' 'Among the greatest Rabbis,' says Maimonides (*loc. cit.* 10. 18), 'were hewers of wood and drawers of water, builders' labourers, ironworkers, and smiths; they asked nothing of their congregation, and would take nothing when aught was offered to them.' But

great as charity is, integrity is better still. One must be just before one is generous. 'Pay thy debts,' says a mediæval writer, 'before thou givest alms' (*Sepher Chasidim*, Warsaw ed. 1879, § 454).

A highly organized system of poor-relief existed in the Talmudic period. Its main features were a daily distribution of food and a weekly dole of money. The former was called the *tamchui*, or 'dish,' the latter the *kuppah*, or 'chest' (Mishn. *Peah*, viii. 7; Jerus. *Peah*, viii. 7). The funds for both distributions were compulsorily collected from the community by two or three men of unquestionable probity, and their administration entrusted to three others, who carefully investigated the merits of the applicants (*Baba bathra*, 8*a*; *Shabbath*, 118*b*; *Abodah zara*, 17*b*). They were expressly enjoined to perform their duties with all possible consideration for the feelings of the poor (*Kethuboth*, 67*b*). Both distributions survived to a much later age (Maim. *loc. cit.* 9. 3). In the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries hospices also existed, which provided shelter and food for necessitous wayfarers (*Aboth d' R. Nathan*, ed. Schechter, 34; *Sota*, 10*a*). Further, the *hekdesh*, or hospital, is met with (in the 11th cent. for the first time), which served all through the Middle Ages both as a poorhouse and as a hospital for the sick and the aged as well as for the stranger. These institutions (the need of which was increased by the number of Jews made homeless by the Crusades), aided by private charity, gradually superseded the *tamchui*; but the *kuppah*, in some form, necessarily survived. Offerings for its maintenance were made in the synagogue, especially on joyous or sad occasions, and collections in its behalf were taken at banquets and funerals. A special charity-box was carried about from house to house when a death occurred in the congregation. A similar box was carried round the synagogue during service on week-days. Pious Jews, moreover, made a point of giving alms before beginning their morning prayers. The more convivial among them would 'tax their pleasures' for benevolent objects. Thus a 15th cent. Jew is mentioned who 'gave a gold piece in charity for every extra glass of wine he drank.' But he taxed his self-denial also; for, if he pretermitted one of the obligatory three meals on Sabbath, he paid half a gold piece. He carried the practice into almost every phase and incident of his life, and so 'salted his wealth with charity.' The Scriptural ordinance of the tithe was also scrupulously obeyed by the devout Jew in the Middle Ages. In the 13th cent. societies began to be established in various parts of Europe for one or more of the seven objects enumerated above in connexion with the term *gemiluth chasadim*, and cognate organizations exist in Jewish communities all over the world at the present day. These societies, together with the old-fashioned hospitality offered to the poor (*Aboth*, i. 5), tended to keep down begging, which was rare in mediæval Jewry. But the practice had greatly increased by the 17th cent., and speedily grew into an intolerable evil. The *schnorrer*, or professional beggar, became a familiar and disagreeable figure in every Jewish community. His importunities and impudence have been immortalized in Zangwill's *King of the Schnorrers*. Modern charity organization among the Jews of civilized countries has now, however, almost deprived him of his occupation.

LITERATURE.—Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896; Morris Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*, London, 1903; *JE*, artt. 'Alms' and 'Charity.'

MORRIS JOSEPH.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Roman).—The earlier literature of Rome contains but few statements bearing on either the theory or the practice of relieving the necessities of the poor out of the superfluity of the rich; but beneficence, in whatever form, was as necessary to the existence of an ancient as it is to the existence of a modern State. In the dim early time the need for almsgiving was to a great extent obviated by the strong bonds which linked men together in associations such as the *gens*, the tribe, and the family. Later, when organizations became less and the individual more, poverty was alleviated by public assistance in many forms, such as the distribution of corn, provisions, and many other necessaries, at the cost of the exchequer, not only at Rome, but in other cities. The volume of this assistance grew continually to the end of the 3rd cent. of the Empire. The municipal life of the Roman Empire, and the *collegia*, or gilds, which were closely connected with it, flourished mightily during the same period, and caused a great outflow of private wealth into public channels. Probably in no age, not even in our own, have men spent their accumulated resources so freely for the benefit of their fellow-men. But many of the objects sought by the rich men, such as the provision of amusements and the beautification of the cities, have no connexion with the subject of this article.

The ancient Roman view of life was narrow and hard, and the ancient Roman religion had few ethical precepts. But, although neither Greek nor Roman religion did much to inculcate benevolence, its practice has never been entirely severed from religious sanctions. As soon as the old Roman type of character, exemplified by Cato the Censor, began to be softened by the influences of Greek culture, the deeply-rooted idea that *parsimonia* was the most cardinal of virtues gave way before the increasing moral attraction of benevolence. The great orator, Crassus, supporting, in 106 B.C., the cause of the Senate against that of the Equestrian body, eulogized the senators for the use which they made of their wealth in the redemption of captives and the enrichment of the poor (Cic. *de Off.* ii. 63). But not until Hellenism had thoroughly penetrated Roman educated society was beneficence generally regarded as virtuous. Horace's question, 'Why is any one in want who does not deserve it, while you have property?' (*Sat.* II. ii. 103), would have appeared hardly sane to the ordinary Roman two centuries earlier.

This revolution in sentiment, visible far and wide in the later literature, was due mainly to the spreading influence of Greek philosophy, which permeated society and subtly changed the thoughts even of men who loathed its very name. But it was Stoicism, in its later forms, when it acquired more and more of a religious tone, which, almost exclusively, urged on the educated Romans (and through them the uneducated) in the path of humanity. It does not concern us here to show how the Stoics reconciled the individualistic and the altruistic elements of their faith, which at first sight seem to stand in glaring contrast. The derivation of the human race from God, and, as a corollary, the brotherhood of men, whether Greeks or barbarians, bondsmen or freemen, were fervidly preached by Stoic masters, and by their Roman disciples. 'The whole duty of man is to fear the gods, and to help his brother men' (Marc. Aur. vi. 30), 'even the sinner' (vii. 21, etc.). 'We are all members of a great body; Nature has made us akin by birth,' said Seneca, and 'you must live for others, if you wish to live for yourself.' By Epictetus the duty of humanity was pressed so far as to be hardly practicable, and to be, as a recent writer has said, 'Quaker-like.' The practical outcome of these doctrines was a real sense of responsibility for the employment of wealth, which became characteristic of the propertied Roman, from the good Emperors downwards. The mitigation of

the bitterness of poverty was now regarded as the first duty of the State. The fashion of bestowing this world's goods for the benefit of those who had little of them affected widely those in whom the love of notoriety was the strongest motive. But many inscriptions attest the practice of beneficence in its purest shapes. The *Corpus Inscriptionum* supplies the best corrective to Juvenal's envenomed account of the relations existing in his time between rich and poor. Among motives which prompted benefactions, the desire to perpetuate the memory of the beloved dead was, as in our time, not infrequent. These benefactions take different directions; they provide for many material advantages, such as food and clothing, wine and oil; more rarely for education or for medical aid; very frequently for the nurture of free-born boys and girls. We must not forget that for one inscription recording such liberality, which has come down to our time, a hundred may have perished, and for one charitable action originally recorded, a thousand may have been carried out without record. The range of practical benevolence in the early centuries of the Roman Empire has rarely, if ever, been realized by historians.

The foundations known by the generic term *alimenta* are attested by inscriptions more numerous and important than any others. The decline of population in Italy led to many private, as well as public, efforts to arrest the evil. In the age of Augustus, who established permanently the famous *ius trium liberorum* (of which a rudimentary form had appeared in the legislation of Philip V. of Macedon, and in Cæsar's agrarian law of 59 B.C.), a citizen of Atina in the Volscian country gave property, the revenues of which were to be distributed to the poor, as inducements to rear children, instead of exposing them, according to the horrible Roman custom, or selling them, a proceeding legalized in extreme cases even by Constantine (*CIL* x. 5056). A coin of the Emperor Nerva, of the date A.D. 97, commemorates a similar act of generosity on the part of that Emperor. Nerva, seated on his chair of state, points with his right hand to a young boy and young girl, while a female figure representing Italy stands between them. The inscription is 'tutela Italiæ,' which avers that the Emperor protects Italy's future by providing for a succession of free citizens. Nerva's liberality was greatly extended by Trajan, on the same lines. A well-known relief discovered in the Forum in 1872 gives a vivid presentation of the Emperor's generosity. Two inscriptions, one from Veleia, in the valley of the Po, the other from the neighbourhood of Beneventum, give some details of the Imperial foundation, which seems to have benefited every district of Italy (*CIL* xi. 1114, ix. 1457). Another inscription describes Trajan as having thus taken thought for 'the eternity of Italy,' and some of his coins bear the legend 'Italia restituta.' We know that the example set by Nerva and Trajan was followed by Hadrian, by Antoninus Pius, whose wife Faustina gave her name to girls who were beneficiaries ('puellæ Faustinianæ'), by Marcus Aurelius, and by Alexander Severus. (The reliefs in the Villa Albani at Rome, picturing the *puellæ Faustinianæ*, are familiar to every visitor who is interested in the Imperial history.) But by the time of Constantine these foundations had been swept away, mainly by the civil commotions. It is of interest to note that the children who benefited were not massed together in orphanages, but were left in the hands of their parents. Supervision was exercised by officials of the municipalities, who administered the revenues, which were charged on land. Even private benefactions of the kind were naturally entrusted, in accordance with the Roman temperament, to municipal authorities. Doubtless the desire of Nerva in authorizing local corporations to accept inheritances and legacies, was to encourage rich private persons to imitate his example. Unfortunately the decay of the municipalities involved the ruin of the foundations also. Pliny the Younger gives us in one of his letters an interesting account of his own liberality to Comum, his native town (*Ep.* vii. 18). There is reason to believe that many such foundations were established by citizens not only inside, but outside Italy. Sometimes alimentary as well as other benefactions were attached to the *collegia* or gilds (see art. GILDS [Roman]). In connexion with these gilds, it must be mentioned here that they were not, in themselves, charitable institutions, though, indirectly and incidentally, they did much to soften the hardships of poverty, and even of slavery.

The common idea, therefore, that charity as a *duty* was not recognized in the ancient world is mistaken. But, of course, benevolence received an infinitely stronger, purer, and more universal impulse when Christianity prevailed. The famous forty-ninth letter of the Emperor Julian is proof that the best men of the heathen world keenly felt the superiority of Christian as compared with non-Christian beneficence. See also CHARITY (Christian).

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CHARMS AND AMULETS.

Introductory and Primitive (B. FREIRE-MARRECO), p. 392.
Abyssinian (W. H. WORRELL), p. 398.
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CHARMS AND AMULETS (Introductory and Primitive).—An *amulet* is a material object worn or carried on the person, or preserved in some other way, for magico-religious reasons, *e.g.* to cure disease, to give strength, 'luck,' or general protection to the possessor, or to defend

him or her from specified dangers or misfortunes.

A *charm* (*carmen*) is, properly speaking, a magical formula which is sung or recited to bring about some result conceived as beneficial, *e.g.* to confer magical efficacy on an amulet for the cure of disease. But in popular English usage the same word is used to describe the incantation and the object which is 'charmed' for magical use. Thus, a 'wise woman' undertaking the cure of a case of fever might enclose a spider in a nutshell, 'charm' it by reciting a 'charm' (formula), and finally hang the 'charm' (material object) by a thread round the patient's neck, prescribing the period for which it should be worn. Again, written copies of charms (formulæ) are very commonly carried for luck or protection.

This article will deal with the uses of the material objects above described, which, to avoid confusion, will be called *amulets*. See, further, MAGIC.

A. C. Haddon (*Magic and Fetishism*, 1906, p. 29) makes a further distinction between *talismans* worn for good luck or to transmit qualities, and *amulets*, which are preventive in their action; but, as will be seen, the application of all these names is exceedingly elastic.

The use of amulets is almost universal among savage and semi-civilized peoples, and among the less educated classes in civilized countries. Not only are they worn by men and women on their persons in the form of necklets, girdles, bracelets, or anklets, and attached to these as pendants, carried in bags or pockets, and sewn to clothing; they are also attached to children and domesticated animals, affixed to buildings, household furniture, tools, and weapons, and placed near fruit-trees and growing crops. In Europe the use of amulets is most strongly developed in the Mediterranean countries (including Syria and North Africa), where it co-exists with various 'survivals' of non-Christian religious belief and practice; but it would probably be incorrect to treat the use of amulets as a merely traditional survival of paganism. On the contrary, there is reason to think that it represents a universal tendency in human nature, which is always likely to reach practical expression if not checked by other tendencies. Of these controlling factors education seems to be the most important. Where belief in witchcraft or in the evil eye is strong, there is always a corresponding development of protective amulets. Again, in all countries the members of certain classes whose occupation involves a degree of social isolation tend to develop, or perhaps merely to preserve, a more intensive use of amulets: in Europe and India this tendency has been observed in fishermen, shepherds, miners, sailors, hunters, actors, jockeys, beggars, gipsies, and the criminal and immoral classes; in uncivilized societies, our present knowledge of professional specialization is too imperfect to permit of any generalization.

In spite of certain differences (arising out of local variation in the supply of materials, the general level of native art, and the pressure of local needs) there is a general resemblance in the types and applications of amulets in every age and country. The following classes of objects, natural and artificial, are very commonly used: stones (especially those of a curious shape or naturally perforated), stone implements (celts and arrowheads); curious vegetable growths, roots, leaves, seeds, nuts; horns, teeth, claws, and other parts of animals and insects, shells, human hair and teeth, relics of the dead; medicinal substances; substances believed to have been extracted from the sick in magical cures; iron, gold, silver, rock crystal, alum, salt, coral; red, blue, and white things; strings, threads, and rings; representations of human and animal forms, phallic emblems, representations of eyes, hands, horns, and crescents; beads, imported ornaments; written charms, quotations from sacred writings, inscribed objects, medals, coins; obsolete weapons and ornaments; relics and mementoes of holy persons and places, portions of offerings, and dedicated things.

The purposes for which amulets are used may also be classed under certain common types, such as the cure and prevention of disease; protection in general, and from specific dangers (*e.g.* death in battle, wounds, drowning, shipwreck, lightning, failure of crops, attacks by dangerous animals, evil spirits, witchcraft, the evil eye); the acquisition of physical strength, fertility, 'luck,' wealth, magical powers; and the fulfilment of special wishes, *e.g.* for success in hunting, fishing, trade, love, and war.

Anthropological attempts to explain the use of amulets fall into two chronological groups, of which the earlier is connected with the general theory of magic put forward by E. B. Tylor (*Early Hist. of Mankind*, 1865, [2]1870, [3]1878; *Primitive Culture*, 1871, [2]1873, [3]1891, [4]1903), and developed by J. G. Frazer (*GB*[2], 1900; *Lect. on the Early Hist. of the Kingship*, 1905). For a discussion of this, see art. MAGIC; here it need only be said that the belief in magic, according to Frazer (*Kingship*, 52), depends on 'a misapplication of the association of ideas by similarity and contiguity.'

'Manifold as are the applications of this crude philosophy . . . the fundamental principles on which it is based would seem to be reducible to two; first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and second, that things which have once been in contact, but have ceased to be so, continue to act on each other as if the contact still persisted' (*GB*[2] i. 9).

By this explanation of magic, attention is concentrated on certain logical errors said to be characteristic of the thought of uncivilized or uneducated man. The savage, as Tylor has frequently said, is apt to mistake the subjective connexion set up by the association of ideas in the mind for an objective or causal connexion; to believe, for instance, that a stone which resembles an eye must have some occult effect on the human eyesight, or that the courage and keen sight of the eagle can be secured along with a tuft of its feathers (*Early Hist. of Mankind*[3], 131). These logical errors are exemplified in the savage and popular use of amulets, the following cases being typical:

The 'desert goat' (*Nemorhædus Swettenhami*) is the most surefooted animal known to the Malays of the Lower Siamese States; and they believe that if it falls over a cliff it immediately licks itself whole. Accordingly, the tongue of the desert goat is carried as a powerful amulet against falling, and also as a sure cure for wounds caused by falling if rubbed on the part affected; and a rib of it is used to tap or rub any bruises or cuts in order to make them heal (MS Catalogue Annandale Collection, Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, 1901-2, no. 24). Again, the Dutch in South Africa hang strings of greyish seeds, which they call *tande kraale* ('teeth beads'), round the necks of their children to help them in teething. 'Such notions were elaborated into the old medical theory known as the "Doctrine of Signatures," which supposed that plants and minerals indicated by their external characters the diseases for which nature had intended them as remedies. Thus the Euphrasia or eyebright was, and is, supposed to be good for the eyes, on the strength of a black pupil-like spot in its corolla, the yellow turmeric was thought good for jaundice, and the blood-stone is probably used to this day for stopping blood' (Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind*[3], 123).

Explanations of this sort may be used, more or less legitimately, to cover many specialized uses of amulets. But there are other types to which they do not apply; nor are they sufficient, in themselves, to account for the practice of using amulets as a whole. To do this, it is necessary to follow up a second line of inquiry, which has been pursued in France by Hubert and Mauss ('Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie,' *ASoc* vii. [1904]); in America by Miss A. C. Fletcher (various works), Hewitt ('*Orenda* and a Definition of Religion,' *American Anthropologist*, new ser., iv.

33–35), and Lovejoy ('The Fundamental Concept of the Savage Philosophy,' *Monist*, xvi. 357–382); in England chiefly by R. R. Marett (*The Threshold of Religion* [essays dated 1900–1909], London, 1909), and E. S. Hartland (Presidential Address, section H, British Assoc., York, 1906). According to this later theory, the explanation of the savage belief in magic is to be sought not in savage errors of logic, but in the savage's conception of magical power or efficacy. Evidence for this conception has been found in the vocabularies of many uncivilized peoples, in the existence of a class of words of which *mana*, the Polynesian-Melanesian expression for 'mysterious or supernatural efficacy,' has been generally accepted as typical (see MAGIC).

'This is what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature; it is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation.' This *mana* is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied souls, or supernatural beings, have it and can impart it; and it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water or a stone or a bone (Codrington, *The Melanesians*, 1891, p. 118 f.). 'Among many uncultured races the chief concern of the individual is to absorb as much of this force or to get into his possession as many objects charged with it as possible' (Lovejoy, *op. cit.* 360).

It is in such conceptions of magical efficacy (*mana*), explicit or implicit in uncivilized and uneducated thought, that the most comprehensive explanation of the use of amulets is to be found. All amulets have at least this in common, that they are credited by their possessors with a quality, virtue, or efficacy which makes them valuable; without which, in fact, they would not be amulets at all. It has been shown above that they are of various forms and materials; how do they come to be regarded as having *mana*? Primarily, because they have attracted attention; like human beings of striking personality, they have detached themselves from the vague undifferentiated background of the uninteresting, and impressed themselves upon the eye and upon the mind. As soon as an object has proved attractive enough to make a man carry it away with him, it is on the way to becoming an amulet. It is not so much that amulets are kept and carried because they have *mana*, as that they have *mana* because they are kept and carried.

From an examination of the amulets which are actually used, it is possible to see what it is that qualifies an object for this sort of selective attention. Generally speaking, it must be small, portable, and not fixed to its place of origin. If a small stone of remarkable shape catches a man's attention, he carries it away with him, and it is likely to become an amulet; whereas, if it is large, he will more probably observe it whenever he passes, invent a myth to account for its peculiarities, and perhaps set up a habit of visits and offerings. The magical object, then, must be portable and detachable, and it is especially attractive if it is capable of being strung or tied to a string. *Stones* form a test case for this simplest type of amulet. In many parts of the world they excite a peculiar interest (Marett, *op. cit.* 19 ff.), and if they have any singularity in shape or colour they are sure to attract attention. In British Guiana a natural hollow concretion with a loose stone rattling inside is shaken by the Arawak magician to relieve the pains of childbirth. In Italy madreporite is worn as a protection against sickness and against witches, serpentine for the prevention and cure of snake-bite, limonite to protect pregnant women. In the Eastern Island of Torres Straits smooth water-worn pebbles are used as *omabar*, 'love-charms' (Haddon, *Reports of the Camb. Anthropol. Exped. to Torres Straits*, vi. [1908] 221, and pl. xxi.). Naturally perforated stones are specially attractive, being curious, portable, and easy to preserve. In Ireland, for example, they are hung round the cattle-byre or on the stakes to which cows are tethered, 'to keep evil from the cows,' 'to keep pixies from stealing the milk,' or 'for luck.' English peasants (Wiltshire, Hertfordshire, etc.) and Scotch fishermen hang them at the house door 'to keep away witches.'

Vegetable growths which present any abnormality are valued in the same way. In Italy double walnuts and almonds are carried as amulets against the evil eye and witches, against headache, and to bring good luck. In the Lower Siamese States a branch of unusual shape is hung over the hearth; 'spirits are afraid of it'; and the knotted stem of a creeper is hung over the house door to keep out *pōlōng*, 'familiar spirits' (MS Cat. Annandale Coll., Pitt-Rivers Mus., Oxford, 1901–2, nos. 236, 244). The tumour-like detachable growths sometimes found embedded in the trunks of oaks are carried by Surrey labourers as 'cramp balls' to ward off cramp.

Most attractive of all are stones and other natural objects in which a resemblance may be traced to something of another kind. Thus, flint nodules resembling shells were preserved in a pre-dynastic Egyptian tomb at el-Amrah. The mandrake and the ginseng root are credited with wide and undefined powers in Asia and Eastern Europe because of their fancied resemblance, generally improved by art, to a human being (Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind*[3], 123). In a Malay house in Lower Siam a natural growth of wood resembling a bird was hung up for use as a clothes peg, but also to bring luck; and powder scraped from it was administered to children suffering from internal parasites: it was called *kayu-jadi-burong*, 'wood become bird' (MS Cat. Annandale Coll., no. 239).

Another claim to attention lies in any sort of paradoxical or abnormal quality in things. For instance, a chank shell is sometimes found with the whorls turning the reverse way; in Southern India such a specimen is regarded as a magical and fortunate possession (Walhouse, *JAI* xvi. 164). Catlin describes the mantle of a medicine-man of the Blackfeet, on Yellowstone River, 1833–40, as follows:

'Besides the skin of the yellow bear (which, being almost an anomaly in that country, is out of the regular order of nature, and, of course, *great medicine*, and converted to a medicine use), there are attached to it the skins of many animals which are also anomalies or deformities, which render them, in their estimation, *medicine*; and there are also the skins of snakes and frogs and bats—beaks and toes and tails of birds—hoofs of deer, goats, and antelopes; and, in fact, the "odds and ends," and fag-ends, and tails, and tips of almost everything that swims, flies, or runs, in this part of the great world' (*N. Amer. Indians*, Edinburgh, 1903, i. 46, and pl. 19).

Mere rarity is also valued (see Hubert and Mauss, *ASoc* vii. 102). Nodules of very compact black stone are occasionally found embedded in a coal seam; one such 'coal-nut' was kept by three generations of miners at Pendleton, Lancashire, as their most treasured possession; they considered that it protected them from accident, nor would they venture down a mine without it. By an extension of this desire for rarities, many amulets are supposed to have been obtained in some impossible way or from some mythical animal. In English folk-lore, fern-seed, if it could be found, would confer invisibility on the possessor. In Epirus it is said that, if a man boils eagles' eggs and puts them back in the nest, the eagle will fly to the Jordan, fetch a pebble, and put it in the nest to assist incubation. The man secures this pebble, which is called a 'stone of loosing,' and serves to cure diseases, especially the effects of the evil eye. Stones purporting to have been obtained in this way are actually carried

(Papacostas, *Man*, 1904, no. 81). A native of Kachal, Nicobar Islands, carried a ring about 1¼ inches in diameter, of a bone-like substance, and told a story about it of some large jungle-dwelling animal from whose eye or eye-socket it was made: 'it was bigger than a pig, and very scarce'; further than that he was not intelligent enough to give a description (C. Boden Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, 1903, p. 111). In India and Japan certain transparent pebbles are said to have fallen from the heads of cremated corpses or of snakes.

Pre-historic stone implements are popular as amulets wherever they are found; their history being unknown, and the finding of them usually sudden and accidental, they are believed to be of supernatural origin—either fallen from the sky, or the work of mythical beings (J. Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*[2], London, 1897, pp. 56-65). In most countries they are said to be 'thunderbolts,' and are therefore kept to preserve people, cattle, and buildings from lightning. They are also used to effect magical cures; water poured over neolithic celts and arrowheads is given to cows in Ireland to cure the 'grup'; in Italy they are hung round children's necks to keep away illness and the evil eye; the Malays carry them as lucky objects to sharpen their krises and cock-spurs, and as touchstones for gold. In Arabia, amulet-necklets of arrowheads are used, and manufactured arrow-shaped pendants of cornelian, agate, and glass are worn as 'good for the blood,' and exported from Mecca to south-eastern Europe. Similarly, natural pebbles resembling celts or arrowheads, and manufactured pendants of the same shape, are worn as amulets, *e.g.* at Lozère (France), to facilitate childbirth. Other substances found in the ground are similarly prized: belemnites, called 'thunder-stones' in France, Germany, and England, are powdered and given as medicine; staurolites (silicate of baryta and alumina) are valued by Breton peasants for their cruciform shape, and credited with supernatural origin and powers. Nodules of iron pyrites are often called 'thunderbolts,' *e.g.* in Switzerland, and are kept to protect houses from lightning. Antique beads found in the soil are valued in Europe, India, and West Africa as amulets for the cure and prevention of disease. Rock-crystal attracts attention wherever it is found; and alum seems to be a substitute for it in Persia and the Mediterranean countries. The metals, and iron in particular, are in almost universal estimation, partly from the difficulty of obtaining them, and partly from the traditional mystery of the smith's craft (cf. 'Indian' section of this art.).

But, apart from such special claims, it seems that any object which is small, complete in itself, definite, of homogeneous material, portable, and tolerably durable, which attracts attention, and can be taken as a personal possession, is likely to be treasured, and credited with unusual qualities simply in virtue of the attention it has excited. It remains to show how this idea of magical efficacy is developed.

First, the mere keeping of a small object for any length of time is enough to invest it with a special interest. If it is lost after it has become familiar, there is a considerable amount of mental discomfort, which may easily become associated with other misfortunes happening about the same time; and, by contrast, past prosperity will be associated with the possession of it. Ornaments habitually worn become linked with daily tasks, with mental effort, especially with exertions of eloquence; the loss of them may therefore be accompanied by a sensation of loss of power. Again, conspicuous ornaments or objects constantly carried become associated with the wearer's personality in the minds of other people; if he is remarkable for eloquence, shrewdness, or success, the existence of his 'mascot' or 'luck' is a convenient tangible circumstance which concentrates the attention of minds not much accustomed to analyze their impressions, and serves as an easy 'explanation.' The great man is not unlikely to be said to derive *mana* from the very object on which, in fact, he confers it.

But, further, when a man carries about with him some object which has caught his attention, he is generally obliged to justify his liking for it, to himself if not to others. 'What good is it to you? What do you keep it for?' In many cases the resemblance to something else, by which the object first attracted him, suggests an answer. Thus, the Melanesians, who value any stone of peculiar appearance, give explanations of this sort:

'Any fanciful interpretation of a mark on a stone or of its shape was enough to give a character to the stone . . . the stone would not have that mark or shape without a reason. . . . A stone with little disks upon it . . . was good to bring in money'; a stone surrounded by little stones, like a sow among her litter, would bring an increase of pigs (Codrington, *op. cit.* 181 f.). Jimmy Dei, a native of the Murray Islands (Torres Straits), had in 1898 an irregular oblong piece of vesicular lava; it was supposed to resemble the head of a *tabu* snake, and, as snakes prey upon rats and mice, he kept it in his garden to prevent rats from eating the bananas (Haddon, *Rep. of Camb. Anthrop. Exped.* vi. 220). Similarly, red stones in many countries are said to be good for the blood, white stones for the skin, crystals for the eyes, and cloudy agates to increase the milk of nurses.

Utilitarian explanations of this sort, based on the universal passion for detecting resemblances and analogies, are sufficient to convince those who use them that there is some real though vaguely-conceived connexion between the amulets they carry and the desired objects to which, by way of justification, they refer them. But to say, with Frazer, that uncivilized people are guided in such matters by the 'laws' of a pseudo-science is to credit them with more logical system than they really employ. The choice of the object in the first place, and the utilitarian application of the likeness perceived, are both dictated not by system, but by the accidents of local supply and local needs. The Haida seal-hunter is interested mainly in seals; therefore he is quick to notice any stone whose natural shape reminds him of a seal, and for the same reason he makes the practical application that it is good for seal-catching; a Melanesian gardener would probably say of a similar stone that it would be good for growing yams. Note, again, how elastic is the method of application: a twisted root in the Malay Peninsula, a seed-capsule (*Martynia*) and a beetle's horn (*Dynastes sp.*) in Upper Burma, and a nut (*Ophiocaryon paradoxum*) in British Guiana, all used locally as amulets, have each sufficient likeness to set up a generalized idea of snakes; and, as snakes are undesirable, it is decided in each case that they must be useful against snakes and snake-bite. But if snakes were needed, the same objects would be said to attract them. In New Guinea a stone shaped like a dugong is an amulet for catching dugong; another which recalls a shark is an amulet for escaping sharks. In the Murray Islands the *nam zogo*, which primarily was for the purpose of securing success in catching turtle, could also be used to prevent turtle from being caught (Haddon, *op. cit.* vi 51, 213, 219). The Nicobarese set up images of ships to attract traders when their coco-nuts are ready for sale, and images of crocodiles to prevent crocodiles from attacking them while bathing. There is no need to credit savage thought with any definite principle of 'similia similibus curantur'; such 'laws' belong to a late stage of systematization.

It is worth noting that the special application of amulets is often left undecided by the owners

until their efficacy has been tried. Codrington (*op. cit.* 183) says that in Melanesia a piece of water-worn coral-stone

'often bears a surprising likeness to a bread-fruit. A man who should find one of these would try its power by laying it at the root of a tree of his own, and a good crop would prove its connexion with a spirit good for bread-fruit. The happy owner would then for a consideration take stones of less marked character from other men, and let them lie near his, till the *mana* in his stone should be imparted to theirs.'

At Kampong Jarum, Ulu Rhaman (Malay Peninsula), a smooth black pebble was in use in 1901 to make the rice grow, water in which it had been washed being sprinkled over the young plants.

'The story of this stone was as follows:—Some years ago a man came to the village and said that he had lost a charm—a black stone—for making rice grow, on his way from Patani, which is about 60 miles away. A man from Jarum, passing along the same path a few days later, found the present specimen quite close to the village, and concluded it was the lost charm. He sprinkled his rice-fields with water in which the stone had been washed, and had a good crop that year. The fame of the stone was thereby established, and I had some difficulty in persuading him to part with it' (MS Cat. Annandale Coll., no. 243).

Where there is no resemblance to suggest the answer to the utilitarian question, there may be merely an assertion in general terms (tending to stiffen into tradition) that the object is 'lucky'; but very often a special application is determined by special need. 'I like it—ergo, it is good for something—ergo, it is good for what I want; for if not, what good is it to me?' This comes out quite clearly from a consideration of the amulets—in reality the large majority—of rather unspecialized character: whatever need is most pressing for a locality, class, or sex, determines the magical use of seeds, stones, bone, coral, or whatever objects are locally available and attractive. Thus, Hindus use beads, black seeds, bony plates from a crocodile's back, and carved pieces of bone—all against headache. Conversely, the Shans of Burma use elephants' nail for medicine in general; amulets of the same are hung on the children to protect them from disease; Shan women 'who are bewitched' carry part of an elephant's tail, and mothers who have lost a child wear a finger-ring of elephants' hair in the hope that the next infant may live. A collection of amulets now at the Horniman Museum, collected in Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, and Hampshire, between 1856 and 1892, shows that pieces of worn flint—all naturally grooved or perforated, and so attractively portable—have been carried by a gipsy to ensure good luck, by a poacher as 'lucky stones' but also as weapons, by a gipsy woman to protect her against 'the devil's imps,' by shepherds to ensure good luck during the lambing season and to keep foot-rot from the sheep, by the keeper of a raffle at country fairs to prevent customers from throwing high numbers, by a horse-breaker 'to keep the devil out of the horses,' by a farm-labourer to protect him from the witch Ann Izzard of St. Neots, who died about 1855, and by a woman to protect her from witches and evil spirits; to prevent and cure nose-bleeding; to ward off nightmare; to protect against lightning; to protect against being tossed and gored by cattle. Similar stones were hung up in a stye to protect the pigs from swine-fever, in a stable to keep the horses from having nightmare, and in a gipsy van to prevent the loss of horses by death. The amulets themselves were quite undifferentiated; the special applications were dictated by the owners' needs. The same thing is seen in a set of amulets from Lifu (South Pacific), forming part of the Hadfield Collection in the Manchester Museum; stones of any kind are rare on the smaller islands, and smooth pebbles and irregular fragments of lava were carried by the natives, with the most widely varying objects—to produce water, yams, and taro, to improve sling stones with which they were kept, to secure the death of an enemy, to catch crabs, to give strength to the knee for mountain-climbing, to give ability and success and remove infertility, and to give confidence in addressing a chief. Protection against the evil eye, wherever the dread of it prevails, is made a secondary application for amulets of many kinds, although it has developed special remedies (see below). Thus, at Perugia a double walnut is carried 'for good luck against the evil eye and headache,' and a boar's tusk 'against the evil eye and witches, and to assist children in teething'; at Aquila, a heart-shaped piece of bone is efficacious 'against heart-complaint and the evil eye.' Hubert and Mauss say (*ASoc* vii. 103):

'The notion of special properties never stands alone in magic; it is always confused with a generalized idea of power and nature. True, the idea of the effect to be produced is always precise, but the idea of the special qualities [in the amulet] and their operation is always rather obscure. On the other hand, we find in magic a very distinct conception of substances which have undefined virtues: salt, blood, coral, fire, crystals, and precious metals . . . all incorporate general magical power, susceptible of any particular application or utilization.'

It will have been suggested by the foregoing examples that certain classes of amulets are credited, primarily, not with inherent magical power, but with a borrowed virtue acquired from some person or thing regarded as sacred or mysterious. In Melanesia all manifestations of *mana* are explained by reference to personal beings: 'if a stone is found to have a supernatural power, it is because a spirit has associated itself with it; a dead man's bone has with it *mana*, because the ghost is with the bone'; and, further, many such amulets can be used only by men who know the appropriate magic chant communicated by a spirit or by a former owner (Codrington, *op. cit.* 56, 57, 119). Magical power is everywhere conceived as a quality highly transferable: sacred persons and places can impart it by definite process or by mere local association. In Southern Europe, relics of saints, portions of the True Cross, medals and pictures of saints, and sacred objects are perhaps the most highly esteemed of amulets. In Muhammadan countries amulets made of earth from Mecca or of the sweepings of the Ka'ba are worn. In Burma, bricks from sacred buildings are kept for protection (see the 'Indian' and 'Japanese' sections of the present art.). There is a tendency, also, to reinforce the supposed efficacy of an amulet by bringing it into contact with something of superior efficacy: in Europe, relics and medals are more prized if bought at a place of pilgrimage, or blessed by a priest or bishop, while amulets not licensed by the religious authorities are often hidden under the altar, or in the clothes of an infant at baptism, so as to receive consecration. In Brittany, halters and bundles of cow-hair, blessed by a priest or allowed to lie on the altar of a church, are used to protect cattle from disease (Baring Gould, *A Book of Brittany*, 1901, pp. 276–278). Again, dead men and all the associations of death are everywhere held to be a magical source of power; hence, in Europe, the amuletic uses of coffin-nails, pieces of shroud, hangman's rope, and personal relics of saints and executed criminals. Strangers, and neighbours of unfamiliar type or less advanced civilization, are credited with magical power, which may be extended to everything which they own or produce. The Arunta (Central Australia) regard the tribes north and west of their own district in this way, so that the ordinary girdles worn by the Warramunga men are traded to the Arunta as powerful amulets (cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1871, i. 102–104).

The detachable *parts of animals*—feet, horns, claws, teeth, scales, and so forth—form a large class of amulets. To some extent they fall within the more general categories of the small, compact,

portable, and rare; but a special application is often dictated by their association with the corresponding parts of human beings; thus,

'the headman of Naukauri (Nicobar Islands) was much interested in a kingfisher that was being skinned [by a naturalist], and begged for the eyes, which he said formed a valuable specific in cases of sleeplessness' (C. B. Kloss, *op. cit.* 76).

This is not, however, a universal rule; for example, monkeys' paws are used as vermifuge amulets in Formosa, moles' paws to keep off cramp in England, porcupines' feet by Chawia women (North Africa) for protection during pregnancy, and by Arab women against sore breasts. Very often the object seems to be chosen for its connexion with the most impressive of the local animals, which are themselves credited with mysterious power. To this type belong the crocodile scutes worn in Bengal and Torres Straits; the leopard and lion skins of Africa; tigers' claws and whiskers, bears' teeth, and eagles' claws; or the various products of the elephant. The connexion may be reinforced by making a likeness of the animal; the elephant-nail amulets of the Shans are sometimes cut in the shape of an elephant. Sometimes the amulet is intended to transfer some desirable quality, as when in South Africa a kite's foot is worn to give swiftness, a lion's claw for security (Tylor, *Early History*[3], 131; Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism*, 32, and references there given); but quite as often the magical efficacy is unspecialized, and the application dictated by need.

With all amulets, in fact, *nomination* is of immense importance, although nomination may be guided by tradition; when the owner of an amulet of undefined virtues decides to connect it with some particular need, he thereby makes it a charm for that purpose (Tylor, *op. cit.* 126). He has only to think so and to say so, and it becomes for him and all his circle a rain-charm, a pig-charm, or a safeguard against the evil eye (see Jetté, 'Medicine-Men of the Ten'a,' *JAI* xxxvii. 165).

It is obvious that the demand for amulets may exceed the supply of suitable natural objects, especially where tradition has fixed the type. It becomes necessary to make as well as to find them. The first steps in this direction are easy, for, when natural objects are valued for their likeness to something else, there is always a tendency to improve the likeness by art, for the maker's own satisfaction or for a purchaser. From this it is a natural advance to make amulets which are entirely artificial; and these, being made to meet a demand, have generally a fairly definite application, though many are intended to be simply 'lucky.' Leaving aside manufactured objects (such as antique beads and coins) which are merely selected, as natural objects are, for magical use, we may classify *artificial amulets* under four heads:—(i.) Imitations of natural objects, already in use as amulets, *e.g.* of horns (Italy, Portugal, etc.), teeth (large numbers made in Austria for African trade), 'seahorses' (Naples), or coral (all Mediterranean countries, and Africa north of Equator). (ii.) Representations of 'lucky' or sacred objects and protective gestures, *e.g.* of the fish (Manchuria), the pig (South Bavaria), a hunchback (Italy), crosses and figures of saints (Europe generally), the chalice (Rhone Valley), or hands with the fingers in the attitudes called 'making horns' and 'mano in fica' (South Europe and N. Africa). (iii.) Objects made of materials credited with magical efficacy, *e.g.* loops and crosses of rowan-twigs (Scotland), wood of sacred trees (India), jade (Asia), gold, etc. (iv.) Inscribed objects and written charms. Nomination plays an important part in conferring magical efficacy on artificial amulets; frequently the process of manufacture is conceived as a magical rite, in the course of which a charm is repeated, indicating, and thereby conferring, the specific power desired. For example, a Lengua (Paraguay), when he wishes to hunt rhea or huanaco, makes a rough likeness, or rather suggestion, of the game by wrapping a bird's bone in grass or cloth; he sets this up before him and 'sings over it' to give it power (cf. Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*[2], Paris, 1909, p. 89 ff.). A similar rite is often performed, either by the beneficiary or by an expert, when the amulet is first put on or fixed in its place (cf. Maclagan, *Evil Eye in the Western Highlands*, 1902, p. 141 ff.). Where no attempt is made to produce a resemblance, nomination is all in all, and the amulet seems little more than a means of focusing the wish; as, for instance, in a pendant of carved jade worn by a Bengali 'as a cure for drooping spirits in adversity.'

It should be noted in this connexion that many amulets are worn in fulfilment of a prescription or vow by which their special application is indicated. A Haida magician (Queen Charlotte Is., British Columbia), when engaged in a magical cure, wears a necklet with a number of ivory or bone pendants; after the séance one of these is given to the patient, and others are sold to the bystanders as a protection against the disease in future. To cure an attack of fever, the Nicobarese *menluana* ('magician') prescribes the painting of a *henta* ('magical picture') by the village artist, and if the patient recovers, it is kept in the house as a potent charm against further attacks (C. B. Kloss, *op. cit.* 85). Peasant women near Bologna make a vow, in church, to the Virgin, that they will wear garters or girdles under their clothes for the cure of diseases.

Inscribed amulets and charms—a very important class of artificial amulets—may be classified as: (i.) Inscribed objects valued as such apart from the meaning of the inscription. The art of writing always raises a presumption of magical power where the population is mainly illiterate; hence, objects with accidental markings resembling written characters are prized, as well as mere scribbling in imitation of writing (Sudan, etc.). The use made of ancient coins (Europe, Asia) is possibly connected with this, but in some cases (*e.g.* China, Japan, Korea) they are valued for their association with the persons whose names appear on them; Chinese sword-sheaths made of coins are meant to convey the supernatural power and beneficence of all the emperors represented. Hence they should perhaps be placed in the next list. (ii.) Objects inscribed with sacred and magical names, designs, and figures (see 'Christian,' 'Jewish,' 'Indian,' sections of this art.). (iii.) Objects with inscriptions indicating their application; many of the charms distributed at Japanese temples are merely papers stamped 'for protection,' 'against thieves,' 'for easy delivery,' etc. (see 'Japanese' section). (iv.) Copies of sacred texts to which magical efficacy is ascribed (see 'Jewish' and 'Muhammadan' sections). (v.) Copies of prescriptions and curative charms; these are of frequent use in European folk-practice, the prescription being first carried out or the charm repeated, and the copy worn or preserved until the cure is complete. Sometimes, however, the formula is not repeated or disclosed, but only written out by an expert and given to the patient (see *FL* and other publications of the Folk-Lore Society, London, *passim*). The popularity of classes (iv.) and (v.) has given rise in many countries to the manufacture of various charm-cases—leather cases (Syria, Muhammadan Africa), silk and cotton bags (South Europe, India, Japan, etc.), metal cylinders (India, Tibet, etc.), or rolls of lead-foil

(Burma)—and there is a tendency to credit these with amuletic efficacy irrespective of their contents.

Amulets against the evil eye constitute a special class, although, as has been said, all other kinds tend to receive a secondary application to this danger wherever the fear of it prevails, children, pregnant women and nursing mothers, domestic animals, ripe crops, and, in short, whatever is likely to arouse envy being considered in special need of protection. Co-extensive with the spread of the belief along the European and African shores of the Mediterranean and through Italy into Central Europe, along parts of the Atlantic seaboard, up the Nile, and through Syria, Turkey, and Asia Minor into Asia, is a marked development of the use of amulets, some intended to fortify the possessor against the effects of the evil glance, and others to intercept or divert it. They include (1) representations of eyes, and natural objects resembling eyes; (2) representations of hands making prophylactic gestures; (3) phallic representations; (4) representations of hunchbacks, death's-heads, and other singularities; (5) almonds, nuts, seeds, shells, and representations of them (these are often supposed to break when the glance falls on them, and earthen pots are placed near crops on the same principle); (6) boars' tusks, canine teeth of wolves and other carnivora, horns, and artificial representations of any of them, and various crescentic objects, especially representations of the moon; (7) crystal and alum; (8) coral, imitations of it, and other red materials; (9) blue materials, *e.g.* glass, porcelain, beads, woollen yarn, turquoise, and imitations of it. (For discussions of the significance of these and other types, see bibliography for works by Bellucci, Elworthy, Leland, Maclagan, Ridgeway, and Westermarck.)

Certain other instruments of magical practice should be studied in connexion with amulets and charms. Implements of *divination* are often kept for repeated use, and credited with a magical power of bringing about events as well as indicating them. Again, it is often difficult to draw the line between amulets and *fetishes*, especially when these are natural objects (or artificial reproductions of them) chosen, as amulets are, for their singularity or their accidental resemblance to other things, valued as personal possessions, and credited with magical power. The difference seems to lie in the nearer approach to personification in the case of the fetish, which becomes the object of rites which at least resemble prayer and offering (see Frobenius, *Childhood of Man*, 1909, p. 186, fig. 195; Cushing, *Zuñi Fetiches, passim*; Haddon, *Reports of the Cambr. Anthrop. Exped. to Torres Straits*, vol. vi. section xiii. [1908]). The use of material objects, especially images, in *sorcery*, to do magical harm to persons or property depends on the same general idea of magical power, in this case not inherent, but conferred by a rite. Great emphasis is laid on resemblance between the instrument and the subject of attack, and in this connexion the ideas of 'sympathetic magic' are most strongly and systematically developed; there are, however, cases in which the image is regarded not as representing the subject, but as the embodiment of the sorcerer's magical power or wish (Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*[2], Paris, 1909, pp. 169–173, 227–230). The primary function of certain other magical objects (*e.g.* 'wish-bones' in Europe, sorcery-concoctions with lock and key in West Africa) is to focus, or register, the operator's wish, though there is a constant tendency to credit them with power to fulfil it. Connected with these are many kinds of *votive offerings* deposited in holy or 'lucky' places; and these again must be compared with such amulets as are worn in fulfilment of a vow and to obtain a specified benefit (see above).

See, further, the articles Divination, Fetishism, Disease and Medicine, Magic, Sacrifice, Witchcraft.

Literature and Materials for Study.—i. *MUSEUMS*: the Pitt-Rivers Collection, University Museum, Oxford [comparative series of over 500 amulets and objects connected with magic: catalogue in preparation]; the Hadfield and Darbishire collections in the Manchester Museum, Owens College, Manchester; the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, London [small series, chiefly British]; Mr. Edward Lovett's Folk-Museum, Croydon.

ii. *BOOKS.*—C. Adler and I. M. Casanowicz, 'The Collection of Ceremonial Objects in the U.S. Nat. Museum,' *Proc. U.S. Nat. Mus.* xxxiv. 701–746, pl. lx.–cv.; R. G. Anderson, 'Medical Practices and Superstitions amongst the People of Kordofan,' *Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laborotories*, Dept. of Educatioo, Sudan Government, Khartoum, 1908, p. 281 ff.; G. Bellucci, *Tradizioni Popolari Italiani*, no. 2, 'Il feticismo primitivo in Italia,' no. 3, 'Un capitoio di Psicologia Popolare: Gli Amuleti,' Perugia, 1908; E. de Cartailhac, *L'Age de pierre dans les souvenirs et superstitions populaires*, Paris, 1877; A. B. Cook, Συκοφάντης, in *Class. Rev.* xxi. 133; R. Corso, 'Amuleti contemporanei Calabresi,' in *Rev. des ét. ethnogr. et sociol.*, nos. 21, 22, Paris, Sept.–Oct. 1909, p. 250; F. H. Cushing, 'Zuñi Fetiches,' *2 RBEW*, 1883; F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, also *Horns of Honour*, London, 1900; A. C. Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism*, London, 1906; W. L. Hildburgh, 'Notes on Spanish Amulets,' io *FL* xvii. [1906] 454, 'Notes on Sinhalese Magic,' *JAI* xxxviii. [1908] 148 ff. pl. xi.–xvi., and 'Notes on some Tibetan and Bhutia Amulets and Folk-medicines, and a few Nepalese Amulets. Notes on some Burmese Amulets and Magical Objects,' in *JAI* xxxix. [1909] 386, 397, pl. 36–39; C. G. Leland, *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition*, London, 1892; R. C. Maclagan, 'Notes on Folk-lore Objects collected in Argyleshire,' *FL* vi. [1895], also *The Evil Eye in the Western Highlands*, London, 1902; A. N. Moberley, 'Amulets as agents in the Prevention of Disease,' in *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 223–248; S. H. Perry, 'Sorcery in England,' in *Reliquary*, xiii. 157; C. B. Plowright, 'Moorish Origin of certain Amulets,' in *Reliquary*, xii. 106–113; W. Ridgeway, 'The Origin of the Turkish Crescent,' *JAI* xxxviii. [1908] 241 ff. pl. xix.–xxv.; E. Westermarck, 'The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs,' *ib.* xxxiv. [1904]; numerous papers in *FL*, *JAI*, and *Man*.

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CHARMS AND AMULETS (Abyssinian).—

1. Appearance.—Abyssinian charms or amulets are made of from one to three strips of parchment or leather, which varies greatly in thickness and quality, sewn together with thongs of the same material, the whole forming a strip from *c.* 50 cm. to 2 m. in length, and from *c.* 5 cm. to 25 cm. in width. Many specimens have lost the beginning or end. The scroll thus formed is rolled tightly together, and bound with cord, or inserted in a telescoping capsule, or sewn tightly in leather. Convenience or the conservatism of magic has given the roll-form the preference, though magical works, containing legends and spells, and evidently designed, like the scrolls, to be carried rather than read, are often found in small bound volumes with heavy wooden covers. Capsules and leather-covered rolls of this sort are often strung together, to the number of five or six, and ornamented with beads.

Upon this material the Abyssinian *dabtarā* ('canon') writes the legends, spells, words of power, secret signs, and other devices which are to make the charm effective. The appearance of such scrolls is unique. At the top is usually a picture of the archangel Michael or Gabriel with sword in hand, accompanied by smaller angelic figures or faces. Curious spider-like forms, eyes (doubtless representing the evil eye), the fish, the serpent, the lion (or dog [?]), the cross with sun and moon on either side, and indescribably fantastic figures combine with geometric designs in endless yet characteristic array. The 'Seal of 'Eskeder,' or Alexander, so designated by a subscription, in the form of an interlaced figure, appears in one instance, and suggests a similar interpretation of the unintelligible figures above mentioned. Only very rarely is there an illustration bearing upon the accompanying text, as in the pictures noted

in three instances of the saint Sūsneyōs mounted and attacking the demoness Werzelya. The name of the possessor of the scroll appears many times throughout the roll. The space for the insertion of the name is left blank by the maker, the name being afterward filled in for the purchaser, and subsequently changed as many times as need be, when the roll passes from hand to hand, which is very often the case. Not only at the top but at the end, and in the middle, once or twice, such figures are placed, again without any reference to the text.

The substance of the spells is written in a script generally very much debased, and in some instances assuming a character attributable only to a desire for the bizarre and mysterious, mixed with magical signs, suggesting, on the one hand, Abyssinian or Arabic letters, on the other, the signs which are found in Coptic and late Greek magical texts. The language is a more or less successful attempt at Ge'ez, the ancient, ecclesiastical, and literary language of Abyssinia, commonly known as Ethiopic. The Amharic-speaking scribe is everywhere evident; and in some instances the writer passes completely into the latter language.

2. Age.—The dating of the texts is very difficult. A few are possibly as old as the 15th cent. A.D., and magic scrolls continue to be written in Abyssinia to-day. There is every reason to believe that, however much these texts have accumulated through contact with Muslim and European influences,[1] much or most that is in them goes back to the Byzantine Christian magical texts and books.

3. Use.—Abyssinian charms are worn about the neck, or merely kept in the house, of the possessor. It would seem from the texts that the presence of the roll is in itself sufficient for complete protection—a fetishistic idea which is familiar. But there is also frequent mention of the immunity that comes to him who 'reads the book.' A peculiar form of amulet, described by Turayeff (*Lefāfa-Ṣedeq*, St. Petersburg, 1908), and reminding one strongly of the Egyptian Book of the Dead, was buried with the body to procure for its possessor complete justification in the next world.

4. Contents.—The text of the scrolls, besides the figures, etc., above described, contains both simple spells and words of power, the whole being accompanied by legends explaining how they originated, were first used, and came to have their efficacy. The latter device is well known in magic literature, from earliest Babylonian times onward. It will be necessary to speak first of the legends.

(*a*) *The legend of Sūsneyōs and Werzelyā* is the most common. It tells how a man named Sūsneyos marries a wife and begets a child, to which a certain demoness (or witch, or old woman with the evil eye), called Werzelyā, comes in the house, and, departing, causes its death. She goes into a lonely place where she meets her companions, the unclean spirits and demons. The mother complains to the father, Susneyōs, regarding what has happened; he mounts his horse, and with spear in hand starts in quest of Werzelyā to kill her. Not knowing where she is to be found, he inquires of an old woman (witch [?]) at the roadside, who says that she has gone into a 'garden' which lies straight before him. He meets her there, surrounded by demons in large numbers. He prays to Jesus Christ for help in the contest with these supernatural foes; and, after hearing a voice from heaven which announces the granting of his petition, he advances against Werzelya and pierces her side. At this point the texts are at variance. An exorcism by the 'seven ranks of archangels' follows, which seems to be an essential part of the legend; but it is uncertain by whom, with what purpose, and with what result it was uttered; and the close is variously treated. There are five different versions, as follows: (1) The fate of Werzelyā is not stated. It is not expressly mentioned that she dies; and she does not promise 'not to go where his name is found.' This form is incomplete. (2) Werzelya is not killed by the stroke, and presumably continues to live; but she promises not to harm any one who stands under the protection of the name of Sūsneyōs. The exorcism by the seven archangels is uttered by Werzelyā with the result of saving her life. This form is the commonest, and doubtless the original one. Werzelyā is an ever-living semi-human personality, which continues to harm such as are not protected by the name of the hero who vanquished her. The exorcism has a purpose in the narrative. (3) The demoness dies, and is consequently no more able to harm. The exorcism has no effect or purpose. She makes no promise to refrain from evil; but in death she is once for all disposed of. As in the foregoing form, she is not a ghost but a demoniac human being. This form cannot be original, because Werzelyā must be accounted for as an ever-present agency. (4) Werzelyā dies, but promises nevertheless not to assail the protégés of the hero. Here it is the ghost of the slain woman that continues to harm, unless prevented by the charm. But this form may be merely a mixture of (2) and (3), and in any case leaves the exorcism without purpose. (5) It is Sūsneyos, and not Werzelyā, who pronounces the exorcism, and for the purpose of saving his life (?)—a possible but very unlikely version, which leaves the question of Werzelyā's fate unsettled.

This legend is a combination of a pagan superstition and the story of a Christian martyr. Of the night-hag who kills little children more will be said below; the idea is found everywhere. The name Werzelyā has not been satisfactorily explained. It has been connected with Hebrew בְּרוּלַי, בָּרוּל (O. von Lemm, *Kopt. Miscellen*, St. Petersburg, 1907); and thought to be of Cushitic African origin (Littmann, 'The Princeton Ethiopic Magic Scroll,' *Princeton Univ. Bulletin*, xv. 1, 1903, pp. 31-42). It is found in Coptic texts (cf. the *Hymn to Sousennios*, in which the name *Berzelia* occurs [von Lemm, *op. cit.*]; also Crum, *Catal. of the Coptic MSS in the British Museum*, 1905, p. 253, no. 524). There is probably no connexion with Ursula, as is maintained by Fries ('The Ethiopic Legend of Socinius and Ursula,' *Actes du huitième Congrès Intern. d. Orient.*, sec. i. B, Leyden, 1893, pp. 55-70); but the matter has not yet been definitely settled (see Littman, *op. cit.*; and especially Basset, *Les Apocryphes éthiopiens*, iv., Paris, 1894). Of the identity of Sūsneyos with the Greek Sisinnios there can be no doubt. There were several persons of that name in the 5th century. The original was the martyr who lived in the reign of Diocletian (Basset, *op. cit.* p. 10 f.), and who in Antioch killed his sister for murder and intercourse with Satan. Only in one of the MSS used by Fries (*op. cit.*) is this sister named Werzelyā. It is easy to see how a saint, famous for his slaying of a monstrous woman, might become the slayer of the dreaded night-hag. In the Slavic legends we have a story of Sisoe and his sister Meletia (Gaster, *FL* xi., 1900, 129-162)[1] similar to that of Susneyos and Werzelya. According to Basset (*op. cit.*), the successor of Mani, the Manichæan Sisinnios, is the real opponent of the night-hag, and the confusion with the martyr is later. We know that Babylonian, and therefore probably Manichæan, beliefs were

[1] Rochus (Roqō)—once mentioned, died 16th Aug. 1327, and was canonized in 1414 at the Council of Constance. The name came to Abyssinia probably through the Portuguese.

[1] Meletia is the *sister* of Sisoe and the *mother of children* who at birth are *stolen* by the *Devil*; not the *demoness* who *kills* the *one* (*firstborn*) *child* of the *saint and his wife* (unnamed). The search of the mounted saint, the meeting, the prayer, are all represented. The evil spirit promises not to approach the place where his name is found. There is no oath by the archangels. The Devil is made to vomit up the swallowed children by the saint who, after prayer, is able to perform the miracle demanded, and vomit up his mother's milk. This last feature, and the questioning of the trees on the road (instead of the old woman) are characteristic of the Slavic and the Greek legends (see below). The story of a demoness Vestitza, who kills newborn children, and who is overcome by the archangel Michael, is also reported by Gaster (*op. cit.*).

full of the idea of this female demon; but the notion is one widely diffused and possibly of independent origin.[1]

Greek amulets have the same *motif*, and even the name Sisinnios. One example (Leo Allatius, *De templis Græcorum recentioribus*, Cologne, 1645, p. 126 ff.) contains the account of how the saints Σισύνιος and Συνίδωρος, in behalf of their stricken sister Μελιτήνη and with the help of God, pursue with many adventures the demoness Γυλοῦ, the harmer of little children. After her capture she promises under punishment not to come near those possessing the amulet. Γυλοῦ, Γελοῦ, Γελλώ, Γιλλώ is the Jewish Lilith, the Babylonian *Lilītu*, echoing still the Bab. name *Gallū* (cf. Kohut, 'Jüdische Angelologie,' in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iv. [1866] 87; and C. Frank, 'Zu babylonischen Beschwörungstexten,' in *ZA* xxiv. 161 ff.), and has here the rôle of Werzelyā. Similar is the story of the meeting of Michael and Βασκανία (-οσύνη, 'witchcraft'; *e.g.* Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 295 ff.), where the place of Sisinnios is taken by the archangel. This Hellenistic *motif* of the saint who slays the *Baskania* found, possibly in Egypt, definite employment in a literary legend-amulet of *Sousennios* and *Berzēlia* (cf. von Lemm, *loc. cit.*) for the use of women in childbed. This may have come to Abyssinia in the 14th or 15th century. It came also into other lands (cf. Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Collectio*, Rome, 1821, iv. 314, MS clxxiv. 5 and 69, where an Arabic MS from Aleppo is mentioned containing the Sisinnios legend with exorcism).

(*b*) *The Legend of the Fish-net of Solomon* is of frequent occurrence. It begins with the formula: 'The names of Salōmōn: how he scattered the demons as a fish-net (is thrown out), saying . . . [here follow magical words].' The narrative follows of how the demons seize Solomon and bury him, and bring him before the 'king' (*i.e.* of the demons; see below), who challenges him to a contest of power. Solomon proves victor over the 'blacksmiths' (*i.e.* demons; see below), who attack him, by uttering the word 'Lōfḥam.' The 'king' is then constrained to reveal all his 'signs' by which his activity may be known, *e.g.* miscarriage, madness, death (especially of women and children), and secret commerce with women followed by the birth of monstrous children. Of these latter a long list is given, consisting of the names of domestic animals and, in some MSS, of wild animals. Solomon curses the demon and exorcizes him again. At the close there is a prayer:

'I seal my face (with the sign of the Cross) against the great terror of the demons and blacksmiths. . . . I take refuge in "Lōfḥam," thy (magic) name . . . that I may scatter my enemies, and become their enemy . . . (names of demons) . . . that they may not come to me, and not approach my soul and my body, who am Thy servant N. N.'

It is impossible to restore the precise form of this story, as it is badly confused and fragmentary.

(*c*) *The Legend of 'Āinat* relates how Jesus and His disciples at the Sea of Tiberias meet with an old woman of terrible appearance, having a flame issuing from her mouth, and eyes as red as the rising sun. When questioned about her, Jesus says that she is 'Āinat, and describes the evils which she causes—shipwreck, falling of rider and horse, the ruining of milch cows, and the separation of mother and child—and pronounces two magic words which render her powerless. The disciples burn her (or her eye), and scatter her ashes to the four winds of heaven. At the close is the petition: 'May her memory be destroyed, and may the memory of 'Āinat be destroyed from Thine handmaid N. N.'

The name 'Āinat is connected with *'ain*, 'the evil eye'; the presumption of an Arabic origin or mediation is confirmed by the title: 'The prayer of Nad(a)rā' (=Egyptian-Arab. *an-Naḍrah*, or classical Arab. *an-Naẓrah*, 'the evil eye'). The Arabic original from which the Abyssinian version was prepared is perhaps represented by the legend, agreeing in almost every detail, which is described in the *Catalogue of the Coptic MSS in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, ed. by W. E. Crum, 1909, p. 238 f., no. 467 E. Like Werzelyā, 'Āinat is a native demoniac figure, given a foreign name and story.

(*d*) *Other legends* are found in the bound magical works, and in the scrolls buried with the dead (see above); such are the accounts of how Mary revealed the secret names of Christ (*Tell Me Thy Name; The Names of Our Lord; The Disciples*), the *Prayer of the Virgin among the Parthians, at Golgotha, in Egypt*, and the *Prayer of Cyprian*, which seem to have been written in the reign of the famous reformer and opponent of magic, Zar'a Ya'qōb (1434–1468). All these legends are of Christian literary origin, and closely related to the miracle stories, out of which, in the process of degeneration, they have gradually emerged as magical literature—the Christian dress of an unconquerable pagan tendency.

(*e*) *Shorter and simpler spells*, standing midway between the literary legends and the mere words of power, occur in large numbers. A few typical examples are the following:

(*α*) Biblical in origin are, *e.g.*, Ps 1^{1-3} (because of the occurrence of 'wither': there follows the application 'thus may not wither the fruit of the womb of thine handmaid, N. N.'), Ps 91 (Septuagint 90). Because of the catalogue of evils, and the promise of God's protection, this is much used, and furnishes many expressions found elsewhere. The following are employed because they contain the word 'blood,' the application being that the quotation will save the person concerned (from bloodshed [?] or) from barrenness (the continued menstruation, or the hemorrhage of disease, are both spoken of as the failure of the child to 'solidify'): Ps 5^6 9^{12} 16^4 30^9 50^{13} 51^{14} 58^{10} 68^{23} 78^{44} 79^3 139^{19} (often so much modified as not to be easily recognized), Dt 32^{42}, Ro 3^{15} (cf. Is 59^7, Pr 1^{16}). Also, to aid conception: Jn 1^{14} ('And the Word became flesh' . . .), Mk $5^{25ff.}$ (the woman with an issue of blood). Jn $1^{5ff.}$ is used to ward off demons ('apprehended,' κατέλαβεν, is rendered by Eth. *yĕrakĕb*, which means 'came upon' or 'attacked'; the prayer follows: 'May the demons not attack . . .'). There are exorcisms by the Twenty-four Elders (Rev 4^4), the Four Beasts (4^6), the Twelve Apostles, the four Evangelists, and the Fifteen Prophets; and, though extra-Biblical in this connexion, the Three Hundred and Eighteen Orthodox (who gathered at Nicæa).[1]

(*β*) Muslim and Arabic in origin is, *e.g.*: *Lā ḥawla walā quwwata illā billāhi l-'aliyi l-karīm* ('There is no Power and no Might except with God the Exalted, the Glorious!'), which appears in Ethiopic translation, not in phonetic imitation, like those given below.

(*γ*) Miscellaneous.—The formula, 'In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' is used as a spell by itself; and is regularly employed in introducing each new division of text (called *ṣalōt*='prayer'). It may sometimes, though certainly not always, be used merely as a common Christian formula, and without other intention. Remarkable, and characteristic of Abyssinia, are the hymns called *salāms*. They are well known in legitimate literature, and seem to appear in amulets partly as borrowed lore of the Church, possessing for that reason magical efficacy, partly as modified or newly invented hymns, with a magical purpose in view from the first. They begin with the words *salām laka*, 'Hail to thee . . .!' and celebrate some saint, or angel, or deed of valour. Such are, *e.g.*, the hymn to the archangel *Rūfā'ēl*, the 'opener of the womb'; to *Fānū'ēl* (Heb. פְּנוּאֵל='Face of God'; the meaning is remembered by the Abyssinians), who drives away the demons from before the face of God, where they assemble to accuse mankind of his evil deeds (cf. Satan in the prologue of the Book of Job), and who drives away the demons upon earth. He is the Angel of Forgiveness. This hymn is very common, and varies greatly in length and in the order of the verses. It contains a reference which indicates that it was composed for magical purposes. The hymn to the *Lance of Langinōs* is used against the disease called *weg'at* ('stitch in the side'), from the circumstance that the word *wag'ō* (='pierced it') occurs. The idea is found elsewhere; see, *e.g.*, Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wort-cunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, London, 1864–6, pp. I, 393, where a spell against stitch is given: 'Longinus miles lancea ponxit dominum et restitit sanguis et recessit dolor.' There are many exorcisms composed of the names of demons and their qualities and evil works, as in Bab. ritual texts; and of the epithets and attributes of God and of the Cross.

(*f*) *Magical formulæ, or words of power*, fill a

[1] Gaster (*op. cit.*) gives parallels, from Hebrew sources, of the Sūsneyōs-Werzelyā type, which he regards as the ancestors of the Slavic legends. We incline to the opinion that the Greek-Slavic legends of Europe are not derived from the Greek-Coptic legends of Africa (the postulated ancestors of the present Abyssinian stories), but that both are separate developments of the Hellenistic *motif*, ultimately Heb.-Bab. (cf. the contest of Marduk-Bel with Tiamat and her demons). At present, however, nothing definite can be said about it.

[1] Gaster (*op. cit.* p. 142) has: '360 holy fathers of the Council of Nicæa.' The theoretical Babylonian year has 360 days, on 318 of which the moon would be visible to the average eye (cf. Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, 1900, ii. 27, regarding the Eliezer Gematria [318] of Gn 14^{14} 15^2). The remarkable and hardly casual number of persons (317+1) who went from Mitanni to Egypt in connexion with the marriage of Kirgipa (Gilukhipa) and Amenhotep III. (see Breasted, *Ancient Records*, London, 1906, ii. 347 f.; Winckler, *Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, Berlin, 1896, 16. 5; 41. 42) has never been noticed in this connexion; nor the traditional year of the appearance of the heresies of Arius (318). For this symbolic number in Christian writers, see the reference in *HDB* iii. 567; *PRE*, *s.v.* 'Zahlen.'

large rôle in the texts. They are meaningless in themselves, except to the initiated. Many are invented apparently on the spur of the moment by the writer of the scroll; others seem to be passed along with more or less accuracy, though in themselves unintelligible. A large number, however, can be traced to a definite source. Foreign words and proper words, because unintelligible, or by reason of some association, are taken over, and then modified by omission, or addition, or the reversal of the consonants. More frequently the writer pretends to know the meaning of the words, and translates incorrectly. While despising each other, Muslims and Christians borrow phonetically the formulæ used in the strange religion—a phenomenon well known to anthropologists.

E.g. ARABIC: *Bismi 'l-lāhi 'r-raḥmāni 'r-raḥīm*, 'In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful'; reminiscences or fragments of *Sūra* cxii. of the Qur'ān . . . *lam yalid walam yulad* . . . 'He begetteth not, neither is He begotten'; *A'ūdhu billāhi mina 'sh-Shaiṭāni 'r-Ragīm*, 'I take refuge with God from Satan the accursed' (*Sūra* xvi. 100); *Fayakun*, 'So let there be' (the mighty word by which the world was created); *Yā rasūla 'l-lah*, 'O Apostle of God'; and many other Arabic words and expressions.

HEBREW are: *Eh'yē asher eh'yē*, 'I am that I am' (Ex 3^{14}; cf. Goldziher, in *ZA* xxi. 244, and xx. 412); *Elshaddai*, *Ṣ'bā'ōth*, *Adōnai*, *Yahwē*, *Elōhīm*,—names of God; *Bersābeḥelyōs*, *Bersābeḥel*, the greatest of the names of Christ (perhaps with Littmann [*Gesch. der äthiop. Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 238] = *Be'ērsheba'*, 'Beersheba,' with the magic ending *-ēl* and the Gr. ending *-ōs*); *Lōfḥam*, and the reverse, *Meḥafelōn* (the mighty word used by Solomon, and suggesting the etymology מְחַבֵּל, 'destructive'); *Salōmōn* in its Greek form, and the reversed and modified forms: *Mēlōs*, *Mēlyōs*, *Malīs*, *Malulīs*, *Lās*, *Malalyōs*, *Milalyōs*, *Mōlīs*, *Lamelōs*, *Nemlōs*, *Neblōs*.

GREEK are: *Theos* (*Tā'ōs*); *Messias* (*Māsyās*); *Pneuma* (*Ebnōbyā*); *Alfā* (Rev 1^8 21^6 22^{13}; cf. Ludolff, *Hist. Aethiop.*, Frankfort, 1681, *Commentarius*, 1691, p. 359); *Beta Iōta* (*Bōṭā Yōṭa*; perhaps for βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, Mt 27^{37}); *Elōi, Elōi, lama sabachthanei* (Mk 15^{34}. These Aramaic words in Greek letters are distorted variously in the Abyssinian magical texts, but are accurately transliterated in the Ethiopic NT. The magician adds learnedly: '. . . which, in its interpretation, is: "God, my God, see me and hear me! Lord, my God, see me and hear me!"').

LATIN is found in *Antiquus* (*Antīkōs*); and in the famous SATOR formula,[1] which appears with some variations, *e.g.*:

Sadōr	*Aladōr*	*Danāt*	*Adērā*	*Rōdās*
Sādar	*Aladar*	*Danāt*	..	*Rōdas*
Sādōr	*Arodā*	*Dānād*	*Adērā*	*Rōdas*

(Ludolff, *op. cit.* p. 351, where they are called 'the five wounds of Christ').

In this word-magic the Christian elements are prominent. The unintelligible words may conceal pagan African elements unknown to us. There is little to suggest the Gnostic magical literature (*e.g.* the seven vowels αεηιουω), though the repetition of monosyllables is common.

(*g*) *The wizards and demons of the texts* are partly literary Christian and partly popular in origin. The Septuagint and the New Testament often furnish the starting-point not only for the terminology, but even for the underlying ideas. Ps 91 has been alluded to (see above). Whatever may have been the teaching of the first missionaries to Abyssinia, the magical texts clearly show how the demonological passages in the Gospels were understood. The following is a brief outline of the kinds of wizards and demons, with examples:

i. Wonder-workers of olden time: *Salōmōn*, *Esk̄eder* or *Askater* (Alexander), *Qōpreyānōs* (Cyprian).

ii. Wizards of various origin, called 'kings'; witches capable of assuming animal form. Such are: *Nakabī*, *Ṭabīb* (smith); *'Aqabē šerai* (medicine man); *Būda*, *Zar* (demoniac forms assumed by smiths); *'Ainawarq* (= *Būda* ?); *Nobā*, who leads the dust-demons (whirlwind [?]); *Qumaña* (wizard); and others.

iii. Demons proper, for whom there are many general terms: *Ganēn*, *Saiṭan*, *Ṣalim* (black), *Ṭekūr* (black), *Qayyeḥ* (red), *Akmosis* (laughing [?]), *Qatalai* (killing), *Mel'at* (for *Methat*: phantasm), *Aguer'e* (speaking badly, or in frenzy [?]), *Algūm* (not answering).—(1) Demons with individual names, not causing specific diseases; (*a*) Biblical: *Diyablos*, *Saiṭan*, *Mastema* (cf. Book of Jubilees, where it is a name of Satan), *Demon of Noonday* (Ps 91^{6b}), *Unforeseen Evil* (Ps 91^{6a}), *Legewon* (Lk 8^{26-33}. The titles in the Eth. NT show the beginnings of this). (*β*) Non-Biblical: These are very numerous; among others *Werzelyā* (see above), *Be'ānāt* (= *Werzelyā* [?]. The word is probably from vulgar Arabic: **Bō'ōne*, بوونة [classicized بؤونة], an attempt to write Coptic *Boone*, which means *Invida*), *'Ainat* (see above). *Dabbas*, *Dask*, and *Ṭafant* are popular names of demons. (2) Classes of demons bearing a collective name: (*a*) Diseases: *e.g.* modern vernacular words for *Pest*, *Epilepsy*, *Headache*, *Sharp Pains*, *Stitch*, *Consumption*, *Diphtheria* (?), *Oppression of the heart*, *Stomach worms*, *Colic*, *Fever*, *Rheumatism*, *Insanity*, *Malaria*, *Miscarriage*, *Pneumonia* (?), and *Kidney disease* (?). The identification is often uncertain. The disease is identical with the demon.—(*β*) Elements: *Air*, *River*, *Dust*, and *Ocean*.—(*γ*) Localities designated by a tribal or ethnic name: *Barya*, *Felašā* (also *'Esrā'ēl*), *Gallā*, *Manšō*, and many others.

LITERATURE.—In addition to that given in the text of the article: W. H. Worrell, 'Studien zum abessin. Zauberwesen,' in *ZA* xxiii. [1909] 149 ff., xxiv. 59 ff. [to be completed in following numbers]; E. Littmann, art. ABYSSINIA in present work, also 'Arde'et, the Magic Book of the Disciples,' in *JAOS* xxv. [1904] 1; N. Rhodokanakis, 'Eine äthiop. Zauberrolle im Museum der Stadt Wells,' in *WZKM* xviii. 3 ff.; B. Turayeff, art. 'Ethiopic Magic Prayers,' in Chwolson's *Festschrift*, Berlin, 1899 [Ethiopic and Russian]. Ignazio Guidi, *Vocabolario Amarico-Italiano*, Rome, 1901, contains many names of demons and diseases. A facsimile of an Ethiopic amulet, with description, will be found in F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, pp. 390–4.

W. H. WORRELL.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (American).

—While charms and amulets are diffused among all the aborigines of the New World, a systematic consideration of them is beset with serious difficulties. To classify them by external features, such as shape or construction, would be manifestly artificial; but it is hardly better to group them on the basis of function. While some charms are doubtless invested with specific virtues, many serve the most diverse purposes at the same time. The most profitable method of approach will be to pass from one culture area to another, and to correlate, wherever possible, the superstitions attached to the use of the charms with the fundamental religious conceptions of their owners.

1. Eskimos.—Beginning in the north, we find among the Eskimos a variety of usages centring in the world-wide belief in sympathetic and imitative magic. The 'Polar' Eskimo near Cape York, Greenland, carries with him his *arnuaq*, which is supposed to confer certain qualities and to guard against danger. Hawks being the surest slayers of their prey, parents sew the head or feet of a hawk into a boy's clothes in order to make him a great hunter. Because the black guillemot is clever in catching cod, men wear its foot to become great slayers of *their* quarry—whales or narwhals. To endow children with the strength of a bear, parents sew into the boys' caps the skin from the roof of a bear's mouth. Similarly, a piece of a fox's head, or of old dried fox-dung, is sewed into a person's clothes to impart the fox's cunning. While fire is considered very powerful, an old hearth-stone is regarded as still stronger, because it has withstood the fire; accordingly, bits of hearth-stones are sewed to clothing to secure long life and fortitude for the wearer. The women of this division of the Eskimos rarely use amulets, but when they do, the same conceptions appear. The kittiwake lays very small eggs; accordingly, a girl having a kittiwake head sewed into her clothes will not give birth to large children. In all the cases cited, care must be taken that the animals have not been killed by men; the bear-charm, for example, is made when an old bear-cranium has been found.[1] The Greenlanders

[1] SATOR
AREPO
TENET
OPERA
ROTAS

This palindrome, well known in European folk-lore, seems to have originated in the early Middle Ages. It may have reached Abyssinia through the Portuguese; but the form *Arōda*, found in Coptic texts, makes the mediation of Egypt probable. The place of its origin is, we believe, unknown. See R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1900, iii. 564 ff., and literature cited.

[1] Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North* (London, 1908), p. 138 f.

farther south also formerly employed a multitude of amulets. A piece of a European's clothing or shoe was believed to instil European skill. In other cases the psychology of the practice is less clear. Pieces of old wood or stone, beaks and claws of birds, leather bands for the forehead, chest, or arms, were all worn as a protection against spirits, disease, and death; they were considered especially effective in preventing the departure of children's souls during a thunderstorm. Whalers attached a fox's head to the front of their boat, while the harpoon was furnished with an eagle's beak. To prevent a kayak from capsizing, a small model kayak with an armed mannikin was attached to the boat, this model being sometimes replaced by a dead sparrow or snipe, a piece of wood, or other small objects.[1] The navel-string was considered an effective amulet for restoring a child to health and promoting longevity.[2]

Like their eastern kinsmen, the Hudson Bay Eskimos sew pieces of skin or cloth on their under garments to avert disease. The tip of a caribou's tail sewed to the coat ensures good luck in caribou hunting, and many boys use this charm in order to become good hunters. The hair of a successful hunter is sought for the same purpose, so that a native woman begged of Captain Comer a lock of hair from each of his temples for her boy, in order that he might get an abundance of game in later years. Strips of caribou skin put round little girls' wrists will make them skilful in cutting and sewing skins. Shirts are sometimes equipped with such charms, and bears' teeth on a boy's shirt, secured by Captain Comer, are believed to make the wearer fearless of bears, while a seal's teeth will ensure success in sealing. A piece of whale skin prevents the boy's kayak from capsizing, and rabbit ears enable him to approach caribou unseen. A wolf's lip will make him howl like a wolf; this will cause the caribou to run into the ponds, where they can be easily captured from the kayak. A seal's nose on the front of the jacket will entice the seal towards the wearer. A woman who wishes her child to have a white skin sews a white stone to its clothing. Bugs and bees, when similarly attached, are supposed to prolong life; a piece of flint sewed in the sleeve strengthens the arms and hands. Oil drippings are highly valued as amulets against supernatural enemies and as hunting charms. Accordingly, the drippings from lamps are placed around the edges of walrus holes in order to make the walrus return to these holes, and suction of a gull's feather dipped in oil drippings, followed by expectoration into the holes, is supposed to keep from the walrus the knowledge of the hunter's approach. Common to the Central and Smith Sound Eskimos is the belief in artificial monsters endowed with life in order to effect the destruction of their maker's enemies. These *tupilak* are driven away by the protective qualities of oil and lampblack, as well as by magical whips formed of the skin of a male wolf or the bone of a bear, the latter being used particularly for the protection of children. An interesting amulet of quite different character is used to drive away thunder: the skin of a stillborn seal is made into a jacket, which must be taken off and struck against the ground when thunder is heard.[3]

Essentially related conceptions appear among the Alaskan Eskimos, of whom the natives of Point Barrow may be selected for consideration. Rudely flaked flint representations of whales are extremely common amulets in this area; they give good luck in whaling, and are suspended round the neck by a string, or worn on the breast of the jacket. In deer hunting, reliance is placed on the unbranched antler of the reindeer. Personal amulets include bunches of bear or wolverine claws, or the metacarpal bones of the wolf. Possibly corresponding to the use of an eagle's beak on the Greenlander's whaling harpoon is the attachment of a tern's bill to the seal-spear of the Alaskans; Murdoch suggests that the underlying motive is the attempt to give to the spear the surety of a tern's aim. Objects acquire special value through contact with certain persons or supernatural beings. Heavy stone objects, sometimes weighing over two pounds, thus come to be carried about as amulets, and the consecration of ancient implements in this way seems to have done much for the preservation of old specimens of Alaskan material culture.[1]

2. Eastern Indians.—Underlying most of Indian belief is the conception of what the Algonquins call *manitou*, the Sioux, *wakan*. If the Indian experiences an emotional thrill at the sight or sound of an object, this object becomes invested for him with a sacred character—it is recognized as *manitou*.[2] The relation of the native to the object in a given case is determined by specifically tribal conceptions, or even by individual experiences in visions or dreams. It cannot be doubted that a great number of charms and amulets in North America must be conceived as special cases of the basic *manitou* principle. This appears with great clearness in early accounts of the eastern Indians. The Hurons, we are informed in the *Jesuit Relation* of 1647–48, regarded everything that seemed unnatural or extraordinary as *oky*, i.e. as possessing supernatural virtues. Such objects were kept for good luck. If a Huron had had difficulty in killing a bear or stag, and, after slaying the animal, found a stone or snake in its entrails, the thing found was conceived as the *oky* that endowed the creature with more than ordinary strength, and was henceforth worn as a charm. If, while digging near a tree, a Huron discovered a peculiar stone, he believed that it had been forgotten there by certain demons and called it an *aaskouandy*. Such objects were supposed to change their shape, a stone or snake turning into a bean, a grain of corn, or the talons of an eagle. The owner would become lucky in the chase, in fishing, in trade, and in playing. Dreams decided the particular sphere of the charm's usefulness. Still more powerful were the *onniont*, which were believed to be derived from a sort of serpent that pierced everything in its way —trees, bears, and rocks. On account of their peculiar virtues, they were distinguished as 'genuine *oky*,' and the Hurons were willing to pay the Algonquins exorbitant prices for infinitesimal fragments of *onniont*.[3] This last case is especially instructive as illustrating the complexity of the psychological processes that must often be assumed to account for the use of a given charm. As the Hurons are said to have obtained all their *onniont* from the Algonquins, their use of it is not directly due to mystic experiences, but to the processes underlying imitation and borrowing. That the Algonquins themselves did not venerate the *onniont*, *because* they were supposed to be derived from the serpent, is quite clear in the light of modern research into the relation of myth and observance. It is fairly probable that the ultimate reason for the use of *onniont* as charms by the Algonquins is identical with that which prompted

[1] Cranz, *Historie von Grönland* (Frankfort, 1779), p. 275 f.
[2] Rink, *Danish Greenland* (London, 1877), p. 205.
[3] Boas, 'The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay,' in *Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* xv. 151–153, 492, 505–508, 515.

[1] Murdoch, 'The Point Barrow Eskimo,' in *9 RBEW* [1892], pp. 435–441.
[2] Jones, 'The Algonkin Manitou,' in *JAFL*, 1905, pp. 183–190.
[3] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cincinnati, 1896–1901), xxxiii. 215.

the Hurons to look upon certain finds as *oky*. Nevertheless we must not shut our eyes to the possibility of another origin. Predominant as was the concept of *manitou* among the Algonquins, the less mystical notions described in connexion with the Eskimos are not lacking. Le Jeune tells of the Montagnais wearing at the bottom of their garments ornaments of bears' claws in order to preclude injury from bears, and to be enabled to kill these animals with greater ease.[1] The unconscious reasoning processes connected with the belief in sympathetic and imitative magic must thus be kept in mind as possible alternatives in the explanation of the application of charms where detailed information is lacking.

The mystic thrill characteristic of a *manitou* experience is often actively sought by means of fasts intended to induce visions, and many amulets, whatever may have been their ultimate origin, are believed to be the direct outcome of the supernatural communications thus received. Thus, if the being which appears to the dreamer is an animal, the skin of the animal may henceforward be carried about as a bringer of good luck; or the visitant may give specific instructions as to the use of certain objects as charms. The foregoing considerations will facilitate some insight into the psychology of many Indian charms, though undoubtedly much must still remain obscure.

To resume our geographical survey: the Algonquin Montagnais, according to Le Jeune's *Relation*, had a number of amulets of rather problematic function. A shaman gave a woman a pattern of a little sack cut in the form of a leg, which she used to make one of leather filled with beaver hair. It was called 'the leg of the *manitou*,' and was hung in the cabin for a long time. Afterwards it passed into the hands of a young man, who wore it suspended from his neck. In the same tribe the slayer of a bear received the 'heart-bone' of the animal, which he carried about his neck in a little embroidered purse.[2] The Hurons, beside the charms already mentioned in connexion with the *manitou* concept, had charms composed of bear claws, wolf teeth, eagle talons, stones, and dry sinews, all of which were thrown by dancers at one another. The person falling under the charm was supposed to be wounded, and blood poured out of his mouth and nostrils.[3] The Iroquois, according to oral communications of Alanson Skinner, still carry about their persons miniature canoes as a safeguard against drowning; and this amulet is used especially by people who have had dreams of drowning. Small clubs were similarly used as war-charms. Small wooden masks ('false faces') are carried about by both sexes, but particularly by pregnant women; small husk-masks are carried about for good luck. Witches and sorcerers often had dolls carved of wood and antler, and sometimes had roots covered with tiny carved faces, which were supposed to impart the power of changing at will from human to animal form. Clay pipes with such faces have been found on ancient Iroquois sites, and may have served the same use. People who have seen the mythical dwarf stone-rollers carve tiny images of these people and keep them as charms. A peculiar love-charm occurring among the western Cree was described to the present writer while he was passing through the territory of this tribe. The lover makes a small effigy both of himself and of the woman he loves, and wraps them up together with some medicinal roots. After a few days the woman thus charmed surrenders herself to the charmer.

In the south-east of the United States the overshadowing importance of incantation did not eliminate the use of material charms. Among the Yuchi a small whitish root is carried in a bag to keep away sickness. To the neck of a child there is attached an insect larva sewed tightly in a buckskin covering, decorated on one side with beadwork. The amulet symbolizes a turtle, of which the hind legs and tail are represented by little loops of beads. Its special function is to bring sleep to the wearer, through the use and representation of two creatures that spend much of their life in a dormant condition. Children were shielded from harm by some small white bones wrapped up in buckskin and tied to their necks or hammocks, and such bones also prevented children from crying in the night. Men wore small objects obscurely related to the events in their career, 'in the belief that the things would prove effectual in protecting and guiding them in some way.' War parties of the Creek carried with them bundles of magic herbs and charms. One of the latter was supposed to consist of parts of the horns of a mythical snake that was captured and killed by the people after long-continued suffering from its attacks. These horns were believed to impart immunity from wounds.[1]

3. Plains Indians.—Among the warlike aborigines inhabiting the Plains, charms were naturally often associated with martial pursuits. The buffalo-hide shields regularly carried in battle were supposed to owe their efficacy to the medicine objects attached to them or to the designs painted on their outside rather than to their natural properties. The Dakota Sioux were particularly fond of protective shield designs representing supernatural powers. In many of these cases there was a mixture of two motives: on the one hand, the design derived its supernatural power solely from its revelation in a dream or vision, but at the same time there was a symbolical representation of the power desired, which recalls the phenomena of imitative magic. Thus, spiders, lizards, and turtles are frequently represented on war garments, because they are hard to kill, and it was supposed that this property would be transferred to the wearer. In addition to the painted design, a shield might bear a braid of sweetgrass and a buckskin bag with charms. Before going into battle, the Sioux burnt some of the sweetgrass and chanted songs pertaining to the shield.[2] Among the Assiniboine, war charms were exceedingly common. They were prepared by shamans from ingredients supplied by the prospective wearer, who was also informed in advance of future happenings in battle. One man used the dried and fleshed skin of a bluebird with jackrabbit ears sewed to its neck, the whole attached to a piece of raw hide painted red. Another warrior might employ a bird skin, a weasel skin, a bonnet of weasel-skin, and a square piece of buffalo hide; still another, a large knife with a bear-bone handle to which were tied little bells and a feather.[3] The Gros Ventre often carried their sacred war paraphernalia in cylindrical raw hide cases. One specimen was painted with designs in colour representing the bird dreamt of by the original owner. The case contained a bag, and in the bag there was a necklace with 'medicine' roots. There were also skins worn at the back of the head to prevent injury, and a bone whistle was blown for the same purpose. If the Gros Ventre dreamt of a man battling successfully

[1] *Jesuit Relations*, ix. 117.
[2] *Ib.* vi. 207, 291.
[3] *Ib.* x. 209.

[1] Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 137; 'The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town,' in *Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assoc.* ii. pt. 2, p. 118.
[2] Wissler, 'Some Protective Designs of the Dakota,' in *Anthrop. Papers of Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* i. 21-53.
[3] Lowie, 'The Assiniboine,' *ib.* iv. 31-33, 55.

while wearing the skin of some animal, the same kind of skin was adopted by the dreamer. For a corresponding reason an Assiniboine once wore a fool-dance costume before entering a fight.[1] Among the Arapaho amulets collected by Kroeber there is a bracelet of badger-skin with a gopher skin, an owl claw, some bells, feathers, seeds, and skin fringes. The badger skin is believed to increase the speed of the rider's horse; the claw helps to seize an enemy; the motion of the feathers drives away the enemy; and the bells represent the noise of the fight. A scaly turtle tail or fish back mounted on stuffed buckskin was worn on the head—the feathers for speed, the hard scales to cause invulnerability.[2] When an Hidatsa went to war, he always wore the strip off the back of a wolf skin, with the tail hanging down the shoulders. A slit was made in the skin, through which the warrior put his head, so that the wolf's head hung down upon his breast. The head, claws, stuffed skin, or some other representative of his medicine was carried about the person as a protective charm.[3]

While war-charms are thus seen to have been extremely important among the Plains Indians, daily life was also attended with the use of numerous charms. The wide diffusion of navel amulets bears testimony to this fact. Among the Arapaho, the navel-strings of girls are preserved and sewed into small pouches stuffed with grass. These are usually diamond-shaped and embellished with beadwork, and the girl keeps this amulet on her belt until it is worn out. The Sioux often make navel charms in the form of turtles, the turtle being supposed to preside over the diseases peculiar to women. Similar charms occur among the Assiniboine.[4] An elderly Arapaho woman kept a number of pebbles tied up in a bag. Some of them were pointed, others relatively round, the former representing the canine teeth, and the latter the molars. 'The stones, being loose, represent the possessor's wish to reach that period of life.' Three other stones were kept on account of their resemblance to a turtle, a bird, and a skunk, respectively. The turtle stone was said to have been procured from inside a horse's body, and was placed on the abdomen as a cure for diarrhœa. The skunk stone was held in the hand by sick people while sleeping; similarly the bird amulet was placed at the head of the sick. Two curious natural stones were painted red and treasured by the owner in a bag of incense. At the sun-dance, they were exposed and deposited near incense. They were called 'centipedes.' Much of the belief in amulets among the Arapaho seems to centre in sympathetic and imitative magic. Beans of different colours are used to produce colts of certain colours; a smooth and slippery shell aids in delivery; 'beads in the shape of a spider web render the wearer, like the web, impervious to missiles, and at the same time ensure the trapping of the enemy, as insects in a web.'[5] The symbolism so characteristic of Plains tribes is illustrated by a curious charm worn among the Caddo in the southern part of the Prairie area. It consisted of the polished tip of a buffalo horn, surrounded by a circle of downy red feathers within another circle of badger and owl claws. The owner regarded the charm as the source of his prophetic inspiration. The buffalo horn was 'God's heart,' the red feathers contained his own heart, and the circle of claws symbolized the world.[1]

As perhaps the most typical of hunting charms in this area may be mentioned the Blackfoot *iniskim*, or buffalo rocks. These were usually small ammonites, or sections of baculites, or sometimes oddly shaped flint nodules. They were found on the prairie, and the person who secured one was considered very fortunate. Sometimes a man riding along heard a strange chirp, which made known to him the presence of a buffalo rock. Searching for it on the ground, he would try to discover it. If he failed, he would mark the place and return the next day to resume his quest. The tribal hunt of the buffalo had for its object the driving of the game into an enclosure. On the evening of the day preceding a drive into the corral, a medicine-man possessing an *iniskim* unrolled his pipe and prayed to the Sun for success. The origin of these charms is traced to a mythological period of starvation when a woman encountered a singing buffalo rock, which instructed her to take it home and teach the people its song. As a result of her compliance with these instructions, a great herd of buffalo came, and the Indians were saved.[2] Several years ago an old Blackfoot of Gleichen, Alberta, unwrapped a bundle for the present writer, disclosing some small stones which he described as *iniskim*. Whenever he was in need of food in the olden days, he explained, he used his *iniskim*, and in consequence never went hungry.

4. Mackenzie and Plateau Areas; California.—Among the Northern Athapascans of the Mackenzie River basin the simplicity of ceremonial life throws into relief the customs attached to everyday pursuits, such as hunting and fishing. The Dogribs carry bunches of antler points while hunting game, because they believe this will aid the wearer in luring deer or moose within range of his rifle, and the same power is ascribed to a piece of birch or a deer's scapula.[3] The Chippewayan women cut off a small piece of the newborn child's navel-string and hang it about their necks, presumably for a charm.[4] Fishing nets always had fastened to them a number of birds' bills and feet, while at the four corners the Chippewayan tied some otter and jackfish toes and jaws. Unless these objects were attached, it was deemed useless to put the net into the water, as it would not catch a single fish. In angling, similar superstitions were observed. The bait used consisted of a combination of charms enclosed within a bit of fish-skin. The objects included fragments of beaver tails and fat, otter vents and teeth, musk-rat guts and tails, loon vents, human hair, etc. The head of every family, as well as other persons, always carried a bundle of these articles, as it was considered absurd to attempt to angle without their aid.[5]

The Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap Indians may be taken as representatives of the culture of interior British Columbia. The head of a fool-hen was used by the Thompson Indian as a hunting charm. After praying to it for help, he tossed it up, and took the direction of its beak to indicate that of the game. A second trial of the same kind, if confirmatory of the first, was considered a sure sign of the locality to be visited. That night the charm was placed under the hunter's pillow, with the head pointing in the proper direction.

[1] Kroeber, 'Ethnology of the Gros Ventre,' *ib.* i. 192–196.
[2] Kroeber, 'The Arapaho,' in *Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* xviii. 423, 426, 440.
[3] J. O. Dorsey, 'A Study of Siouan Cults,' in *11 RBEW* [1894], p. 515.
[4] Kroeber, 'The Arapaho,' pp. 54–58; Wissler, 'Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians,' in *Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* xviii. 241 f.; Lowie, *loc. cit.* p. 25.
[5] Kroeber, 'The Arapaho,' pp. 441–443, 452 f.

[1] Mooney, 'The Ghost-Dance Religion,' in *14 RBEW* [1896], p. 904 f.
[2] Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*[3] (New York, 1903), pp. 125, 126, 229.
[3] Russell, *Explorations in the Far North* (Iowa, 1898), p. 183f.
[4] Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America* (New York, 1902), i. p. clxxix.
[5] Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795), pp. 328–330.

The tail of a snake was worn by grizzly bear hunters to ward off danger while hunting their game. It was fastened to the belt, to the string of the short pouch or powder-horn, or to the bow or gun itself. If a deer had been wounded, but not severely enough to be readily overtaken, the skin of a mouse was laid on the tracks. A deer thus charmed could not travel far, but soon perished. By chewing deer-sinew, a hunter could cause the sinews of a wounded deer to contract so that it could be easily overtaken. Gamblers' wives suspended an elongated stone above their husbands' pillows. To put an end to bad luck, a woman turned it rapidly round, thereby causing a reversal of luck. To secure luck at gambling, she might also drive a peg into the ground near their pillows, or sit on a fresh fir-bench during the game. These Indians made a rather obscure distinction between 'male' and 'female' plants. For a love-charm, the male and female of some plant were tied together with a hair from the head of the parties concerned, and buried in a little hole. Another charm for a similar purpose also consisted of the male and female of a plant, but these were mashed fine and mixed with red ochre. The charmer repaired to running water at sunset or daybreak, painted a minute spot on each cheek with the mixture, prayed to the plant for success, and finally sewed the charm up in a buckskin bag worn on the person. This charm was employed by both sexes. If not properly prepared, it might cause insanity in either the charmer or the charmed individual. Some men used the heart of a fool-hen to attract women. The love-charms of the Lillooet were quite similar to those just described. The Shuswap frequently obtained plants from the Thompson and Okanagon Indians, especially one plant with a strong odour and emitting a kind of steam. It was worn on the person as a necklace during the day, and placed under the pillow at night. Before sleep, the charmer must think of the woman coveted and pray that she might love him as a result of the plant's power. The same plant was used to scent a present to the woman loved; and if a man carried it about while walking against the wind, the women were forced to follow him. The Shuswap rubbed another plant on the brow or the soles of the feet to ensure luck in hunting, and wore snakes' tails to prevent headaches. A child's amulet in use among the Thompson Indians consisted of the piece of the infant's navel-string outside the ligature, which was sewed up in a piece of embroidered buckskin. This was tied to a buckskin band round the head of the cradle, and was decorated with numerous appendages. If the piece of navel-string was not found, or was lost, the child became foolish, or was likely to be lost during a journey or hunting trip. Branches of wild currant in the bottom of the cradle tended to quiet a child, while the dried tail or lower part of a silver salmon's backbone prevented frequent micturition.[1]

The Plateau region south of the Salish tribes just discussed was occupied by the Nez Percé and Shoshonean tribes. The Nez Percé frequently made use of charms, which generally consisted of small stones of odd shape or colour. Stones with holes were deemed especially powerful in bringing good luck, and a boy who found a curious stone might carry it on his person for life. Rarely these stones were carved or artificially modified. Bear claws and wolf teeth were worn about the neck as charms. An old Indian was found to wear a gypsum spear-head suspended about his neck. Shamans sometimes carved their stone amulets, one of which, reproduced by Spinden, seems to represent an animal's head.[1] The Shoshone powdered spruce needles, crammed them into a buckskin bag, and hung the bag round a baby's neck as a preventive of illness. Adults use white weasel skins, buffalo horns and manes, or the foot of a white weasel for the same purpose. A very old woman was found to keep two small fragments of obsidian as eye medicine, though occasionally she used to scratch her arms with them. Some men have a charm enclosed in a little piece of cloth and tied to the middle of either the front or the back of a beaded necklace. In a myth, Coyote overcomes a pursuing rock by extending his arm with a beaded charm on it. Love-charms are popular. One informant wore a weasel foot in his hat in order to 'catch a squaw.' For the same end, shavings of wood or bark are rubbed on the neck, tied up in a bag, or attached to a belt. Similarly, spruce needles are chewed and rubbed on the charmer's head. A certain root is tied to a little stone and thrown at the woman coveted. Several nights elapse, and then the woman comes to visit her lover. This charm has been repeatedly used with success, and has been sold for a dollar and a half. The Wind River Shoshone believe that the tail-feathers of a flicker ward off disease, and that the male of a kind of sage-hen imparts the gifts of a shaman. Weasel skins and feathers served as a protection against missiles. Many roots and other objects were cherished as amulets because they had been revealed to the owner in a vision or dream.[2]

Among the Hupa of California we again meet with the custom of placing parts of the umbilical cord in a buckskin bag round a baby's neck, where it is kept for years. A small dentalium shell is also tied to the infant's ankle, but must be removed as soon as the mother resumes her customary matrimonial relations. The Maidu in the central part of the State employed various charms for hunting and gambling. Stones found inside a deer were the favourite charms of deer-hunters, who wore them suspended from the neck. Perforated gambling-charms of approximately diamond-shaped surface were similarly suspended, but were stuck in the ground before their owner during a game. Any strangely shaped or coloured object found was picked up and tested as to its powers. Subsequent good luck of any kind was ascribed to its magic potency, and the owner treasured it for the specific use indicated by his experiences. Shamans used charms which they gently rubbed on the seat of pain after the extraction of the pathogenic agent, these charms usually consisting of obsidian knives hung from the neck. The frame of mind that leads to the adoption of certain objects as amulets is well illustrated by the attitude of the Shasta Indians. When a member of the tribe found a type of stone pipe different from that now used, the unfamiliar form was considered as mysterious, and magic functions were ascribed to the find.[3]

5. North-west Coast.—The Thlinket and Haida may be taken as the principal representatives of old North Pacific Coast culture. Typical of primitive hunting-charms was a medicine used by the Thlinket of Alaska to ensure the capture of sea-otters. The prospective hunter was obliged to abstain from intercourse with his wife for an entire month, and was careful not to let any one else touch his chamber-pot. At the expiry of this

[1] Teit, 'The Thompson Indians of British Columbia,' in *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, i. 304, 308, 371-372, 'The Lillooet Indians,' and 'The Shuswap,' *ib.* ii. 291, 619.

[1] Spinden, 'The Nez Percé Indians,' in *Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assoc.* ii. pt. 3, p. [illegible].

[2] Lowie, 'The Northern Shoshone,' in *Anthrop. Papers of Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* ii. pt. 2, pp. 224, 225, 229 f., 263.

[3] Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa* (Berkeley, 1903), pp. 51, 52; Dixon, 'The Northern Maidu' (*Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* xvii. pt. 3), pp. 130, 266, 267, and 'The Shasta' (*ib.* pt. 5), p. 392.

period he killed an eagle, detached the foot, and tied to it a flower called 'grabbing medicine.' Next he made a model canoe with a figure of himself in the act of aiming at a sea-otter. The eagle's talon was made to clasp the seat in order to ensure good aiming. When approaching the sea-otter, the hunter blew some of his urine towards it, this being intended to confuse the animal and cause it to swim in his direction. If a man had infringed the nuptial tabu, his arm would shake and he would miss his quarry. In the case just cited the significance of the medicine employed is obscured by the number of regulations connected with its successful use. Of these, the application of imitative magic in the construction of the canoe is of special interest. In another Thlinket hunting-charm, sympathetic magic plays the dominant part. In order to shoot a doe the hunter removed hairs from the pubic region of a doe already slain, fastened them to the 'grabbing medicine,' and attached both to the barrel of his gun. Waving this as he approached his game, he would succeed in enticing the animal towards him. Corresponding notions enter into the practices incident to avenging the murder of a friend: the person seeking revenge wrapped up a bundle of a certain plant with an effigy of his enemy, thus securing his destruction.[1]

The Haida lover fasted, sought a certain kind of medicine, rubbed it upon his palms, and then put it upon the person or the clothing of the woman desired in marriage. Complete sets of observances were connected with this love-charm, of which the following is typical. The lover fasted from two to five days, then went to a salmon-creek, removed his clothes, and looked for spruce cones. If he found two old cones lying near each other and half sticking in the ground, he seized one with each hand, pronounced his own name as well as the woman's, and declared whether he merely loved her or wished to marry her. This statement was repeated four times in an increasingly loud tone of voice. Then the man went into the creek until the water was on a level with his heart, put both cones as far upstream as he could, let them float towards him, again seized one in each hand, and repeated aloud what he wanted. After three repetitions of this act, he took the cones into the woods, made a pillow, laid one on each end of it, and covered them with leaves of the salal-berry bush, mentioning his wish four times more. Then he went home, broke his fast, and waited for the woman's message of love. A curious charm for acquiring riches had to be obtained by theft in order to act efficaciously. It consisted of a sheet-copper figure, which was guarded with great secrecy. To make it work, the owner stuffed the space between the front and back plates of the charm with stolen clippings from articles of value. Thus crammed, it was hidden in the box containing the owner's blankets and clothing. Whether it was ever directly addressed in prayer seems to be subject to doubt.[2]

6. South-west.—Among the Apaches numerous varieties of charms were in vogue. Captain John G. Bourke was impressed with the very general occurrence of little buckskin bags, usually attached to the belts of the warriors and guarded with great care by their wearers. Inspection of the bags disclosed a quantity of yellow powder, the *hoddentin*, or pollen of the tule (a variety of the cat-tail rush), for which some pulverized galena was sometimes substituted. The use of these substances in connexion with war amulets is but a special instance of their ceremonial employment by the Apaches.

[1] Swanton, 'The Tlingit Indians,' in *26 RBEW* (1908), p. 447 f.
[2] Swanton, 'Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida,' in *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, v. pt. 1, p. 45f.

Both served as a face-paint and as offerings to the cosmic forces, and each phase of everyday life was accompanied by a sprinkling of *hoddentin*. The first act of an Apache on rising was to blow a pinch of the pollen to the dawn. A bag of *hoddentin* was secured to every baby's neck or cradle; at the girls' puberty ceremonies the powder was thrown to the sun and strewn about the novices; patients were sprinkled with the pollen in cases of serious illness; and the dead bodies were subjected to similar treatment. When starting on a hunt, when commencing the planting of corn, or when seeking to propitiate animals viewed with religious veneration, the Apaches uniformly made their offerings of *hoddentin*. Galena, while reserved for occasions of special solemnity, was used in essentially similar circumstances. The ceremonial significance of both substances accounts for the fact that no Apache warrior would go on the war-path without his buckskin bag of *hoddentin* or galena.[1] A still more distinctly talismanic character was, however, ascribed to the *izze-kloth*, or sacred cords. These were simply cords decorated with beads and shells, bits of sacred malachite, wood, claws, *hoddentin* bags, or splinters of lightning-riven wood. Only the shamans of highest standing could make them, and on occasions of extraordinary moment the medicine-man wore them hanging from the right shoulder over the left hip. 'These cords will protect a man while on the warpath, and many of the Apache believe firmly that a bullet will have no effect upon the warrior wearing one of them.' This did not by any means, however, exhaust the value of the *izze-kloth*, for their owner was enabled to cure the sick, to help along the crops, and to determine the thief of his own or his friends' property.[2] These additional virtues connect the cords with sacred objects of quite different construction. Thus, the wearer of a buckskin medicine-hat could tell who had stolen ponies, foretold the future, and was able to aid in the cure of the sick. A flat piece of lath decorated with drawings of a human figure and snake-heads was believed to indicate the right direction to travel, to bring rain in case of drought, and to show where stolen ponies had been taken.

The Navahos, nearest of kin to the Apaches in point of habitat and linguistic affiliation, and, like them, intermediary between the Pueblo and Prairie cultures, also make use of an abundance of charms. Indeed, even their deities are thought to possess charms, and the very sacredness of their character is often derived from the possession of such articles. If a man escapes from danger unscathed, the natural conclusion is that his charm must be strong. The mythological sons of the Sun, before setting out on the perilous journey to their father, secure for their talisman feathers plucked from a live bird. Such feathers are supposed to preserve life, and are used in all the rites. Hastseyalti, the most important deity impersonated in the tribal Chant ceremony, is represented with his healing talisman — four willow sticks attached to one another so that they may be readily spread into a quadrangle and folded up again. In the ceremony the actor approaches the patient, opens his talisman to its quadrangular form, and places it four times around the sufferer's body. The veneration for pollen so marked among the Apaches is equally characteristic of the Navahos. Pollen, both of the cat-tail and of other plants, is considered emblematic of peace, prosperity, and happiness, and is believed to secure these blessings. It is generally kept in buckskin bags, carried alike by priests and laymen. A stone fetish of a horse is at

[1] Bourke, 'The Medicine-Men of the Apache,' in *9 RBEW* [1892], pp. 500–507, 548.
[2] *Ib.* pp. 550–553.

times fed with pollen to ensure good luck to the herds.[1]

The difficulty of classifying religious phenomena by the aid of current concepts becomes obvious in a consideration of the Pueblo area. According to Zuñi mythology, the twin sons of the Sun, after leading mankind from their infernal abodes to the world now occupied by them, once more took pity on men, and, in order to stay an undue multiplication of their natural enemies, transformed animals of prey into stones. Natural concretions or strangely eroded rocks resembling animals are looked upon, in harmony with these mythological beliefs, as representatives of the undying spirits of the prey-animals. The success of beasts of prey is ascribed to a magical force by which they cast a spell upon their quarry. Their power is preserved in the petrifactions, which are, therefore, venerated as 'fetishes.' Guarded by special officers when not in use, the fetishes are assembled, sprinkled with prayer-meal, and supplicated by members of certain societies at a New Year's festival, while corresponding solemnities precede the great tribal hunts. The use of fetishes in the chase is deemed indispensable to success; only by their supernatural efficacy is man believed capable of overcoming the otherwise unconquerable larger game. Few hunters, accordingly, set out without a fetish, which is carried in a little buckskin bag suspended over the left breast. In the course of his journey, various ceremonies must be observed by the hunter. The fetish is taken out and addressed in prayer, and is ultimately restored to its keeper.

Complicated as the usages referred to appear when compared with those ordinarily attached to amulets, it seems artificial to separate them psychologically from ordinary charms. Such charms are, indeed, by no means lacking among the Zuñi. A person finding a concretion suggesting the prey-gods will regard it as his special 'medicine,' and will almost always prefer it to the other fetishes. A find recalling an organ of the human body is highly prized as the phallus of some ancient being, and becomes a charm in matters sexual: the young man will use it as a love-charm, the young woman to ensure male offspring. Another object may be interpreted as the relic of a god's tooth or weapon, and is entrusted to the custody of the warrior order. A little of it rubbed on a stone and mixed with much water is considered a powerful protection in battle, and is accordingly used by the warrior as an unguent before entering battle. A somewhat intermediate position seems to be held by the so-called war-fetishes. Roughly resembling the hunting fetishes, not only in appearance but in the rites attached to their employment, they are akin to amulets in being constantly carried about by the owners. An arrow point placed on the back of these fetishes seems to have a purely protective character; it is emblematic of the Knife of War, and is believed to shield the wearer from the enemy from behind or from unexpected quarters. The root idea in all these fetishes is apparently nothing but that of the Algonquin *manitou*. Objects of extraordinary appearance—petrifactions, in the case at hand—impose on the beholder a condition of emotional exaltation which leads to their being regarded as sacred. Experiences of this sort are assimilated with the pre-existing mythological conceptions; the existence of the petrifactions is interpreted in the light of the transformer cycle. Finally, the systematizing tendency of priestly speculation sets in, unifying relevant beliefs into the dogma that *all* fetishes are traceable to the same origin. 'It is supposed by the priests of Zuñi that not only these, but all true fetishes, are either actual petrifactions of the animals they represent, or were such originally.' Parallel with the development of these theoretical views goes the association of the amulets with established ceremonial observances. The rites connected with the use of a fetish by the Zuñi warrior or hunter are only the reflexion of the ceremonialism characteristic of Zuñi life; the fetishes are merely amulets saturated with the culture of a Pueblo people.[1]

7. Mexico.—The complexity of religious life in ancient Mexico tends to eclipse the importance of amulets, yet their significance in the everyday life of these people is established beyond doubt. Thus, the Mexicans believed that neither an *enceinte* woman nor her husband might walk about at night; in the former case, the child would cry incessantly, in the latter it would be smitten with heart disease. To guard against these disasters, the prospective mother took care to carry with her some small pebbles, some ashes from her fireplace, or a little native incense, while the father used small stones or tobacco. Ashes seem to have been carried especially in order to prevent the sight of ghosts. Great value was attached to parts of the body of a woman who had died in childbed. Soldiers cut off the woman's hair and the middle finger of her left hand, and carried them on the inside of their shields to the field of battle. They believed that such charms would render their owners intrepid, and would ensure the capture of enemies. Blanket vendors used as a charm the hand of a female monkey, being convinced that, thus armed, they would readily dispose of their wares on market days. Hucksters who had failed to sell their commodities put two kinds of spices with them on returning home at night, declaring that 'after eating of the spices' the wares would allow themselves to be sold more readily than before.[2] The magicians of Sinaloa carefully guarded some translucent stones in a little leather pouch.[3] Among the modern Aztecs some superstitious practices have survived to the present day. Mothers hang little pouches with *chapopotl*, or bitumen, about their children's necks to guard them against disease and injury; sometimes the bags may be worn in pairs at the wrists. The *chapopotl* is purchased of Indian dealers in medicinal herbs.[4] See, further, 'Mexican and Mayan' section of this article.

8. South America.—Our knowledge of South American ethnography does not yet permit a systematic discussion of the charms employed within this immense territory. All that can be attempted is to cull a few characteristic examples from some of the areas hitherto studied.

In the West Indies—ethnologically a part of South America—warriors going into battle attached to their foreheads finely carved objects of stone, shell, or bone perforated for suspension from the person, and stone amulets are particularly common in archaeological collections. Many of them are representations of the human form, others are effigies of animals, while some show partly human, partly theromorphic traits. The amulets of human form may be subdivided into two principal types—one characterized by the elevation of the arms and hands to, or above, the level of the ears; the other distinguished by the mummy-like juxtaposition of the legs. Whether the golden breast ornaments reported to have been worn by

[1] Matthews, 'Navaho Legends,' *Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Society*, v. [1897] 109, 192, 249, 250, 'The Night Chant, a Navaho Ceremony,' in *Mem. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* vi. 10, 58, 69, 11–34.

[1] Cushing, 'Zuñi Fetiches,' in *2 RBEW* [1883], pp. 9–45.

[2] Sahagun, *Hist. gén. des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (Paris, 1880), pp. 310–313, 434.

[3] Gerste, *Notes sur la médecine et la botanique des anciens Mexicains* (Rome, 1909), p. 38.

[4] Starr, 'Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico' (*Proc. Davenport Academy of Natural Science*, 1900), p. 19.

chiefs combined the function of amulets with that of insignia of authority it is impossible to determine at the present day. Stones extracted by a shaman from the body of his patient as pathogenic intruders were highly prized and carefully stowed away in little baskets; they were deemed especially valuable in helping women in labour. It is possible that, besides the frontal war amulets, larger figures were likewise attached to the top of the head.[1]

The burial grounds of Las Guacas on the Pacific coast of Costa Rica have yielded an unusually large number of amulets. Most of these are celt-shaped, some being plain celts with one or, more rarely, two perforations, while others represent human and bird forms. In the anthropomorphic amulets the head is shown *en face*, the eyes being usually indicated by means of two circular drilled pits, which are often united by a transverse groove. The upper arms are parallel with the body, while the forearms are horizontal, the hands either meeting on the abdomen or being placed one a little above the other. Usually only the upper half of the body is sculptured, but a few of the charms show the entire figure. The ornithomorphic amulets represent exclusively parrots and (less frequently) owls. According to Hartman, the crests and ear-tufts of the bird are generally emphasized by the artist, but in many cases the conventionalism is such that the bird-like features wholly disappear. Amulets perforated for suspension in a horizontal position include alligator and fish forms.[2]

Of the ornaments worn by the Peruvians, the necklace consisting of puma teeth, human teeth, bones of monkeys, and birds' beaks may have served as an amulet.[3] In southern Peru and Bolivia a class of Indians, presumably connected with the Callahuayas to be mentioned below, gather and hawk objects of medicinal and talismanic virtue. The tapir's claws served to prevent sickness, while the teeth of poisonous snakes, carefully fixed in leaves and stuck into the tubes of rushes, are regarded as specifics against headache and blindness.[4] The greatest interest attaches to the *canopas* used by the ancient Chimu of Peru. They differed from the communal *huaca* in being the property of a single family or of an individual. In the former case they descended from father to son, in the latter they were buried with their owners. An Indian finding any stone of extraordinary shape or colour immediately sought the advice of a shaman. If the latter declared the object to be a *canopa*, it was at once treated with superstitious regard. Some *canopas* consisted of bezoar stone (*quicu*), others were little crystals (*lacas*). There were special *canopas* of maize and potatoes, and some, in the shape of llamas, served to increase the herds of their owners.[5]

The Araucanians of Chile wear large breast ornaments and heavy chains of disks with pendants consisting of little crosses and human figures, which reflect both Christian and pagan influences.[6]

The Bakairi dwelling on the banks of the Kulisehu and Rio Batovy in Central Brazil are very fond of necklaces of shell-disks and beads. These are worn especially by children and by pregnant women, from which fact their talismanic character has been inferred. The chiefs of the Paressi, who inhabit the region north-west of Cuyaba, suspended about their necks jasper-like polished stones, in the shape of a Maltese cross, which may possibly have been worn as amulets. The Bororo wear breast-ornaments of large jaguar teeth and of small monkey teeth. These ornaments are supposed to increase the strength and skill of the wearer. The teeth and lower jaws of enemies are similarly worn, and the hair of a deceased person is spun and corded, and is then used as an amulet.[1]

The Abipones suspended from their neck or arm the tooth of a 'crocodile,' believing that it would prevent them from being bitten by serpents. Little stones found in the stomach of the same animal were pulverized and drunk to alleviate kidney trouble. This superstition is mentioned in this place because it shows a use of stones somewhat different from that of genuine charm-stones, such as have been noted in N. America.[2]

In the Argentine Republic there has been found a lanceolate stone-amulet with a central rectangular cross enclosing a plain cross of two mutually perpendicular lines. It was intended to be worn about the neck, but Quiroga supposes that it was believed to bring rain.[3] The Indians of the Argentine plateaux attach to their fingers, and especially to their little fingers, a string twisted towards the left. This, it is believed, will prevent adversity and disease during the following year. Some individuals tie similar strings to their arms and legs. Archæological investigation of this region has unearthed numerous *pendeloques*, some of which probably served as charms. One of the smaller finds of this class represents a bird, another consists of the fruit of *Martynia angulata*, with a woollen string by which it was attached to a garment or necklace. Some of the charms are of stone, others of copper, and there has been figured a single *pendeloque* of silver. In the Diagita portion of the territory, triangular and animal-shaped charms have often been discovered. The half-castes now occupying the country still make use of small figures of sculptured white stone representing domestic animals. The carvings (*illas*) serve as talismans to protect the herds of cattle or llamas against every kind of danger and to ensure their multiplication. Another sort of *illa* frequently found consists of a hand enclosing a baton-shaped object; the interior of the hand is sometimes decorated with a circle symbolizing money, and the charm as a whole is believed to bring wealth to its possessor. All these charms are obtained from itinerant Aymara medicine-men called *callahuayas*, who reside in the villages of Charazani and Curva, in the Province of Muñecas, Bolivia.[4]

In the Bandelier collection of the American Museum of Natural History, there are a number of *callahuaya* charms deserving some brief description. A dirty rag containing a piece of alabaster, a bit of llama tallow, and bits of a plant (*uira koua*) is used for finding treasures, and a piece of alabaster with some yellow vegetable substance, very small black seeds, a red and black berry, bits of mica and gold leaf, serves the same purpose. To keep wealth already secured, the *callahuayas* peddle alabaster carved to represent a hand holding a circular object, bits of gold leaf and mica, and very small black seeds. A charm intended to unite those engaged to be married and to render them wealthy, consists of a piece of alabaster carved into two hands, bits of thin gold, silver, and mica, and very small black seeds.

[1] Fewkes, 'The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands,' in *25 RBEW* [1907], pp. 138–148, 192 f., 196.
[2] Hartman, *Archæol. Researches on the Pacific Coast of Costa Rica* (Pittsburg, 1907), pp. 60–81.
[3] Wiener, *Pérou et Bolivie* (Paris, 1880), p. 666.
[4] Von Tschudi, *Travels in Peru* (New York, 1854), p. 280.
[5] Squier, *Peru* (New York, 1877), p. 189.
[6] Bürger, *Acht Lehr- und Wanderjahre in Chile* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 81.

[1] Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 182–184, 425, 479.
[2] Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones* (London, 1822), i. 258.
[3] Quiroga, *La Cruz en America* (Buenos Ayres, 1901), p. 195.
[4] Boman, *Antiq. de la région andine de la République Argent. et du désert d'Atacama* (Paris, 1908), pp. 131–133, 373, 513, 621–630, 656, 749.

Résumé.—A few words will suffice to sum up the essential traits of North and South American charms. While in a considerable number of cases the reasons for assigning special potency to a given object are far from clear, two main principles have operated in a majority of the cases cited, and seem sufficient to account for the phenomena not yet definitely known to fall under the same head. (1) We have found the principle of symbolic magic, which is particularly prominent among the Eskimos. (2) We have had to reckon with the *manitou* principle—the fact that objects which happen to produce on the beholder a curious psychological effect are credited with supernatural power. Naturally objects revealed during a conscious effort to secure some power belong to the same category. So far as the American field is concerned, the theory, recently broached, that amulets and charms are degenerate fetishes—fetishes that retain their supposedly magical power but are no longer the objects of a distinct cult—does not seem to hold. Not only do Pechuel-Loesche's recent investigations in Africa tend to efface the line separating fetishes from other magico-religious objects, but among the Zuñi, where conditions are especially favourable for a comparison, the 'fetishes' have been found to be nothing but specialized forms of magical objects. As for charms and amulets in general, it must be apparent that they also do not form a distinct unit from a psychological point of view, but are merely magical articles worn on the person.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the footnotes.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Assyr.-Bab.).—In discussing Assyr. charms it is exceedingly difficult to avoid repetition of incantations which are properly included under Medicine. The writer of the present article has therefore touched as lightly as possible on the purely medical texts, referring the reader to the article DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyr.-Bab.) for this branch of the subject, and has attempted to describe only those which are less obviously prescriptions for sickness. But it is almost impossible to draw a distinct line, since many of the ailments in ancient times were attributed to the magic of sorcerers, the attacks of demons, or the wrath of the gods; and even the simple medical tablets, which prescribe in the baldest manner the quantities of various drugs to be used as remedies, are not without incantations of the most superstitious kind.

The hostile wizard or witch is described by some such words as *kaššapu*, *epištu*, and *muštepištu*, which are never used for the more legitimate quacksalvers. On the other hand, it was quite permissible to 'lay a ban' in no underhand manner, for the 'sabbaths' in the Assyrian hemerology texts (*WAI* iv. 32) are described as being unfitted for making a curse. But the methods for casting such spells as love-charms or hatred-charms appear to be wanting in the tablets hitherto discovered. After all, these charms belong to an order of magicians lower than the official priesthood, and it is more natural that the writings of the latter class should have come down to us.

The eight tablets of the series *Maklu* ('Burning') are devoted to charms which have been written counter to the machinations of hostile wizards and witches. The man who imagines himself bewitched repairs presumably to the nearest friendly wise-man or wise-woman for aid in working magic which shall defeat his oppressor. The whole series constitutes such a *grimoire* of spells that it is well worth examining in detail.

First, the victim of the wizard's malignity makes invocation to the 'gods of night,' and then lays before them his troubles:

'For a witch hath bewitched me,
A sorceress hath cast her spell upon me,
My god and my goddess cry aloud over me,
Over the sickness (?deafness) wherewith I am stricken.
I stand sleepless night and day,
For they have choked my mouth with herbs,
And with *upuntu* have stopped my mouth,
So that they have lessened my drink.
My joy hath turned to grief, and my delight to mourning.
Rise up, then, O ye great gods, and hear my plaint,
Grant me a hearing, and take cognizance of my way.
I have made a figure of the man or woman who hath bewitched me.'

There appears to be an echo of one of these lines in the Talmud. If a person meet witches, he should say, among other invectives, 'May a potsherd of boiling dung be stuffed into your mouths, you ugly witches' (*Mo'ed Katan*, fol. 18, col. i., quoted by Hershon, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, London, 1880, p. 49). It is possible, too, that there is a connexion between this and another passage in the *Maklu* (Tablet viii. 87–88): 'Make two meals of dung (?), one each for the figures of sorcerer and sorceress, and make invocation over the food.' This, however, depends on the translation 'dung' for the Assyr. word *lî* (Thompson, *Sem. Magic*, p. 203).

In the lines quoted from the *Maklu* series the hostile magician is evidently credited with having made a waxen image of the suppliant, which has been subjected to the treatment described in lines 6–8 (lines 9–11 of the tablet). The counter-method of making an image of the magician is consequently resorted to, and various rituals are performed, after which the bewitched man ends the first division of his charm with the words spoken against the sorceress:

'Her knot is loosed, her works are brought to nought,
All her charms fill the open plain,
According to the command which the gods of night have spoken.'

The 'knot' refers to the usual practice of tying knots during the repetition of an incantation (see DISEASE AND MEDICINE [Assyr.-Bab.]). The next is a short invocation:

'Earth, earth, O earth,
Gilgameš is lord of your *tabu*.
Whatever ye do, I know;
But what I do, ye know not;
All that the women who have bewitched me have done
Is annulled, loosed, and me, and is not.'

Two late Hebrew charms from a book which the writer obtained in Mosul (*PSBA*, 1907, p. 330, nos. 93 and 94) show a similarity to this use of 'binding' and 'loosing':

'*To bind a man against his wife.*—Write these names on a parchment, and bury them between two graves: "In the name of Šaphriel, 'Azriel, Gabriel, Šerikiel, that ye bind and fetter N., son of N., that he be not able to have union with his wife N., daughter of N., Šl Šid 'Irt W'asgitt Wswrh Wtr Wrrgit. bind and fetter N., son of N.; and let no man have power to loose him from the bond until I loose it myself, and he shall feel no love towards N., daughter of N.; bind and fetter him."'

'*To loosen a bond.*—Let him write his name and the name of his mother on parchment, and let him carry the parchment on his person, and hang it round his neck. And this is what he shall write: "Hu Hut Nptl Nptl Krat Krat Mk Ytun Kṭ Lub Nṭl Ubkl Ṭob Mn Mn Mnr Pur Ksp Ksp Tor Tor—by the purity of these names (I adjure you) that ye loose all limbs of N., son of N., towards N., daughter of N."'

The lines in the *Maklu* quotations indicating that the patient knows his enemy's movements are in accord with the usual practice of magic in this respect. The next step is apparently to recite the following over something that serves as the model of a village:

'My city is *Sappan*, my city is *Sappan*,
There are two gates to my city *Sappan*,
One to the east and one to the west,
One towards the rising sun and one towards the setting sun.'

The procedure described in the lines that follow is to perform a ritual of shutting up the city, that the sorcery may be excluded from the bewitched man's abode (for a parallel to this method of making a model house in magic, see Victor Henry,

La Magie dans l'Inde antique, Paris, 1904, p. 142, which is quoted in Thompson, *op. cit.* p. xxviii). Ultimately the little figures of the hostile wizard are burnt, with appropriate and exceedingly long incantations to the fire-god. With this ritual the first tablet ends.

The second tablet continues this procedure, and defines the material of which the images of the sorcerer shall be made, with the proper invocation for each. Tallow, bronze, dung (?), clay, bitumen, bitumen overlaid with plaster, clay overlaid with tallow, and various woods are among the components prescribed.

The third tablet begins with a description of the witch:

'The witch who roameth about the streets,
Entering the houses,
Prowling about the towns,
Going through the broad places;
She turneth backwards and forwards,
She standeth in the street and turneth back the feet;
In the market-square she hindereth passage;
She snatcheth away the love of the well-favoured man.
She taketh the fruit of the well-favoured maiden.
By her glance she carrieth away her desire;
She looketh upon a man and taketh away his love,
She looketh upon a maiden and taketh away her fruit.'

After this description of the witch, the bewitched man is shown how to combat her evil with various rituals.

The fifth tablet begins with a similar description of the hostile wise-woman:

'The sorceress and witch
Sit in the shadow of the house-wall,
They sit there working magic against me,
And making figures of me.
Now I am sending against thee *ḫaltappan*-plant and sesame,
I will annul thy sorcery and turn back thy charms in thy mouth.'

Enough has been quoted to show the methods used in this exceedingly primitive but wide-spread practice of wax-figure magic.

In working any magic of this kind, it was of great advantage to have secured something belonging to the intended victim. The first tablet of the *Maḳlu* shows this clearly (131 ff.):

'Those (witches) who have made images in my shape,
Who have likened them unto my form,
Who have taken of my spittle, plucked out my hair,
Torn my garments, or gathered the cast-off dust of my feet,
May the warrior Fire-god dissolve their spell.'

All these ingredients of a charm are so well known to anthropologists that it is unnecessary to quote parallel instances from either savage or civilized nations.

From these incantations over waxen figures of a living man the transition to similar images made to lay a ghost is easy. The principle is the same:

'When a dead man appeareth unto a living man . . . thou shalt make [a figure] of clay, and write his name on the left side with a stylus. Thou shalt put it in a gazelle's horn and its face . . . and in the shade of a caper-bush or in the shade of a thorn-bush thou shalt dig a hole and bury it: and thou shalt say . . .' (*PSBA* xxviii. 227).

A ritual for the same is also prescribed in a tablet (K. 1293, Harper, *Letters*, 1900, no. 461) which begins: 'The figure of the dead man in clay.' There are other charms to avert the evil of returning ghosts, which need not be quoted here (*PSBA* xxviii. 223 ff.; Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 32 ff.).

Just in the same way the Babylonians believed that sorcery might break out in a house (*WAI* iv. 59. 1), and part of the charm against it runs as follows:

'Break the bonds of her who hath bewitched me,
Bring to nought the mutterings of her who hath cast spells upon me,
Turn her sorcery to wind,
Her mutterings to air;
All that she hath done or wrought in magic
May the wind carry away!
May it bring her days to ruin and a broken heart,
May it bring down her years to wretchedness and woe!
May she die, but let me recover:
May her sorcery, her magic, her spells be loosed,
By command of Ea, Šamaš, Marduk,
And the Princess Bêlit-ili.'

(For the possible connexion of the remainder of this text with the Levitical 'house in which leprosy breaks out,' see Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 187.)

Another ritual in connexion with buildings is that published by Weissbach (*Bab. Miscellen*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 32 ff.) for the re-building of a temple when it has fallen.

We now come to what may be considered as amulets proper—objects with a prophylactic significance which are to be hung up in some exposed position or carried on the person. The most obvious are probably those with charms written upon them, so that there is no doubt as to their meaning; and these have actually been found in the excavations of Assyrian sites. There are two such made of clay and inscribed with the legend of Ura, the plague-spirit, in the British Museum; and these are pierced laterally in order that they may be hung up on the wall of a house (L. W. King, *ZA* xi. 50; for others, see Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 85). In the Babylonian room of the British Museum is exhibited the upper half of a similar tablet in stone, probably dating from the 7th cent. B.C., with two figures in relief. The one on the left is that of the well-known lion-headed spirit, with weapon upraised, while that on the right is some god. Above them in a separate register are the emblems of the moon, sun, and Venus, and a head-dress (the symbol of Anu) (no. 1074–91899; on the head-dress being the symbol of Anu, see Frank, *LSSt* ii. 2, 8). Another (Case H, No. 231) is a bronze plaque pierced for hanging up on a wall, with a rampant demon in relief.

This is such a common form of exorcism in the East that only a few parallels need be quoted. The Jews in Palestine hang up a paper written in cabalistic Hebrew, together with rue, garlic, and a piece of looking-glass (Masterman, *Bibl. World*, xxii. [1903] 249; see also Scott-Moncrieff, *PSBA* xxvii. [1905] 26, for a photograph of a Hebrew amulet of this nature from Morocco). In Asia Minor the writer was presented with one of two amulets written in Arabic on small scraps of paper and nailed to the doorpost of an inner chamber of a house ('A Journey by some unmapped Routes of the Western Hittite Country,' *PSBA* xxxii. [1910]).

From these hanging amulets it is no great distance to the little figurines of gods which have been found buried under the thresholds of Assyrian palaces, and were obviously intended to guard the building. Several of them are now in the British Museum (Bab. Room, nos. 996–1009; see the figure in G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*[7], London, 1883, p. 78). Another form of them, although exactly how it was used is uncertain, is the bronze demon-figure (Bab. Room, no. 574) pictured on the frontispiece of Thompson's *Devils and Evil Spirits*. This is a lion-headed human figure with the right arm raised; the feet and right hand are missing, but there is no doubt that it is the same spirit as is portrayed on the stone amulet (no. 1074) mentioned above. Now this same figure is found on the Nineveh sculptures and elsewhere (*RA*, new ser. xxxviii. [1879]; Frank, 'Babylonische Beschwörungsreliefs' [*LSSt* iii. 3], cf. art. DISEASE; King, *Bab. Rel.* p. 39), where a pair of them are apparently attacking each other. They have exactly the same lion-heads and human bodies, and their feet are birds' claws; the upraised right hands brandish daggers, and the left hands, held close to the side, hold maces. It is possible that the two are intended to be in alliance against a common foe, only that the exigencies of Assyr. technique, which forbade a sculptor to represent any one full face, have compelled the artist to present them in this guise. At any rate, the reason for the presence of such a sculpture in the palace of Ashurbanipal seems to be much the same as that which induces the ordinary householder to hang up his little amulet near the door. It is naturally on a larger scale, but it serves the same purpose (for a long discussion of this scene, see Frank, *LSSt* iii. 3, 49 ff.). Indeed, the figures of

the winged bulls at the great gates are nothing more than protecting amulets, and they are described in the Assyr. texts as such (*WAI* ii. 67, *r.* 29).

Several demons or protecting spirits of this class are mentioned in the cuneiform tablets, and full directions for their position in the house are given in a ritual tablet published by Zimmern (*Ritualtafeln*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 168 f.).

From the inscribed house-amulets the transition is easy to uninscribed objects which have a magical virtue, such as the rue and garlic mentioned above. One of the Assyr. incantations against a demon shows the same precautions taken as in the Hebrew charm:

> Fleabane (?) on the lintel of the door I have hung,
> St. John's wort (?), caper (?), and wheat-ears
> On the latch I have hung' (Thompson, *Devils*, i. 137).

Now, if the plant *pir'u* (which may be the Syriac *per'a*, 'hypericum') be really the St. John's wort, this charm will be found to be the forerunner of many mediæval superstitions. Frazer says (*GB*[2] iii. 334) that

> 'gathered on Midsummer Eve, or on Midsummer Day before sunrise, the blossoms are hung on doorways and windows to preserve the house against thunder, witches, and evil spirits. . . . During the Middle Ages the power which the plant notoriously possesses of banning devils won for it the name of *fuga dæmonum*.'

Frank, however (*LSSt* iii. 3, 36–38), translates *pir'u*, 'Schössling.'

Another form of Assyr. house-amulet was the clay fist, many specimens of which have been found in excavating the palaces (B. M. Bab. Room, nos. 867–875), and they are presumably the origin of the hand which decorates the walls of the modern houses in the East (see the chapter on 'Amulets' in Fossey's *La Magie assyr.* pp. 104–121).

In the same way amulets were carried on the person among the ancient Assyrians. In the cuneiform series written against the *Labartu* (some kind of female demon who attacks children), the tablets actually prescribe an incantation which is to be written on a stone and hung round the neck of a child exposed to her malignity (*WAI* iv. 56, i. 1; Myhrman, *ZA* xvi. 155; for an instance of such an amulet, discovered in excavating, see Weissbach, *Bab. Miscellen*, p. 42). The Hebrews have similar charms:

> 'If thou wishest to protect a young babe from an evil spirit and from the host of Mahalath, write these angels on a tablet of gold in Assyrian writing (*Ashuri*) and carry it with thee, and thou needst not fear any evil either from (for) a big man or a small child' (Gaster, *PSBA*, 1900, p. 340).

Besides these written directions for amulets, the graven sculptures of the Assyr. kings bear testimony to the importance attributed to these phylacteries. It is a common thing to see the kings portrayed with a necklet to which are attached four or five pendants—clearly the sun, moon, Venus, the levin bolt of Adad, and frequently the horned head-dress of Anu (*e.g.* B. M. Assyr. Transept, no. 847). The writer has seen worn round the neck of a Persian boy a circlet of silver strung with the crescent moon and two hands, which appear to be the lineal descendants of the thunderbolt of Adad.

It is unnecessary to go deeper into the question of earrings, armlets, etc., in this article. The Assyrian kings wore both earrings and armlets; but whether they did so because they still adhered to the savage idea of protection remains to be proved. Nevertheless, on the upper arm above the elbow, where the Assyrians wore an armlet, the modern Hadendoa wears his leathern purse-amulet, containing its paper charm inscribed in Arabic. We may now pass to certain figurines other than those described above, which have been discovered from time to time in the excavation of Assyr. and Bab. sites. These are, for the most part, of clay, and are either very crudely fashioned or turned out of moulds (see B. M. Babylonian Room, Wall Cases, 34–40). One of the most frequent is that of a naked female figure holding both breasts. Another is that of a female figure holding a babe; and this appears to be referred to in a cuneiform tablet which gives a detailed description of several mythological beings (Thompson, *Devils*, ii. 147; see *Semitic Magic*, 63):

> 'The head (has) a fillet and a horn . . . ; she wears a head-ornament; she wears a fly (?); she wears a veil; the fist of a man. She is girt about the loins, her breast is open; in her left arm she holds a babe sucking her breast, inclining towards her right arm. From her head to her loins the body is that of a naked woman: from the loins to the sole of the foot scales like those of a snake are visible: her navel is composed of a circlet. Her name is Nin-tu, a form of the goddess Mah.'

It is quite possible that both these were used by barren women as votive offerings or charms to obtain children.

Of a different class are these fairly common clay heads of demons which are described by Frank (*Rev. d'Assyriol.* vii. [1909] 1). They are about an inch or two high, of hideous aspect, and sometimes inscribed with a long incantation against some power of evil. Lastly, we find what is apparently a wooden image prescribed, with appropriate ritual (Thompson, *Devils*, i. 197):

> 'Set alight, both in front and behind, a tamarisk *ḫulduppû* (image ?) of a fiend, whereon is inscribed the name of Ea, with the all-powerful incantation, the Incantation of Eridu of Purification.'

See also art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyr.-Bab.).

LITERATURE.—F. Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, Paris, 1874 (Eng. tr., *Chaldean Magic*, London, 1878); A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, London, 1887, and *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, London, 1902; K. L. Tallqvist, *Die assyr. Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, Leipzig, 1895; L. W. King, *Bab. Magic and Sorcery*, London, 1896, and *Bab. Religion*, London, 1900; H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der bab. Religion*, Leipzig, 1896–1901; C. Fossey, *La Magie assyr.*, Paris, 1902; M. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898 (Germ. new ed. *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1902 ff.); R. C. Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, London, 1903–4, and *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908.

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CHARMS AND AMULETS (Buddhist).—The use of charms and amulets (Skr. *kavacha*) is universal in Buddhist countries. The custom is most marked in the lands where pure Buddhism has degenerated into Lamaism.

In Northern Buddhist countries almost every man, woman, and child constantly wears an amulet, or string of amulets, round the neck, or on the breast. These amulets are generally ornamental receptacles, sometimes made of copper, wood, or bone, but more frequently of silver, often artistically embossed and jewelled with turquoise. The shape of the amulet varies; it may be square, circular, or curved. Those which are curved round to a point are probably intended to represent the leaf of the sacred fig-tree. These boxes are the receptacles of a variety of charms—the supposed relics of a saint, a few grains of wheat, a torn scrap of a sacred *kataq*, a picture, or a prayer formulary. The amulet is a prized ornament as well as a trusted charm. The workmanship of those worn by the rich is frequently finished and artistic. The turquoise, which is the only precious stone used for the ornamentation of the amulet, is itself a charm. It is of the lucky colour, and is supposed to avert the evil eye. About a year after the birth of a child a religious ceremony is held, at which prayers are said for its happy life, and an amulet, consisting of a small bag, containing spells and charms against evil spirits and diseases, is suspended from its neck. Women of position in Tibet wear a chatelaine, depending from a small silver casket, which usually contains a charm or charms. When a Tibetan leaves his home to undertake a distant or difficult journey, or on business, a written

charm is not infrequently tied upon the sleeve of his coat, and this is not removed till after his safe return, or the satisfactory accomplishment of his purpose.

As the person of the Northern Buddhist is protected by charms, so is his house. Near the door a prayer-pole is erected, or prayer-flags flutter on the roof; juniper twigs are burnt in earthenware utensils, for demons are supposed to have a particular objection to their smell, and consequently remain at a distance; a collection of pieces of cloth, leaves, and sprigs of willow is prepared to attract the spirits of disease and prevent their crossing the threshold; and a white and blue *swastika*, surmounted by sacred symbols, is drawn upon the doorway. In addition to these charms, which are regarded as efficacious in warding off evil from the Buddhist family, roughly printed prayer formularies, taken from blocks kept in the local monastery, are frequently pasted on the outside of the door or the inner walls of the house.

In Burma the tatuing of the body with mystical squares, cabalistic diagrams, and weird figures seems to be regarded as an effectual charm.

The use of charms, by the priests, in Buddhist worship is common. The *dorje* is a part of the equipment of every monk in Tibet. It is the Skr. *vajra*, or thunderbolt. The original *dorje* is supposed to have fallen direct from Indra's heaven, in the neighbourhood of Lhasa. The imitations are made of bronze and other metals. They are used for exorcizing and driving away evil spirits, especially in the performance of religious ceremonies and prayers. But they are regarded as equally efficacious in warding off evils of all descriptions. The Bodhisattva Vajra-pāṇi, 'the subduer of evil spirits,' is always represented with a *dorje* in his hand. The *drilbu*, or prayer-bell, with its handle ornamented with mystic symbols, is used in worship, with the twofold object of attracting the attention of good spirits and frightening away evil ones. The *prayer-flags*, which wave outside every Buddhist monastery and almost every house, are inscribed with various prayer formularies, together with figures of the 'flying horse'=Lungta (strictly *rLuṅ-rta* = 'wind-horse'), and other symbols, *e.g.* the Norbu gem, or 'wishing stone.' Some flags bear the representation of an animal at each corner—the tiger, lion, eagle, and dragon. The prayer-flags are, in most cases, regarded by the peasantry as charms to protect the village from malicious ghosts and demons, who are believed to haunt the atmosphere and swarm everywhere. The *sacred drum*, shaped like two hemispheres joined on their convex sides and encircled by cowrie shells, is also used to frighten away evil spirits, who are regarded as disliking noises of all kinds. The drum is sounded by means of buttons attached to two pendulous strips of leather.

The *phurbu*, or nail, is another weapon used by the lamas against demons. It is generally made of wood. In form it is wedge-shaped and triangular, eight or ten inches long, with the thin end sharp-pointed, and the broad end surmounted with a head. This weapon is sometimes made of cardboard, and inscribed with mystical sentences, which usually end with the syllables *hūm phat*, the potency of which, in scaring evil demons, is irresistible. The most efficacious *phurbus* are inscribed with mystic syllables and words composed by either the Dalai Lama or the Panchen Lama.

Prayer, among Northern Buddhists, is regarded in common practice as an effective charm, and is generally used as such.

The *maṇi*, or jewel prayer, '*om maṇi padme hum*,' is depended upon as the first and greatest of all charms. Every Tibetan believes that 'it is the panacea for all evil, a compendium of all knowledge, a treasury of all wisdom, a summary of all religion' (Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, 1889, p. 373). The meaning of the sacred syllables is not understood, but, even as their repetition is believed to secure blessing, so it will also thwart evil. In like manner, the use of the manual prayer-wheel, the setting in motion of the prayer-wheels which line the walls leading to the temple-doors, and the turning of the large cylindrical prayer-wheel which is to be found in most shrines are popularly regarded as useful charms.

In Lāhul harvest operations, the 108 volumes of the Buddhist encyclopædia are used as a charm, being carried over the fields by women before the crops are sown, to drive evil spirits away. When the grain sprouts, pencil cedar-wood is put in the ground and burnt, to charm away another demon and ensure each grain springing up with many ears.

The great Tibetan work, the *Kah-gyur*, the sacred book of the *Mahāyāna*, or Great Vehicle, contains a repository of charms, etc. In the *Gyut* (Tib. *rgyud*, Skr. *tantra*), the last division of the *Kah-gyur*, which is devoted to mystic theology, there are descriptions of several gods and goddesses, with instructions for preparing the *mandalas*, or circles, for their reception; offerings or sacrifices for obtaining their favour; prayers, hymns, and charms addressed to them. The virtue of the various *mantras* is far-reaching, as the headings show: for obtaining any kind of specified prosperity; for assuaging specific diseases; for securing abundance; for obtaining security from robbers; for protection from fire, water, poison, weapons, enemies, famine, untimely death, lightning, earthquakes, and hail; and from all sorts of demons and evil spirits. The required qualities of a teacher who may officiate at *tantrika* ceremonies are detailed; there is also a description of ten several substances to be used in the sacrifices, such as flowers, incenses, perfumes, lights or lamps; together with the periods, by day or night, when the various ceremonies are effective.

Throughout the Northern Buddhist world it is believed that, by virtue of some charm, every evil being may be successfully resisted and every evil averted.

LITERATURE.—L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895; Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, London, 1889; Perceval Landon, *Lhasa*, London, 1905; C. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet*, London, 1906; J. E. Duncan, *A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, London, 1906; S. C. Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, new ed., London, 1904; Ehai Kawaguchi, *Three Years in Tibet*, Madras, 1909; *JRAS*, vol. iii.

J. H. BATESON.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Celtic).—Most of the magical acts performed by the Druids, or other wielders of magic among the Celts, were accompanied by charms, spells, or incantations—usually in poetic form. Their power lay in the magical virtue of the spoken word, or, in the case of spells for healing, in recounting a miracle of healing, in the hope that the action would now be repeated by virtue of mimetic magic. The Irish *filid*, or poets, had to learn traditional incantations (O'Curry, *MS Materials*, Dublin, 1861, p. 240), and many of the verses which Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 14) says the Druids would not commit to writing were doubtless of a similar nature.

The earliest Celtic document bearing on Celtic paganism—a MS preserved in the monastery of St. Gall and dating from the 8th or 9th cent.—contains spells appealing to the 'science of Goibniu' to preserve butter, and to 'the healing which Diancecht left' to give health (Zimmer, *Gloss. Hib.*, 1881, p. 271; see also Zeuss, *Gramm. Celt.*², 1871, p. 949). Thus the pagan gods were still appealed to in the charms used by Christian Celts. In later times the charms which are still

in use appealed no longer to the old gods but to the Persons of the Trinity, to the Virgin, or to the saints, but they are quite as much magical incantations as prayers, and they apply to every action of life, while they bear a close resemblance to Etruscan and Babylonian spells which can hardly be accidental (cf. any collection of Celtic spells with those given in Leland, *Etruscan Roman Remains*, 1892; and Lenormant, *Magie chez les Chaldéens*, 1874). Probably such spells passed from country to country in very early times, the appeal being made in each country to the native divinities. After the introduction of Christianity, relics of the saints, hymns composed by them or in their honour, and the Gospels were also used as charms (Joyce, *Social Hist. of Ancient Ireland*, 1903, i. 247 f., 382–386).

All Druidic rites of magic described in the sagas were accompanied by spells, *e.g.* control of the elements, transformation, discovery of hidden persons or things, etc. Druids accompanied each army to discomfit the enemy, or to bring strength to their friends by means of the spells uttered by them. The Druids could also remove barrenness through spells and incantations; they could heal deadly wounds, or raise the dead to life (Windisch-Stokes, *Ir. Texte*, 1880–1905, i. 127, iii. 393, iv.*a* 242, 245, *Táin Bó*, 5484; Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, 1906, i. 137; Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions*, 1866, p. 301). Women also used powerful spells among the Celts, and were in consequence much dreaded. The 'spells of women' were feared even by St. Patrick, as they had been in earlier times by the pagan Celts (*Ir. Texte*, i. 56; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de littérature celtique*, v. 387), while in modern survivals in Celtic areas it is mainly women who make use of charms and spells. In repeating a spell or charm a certain posture was adopted—standing on one leg, with one arm outstretched and one eye closed (see CELTS, XIII. 5). The reason of this posture is unknown; possibly it was intended to concentrate the magical force, while the outstretched arm would point to the person or thing over whom the charm was repeated.

The continuance of the belief in the power of spells down to modern times in rural Celtic areas is one of the most marked examples of the survival of Celtic paganism. Usually they are known only to certain persons, and are carefully handed down from generation to generation, sometimes from male to female, and from female to male. They are used to heal diseases (sometimes the disease itself being personified), to cause fertility, to bring good luck, or a blessing; or, in the case of darker magic, such as was practised by witches, to cause death or disease, or to transfer the property of others to the reciter (Sauvé, *RCel* vi. 67 ff.; *Celtic Magazine*, xii. 38; Camden, *Britannia*[2], 1806, iv. 488; Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, 1900, ii. 2–21, 124; Joyce, *op. cit.* i. 629–632). See also BARDS (Irish).

A great many kinds of *amulets* were used by the Celts. If the wheel carried by the statues of the Celtic god with the wheel be taken as a symbol of the sun or the sun-god, then it is probable that the numerous small disks or wheels of metal, clay, or wood, found in Gaul and Britain, were protective amulets, bringing the wearer under the care of the god. A stele found at Metz in 1749 represents a person with a necklace to which is attached such an amulet. In other cases they appear as votive offerings to a river-god, many of them having been found in river-beds or fords (Gaidoz, *Le Dieu gaulois du soleil*, Paris, 1886, p. 60). Other amulets—white marble balls, quartz pebbles, models of the tooth of the wild boar (a Neolithic amulet), and pieces of amber—have been found buried with the dead, probably as protective amulets (*RA* i. [1873] 227; Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 1877, p. 165; Elton, *Origins of English History*, 1882, p. 66; Renel, *Religions de la Gaule avant le Christianisme*, 1906, pp. 95 f., 194 f.). Phallic amulets were also worn, perhaps as a protection against the evil eye (Reinach, *Bronzes figurés de la Gaul romaine*, Paris, 1900, p. 362). Pliny speaks of the Celtic belief in the magical virtues of coral, either worn as an amulet, or taken in powder as a medicine; and archæological research has shown that the Celts, during a limited period of their history, placed coral on weapons and utensils, apparently as an amulet (Pliny, *HN* xxxii. 2, 24; *RCel* xx. 13 ff.). Pliny also describes the method of obtaining the 'serpent's egg,' formed from the foam produced by many serpents twining about each other and thrown into the air. The seeker had to catch it in his cloak before it fell, and flee to a running stream, beyond which the serpents could not pursue him. Such an egg was believed to cause its owner to gain lawsuits, or obtain access to kings. A Roman citizen was put to death in the reign of Claudius for bringing such a Druidic talisman into court. This egg was probably some kind of fossil, and was doubtless connected with the cult of the serpent, while some old myth of an egg produced by divine serpents may have been made use of to account for its formation (Pliny, *HN* xxix. 3, 54; 12, 52; see CELTS, X.). Rings or beads of glass, such as are found in tumuli, etc., are still popularly believed in Wales and Cornwall to have been formed by serpents in much the same way as in Pliny's description. They are called *glain naidr*, or 'serpent's glass,' and are believed to have magical virtues, especially against snake-bite. This virtue is also credited to stone rings (generally old spindle-whorls) in the Scottish Highlands (Hoare, *Modern Wiltshire*, 1822, p. 56; Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, 1870, iii. 246, 315), while 'healing stones' both for man and beast are to be found in Ireland and in Scotland alike (Joyce, *op. cit.* i. 628 f.). Many little figures of the boar, the horse, the bull, with a ring for suspending them from a necklet, have been found, and were amulets or images of these divine animals (Reinach, *op. cit.* pp. 286, 289).

LITERATURE.—This has been cited throughout the article.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Christian).—I. Historical survey.—Christianity came as a religion of the spirit into a world given over to superstition and magic. To these Christianity set itself in strong opposition, expelling with irresistible power the illusions under which the religion of Nature had held men's minds in bondage. Ac 19[19] relates that, as the result of St. Paul's missionary preaching in Ephesus, magical books to the value of fifty thousand pieces of silver were publicly burnt; and it would be wrong to suppose that, while burning the books, the people retained their belief in magic. Ancient Christian preaching went the other way to work, and dealt with thoughts first, and things afterwards. This temper lasted long. The more the Christians felt themselves inspired by the Holy Spirit and gifted with miraculous powers, the less willing or able were they to believe in the magical power of lifeless things. The belief is mentioned in ancient Christian literature only to be attacked as an error of heathendom, especially Phrygian and Celtic (Gal 5[20] φαρμακεία, cf. 3[1] βασκαίνειν; *Didache* ii. 2, iii. 4, v. 1; Justin, *Apol.* i. 14; and, still later, Origen, *Peri Archon*, II. xi. 5; Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* iii. 6, 9 f.; cf. 2 K 21[6], 2 Ch 33[6], Asc. Is. 2[5]). It is from the pen of a Christian (Hippolytus, *Refut.* iv.) that we have the most powerful refutation of the artifices of astrology and magic; and Apuleius found more than his

match in Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, viii. 16–22). Not until later times did belief in magic find its way into Catholic communities and gain the recognition of the Church herself.

Nevertheless the Christians had always lived under the suspicion of practising forbidden magic rites (κακοποιός, 1 P 4[15]; 'superstitio malefica,' Suet. *Nero*, 16). This they inherited from Judaism. Pliny did not succeed in proving anything of the kind against them; but yet in Hadrian's rescript to Servian (as given by Vopiscus, ch. 8) we find Christian elders associated with rulers of the Jewish synagogues and Samaritans as *mathematici, haruspices, aliptæ*. As a matter of fact, there were among the Christians, and especially among the Gnostics of Egypt, zealous devotees of magic. What we know of Gnostic worship, with its incomprehensible formulæ, its use of strange objects, and its insistence on ceremonial correctness, shows affinity with magical practices. Forms of conjuration and amulets have come down to us whose origin is undoubtedly Gnostic; and Origen turned upon the Gnostics the accusations of magic brought against the Christians by Celsus (vi. 21–40). But it was not confined to the Gnostics. It must be admitted that the Catholic Church was not quite free from the taint. On the walls of the catacombs, Jesus Himself is depicted holding a magic wand, though the theologians lay stress upon the absence of all magical means from His miracles (*e.g.* Arnobius, *adv. Gent.* i. 43 f. [*CSEL* iv. 28 f.]). The antithesis between Divine and demoniacal is clearly shown in the apocryphal accounts of the contest between Simon Peter and Simon Magus—the magician kills, the Apostle makes alive; but otherwise the means employed are the same (cf. Joh. Malalas, *Chron.* p. 252, ed. Bonnet; Georg. Mon. p. 366, ed. de Boor). To the questions of a Christian every demon must give an answer (Tert. *Apol.* 22, 23); even the breath of a Christian was enough to stay the working of a heathen charm (Dionys. Alex., *ap.* Euseb. vii. 10. 4).

Three things render difficult an exact estimate of the dissemination of this superstition among Christians in the earliest times: (1) Christian literature is nearly silent; (2) objects cannot be dated with certainty: and (3) Divine names of Jewish and Christian character were used also by heathen magicians.

With the 4th cent. magical belief began to take a firmer hold within the Church, although synods (*e.g.* Elvira [A.D. 300 or 313?], can. 6; Ancyra [A.D. 315], can. 24; Laodicea [*c.* 360], can. 34–36) and the great leaders of theology continued to protest against the adoption of superstitious means in sickness or for the recovery of lost articles. Chrysostom is especially emphatic (see *adv. Judæos*, hom. viii. 5 [*PG* xlviii. 935], *ad Pop. Antioch.*, hom. xix. 4 [*ib.* xlix. 196], *ad Illum. Catech.* ii. 5 [*ib.* xlix. 239], hom. *in 1 Co* 7[2] [*ib.* li. 216], *in Ps* 9, ch. 7 [*ib.* lv. 132], *in Joh.* hom. xxxvii., lv. [*ib.* lix. 207, 301], *in 1 Cor.* hom. xii. 8 [*ib.* lxi. 105], *in Gal.* com. i. 7 [*ib.* lxi. 623], *in Col.* hom. viii. 5 [*ib.* lxii. 358], *in 1 Thess.* hom. iii. 5 [*ib.* 412]. Of Western preachers cf. pseudo-Augustine (Cæsarius of Arles (?), *Sermo* 168. 3, 265. 5, 278. 279. 4 f. [*PL* xxxix.]; cf. Caspari in *ZDA* xxv. [1881] 314–316, and *Kirchenhist. Anecdota*, i. [1883] 193–212, 213–224); Martin of Bracara (*Correctio rusticorum*, ed. Caspari, 1883; see also the *Capitula* of Martin of Bracara in *PL* cxxx. 575 ff.]); Pirminius (*Scarapsus*, 22 [*PL* lxxxix.; cf. Caspari, *Kirchenhist. Anecdota*, 151–192], *Vita S. Eligii*, ii. 15 [*PL* lxxxvii. 528, ed. Krusch, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Scr. rer. Merov.* iv. 705, 753]; Nürnberger, *Aus der litter. Hinterlassenschaft des hl. Bonifatius*, 1888, p. 43). But their protests assumed the reality of the wonders of magic, condemning them only as ungodly and devilish (cf. Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 6, *de Trin.* iii. 7, 12), and supposed the existence of a higher form of magic that was Divine. After the rise of martyr-worship and the Invention of the Holy Cross, the Church possessed a number of sacred objects from which protection and all blessings might be expected. This belief flourished extraordinarily from the 6th to the 8th century. Pope Gregory the Great furthered it with his example and sanctioned it with his authority; for France, Gregory of Tours is typical. And it was further advanced through the incursions into the Roman Empire of the barbarians, whose Christianity had not penetrated beneath the surface. The Frankish synods and the Anglo-Saxon *libri pœnitentiales* (collected by Wasserschleben, 1851, and by H. J. Schmitz, 1883) had to lay heavier and heavier ecclesiastical penalties on proscribed heathen uses. Under Charlemagne the matter was taken in hand by the State (cf. *Capitularia regum Franc.*, ed. Boretius [*Mon. Germ. hist.*], i. 25, 45, ii. 44). A collection of all these decrees is given by Burchard of Worms (*Decret.* lib. x. [*PL* cxl. 831–854]). But the clergy themselves lent support to the practice, and similar usages, but thinly cloaked in Christian and ecclesiastical guise, were embraced even by bishops. The more rationalistic tendencies of the iconoclasts in the Byzantine Empire and of individual theologians like Agobard of Lyons or Claudius of Turin in the West were quickly and effectively suppressed.

In the Middle Ages, Europe presents a spectacle similar to ancient Rome. As there magic was nominally forbidden, and yet flourished, and in many ways received even official recognition, so here it is possible to point to a whole series of civic and ecclesiastical prohibitions (e.g. *Cod. Just.* lib. ix. tit. 18; *Decr. Grat.* ii. ch. 26, qu. 5), which serve only to prove the opposite of that which one would gladly conclude from them. They show not that there was no magic, but that magic was suspiciously rife, and in certain forms even sanctioned. The few enlightened spirits that arose appear only as isolated figures, and the two forms of magic—that which the Church sanctioned, and that which it proscribed—continued to increase side by side. Contact with the East and the Crusades strengthened the inclination towards the use of protective and remedial charms. In connexion with the suppression of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies the Inquisition developed an unbounded activity against black magic, which, however, only led to the firmer establishment of that sinister superstition.

In the 15th and 16th cents., while enlightenment and culture spread more and more among the upper classes of society, the Renaissance advancing from Italy brought in its train new forms of superstition. The same Humanism which sought to free itself from the superstitions of the despised monks turned with unstinted admiration to the ancient modes of thought, and gave a new life to astrology and all the practices that accompany it. In opposition to this, the Reformation, taking its stand upon Apostolic Christianity, and resting everything upon the spiritual power of the living Word, sought to put away superstitious inclinations from the hearts of the people. This did not happen all at once. Luther himself was as convinced as any theologian of the Middle Ages of the power of the devil, and he shared many monastic beliefs which his Humanistic friends had already rejected. But he recognized no counter-charm save faith and prayer; and with him, above all men, it is clear that these notions of the Middle Ages were nothing but survivals. All Churches alike have joined in the persecution of witches; but it is easy to see how the Protestant conception of religion, with its insistence upon the word of God on the one hand and upon faith on the other, left ever less and less room for superstitions. Calvinism succeeded perhaps better than Lutheranism. Everywhere, however, the conservative mind of the peasants held tenaciously to the expedients of magic, and even modern enlightenment has not been able completely to eradicate them.

2. **Underlying ideas.**—The basis of magical practice is a conception of the world which thinks of everything as animate, and therefore as a vessel of some spiritually operating power. Those operations are not supposed to be psychological or ethical,

but essentially physical. The modern conception of electro-magnetic influence affords the best analogy. We may call it 'Panpsychism'—a form of Animism as far removed from the belief in an omnipotent, all-working God as it is from the physical point of view of the ancient philosophy of nature, or of modern natural science. Among the Jews of the restoration, still under Persian influence, and the Greek philosophers of the Hellenistic age, this primitive conception took the form of an extraordinarily extensive belief in angels and demons. The object originally thought of as the source of power became only a vessel and an instrument in the hand of a powerfully operating personality. The derivative nature of this belief appears in the purely accidental association between the two. It is true that an affinity is asserted between certain good or evil spirits and certain objects, formulæ, or ceremonies; but not only has every spirit many different instruments of power at his disposal, but the same instrument serves many different spirits. As in religion, so here we note a tendency to something like henodæmonism: at a given moment man is concerned with but one spirit whose power he wishes to repel or to win for himself. At the same time there appears a division into good and bad, benevolent and harmful, spirits, into angels and demons. The whole use of charms rests upon belief in the superior power of the former; a few forms of magic only have their origin in an opposite belief (black magic).

The Neo-Platonists, especially Iamblichus, had already systematized these popular notions, and had attempted to justify them philosophically. Christian theology adopted their theories, while far more eager than they to reconcile the whole angelology and demonology with monotheistic views (Joh. Damasc. *de Fide Orth.* ii. 4). On the one hand, demonstrations were offered to prove the existence of an inward connexion between every spirit and a definite object or formula; the name, picture, or symbol is not merely a human form of expression, but possesses an objective value as a form of manifestation in which the spirit is wholly or partially operative. Christian theology sought support for these theories in the great thought of the Incarnation of God. If the greatest of all powers, Omnipotence itself, was manifested to our sense in human shape, could not the lower powers similarly become incarnate, and embody themselves in men, or even in lower forms? Next to the purely spiritual beings stand the saints (*q.v.*), bound through their own past life to the world of sense, who have left behind them in the shape of relics (*q.v.*) vessels of their spiritual power. On the other hand, all possible emphasis is laid upon the sovereign freedom of the will of God, whose command or permission alone renders possible any exercise of power (Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* ii. 14, 15; Aug. *de Divinatione Daemonum* [*CSEL* xli. 597–618], *de Civ. Dei*, xii. 25, *de Trin.* iii. 8, 13; pseudo-Aug. *Sermo* 278. 4 [*PL* xxxix. 2270]).

This is the teaching of the Greek theologians, as well as of the Latins (cf. John of Damascus, and Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, ii. 2, qu. 91–96, *quodlib.* xi. 10). We cannot make these great theologians responsible for all the writings that bear their names; to such names as Gregorius Thaumaturgus and Albertus Magnus a whole literature of magic has been attached. Leo the Wise, whose *Novella* lxv. outdoes all earlier State ordinances against magic, became in popular rumour himself an arch-magician, and the like happened with Pope Sylvester (Gerbert). In the Middle Ages any serious student of mathematical or scientific problems—like Roger Bacon or Raymond Lull—gained this reputation at once. But Magic could yet appeal with some right to the theologians whose theories had been made her justification. How difficult was the position of the ecclesiastical theology—compelled to admit the underlying theories of magic, and yet unwilling to sanction the practice—appears most clearly in the writings of Gerson. The Church herself made war, under the title of magic, sorcery, and witchcraft, only upon that part of the whole phenomenon whose methods and aims were outside ecclesiastical control, and were suspected of connexion with heresy—Manichæan, Albigensian, or Catharian. The general principles are laid down in the Papal bulls (Gregory IX., *Vox in Rama*, A.D. 1233; Innocent VIII., *Summis desiderantes*, A.D. 1484, *Bullarium Romanum* [1743], iii. 3. 191 [Mirbt, *Quellen zur Gesch. des Papsttums*, 1895, p. 165]; Alexander VI., 1494; Julius II., 1507; Leo X., 1521; Hadrian VI., 1523; Pius IV., 1564), and detailed directions are given in the *Directorium inquisitorum* of the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, Nicolaus Aymericus (1358) (1376?), and in the famous *Malleus maleficorum* (composed A.D. 1487 by Krämer and Sprenger, and printed at Cologne, 1489, 1494, 1496, 1511, 1520, etc., best ed. in 4 vols., Lyons, 1669, Germ. tr. by J. W. R. Schmidt, 1906); and in the works of the Jesuits M. Delrio (*Disquisitionum Magicarum libri vi.*, 1606) and P. Binsfeld (*Tractatus de confessionibus maleficorum et sagarum*, 1591).

We must not, of course, presume that men consciously entertained these underlying ideas, or that they were acquainted with the philosophical and theological theories about them. Charms are applied by ancient custom no less (indeed, perhaps more) generally by those who do not understand their meaning. Incomprehensibility and irrationality are often important factors in their use. It frequently happens that the original meaning of a charm disappears altogether, and enlightened times subject everything to an ingenious rationalization; yet the use of charms and their application remain as before, and at any time the original meaning may be revived.

Tatuing, for example, had undoubtedly at first a magical, prophylactic import, and it is possible that this import is retained in the practice of tatuing with religious marks which is still found among the Christian peoples of Italy and Bosnia. But among modern sailors it survives only as a meaningless convention, a kind of ornament, as is at once obvious from the subjects chosen. A horse's head on a stable, a pair of antlers on a ranger's house, are in Germany at the present day common symbolic ornaments pointing to the nature of the building. In former times horses' skulls were highly valued among the Germans as defensive charms—a use against which, on account of its connexion with heathen sacrifices, the Church waged energetic warfare. So, too, among the Greeks ox-skulls were originally a charm which later on developed into the so-called *bucranium*-ornament: we do not know what is the meaning of the numerous ox-skulls found to-day in villages of Asia Minor (see H. Rott, *Kleinasiat. Denkmäler*, 1908, p. 82; and art. ÆGEAN RELIGION).

Under these circumstances it is often difficult to fix the boundary between charms and ornaments or curiosities. What appears at first sight to be merely a decoration may have significance for its wearer as a means of protection. At the present time there is an inclination to give exaggerated recognition to this fact, and to attribute to every possible object a magical character and purpose, of which very likely neither its maker nor its possessor has ever dreamed. We must remember that in this province, as everywhere, nothing is stationary or universal; nor is the path of human progress a straight line leading ever upwards from superstition to enlightenment, but a tortuous road that sinks as often as it rises. Moreover, at one and the same time, different communities in a nation—the country folk and the town dwellers—as well as different classes—the educated and the uneducated—think very differently upon the subject. Remembering this, we cannot be too cautious in our conclusions.

3. Terminology and classification of charms.—Even in ancient times the Egyptians had organized the science of charms into a complete system (see Wallace Budge, *Egyptian Magic*[2], 1901). Celsus (*ap.* Orig. vi. 39) incidentally enumerates the following as practised and taught by Christians: *καθαρμοὺς, ἢ λυτηρίους ᾠδάς, ἢ ἀποπομπίμους φωνάς, ἢ κτύπους, ἢ δαιμονίους σχηματισμούς, ἐσθήτων, ἢ ἀριθμῶν, ἢ λίθων, ἢ φυτῶν, ἢ ῥιζῶν, καὶ ὅλως παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων παντοῖα ἀλεξιφάρμακα*, and, further, *βιβλία βάρβαρα, δαιμόνων ὀνόματα ἔχοντα καὶ τερατείας*. Augustine (*de Doctr. Christ.* II. xx. 30) mentions as 'molimina magicarum artium': (1) aruspicum et augurum libri; (2) ligaturae atque remedia, sive in praecantationibus, sive in quibusdam notis quas characteres vocant, sive in quibusque rebus suspendendis atque illigandis, vel etiam aptandis quodammodo. This terminology is based partly upon the objects employed as charms, partly upon the manner of their application, and partly upon the purpose. These different bases of classification are seldom distinguished; we often find as parallel species *φυλακτήρια, περίαπτα, ἐπῳδαί, χαρακτῆρες, incantationes, ligaturae, remedia, phylacteria, characteres, succini, herbae*. Generic names are: *τὰ περίεργα* (*e.g.* Ac 19[19]; Iren. I. xxiv. 5), *μαγεία, magia, μαγγανεία, γοητεία, φαρμακεία*. (According to Suidas, *μαγεία* is distinguished as the invocation of good spirits for beneficial purposes, *γοητεία* as the conjuration of the dead, *φαρμακεία* as the administration of magical potions. This contradicts Bingham's [vii. 25] definition of *μαγεία* as harmful magic—*veneficium* and *maleficium*—and of *incantamentum* as the use of salutary charms.) All these terms deal only with active or 'working' magic, in distinction from the various methods of inquiry into the future—passive or 'seeing' magic (*μαντεία, divinatio*). The latter plays the greater part—see the list of heathen *μαντεῖαι* (to which the corresponding list of *μαγεῖαι* is unfortunately lacking) in Josephus Christ. *Hypomnesticon*, 144 [*PG* cvi. 160); the list, which Isidore of Seville, *Etymol.* viii. 9 [*PL* lxxxii. 310], draws up from Augustine (*de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 21, *de Civ. Dei*, vii. 35, xxi. 8), Jerome (*in Dan.* 2[2] [*PL* xxv. 521]), and Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* ii. 17 [*PL* vi. 336]),—cf. Rabanus Maurus [*PL* cx. 1095],—and the *Indiculus Superstitionum et paganiarum* from *Vat. Pal.* 577 (last published by Boretius, *Capit. reg. Franc.* [*MGH* i. 222 f.], and commented upon by Hefele, *Conciliengesch.*[2] iii. 505–511, and Saupe, in *Programm des städtischen Realgymnasiums zu Leipzig*, 1891), confuse the two forms (see art. DIVINATION).

Magic is nowadays mostly divided into 'white' and 'black,' according as the help of good or of evil spirits is called in. This distinction generally coincides with that between the ends desired—help or harm, defence or offence. Others define white magic as supernatural working on another's behalf, and black as that for one's own good. Schanz gives a more modern sounding definition (but cf. Aug. *de Doctr. Christ.* ii.), dividing magic into natural and artificial—the one harmless (white), the other harmful (black), and passing, with the aid of demoniacal powers, beyond the natural. Kiesewetter (ii. 701) propounds a different distinction: white magic is a development of the intuitive faculties, with the object of attaining the mystic Kenosis; natural magic is the application of rudimentary physical and chemical knowledge; black magic is witchcraft; and theurgy is the raising of spirits, including necromancy and invocation of the devil.

4. Purposes.—A. *DEFENSIVE CHARMS.*—(1) *Prophylactic.*—The most important and commonest purpose of charms is that of averting evil, to which the class name of 'apotropaeic' is given by modern scholars. This appears in the names for charms—*φυλακτήριον* (also *φυλακτόν* among the Byzantines), which in Latin is either transcribed as *phylacterium* or translated by *servatorium* (see Suicer and Ducange, also Loewe-Goetz, *Corp. Gloss.* vii. 86). *Amuletum* has the same meaning. This word has no connexion with the Arabic, either with *hamala*, 'to wear' (von Hammer), or with *hamāil*, 'sword-belt' (Dozy; against this see Gildemeister, *ZDMG* xxxviii. 140 ff.), but is genuine Latin. So comparatively early a writer as Varro (*Rer. divin.* bk. xiii. *ap.* Charisius, *Gramm.* 105, 9, ed. Keil) cannot explain it; Pliny uses it frequently (xxiii. 20, xxv. 115, xxviii. 38, xxix. 66, 83, xxx. 82, 138, xxxvii. 51, 117), and always in the sense of a protective or defensive object, of whatever kind. According to the glosses, it is derived from *amolimentum* (*Corp. Gloss.* vi. 63, 65; cf. also Walde, *Etymolog. Wörterb.*, 27). The Greeks speak continually of *ἀλεξητήριος, ἀλεξίκακος, ἀλεξιβέλεμνος, ἀλεξιφάρμακος*.

The evils to be averted are all possible harmful influences, especially that of the evil eye (*βασκανία, fascinatio*—hence *προβασκανία*), and further demoniacal possession, fever, illness of all kinds, wounds, sudden death, fire, drought, attacks of robbers, and all other evils by which mankind is threatened. The instruments by which they may be averted are small objects hung upon the body (*περίαπτα, περιάμματα, ligaturae*, Old Germ. *Angehenke*, 'ligatures'—also *περιτραχήλια*). The special name given to these nowadays is 'amulet,' also 'talisman' (an Arab. form from *τέλεσμα*).[1]

From the East was derived the form of the medallion or small plaque (*πέταλον*), often in gold with jewels or enamel. In Rome the little lead tube (*bulla*) had its home; and in later times a small casket or locket (*capsa, capsella*). Under Christian influence these amulets took the form of the cross, but the medallions also survived.

The ancients had a most exhaustive system of defence by magical means (Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen*, 210). To every limb and every kind of disease a special charm was allotted. Immediately a child was born, it was decorated with amulets—commonly bells or magic knots—and its chair and cradle were surrounded with all manner of charms (Chrys. *in 1 Cor.* hom. xii. 7 [*PG* lxi. 105]; Theodore of Studium, *Laud. fun. in matrem suam*, 2 [*PG* xcix. 885]). The rattle and little bell given to babies for amusement nowadays may have originated in this custom.

It was soon sought in Christian circles to set these phylacteric objects on a level with the *tephillin* which were ordained in the OT, and which later Judaism was no longer content to regard, in accordance with the teaching of Dt 6[8] 11[18] and Ex 13[9, 16], as mere tokens of remembrance, but found in them, as indeed the original wearers had probably done before them, protective charms; hence the Greek rendering *φυλακτήρια* (Mt 23[5]; see Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 484). The Fathers contested this co-ordination (*e.g.* Epiphanius, *Haer.* 15 [*PG* xli. 245]), and the earlier synods laid the penalties of the Church upon the manufacture of phylacteries by the clergy. But in the East a change of opinion began with the 6th cent., and was completed with the iconoclastic controversy. The Patriarch Nicephorus (*Antirrh.* iii. 36 [*PG* c. 433]) speaks of the wearing of gold or silver crosses, often with pictures from the life of Christ, as a primitive Christian custom, the rejection of which by the iconoclasts only served to convict them of apostasy.[2]

[1] In the *Westostlicher Diwan*, Goethe distinguishes between 'talisman,' a magic mark on a precious stone, and 'amulet,' a form of words (often of some length) written on paper; but this distinction is without historical basis.

[2] Cf. Theophanes, p. 446 [ed. de Boor], on the persecution of *φυλακτήριον*-wearers at the time of Constantinus Copronymus). At the present time the so-called *encolpia* worn by all dignitaries of the Orthodox Church are generally regarded as decorative insignia, and their pattern is strictly regulated according to the rank of the wearer. But Nicephorus says clearly that they were called *phylacteria*, and served for the protection and

The development in the West was similar. It is true that the decrees of the Councils were ratified and continued (cf. above, § 1; Fulgentius Ferrandus [*PL* lxxxviii. 824]; Crisconius Africanus [*ib.* 876]; Schmitz, 312 ff.), and Pope Nicolaus I. forbade the manufacture of *ligaturae* among the Bulgarians. But it was always heathen charms alone that were meant; Christian charms were in continual use. The Western clergy, too, wore crosses, and by no means for mere ornament. The presents sent from Gregory to Theodelind all have the character of amulets; some of them are still preserved in the treasury at Monza—a cross-pendant with a relic of the Holy Cross, a Gospel lectionary in a Persian case, three rings with hyacinth and albula stones (*Ep.* xiv. 2 [*PL* lxxvii. 1316]). Gregory of Tours wore such a cross, and periodically changed the relic it contained. The *Lives of the Saints* are full of miracles wrought by these *phylacteria*.

In the later Middle Ages the practice of indulgences extended the working of charms to a new province—the fate in Purgatory—and therewith gave them an enhanced interest; many things intended to effect indulgence became charms in popular use (see 5 C (8)).

Here, too, mention must be made of the scapulary. Introduced by the Carmelites in 1287 and supported by Papal privileges (*Privilegium sabbatinum*, 1320), it was to enjoy so great a popularity as to arouse the competition of other monastic orders. The scapulary is a strip of cloth, suggesting the cowl, which is wrapped round the dying in order to ensure him a blessed death and immediate freedom from Purgatory. A comparison may be drawn with the legend that Pilate was protected against the Emperor's wrath as long as he wore Christ's seamless coat (*Leg. Aurea*, liii.).

Modern Roman Catholicism, with the numerous insignia of its brotherhoods, its medals struck in commemoration of ecclesiastical festivals, its medallions in memory of different shrines, and especially of pilgrimage-centres, has done much to encourage this faith. To all these objects, which generally take the form of crosses or medallions to be worn round the neck, the consecration of the Church and contact with sacred things (relics and images) impart protective power; and in the popular regard far more weight is laid upon this than upon the purely memorial significance. The present writer met at Nancy in 1909 a driver who was firmly persuaded that the safety of his horse and carriage was guaranteed by a little medallion showing the portrait of the Madonna du Bon Secours which he had in his pocket.

But even in Protestant circles, especially among the country-folk, there is no lack of amulets. There exists in Germany a great quantity of *Schwertbriefe* (also called *Himmelsbriefe*, from the belief that they have fallen from heaven), containing an abundance of prayers, formulæ, names, and characters, and lavishly decorated with crosses, which are worn round the neck or in the pocket, for protection against sword-cuts. In recent wars many soldiers are said to have put their trust in the protective power of such papers, or of coins and other objects, as they went into the field (see Schindler, *Aberglaube des Mittelalters*, 1858, p. 131).

Amulets are used for the protection not only of men but also of cattle, which form to some extent man's most valuable possession, and are as liable as he to the attacks of demons. The application of *ligaturae* to cattle is mentioned, among others, by Eligius and Ebendörfer (see below, 5, introd.). In later times the so-called Antonius medallions found special favour, for Antony of Padua has been the patron of horses and asses ever since the adoration by an ass of the Host which the saint held in his hand. To swine Antony's greater namesake, the ancient Egyptian hermit, affords protection. Cowbells, like the bells hung on infants, had originally a protective significance, and were intended to frighten away evil spirits; their use as a means of recognition by the herdsman is a later idea.

The same purpose as that of amulets or talismans worn on the person is served by apotropaic inscriptions on buildings (cf. Dt 6^9 11^{20}; pseudo-Aristeas, *Ep.* § 158, ed. Wendland; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* VIII. ix. 27; see, for further details, 5 C (6)). Men desire to protect not only their bodies, but their houses. Even individual pieces of furniture and household ware are equipped with their inscriptions and magic characters (Chrysostom, *in 1 Cor.* hom. 43 [*PG* lxi. 373], mentions a εὐαγγέλιον hanging on the couch).

(2) *Counter-charms.*—The use of charms is not only protective: a demonic enchantment must be removed by a counter-charm. In such cases the first business is to determine the nature of the enchantment in question (ἀνεύρεσις φαρμακειῶν ἤτοι μαγειῶν), and then to nullify its operation (κάθαρσις γοητειῶν; Zonaras on Ancyra, can. 24 [*PG* cxxxvii. 1192]). This procedure, however, was held to be heathen. Christians were concerned mostly with the thwarting of demonic miracles through Divine power. Simon Magus, borne heavenwards through the air by demons, was brought to earth by the Apostles' prayers; *i.e.* the power of the demons was removed, and thereupon the magician fell headlong and was dashed to pieces (*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. Lipsius and Bonnet, i. 82, 166; cf. Arnobius, *adv. Gentes*, ii. 12). The apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* are full of such miracles. That they were ascribed to the action of a holy magic, and not merely to the power of prayer, is shown by the case of St. Peter, who caused Simon's demoniacal hounds to vanish by means of some pieces of consecrated bread lying hidden in the sleeve of his cloak (*Mart. Petri et Pauli*, 24 ff.). Some heretics, who by the assistance of demons were walking over a river, were made to sink, not by prayer or by conjuration, but by Hosts thrown into the stream (Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mirac.* ix. 12). In isolated instances the sanction of the Church was obtained even for the resistance of black magic by black magic. A German bishop on a journey back from Rome was bewitched by his mistress, and lay sick unto death until he gained the consent of the Pope to allow him to call in another witch, who turned the enchantment upon its author; then the bishop immediately recovered, and the mistress died (*Malleus malef.* ii. 2). But in general the Church tolerated such counter-magic, which was practised only by those who made a trade of it, as little as she tolerated witchcraft itself (cf. Ferraris, *Bibliotheca Canonica*, *s.v.* 'Superstitio,' § 74). The only licensed form was that contained in the magic working of the Church's *sacramentalia* (see 5 C (10)).

(3) *Curative charms.*—Akin to counter-charms is a use of charms which is both more extensive than any other and more fully illustrated by the literary records of antiquity, namely, that for the purpose of healing. Sickness was held to be the working of a demonic power, of some magic—an alien spirit has taken possession of the man and must be driven out. To this end, besides the

assurance of life, for the health of soul and body, for healing in sickness, and for the averting of attacks by unclean spirits. The Emperor and high Imperial officials also wore such *phylacteria*; and they were sent as pledges of safe conduct (cf. Anastasius Sinaita *in Ps.* vi. [*PG* lxxxix. 1112], of Emperor Mauricius; pseudo-Symeon, p. 631, 2, and Georgius Mon. *Cont.* p. 795, 3 [ed. Bonn.], of Emperor Theophilus; see, further, Ducange on *Alexias*, ii. [*PG* cxxxi. 204]).

recitation of formulæ, breathing upon the patient, or anointing him with oil—a much-used medium in magic, supported in Christian practice by Ja 5^{14}—magical objects could also be applied; for example, the Solomon's ring (see 5 B (4)). But, in addition to possession by demons, all bodily ailments were attributed to bewitchment, and so the application of remedial charms was a panacea for all sickness.

Magic formed a very large element in the medicine of antiquity, and has its share in the popular medicine of to-day. Any legitimate remedy may easily become a charm. For example, breath may often have a directly physical effect, warming and softening; but when water that has been breathed upon in the morning is supposed in the evening to have a healing virtue, there is present the notion of the magical transference of power. To drink an herbal powder for colic is a reasonable course of action; but when the herb is hung round the neck, that is magic, says Augustine, and with truth (*de Doctr. Christ.* II. xxix. 45). Then the idea is that the sight of the antidote affrights the demon.

The chief remedial measure is to bind the demon so that he can do no harm. This is done partly by the methods of sympathetic magic—some object is formally bound and certain knots are tied—and partly through conjuration. Gregory of Tours (*de Virt. S. Juliani*, 45, ed. Krusch, p. 582) gives a graphic description of how, in a case of sudden illness, a *hariolus* is called in and 'incantationes inmurmurat, sortes iactat, ligaturas collo suspendit.' Chrysostom's account is similar; in cases of sickness the conjurer (ἐπαοιδός) is sent for, or an old woman who, to the accompaniment of various formulæ, hangs an amulet with magic characters round the patient's neck. These practices must have been very wide-spread among the Christians. Chrysostom preaches repeatedly against them: they are idolatrous, and, if death follows upon their renunciation, it is to be counted as martyrdom (cf. also Basil *in Ps* 45^2 [*PG* xxix. 417]).

The form of conjuration consists of a short speech addressed in commanding tones to the disease in question, often in verse, commonly without sense or meaning. But longer forms were also used, and the tone passed imperceptibly into that of prayer, a special succourer being invoked for every illness. In case of poisoning the help of Anastasia φαρμακολυτρία was implored; if the patient could not sleep, a prayer (that is, a form of conjuration) was used, in which the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus appeared (Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, i. [1893] 327), and so on. Often the desire was expressed that the disease should depart into some other being; and to bring about the transference certain ceremonies were performed upon a tree, or an animal, most commonly a cock. The notion entertained is sometimes that of a purely physical transmission, and sometimes that of the migration of an evil spirit (cf. the Gerasene swine, Mk 5^{12}). Another method was to expel the sickness by contact with a higher remedial power. As the demons fled before the presence of Christ and His saints, so the disease retires when anything sacred, be it man or thing, touches the affected portion of the sick man's body (see 5 A (2)). Then there are the images of diseased members, deposited or hung at a holy place (*in trivios et ab arboribus vel alio*, according to the heathen custom; see Pirminius, *Scarapsus*, 22 [p. 175, ed. Caspari]), and later in churches and chapels, to attract healing virtue to the particular limb. The significance of these images shifted from charms to *ex votos*—thank-offerings for recovery vouchsafed; but these were generally promised beforehand; and originally the wooden and waxen limbs were supposed to effect the cure.

Finally, names have here, as upon *phylacteria*, a compelling force. A sufferer from epilepsy—the falling sickness—can be cured by wearing on his person the names of the three kings who fell in worship before the infant Christ. And something of this name-magic can be traced in the common practice of giving certain medical prescriptions under the names of great magicians and saints (cf. 5 C (4)).

(4) *Detective magic.*—On the threshold that divides 'working' from 'seeing' magic (charms from divination) stand the methods employed to detect the guilty among a number of suspects, and to establish guilt or innocence where only one is accused. If it was desired, for example, to discover who was the thief among a body of suspected persons, an eye was painted on the wall, and the suspects were led past it; he whose eyes filled with tears as he went by was the thief. If this method was not at first successful, a magic nail was hammered in as well (Vassiliev, 341). The throat was another treacherous member; pieces of bread and cheese were given to the suspects, and he who choked over them was guilty. Of course, the bread and cheese must have been consecrated with special ceremonies; bread consecrated on Maundy Thursday was a particular favourite with the Greeks (Balsamon on Trull. can. 61 [*PG* cxxxvii. 724]; Synod of Constantinople, A.D. 1372 [*Acta Patriarch.* i. 595]; Vassiliev, 330), and also in the West (see Ducange, *s.v.* 'Corsned'). In Novgorod, after 1410, bread was used that had been consecrated before the image of the Edessene saints Gurias, Samonas, and Abibos (Vassiliev, lxv.; cf. the miracle of these saints [*PG* cxvi. 145-161]). In the 16th cent. this method lost its religious character and became more akin in form to divination. Women kneaded pieces of paper, containing the names of the suspected, into balls of dough, and threw them into a basin of water. The dough was dissolved, and the paper released; the first that came to the surface gave the name of the guilty (Pictorius of Villingen, *De rebus non naturalibus* [c. 1540]). Similar is the use of an axe or sieve placed in equilibrium, through the motion of which the guilty person was shown—a practice used in the trial of witches in France during the 16th century. A very ancient practice in cases of murder was to lead the suspected person to the bier, not in order to observe his demeanour in the presence of the victim, but in the expectation that the approach of the murderer would cause the dead man's wounds to bleed anew.

With this last method we come to the means by which it was sought to establish guilt or innocence in cases where a definite accusation was lodged. This form of procedure, known in the Middle Ages as the 'ordeal' (Germ. *Gottesurteil*), and very widely used for judicial ends, is both ancient and universal. Nu $5^{11ff.}$ prescribes the so-called 'water of bitterness' for cases of suspected adultery (cf. *Protevang. Jacobi*, 16); and the use of bull's blood among the priestesses of Achaia (Pausanias, VII. xxv. 8) is similar. Christianity believed from a very early time that the most efficacious means of revealing guilt was the Holy Communion (see, *e.g.*, *Acta Thomae*, 51, p. 167 [ed. Bonnet]). The magic element shows itself in the expectation that judgment and punishment will coincide. The use of the lot is pure divination; but the ordeals by fire and water lie within the province of working magic. In the former the accused must touch or carry red-hot iron; in the latter, either he had to plunge his hand into boiling water without being scalded, or he was bound and thrown into a river; if he sank, he was innocent; if the water would not receive him, he was held to be guilty. The chivalresque form of settling guilt or innocence by means of a fight is well known from Sir Walter Scott's splendid description in *Ivanhoe*. Deprived of its original meaning, it still survives in the modern duel.

B. *PRODUCTIVE CHARMS.*—(5) *Fertility.*—Charms can also be used for positive ends—the promotion of the forces valuable to man. By far the most ancient and most general application is for the furtherance of the forces of propagation either of the earth, that wood, meadow, and crops may grow, or of beasts and men, that they may be multiplied. Christianity found such usages everywhere in existence among the country people, especially the Germans, and in the beginning sought to do away with these heathen rites; but later here, too, the approved course was adopted of retaining what could not be uprooted, while clothing it in a form suitable to the Christian Church. Carlovingian *capitularia* still forbade the boundary processions (*rogationes*, 'beating the bounds'); but later they were led by the priest in solemn train with the sacrament; and in this form they have remained down to the present time. The most famous example is the *Blutritt* of Weingarten, in Württemberg—a procession on horseback with a relic brought from the East, blood from the wound in Christ's side. In time of severe drought a procession with the relics of St. Rolendis is said always to have produced a good effect (*AS*, May, iii. 242); good harvest weather is to be ensured by a procession with the relics of St. Florentia of Poitiers (Dec. 1).

A kind of magical manuring was also in use: holy water was sprinkled on the land before and during the sowing. There are even instances of the use—certainly not with the Church's approval—of consecrated wafers for this purpose. Here and there a peasant woman would scatter them over her cabbages for protection against grubs, or Hosts were put in bee-hives to render them more productive. Petrus Venerabilis (*de Mirac.* i. 1 [*PL* clxxxix. 852 ff.]) and Cæsarius of Heisterbach (*Mirac. Dial.* ix. 8) affirm that in one such case the bees built a regular chapel of wax. There is a similar legend of Drei Ähren, near Colmar.

Fertility must also be assured for beasts. To this end shepherds and huntsmen used bread or herbs that had been consecrated with magic forms, hiding them in trees or at cross-roads (Rouen, can. 4 [Burchard, x. 18; *PL* cxl. 836]).

(6) *Weather charms.*—Closely connected with the fertility charms are those for the regulation of the weather, whereby the various conditions of rain or sunshine that are most suitable for the growth of crops are produced, or the destructive forces of drought, hailstorm, and the like are malevolently called into action. To cause rain, some water from the brook was sprinkled in the air, or vessels of water were poured over the earth. A naked maid, with a henbane on her right foot, was conducted to the river and there sprinkled by other maidens (Burchard of Worms, xix. 5, qu. 194; Schmitz, *Bussbücher*, ii. 452). In the Middle Ages the statues or relics of Christian saints—at Perpignan, for example, the relics of St. Galderic—were bathed, like the statues of the gods in ancient times. In these practices sympathetic magic is obviously preponderant; less so when the relics of St. Exsuperius or the garment of St. Eutychius were simply carried in time of drought round the land. Another clear instance of this species of magic appears in a story of St. Benedict's sister. The saint was on a visit to her, and, as she wished to keep him longer by her side, she covered her head with her hands, as though for prayer, and poured forth floods of tears; immediately torrents of rain descended from heaven in response (*Vita S. Bened.* ch. 33; *Leg. Aurea*, xlix. 16 [p. 212, ed. Graesse]).

The belief that it was possible to bring bad weather by casting stones into certain mountain-lakes was supported by official laws against such action. Mt. Pilatus near Lucerne was one of these localities, and here the superstition was only gradually uprooted by Vadian, Gesner, and Platter in the 16th century.

As always happens, popular imagination busied itself mostly with malevolent magic. It was believed that certain individuals could direct the weather, and use it to the injury of others (they are called νιφοδιῶκται [ps.-Justin, *Quæst. ad orth.* 31; Conc. Trull. can. 61, where Balsamon's explanation, that divination by the clouds is meant, cannot be accepted], Lat. *tempestarii* [Charlemagne, *MGH Capit. reg. franc.* i. 59 (65), 104 (40)], and *immissores tempestatum* [*PL* cxl. 961; *Lex Visigoth.* vi. 2, 4; Schmitz, *Bussbucher* i. 308, 479, etc.]). Hail-clouds were supposed to come from a country named Mangonia, and with them came people who carried off the damaged fruits back through the air to their home. At the time of Agobard of Lyons († 841) this belief was particularly rampant: men claimed to have found such people who had fallen from the sky. The bishop had great difficulty in pacifying the populace ('contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis' [*PL* civ. 147–158]). The superstition, however, remained, and played a sinister part in the trials of witches, who were believed not only to bring rain and hail by sprinkling water, but also to be able, aided by the devil, to steal corn, milk, butter, and other farm produce, drawing it by enchantment through the air.

To avert threatening storms, charms are again the means. Fires were kindled and various things (possibly as sacrificial offerings) thrown upon them; a cross was pointed to the four quarters of the heavens, and holy water was sprinkled in the air (Mengus, *Flagellum Dæmonum*, London, 1604, p. 208). Bell-ringing and shooting were also, without doubt, originally intended to affright the storm-demons; it was quite a later development to say that the one had the edifying purpose of calling the people to prayer, and the other the physical effect of breaking up the clouds.

(7) *Birth and capacity.*—To be fertile and to leave issue behind him is the dearest desire of man, and for its attainment various charms were used. Among these are throwing peas into the lap of the bride, eating the fruit of a tree bearing for the first time, drinking fresh birch-sap, and the simple possession of mandrakes—Heb. *dûdâ'îm* (Gn. 30[14]), mandragora, Germ. *Alraun* (cf. Physiologus, xliii. [p. 272, ed. Lauchert]). The girdle of St. Maginus of Tarragona was also useful, and, in general, the invocation of certain saints, of whom Kerler (*Patronate der Heiligen*, 1905, pp. 118 ff., 123 ff., 372 ff.) gives a list of extraordinary proportions. The means of effecting easy and safe delivery were also very numerous—many in universal use, such as crawling through something (see 5 A (2)), opening the locks of doors and chests, opening the blades of knives; and many peculiar to the Church. Among the last may be mentioned the girdles of St. Margaret, St. Hildegund of Mehre, and St. Licinius of Angers, the hair-girdle of St. Ludgardis, the shirt of St. Maria of Oignies, the staff of St. Dominic, dust from the body of St. Norbert (taken as medicine or laid on the neck), and so forth.

Immediately after the birth of the child, besides the inquiry by divination into its future, and the prophylactic rites mentioned above, there began a series of productive-charm processes to ensure it long life, health, bodily strength, and intellectual capacity. In naming the child an effort was made to gain for it a powerful patron by choosing the name of a famous saint, but further methods were adopted to affect directly the length of life. Different names were attached to a number of candles, which were then set alight, and the name on that which burnt longest was chosen (Chrysostom, *in* 1 *Cor.* hom. xii. 7 [*PG* lxi. 105])—another

form of magic standing on the boundary between divination and charm. At Béziers, protection against epilepsy was gained for the child by having it baptized in the font connected with the tomb of St. Aphrodisius. A St. Vitus's stone in Jura, which Monnier supposes to be the remains of an ancient phallus, imparted strength to children placed upon it. If a boy's sight was bad, it could be improved by the ceremonial ablution of the effigies of saints in the churches, accompanied by the recitation of many prayers and passages of Scripture. Similar methods were helpful also when a child was slow to learn: he was taken to church during Mass, and given wine and water to drink in a glass vessel inscribed with the names of the twenty-four heavenly elders (Vassiliev, 342). Special talent often appears in legend as due to the grace of Heaven vouchsafed in a particular revelation, generally through the Virgin; and so it was held possible, through the invocation of saints, to impart some understanding even to idiots, and to unlettered persons the capacity to read and understand texts of Scripture. In Italian churches there may still frequently be seen votive thank-offerings for success in examinations. Martin of Bracara [† 580], *Capitula*, ch. 76 [*PL* cxxx. 587] mentions various foolish practices used by women over their spinning and weaving (cf. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, 619).

(8) *Love-charms.*—Closely related to these are the various charms for producing, regaining, or securing love. This form of magic, inspired by passion, and often by jealousy, went so far as to aim at the death of the person loved, if he could not be won. Love-charms were much used in the heathen world—sometimes the magic top on which the head of a wryneck was tied (see Suidas, *s.v.* ἴυγξ), sometimes magic potions (φίλτρα). Jerome (*Vita Hilarionis*, 21 [*PL* xxiii. 39]) tells of a virgin who was rendered mad with love by means of Egyptian 'characters' buried by her lover under her threshold. Jewish exorcists were supposed to have special skill in this matter (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XX. vii. 2). One of these may be the author of the love-spell discussed by Deissmann in *Bibelstudien* (1895), 21–54, where, as in the case of *defixiones* (below, C (9)), the charm is inscribed on a roll of lead; the spell by which the demon is conjured consists of five series of names for God and acts of God taken from the Bible. The lover in this case may have been a heathen woman; but the practice of love-magic by Christians is proved by the warnings of Chrysostom, the prohibitions of the Synod of Agde, can. (4 Burchard, x. 29), and the *Penitentiaries* (Schmitz, *Bussbücher*, p. 306). The charms used were for the most part of heathen character: *e.g.* magic potions; leaves sewn together, of course with spells; apples or candles into which needles were stuck crosswise (by these a visit from the loved one was enforced); love-clasps made of frog's bones; four-leaved clover (cruciform); rose-apples secretly attached to the beloved's person (Wuttke, 550 ff.); and, most effective of all, something from the lover's own body mixed with the other's food—they even went so far as to use *semen virile* and *sanguis menstruus* (Burchard of Worms, xix. 5, 39–164; Schmitz, *op. cit.* pp. 314, 459). Wax images and candles were also used (cf. Lea, iii. 657, on a trial of the Inquisition, A.D. 1329). So long as a light burnt in a certain cloister, the Emperor Matthias remained bound to his mistress (Stüve, *Wittelsbacher Briefe*, vii. 682). But sacred things were also abused for this purpose. Cæsarius of Heisterbach tells of a priest who hoped to win the forbidden love of a woman by kissing her with a consecrated wafer in his mouth.

Similar methods were effective in conjugal quarrels. The demon of discord was conjured; husband and wife had to wear amulets with certain magic formulæ; and a magnet was cut in two and each was given a half, that they might be drawn together (Vassiliev, 340). This seems also to have been the purpose of golden rings with ὁμόνοια and Jn 14[27] engraved round the hoop (Dalton, *Catal. of Early Chr. Antiq. in the Brit. Mus.*, nos. 130, 132). Instances likewise occur of charms intended to convert love into hatred, and attempts to bring upon men by magic the enmity of all their friends. The table of curses from Puteoli, now in the Berlin Museum (published by Hülsen in the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1881, p. 309 ff., and by R. Wünsch in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, xx. 7 ff.), affords an example. In order to estrange a bridal pair, a handful of earth taken from a place where two cocks had been fighting was thrown between them. Similar instances might be multiplied.

C. (9) *MALEVOLENT CHARMS.*—How easy is the passage from the useful to the harmful has already been seen in the defensive and protective charms. Magic was pressed into service by the passions of hate and envy, as it had been by the desire for the good things of life; but now we see it employed for purely destructive purposes. The object was to bring ruin upon the health, the possessions, and the reputation of an enemy. We possess from antiquity a vast number of curse-tablets, mostly made of lead, and rolled up as letters, which were buried with the dead in order to ensure their safe delivery to the gods of the under world, into whose power it was desired to hand over the enemy. These tablets, on account of the binding which they were intended to effect, were called κατάδεσμοι, Lat. *defixiones* or *dirae*. They exhibit the same medley of heathen, Jewish, and Christian formulæ as the language of magic always does. Their dispatch was often accompanied by a ceremony of binding; or a symbolical figure, as that of a cock in bonds, was drawn upon the tablet itself. The curse is generally directed against a particular individual mentioned by name (it is characteristic that the mother's name as well is nearly always given—*pater incertus, mater certa*); but in a large number of instances its operation is contingent upon the committal of a certain act ('if any one . . . may he . . . '). This last is the form of ecclesiastical curse—the ἀνάθεμα—to which bodily as well as spiritual effects were attributed, and which certainly exercised a very perceptible social influence under the Christian Empire.

In racing circles, charms were a favourite method of laming one's opponent, or, in the circus, the horses of the opposing party (cf. Arnobius, *adv. Gent.* i. 43). Jerome recounts with all his subtle *naïveté* the story of a Christian jockey who protected his horses against hostile charms by water drawn from the pitcher of St. Hilarion: 'so Christ triumphed over Marna'—the local deity of Gaza (*Vita Hilar.* 20 [*PL* xxiii. 38]).

Every one believed that by means of charms he could bring all kinds of disease, especially demoniacal possession, upon his enemy, depriving him of bodily and intellectual power, and rendering him impotent. The belief that it was possible to turn men into beasts was as wide-spread in the Middle Ages as in antiquity, and continued from Circe to the witch-trials. In cases of demoniacal possession, the first step in the process of exorcism prescribed by the *rituale Romanum* was the removal of the enchantments under which the victim suffered. The source of greatest danger was the man who sought by charms to destroy his enemy's life. The rumours about the death of Germanicus (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 69) illustrate the great part played by this kind of magic in the ancient world; and Christians cannot be acquitted of the charge of having em-

ployed it. The most prominent method was that of sympathetic magic. In order to reach the heart of an enemy, the heart of an animal or an effigy to which his name was attached was transfixed ('per punctionem imaginum,' Pope John XXII.; see 5 A (1)); human bodies were buried under his door, or a piece of charred wood was deposited before his house.

These methods, though in themselves un-Christian, became another occasion for the misuse of the name of Christ, as well as of Biblical and ecclesiastical formulæ and the invocation of saints and angels. We know, moreover, from the penal ordinances of a synod at Toledo (xvii. [A.D. 694] can. 5 = *Decr. Grat.* ii. c. xxvi. qu. 5, c. 13) that clerics, when reading the *missa pro defunctis*, used to introduce the names of living men, whose death they sought thereby to encompass. An official adoption of this form of magic by the Church was the ceremony wherein a burning candle was put out or thrown to the ground in order to extinguish the life and blessedness of the victims of its condemnation. This was done, for example, in the proceedings against unrepentant excommunicates (*insordescentes*) at a synod at Limoges (A.D. 1031). It is a well-attested belief of the Middle Ages that death was in some cases caused by an enemy's prayer (Germ. *Mortbeten*, *Totbeten*; see Schönbach on Berthold von Regensburg, in *SWAW*, 1900, p. 55). This malevolent magic was generally so far conscious of the ungodliness of its acts as to avoid contact with the Church and ecclesiastical consecration, which would keep off or cripple the Satanic powers; indeed, the sign of the cross and consecrated things served as counter-charms against it. But the forms and instruments of church-worship were, none the less, regarded by it as effective weapons; and this resulted in the travesties of ecclesiastical ritual which appear in Satanism (*q.v.*). Such was the so-called Black Mass, and such was said to be the Mass of the Beardless among the Byzantines (see Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Literatur*², p. 809; A. Heisenberg, *Byz. Zeitschr.* xii. 361, xiv. 661), though the beardlessness was probably adopted by the iconoclasts merely in opposition to the monastic fashion, and was later stigmatized by the orthodox as a token of homage to the devil.

It is further characteristic of this magic to pervert the order of things (*e.g.* psalms were read backwards); or it abbreviates instead of expanding in the repetition, as in *Abracadabra* or *Sator arepo tenet opera rotas* (see, *e.g.*, H. Rott, *Kleinasiat. Denkmäler*, 231; Wulff, no. 1669), repeated with the omission of a letter each time. The ceremonies of walking backwards round a churchyard wall, or throwing something backwards over the shoulder are of the same tendency, and also the custom of turning the mill in the opposite direction (Schmitz, *Bussbucher*, ii. 451).

5. The various means, Christian and non-Christian.—Christianity found innumerable charms of all possible kinds existing in the Græco-Roman world; and, with its extension among the Celts, Germans, and Slavs, more were added. The Christians adopted all these so far as they were consistent with their religious views; but the Church declared war upon everything that seemed to be connected with idolatry, especially upon the use of the names of heathen gods, certain symbols of heathen worship, and heathen places of sacrifice, which were supposed to be the habitation of demons. It is worthy of notice that certain obscene rites — for example, the wearing of a phallus as an amulet—seem to have died a natural death: at least we find no further denunciations of them; the obscene did not re-appear until later in the heretical magic and in witchcraft.

On the other hand, Christianity itself contributed a great number of sacred charms, the permissibility of which was always upheld in opposition to the forbidden charms of heathendom. From the 4th cent. onwards we meet with comparatively few Christian writers who recognize that not only certain forms of magic but the thing itself is un-Christian and idolatrous, and that the use of the Christian name of God, of Biblical formulæ, and so forth, by which it was sought to justify the practice, does not affect the real issue. Chrysostom recognizes this, denouncing the practice of hanging amulets round the necks of sick children even when the name of God is uttered, and when the old woman entrusted with the business passes for a good Christian (*PG* lxi. 105, lxii. 358; cf. Zonaras, *ib.* cxxxvii. 721). So also Eligius of Noyon, according to the biography of Dado or Audoën (*MGH Scr. rer. Merov.* iv. 705, 753, *PL* lxxxvii. 528), says that no one ought to hang *ligamina* round the necks of men and animals even if they have been made by clerical hands and are supposed to be sacred objects containing Biblical texts. Under the influence of Gerson, the Sorbonne in 1398 expressed similar views, maintaining that the use of sacred words could not justify the practice of magic (*Collectio iudiciorum*, i. 2, 154; *Historia Univers. Paris*, iv. 864; P. Féret, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris*, iii. [1903] 188, also in Gerson's *Opera*). Gerson, when met with the objection that the Church herself did the like in pilgrimages and processions and on other occasions, could not altogether deny it:

> 'Fateor, abnegare non possumus, multa inter Christianos simplices sub specie religionis introducta esse quorum sanctior esse: omissio, tolerantur tamen quia nequeunt funditus erui et qu fides simplicium . . . regulatur tamen et quodammodo rec ficatur' ('de erroribus circa artem magicam et articul reprobatis,' *Opera*, ed. Paris, 1606, i. 622e).

In a similar way Thomas Ebendörfer, an Austrian theologian († 1464), declares in his tract, *de Decem Praeceptis*:

> 'Contra hoc (primum) præceptum faciunt non solum qui colunt pro Deo creaturam, sed etiam qui colunt eum sed modo indebito in vanis et stultis observationibus ut orando contra infirmitates ut febres dolorem dentium aut capitis aliquot Paternoster, sed solum ante ortum solis aut solum tribus quintis feriis vel flectendo genua,' etc. (Schonbach, *ZVK* xii. [1902] 7).

On the other hand, the authority of Martin of Bracara, can. 72 [75], as recognized by the *Decretum Gratiani*, ii. c. 26 qu. 5, ch. 3, acknowledges as lawful the use of Paternoster and Creed in collecting herbs. And John of Salisbury (*Polycraticus*, ii. 1 [*PL* cxcix. 415 ff.]), with all his repudiations of *inania carmina* and *superstitiosae ligaturae*, decided in favour of the application of Christian charms, quoting the Apostolic authority of Col 3¹⁷ and the example of attested miracles. It was imagined to be God's working against Satan; but in reality it was nothing but driving out devils by Beelzebub, when a copy of the Gospel was substituted as a Christian charm for heathen *ligaturae* (Augustine, see above 4 A (3)), when, instead of amulets, a Christian mother used simply the sign of the cross (Athanasius [*PG* xxvi. 1319]; Chrysostom [lxii. 358]; Theodore of Studium [xcix. 885]; see above, 4 A (1)), or when Gregory's niece Eustenia, when called to a sick person, removed the *ligaturae* which the foolish Arioli had applied and brought oil from the tomb of St. Martin in their place (Greg. of Tours, *Miracula S. Martini*, iv. 36). But these were the methods employed by leading members of the Church, who had a real horror of all pagan and demoniacal magic, and believed themselves to be fighting against it. Elsewhere we meet with the most extraordinary hybrids. The old charms are retained, but labelled, so to speak, as Christian. In incantations the names of heathen deities yield to the names of Jesus and His Apostles, of angels and saints—if

the two are not actually placed side by side. Magic words are displaced by, or combined with, Biblical, the latter often in a language unintelligible to the people, and therefore impressing them as magical. The use of precious stones as charms was continued and based upon Ex $28^{17ff.}$ and Rev 21^{19}. Medicinal herbs were found to contain Christian symbols. The oak-mistletoe, which was sacred to the Druids, was now discovered to be cruciform and was called 'Holy Cross wood'; the fern was called 'Jesus Christ plant,' possibly from the sectional markings on the stalk; the orchid root gained the name of 'St. John's hand'; and the red juice of the St. John's wort was said to come from a drop of Christ's blood.

Through such new interpretations and new colouring, and through the addition of Christian symbols and formulæ, the old charms were supposed to be sanctified, and their heathen origin was quickly forgotten. Christian and un-Christian are often so interwoven that it is difficult to trace the true source of the single threads. Moreover, in spite of all ecclesiastical prohibitions, many purely heathen charms remained, and formed the principal component of the whole extensive apparatus of the antagonistic black magic and witchcraft. Finally, the appearance of a retrograde movement must be noticed. Because coins which in Byzantium and under the Frankish kings often bore the sign of the cross and representations of Christ and the saints were therefore used for magical ends, and because modern Roman Catholicism has a number of consecrated medallions, coins which bear no such symbols and medals which are not consecrated are used as talismans, especially in Germany at the festival-marches of rangers and soldiers.

A. *CHARMS OF NON-CHRISTIAN ORIGIN.*—(1) THINGS.—A general survey of the charms used in the ancient pagan world is given by Riess in the art. 'Aberglaube' in Pauly-Wissowa², i. 29–93. There is no stone, metal, plant, or animal, and no member of the human body, that had not its special function. Every atmospheric phenomenon, every time of day and season of the year, and every point of the compass had its significance. Numbers and geometrical figures were all effective. As has been said, all this was adopted and further developed in Christianity.

(*a*) *Stones.* — The preference for amethysts in *encolpia* and episcopal rings is connected with the ancient belief in the magical properties of this stone. Heliotrope, together with the plant so named, could produce invisibility (Gervasius of Tilbury, iii. 28). Amber was a favourite amulet against fever and gout (Pirminius, *Scarapsus*, 22 [p. 173, ed. Caspari], 'Karactires, erbas, sucinos'). On the power of stones cf. Epiphanius (*PG* xliii. 371 ff. = Anastasius Sin. *Quaest.* 40 [*PG* lxxxix. 588]), Josephus Christ., *Hypomnesticon*, 167 [*PG* cvi. 176], and Michael Psellus [*PG* cxxii. 888–900].

(*b*) Among *metals*, gold gained from its freedom from rust a preservative, lead from its dullness a destructive, significance; and the metals had also an astrological meaning, each one corresponding to one of the planets. Connected herewith is the use of rings cast under different *constellations* and then used as talismans or for purposes of divination. Apollonius of Tyana is said to have had a different ring for each day of the week. The astrological inclinations of the 16th and 17th centuries gave new life to this form of belief. (Perhaps something of the kind is meant by the 'apotelesmatic astronomy' of which Sozomen [iii. 6] speaks with reference to Eusebius of Emesa, unless he means simply astrology in general.) The signs of the zodiac, especially the Lion and the Scorpion, also had magical influence. On a charm containing the names of the planets, see *CIG*, 2895; Schürer, *ZNTW*, 1905, 20 ff., and Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 1908. (A Christian interpretation of all this was attempted in early times by Zeno of Verona, ii. 43 [*PL* xi. 494].) A curious belief was that a nurse could ensure a child against the evil eye by bringing dirt or mud from the baths and smearing it upon his forehead (Chrysostom [*PG* lxi. 106]).

(*c*) *Herbs and plants* naturally served for purposes of healing. They were, however, used rather as charms than as medicine (Rouen, c. 4 = Burchard, x. 18 [*PL* cxl. 836], cf. the oath of purgation under suspicion of malevolent herb-witchcraft, *PL* lxxxvii. 770, 836 = *MGH Leg.* v. 'Formulae, ordines,' etc., p. 194 f. Zeumer). Roots, especially the mandrake, were readily connected with Solomon or with the 'root of Jesse.' The plant most used as a charm was verbena; betony was a favourite counter-charm (cf. St. Hildegard, *Physica*, I. cxxviii. [*PL* cxcvii. 1182]; Schönbach, *op. cit.* p. 35 ff.).

(*d*) *Animals* (cf. vol. i. p. 495).—As among the Egyptians, so in the Middle Ages many animals were held to afford protection. Ornaments such as a scarabæus or a medusa's head—an apotropæic charm much used by the ancients—are often found in Christian graves (P. E. Newberry, *Scarabs*, 1906). The Church had to combat the use of the horse, the sacrificial animal of the Germans. In Greece the ox-skull was apotropæic; in the north the image of the rapacious wolf was worn as an amulet against attacks of the devil (cf. *ThLZ*, 1908, p. 299). The fly was the type of demons ('Mart. S. Viti,' *AS*, June, iii. 503). Snakes and mice were highly valued for remedial purposes. The swine is supposed to be a lucky sign by many even to-day. In Byzantium it was the fashion to procure pieces of fur from bear-leaders, mostly as a charm against ophthalmic disease (Trull. can. 61, with the comm. in *PG* cxxxvii. 720). Crossbills and bullfinches could take the disease upon themselves. Owls gave protection against lightning.

(*e*) *Parts of the body.*—The phallus, so important in antiquity, now disappears. Eye and hand had apotropæic significance. But most important were the hair and nails, which have not inappropriately been called 'the external soul' (Frazer, *GB*² iii. 389 ff.; Hartland, *LP* ii. 30). To work effectively for or against any one, without possessing a fragment of his hair or nail, was well-nigh impossible. Blood of men or animals was eminently endowed with magical properties: smeared on a doorpost it protected the house (Ex 12^{13}); as a bath it cured leprosy (Sylvester legends). Most potent of all was the blood of Christ: that is, drops of blood preserved as relics, which were often derived not from Golgotha but from miraculously bleeding crucifixes or from miracles occurring at Mass; to these were attributed workings that were thoroughly magical, and by no means merely religious, in character. Next to the blood, which was regarded as the firmest cement of friendship, and so forth, inherent magical power was ascribed to man's excrement, spittle, urine, etc. In black magic the embryo played so important a part as to lead to the most hideous crimes (cf. *e.g.* Nicephorus, *Chronogr.*, *ad ann.* 717 [p. 53, ed. de Boor]). A harmless development was the practice of Byzantine clergy, who received from mothers the present of their infants' swaddling-clothes to wear as amulets (Balsamon [*PG* cxxxvii. 721]).

(*f*) *Colours* [cf. vol. i. pp. 485, 821] have, of course, significance for magic. Red, the colour of blood, may portend evil, but can also frighten away sickness; blue, the colour of the heavens, is protective, and so on.

(*g*) On *Sounds*, see A (2).

(*h*) *Implements of sympathetic magic, images*, etc. —The use of waxen images for magic purposes was known from the earliest times in Egypt, and a

similar use is found among many peoples, *e.g.* the Ainus (see vol. i. p. 248). The intention is to act upon a man or a thing by acting upon his representative figure. So, Nectanebo was said to have sunk a whole fleet of his enemy by means of waxen boats. It seems that this form of magic was introduced, through Jewish intercourse, to the West, where it was held in special favour during the 13th and 14th centuries. Philip of France was shown a wax figure which, he was told, was so intimately connected with him by immersion and spells that its destruction would cause his death. The king threw it into the fire and remained unhurt (Gerson, *Opera*, i. 624). On the other hand, Pope John XXII. believed that his life and that of his cardinals was seriously imperilled by the existence of some effigies of this kind, and persecuted the people who had made them. And it was supposed to be possible, by sticking needles into a waxen figure, to bring sickness upon any given person, which would leave him only when the figure was destroyed (*Malleus Malefic.* ii. 11).

These effigies belong for the most part to malevolent magic; but images also played an important part as protective charms. According to the principle 'like repels like,' the best scarecrows were held to be figures of crows set up, if possible, in the four corners of the field; flies were driven away by the representation of a fly upon the signet-ring. These methods were ancient but current in the Middle Ages (cf. Greg. of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* viii. 33, on the brazen images in the *cloaca* of Paris). In the later Middle Ages, Vergil was credited with the invention. He was said to have expelled every fly from Naples by setting up a brazen fly on the city-gates, to have prevented the meat from decaying by adorning the slaughter-house with the representation of a piece of meat; and, by fixing two heads, one laughing and the other weeping, on the Porta Nolana, to have secured for those who entered such issue to their business as they deserved (Gervasius of Tilbury, iii. 16 ff.; cf. Liebrecht, *Gervasius von Tilbury*, p. 98, note, and p. 104, with the parallel instances from all lands). Similarly it was believed that thieves could be kept away by a figure cloaked in black, provided that in the making of the charm a fixed time was observed and its purpose was declared in a solemn formula (Antoine Mizauld, *Memorabilium sive arcanorum omnis generis centuria*, 1574).

(2) ACTIONS.—On the magic which relied upon the power of things without the necessity of personal activity there follows that which works by movements and actions. A number of gestures first call for notice: such are movements of the hand, mostly of a parrying and defensive character (hands modelled in such a position appear also as amulets); then ways of holding the thumb (*pollicem premere*, or *ut dexterâ manu sinistrum pollicem teneas*), of which Augustine makes sport (*de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 20). As late as the 19th cent. many people in Rome are said to have secretly made such defensive signs while kneeling on the street to receive the Pope's blessing, because an accidental meeting with the Pope was held to be unlucky. As a charm against the evil eye and against infection, spitting was held in esteem. The gesture of touching the pudenda, important in Egyptian magic, was the origin of the well-known obscene ceremonies of witchcraft.

Touching was the most important of all actions in magic, and through touch healing was effected; here the original conception of the transference of power is clearly seen. The most primitive belief attributed the strongest magical power to the tribal chief. Later, the king was regarded as a Divine personage, whose touch therefore had healing virtue, as related of the Roman emperors (Suet. *Vespas.* 7; Spartianus, *Hadr.* 25. 1-4), and also believed of the kings of France and England. The royal touch was particularly efficacious against scrofula. Most miraculous cures effected by the saints are said to be due to their touch. The mere invocation of a saint was held to be inadequate—one must touch his bones or his grave. In Padua the rule is to walk round the grave of St. Antony, resting the hand on the marble slabs of the tomb. Touching often took the form of stroking, an action in which a hypnotic is added to the magical effect. Transference of power is the original intention of the laying on of hands (χειροθεσία, *manuum impositio*), which is partly protective (an act of blessing), partly a transference of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, productive of special capacity.

Akin to touching is the action of crawling through, or under, some object, which was largely used by pregnant women in order to procure a fortunate delivery. In Arabia and Persia they crawled under a camel, in Sweden through so-called 'elf holes' (openings formed by boughs of trees), elsewhere under stones or through barrel-hoops. Sick children also were drawn three times under an animal or through a hollow in the earth. In love-magic it was the practice to draw some object three times under one's own arm. Another action is swinging or moving in a circle, to make the influence of the charm reach a greater distance through the air. The carrying of a charm round a certain area has a different meaning. Here the purpose is not so much to extend as to limit its action. This was the object of walking round the land which was to be protected and rendered fertile.

A very special importance attaches to the action of binding (hence the names *ligamen*, *ligatura*, etc.). It was performed, of course, with magic words and signs, partly to chain the harmful demon, relying on the fact that a stronger power—Solomon, Michael, Christ, or the Saints—was supposed to have chained him already, and partly with the object of binding the limb of an enemy—his evil tongue, for example. Healing could be wrought by this action, which could also be used malignantly to cause illness. The act of binding is perpetuated as an enduring source of protection in the case of magic knots, mostly adorned with magic characters, that were worn round the neck. The use of the πούγγια of silken thread was forbidden by the Trullan Council (692), can. 61 (see Balsamon, *PG* cxxxvii. 721). An allied form is to bury something from the body of a sick person (hair or nail) or a piece of his clothing, with the object of removing the illness from him. This reminds us of the attempts to transfer a disease (cf. 4 A (3)); often a piece of money was dropped somewhere, in the hope that whosoever picked it up would take over the disease with it.

Anointing, another act of magical significance (cf. vol. i. p. 549 ff.; on χρίειν see Deubner, *de Incubatione*, 22), has an official place also in the rites of the Church, at baptism, confirmation (χρῖσμα), and in extreme unction. Here thoughts of bodily healing are present along with purely spiritual intentions. The act of anointing was much used in healing generally (cf. Mk 6^{13}, Ja 5^{14}). But unguents have also an important place in the paraphernalia of witchcraft. Witches used them upon their own persons in order to acquire power to fly (ride on a broom or drive in a trough through the air), and they anointed others to turn them into beasts or do them some other ill.

Bathing and cleansing were such important ceremonies in magic that the word περικαθαίρων was used in a comprehensive sense to include magicians in general, to whose sacrificial exorcism, etc., lustration with consecrated water was a necessary preliminary (see Harnack on *Didache*, iii. 4). The

whole province of counter-charms falls under this head. Of course it was not the washing in itself that was effective, but washing with certain ceremonies, in certain places, and with certain liquids. Chrysostom (*de Pseudoproph.* 7 [*PG* lix. 561]) mentions such ceremonies in springs by candle-light. Certain springs were considered specially effective. For baptism, water from the Jordan was highly valued. Instead of water, blood or wine was sometimes used for magical purposes.

The use of exciting vapours (Pythonism) and narcotic drinks, made of opium, stramony, hemp, and henbane, is preparatory, and belongs to divination rather than to active magic. So do the exciting motions such as turning, dancing, or mere raging and howling. Noise plays a great part in the affrighting of evil spirits. This is the explanation of the wearing of bells as amulets by men or beasts (see 4 A (1)), ringing bells or shooting in bad weather (4 B (6)). Especially during eclipses of the sun and moon it was thought necessary to make a noise in order to prevent magicians from doing harm to the stars (Arles, can. 5 = Burchard, x. 33; pseudo-Aug. *Serm.* 265, 5; Maximus of Turin, *Hom.* 100 [*PL* lvii. 485]; Rabanus Maurus, *Hom.* 42 [*PL* cx. 78 ff.]; Ebendörfer, p. 5). In Germany it is the custom also, in order to frighten away evil influences, to make a great noise on the evening before a wedding, and to shoot and crack whips during the bridal procession.

(3) WORDS.—Of special importance is the magic word, the magic formula, whether spoken, or written, or engraved. Magic in general is often named ἐπαοιδή, *incantatio*, 'enchantment.' The zeal of the early Church was directed above all things against the use of magic formulæ (*e.g.* cf. Irenæus, I. xxv. 3, II. xxxii. 5; Hippolytus, *Refut.* ix. 14 f., x. 29). We possess a great number of ancient forms of conjuration—heathen, Jewish, and Christian in stamp. A characteristic of them all, which has not received sufficient notice from their editors, is the ceremonial and stereotyped solemnity of form. The same words are repeated at least three times, and generally five. There is a conventional introduction in narrative form like the 'Vol und Votan fuhren zu Holze' of the well-known formula of Merseburg (ed. J. Grimm, 1842); or 'three angels went to Mount Sinai: there met them seven demons of sickness' (Bartels, *Germania*, xviii. 45 f.; Steinmeyer, *ZDA* xvii. 560; Vassiliev, lxvii. 331, 336). Bartels rightly finds in this something similar to the 'indigitamentum' (Usener). A momentary god is to be created, who is useful for the particular end in view. Then follow mysterious invocations, which are repeated at the end. Between these comes the spell, repeated five times with slight variations. The third is generally the most prolix, and the fifth often corresponds with it. The last nearly always (and very often the first or the middle) contains a declaration of the urgency of the business: 'Haste, haste, quick, quick!' The main purpose is repeated as nearly as possible in the same words. In prophylactic amulets the dangers against which protection is desired are enumerated as fully as possible, *e.g.* the 72 diseases (Vassiliev, 323 ff.); and so are the members of the wearer's body, so that protection may be afforded to them all (Reitzenstein, 295). The parts of the formula on which its working most depends are the names of the god (or saint) by whom the demon is conjured, the demon himself, and the arch-magician whose authority is relied upon. The chief masters of magic we meet with are the Egyptian prophets Sochos, Hermes Trismegistus, Psenosiris, and Nectanebo, and most often of all, Alexander the Great, whose cult flourished most vigorously from the time of Alexander Severus, and continued under the Christian Empire. His reputation as a magician lived throughout the Middle Ages, and gave a charm-value to his coins (cf. Chrysostom, *PG* xlix. 240). Along with names of gods or as part of their titles, a number of barbarian words were used, of which few have any meaning. For the most part it is through their incomprehensibility that they are believed and intended to be effective. Chrysostom (*in Col.* hom. viii. 5 [*PG* lxii. 358]) speaks of the names of rivers as much used. The evil that it is desired to heal is often personified, or the evil eye against which protection is sought—βασκανία—is personally addressed. Imperatives containing the actual purpose of the charm become proper names, as in a blood-staunching spell from east Prussia (H. Frischbier, *Hexenspruch und Zauberbann*, 1870, no. 36):

'Es gingen drei heilige Frau'n
Des Morgens früh im Tau'n
Die eine hiess Aloë,
Die zweite hiess Blutvergeh,
Die dritte hiess Blutstillesteh.'

Besides these names, among which inconceivable mutilations of words borrowed from Egyptian and Hebrew are common, we find single letters and groups of letters—in spoken spells, as in the gibberish of Gnostic glossolaly, mostly vowels in all imaginable combinations, and sibilants. In written charms the rarer letters ΞΧΨ, etc., are generally used, frequently in a row of seven or nine, as ΞΨΧΕΤΡΔ or ΧΖΟΠΞΨΧΤΨ. Such are found in the magic papyri (Parthey, 154; Wessely, *DWAW* XXXVI. ii. 91), and also in the letter of Abgar (*ZWT* xliii. 443).

This longer and fuller form of conjuration enjoyed undiminished popularity among the Greeks from pre-Christian times till the 16th cent. (cf. the publications of Deissmann, Reitzenstein, and Pradel, cited in lit. at end of art.). By its side stand the short charm-formulæ, which were generally in poetical shape.

B. *CHARMS OF JEWISH ORIGIN.*—(4) THE NAMES OF GOD, ANGELS, SOLOMON.—The most important contribution of Jewish magic to the store of charms consists in its various names for God, which often appear in combination with heathen names. In the first place are all imaginable transcriptions of the holy ineffable Tetragrammaton יהוה, the Greek ΠΙΠΙ, over which Christian theologians indulge in extraordinary speculations (Lagarde, *OS*² 228 f.), the renderings Ἰαουε Ἰαω, and so forth (A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* [1895], 1–20), and its equivalents *Adonai*, often *Adonai sabaoth*, *Eloi*, *Sadai*, and also 'God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.' And much was given out to be from the Jewish Scriptures that was nothing of the kind (Jerome, *PL* xxii. 687: 'Magis portenta quam nomina, quae . . . quasi de hebraicis fontibus hauriunt'). This is the case in particular with many of the Angel names, in which Jewish magic is most rich, and which were intermingled with the names of heathen gods. The most prominent are Michael, the conqueror of the dragon [Rev 12⁷], who also exercised healing functions (W. Lueken), Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel. Irenæus (II. xxxii. 5) repudiates all *invocationes angelicas et incantationes*, assigning them to the Gnostics (I. xxiv. 5), and the *Decretum Gelas.* forbids *phylacteria omnia quae non angelorum ut illi confingunt, sed daemonum nominibus consecrata sunt*. But all these things were soon accepted by Christian magic. In Egypt, Enoch as the heavenly clerk took the place occupied in former times by Thoth (cf. O. von Lemm, *Kleine Kopt. Studien*, liv. [1908] 521).

From Jewish magic was derived also the important place given to Solomon, who sometimes appears by the side of Alexander the Great and sometimes in his place as the lord and ruler of

spirits. He was said to have shut them in a great bottle, which was exhibited at Jerusalem (*Itinera Hierosol.*, ed. Geyer, p. 21. 8, 153. 10) along with his ring. This was shown by the side of the relics of the cross on Golgotha (*ib.* 88. 24, 107. 13, 154. 4). Solomon was said to have discovered the wonder-working roots which were placed in the magic rings used as early as Vespasian's time by Jewish exorcists to drag the demons out through the noses of sick people (Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5; cf. Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepig. Vet. Test.* i. 1032 ff.; Migne, *Dict. des apocryphes*, ii. 829 ff.). He was also supposed to have been the first elucidator of the virtues of stones and plants (Anastasius Sin. *Quaest.* 41 [*PG* lxxxix. 589]; Glycas [*PG* clviii. 349]). Much use was made of the name of Solomon, his seal, and also his portrait. He was represented on horseback as a dragon-slayer, like the Egyptian god Horus and later St. George (G. Perdrizet, σφραγὶς Σολομῶνος, in *REG* xvi. [1903] 42–61; Dalton's *Catalogue*, nos. 155, 156; Wulff, nos. 436 f., 825, 827, 1120).

C. *CHARMS OF CHRISTIAN ORIGIN.*—Among charms of Christian origin it is noteworthy that the spiritual are the most prominent. First come the name of Jesus, Biblical texts, liturgical formulæ, and prayers. In the second rank stands the sign of the cross, and only a subordinate position is held by properly material objects—just the reverse of the heathen order. This reverse order is here followed.

(5) THE NAME OF JESUS.—The name appears everywhere as the vehicle of the personal powers. He who knows the name of a spirit is its master, and by naming it he awakens its powers to activity. Therefore the names of God were veiled in a certain mystery, especially among the Jews of the Hellenistic era. The magic papyri, on the contrary, seek to win the mastery over them. In the name of Jesus the Christians believed themselves to possess a weapon of quite extraordinary power (cf. Ph 2[10]), which could serve alike for healing (cf. Ac 3[6] 14[10] [Cod. D] 16[18], Mk 16[17]) and for cursing (1 Co 5[4]). This testimony of the Apostolic times is abundantly confirmed by the Christians of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (*e.g.* Justin, *Apol.* ii. 6, *Dial.* 30, 49, 85, 121; Irenæus, II. xxxii. 3–5; Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 6 [i. 59, ed. Koetschau]); *Acta Johannis*, 31. 41; *Acta Philippi*, 136); the name of Jesus is expressly set in opposition to all heathen spells. And the heathen magic papyri themselves use the name 'Jesus, God of the Hebrews.' To the literary evidence we may add a great mass of inscriptions: in these the name is generally represented by the monogram . The most important testimony to the weight attached to the name of Jesus is the fact that even Jews use it as an amulet along with the names of the three Magi (see Berliner, *Aus dem Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter*, 1900, pp. 97, 105). H. Suso, the great German mystic, is said to have had the name of Jesus tatued on his breast. Is this a talisman or a love-charm? The cult of the name of Jesus was given a special impetus by Bernardinus of Siena († 1444), who always carried before him the sign IHS on a flaming disk. This was not only an abbreviated form of preaching, but a magic sign, as is shown by its appearance on amulets; and the same may be said of the Christ-monograms, and, since the time of the Jesuits, the Jesus-monograms on churches, houses, tombstones, and elsewhere; these stand not merely for marks of faith or for ornament, but have rather an apotropaic significance (cf. Index lxix. in *PL* ccxix. 484 ff.).

(6) BIBLICAL FORMULÆ.—After the name of Jesus it was in the Gospels that His power was supposed in a special degree to reside. On the use of the Gospels in the administration of oaths and in acts of consecration, see art. BIBLE IN THE CHURCH, vol. ii. p. 611. Chrysostom (*in Matt.* hom. 72 [*PG* lviii. 669]) and Isidore Pelus. (*Ep.* ii. 150 [*PG* lxxviii. 604]) inform us that Christian women used to wear little Gospels round their necks after the manner of Jewish *tephillin*; but these were very likely only single texts from the Gospels (cf. E. Nestle, *ZNTW* vii. 96). John of Salisbury (*Polycr.* ii. 1 [*PL* cxcix. 416]) testifies in the 12th cent. to the efficacy of *capitula Evangelii gestata, vel audita, vel dicta*. Most to be recommended was the prologue to St. John, either the first fourteen verses or only the first verse (cf. A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 1902, pp. 595, 150). The Lord's Prayer is second to it. On the potsherd of Megara, for example (Knopf, *ZNTW* ii. 228; E. Nestle, *ib.* 347), as well as in many inscriptions, it certainly has an apotropaic significance; it occurs in nearly all Christian spells, often to be repeated more than once; it is written ἀντιστρόφως καὶ ἐναλλάξ (Vassiliev, p. lxxi); it must be recited during the gathering of herbs to give them healing virtue (this is expressly stated in *Corp. Juris Can. decr.* ii. c. 26, qu. 5, c. 3 = Martin of Bracara, c. 75). For purposes of cursing, texts from the Psalms were esteemed, for the Psalter was held to be a powerful defence against demons. A number of leaden tablets containing Psalms have lately been found. St. Barsauma the Naked († 1317) wrote out Pss 20 and 27 as amulets for his visitors (W. E. Crum, *PSBA*, 1907, pp. 196, 198). For a 'slaying prayer' (cf. 4 C (9)), Ps 108, 'Deus laudem,' was most used, also Ps 109 or 94. And the lessons for certain feast-days served special purposes (Vassiliev, 341). Apocryphal texts were also used. The Epistle of Christ to Abgar enjoyed great popularity as an apotropaic charm. The legend states that this epistle, affixed to the gate of Edessa, saved the town from a Persian attack (v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 1899, p. 103 f.). It is found on the door-lintels of 5th cent. houses and churches in Asia Minor (for Ephesus, see Heberdey, *Jahresheft des oesterr. archäol. Instituts*, 1900, pp. 90–95; for Gurdja, Anderson, *JHS* xx. [1900] 156 ff.). How serviceable it proved in this way throughout the Middle Ages we learn from the many assurances at the end of Greek, Coptic, Slavic, and Latin texts, which show that it was worn as an amulet against bewitchment, hail, lightning, etc., and employed as a remedial charm in sickness (see, *e.g.*, *ZWT* xliii. 470):

> 'Et salvus eris, sicut scriptum: qui credit in me salvus erit, sive in domo tua sive in civitate tua sive in omni loco. Nemo inimicorum tuorum dominabit, et insidias diaboli ne timeas et carmina inimicorum tuorum distruentur et omnes inimici tui expellentur a te, sive a grandine sive a tonitruo non noceberis et ab omni periculo liberaberis. Sive in mare sive in terra sive in die sive in nocte sive in locis obscuris, si quis hanc epistolam secum habuerit securus ambulet in pace.'

The custom of inscribing the Epistle to Abgar in houses survived in England even into the 18th cent. (v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 179, no. 6).

(7) LITURGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.—The liturgy provided magic with a very considerable number of powerful formulæ. Many of them are certainly of Biblical origin; but their use in magic is due to their position in the liturgy. An example is the *Trisagion*, the Angels' song, which easily held the first rank in importance; the threefold קדוש is found also on Jewish amulets. Biblical in origin, and liturgical in use, are the name 'Emmanuel' or 'Deus nobiscum'; the forms IC XC NIKA, 'Christus regnat,' 'Christus vincit' (which occur also on coins); and the words from Rev 5[5] ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ ῥίζα Δαυείδ. A favourite among the many Trinitarian formulæ was 'God is my hope, Christ is my refuge, the Holy Ghost is my defence' (cf. Sābas, *Vita S. Joannicii*, ch. 10 [*AS*, Nov., II. i. 341]). Christ very

often forms a triad with the angels Gabriel and Michael—an interpretation of Gn 18². This is probably the meaning of the much-used character ΧΜΓ, which has been taken also to represent Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ, or by *gematria* = 643 = ἅγιος ὁ θεός or ἡ ἁγία τριὰς θ′ (= θεός) (see J. Krall, *Corp. Pap. Rayn.*, Kopt. Texte, i. 5 [1895]; Dalton's Catalogue, no. 958; *Berl. phil. Wochenschr.*, 1906, p. 381 ff. [Nestle], 510 [Dieterich]; W. E. Crum, *Arch. Rep. of the Egypt. Explor. Fund*, 1905–6, p. 76; 1906–7, p. 74). ἀββᾶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐλέησον occurs on amulets (*ARW* x. 398). The Benedictus-medallions contain the initial letters of *Crux Sacra Sit Mihi Lux: Nunquam Draco Sit Mihi Dux*; and *Vade Retro Sathana, Nunquam Suade Mihi Vana, Sunt Mala Quae Libas, Ipse Venena Bibas* (Beringer, *Ablässe*, 350 ff.). Spells sometimes contain the κύριε ἐλέησον, and also liturgical formulæ such as the cry of the deacon: στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ. In Western Christianity the Apostles' Creed holds a position parallel with the Lord's Prayer. It is used for healing, especially in exorcism (John of Salisbury, *Polycr.* ii. 1 [*PG* cxlix. 416]).

(8) Prayers.—Even more use was made of prayers. However certainly true prayer is something quite different from the desire to exercise magic influence upon the Deity, the formulæ of prayer are readily converted into magic spells. This has been seen in the magic use of the Lord's Prayer. The boundary between prayer and spell is always indistinct. Vassiliev (323 ff.) reproduces a document which begins as a prayer and ends as a spell, with a long invocation of saints between. The prayers of Christian magic are generally constructed after the heathen pattern (see 5 A (3)); only an attempt is made, through the Biblical predicates by which God is invoked, and through abundant references to Biblical history, to give them the stamp of legitimate Christianity. Many of them bear famous names, such as that of St. Gregory, where the most obvious reference is to Gregory Thaumaturgus, though it may also be Gregory of Nazianzus, or, in the West, Pope Gregory I. Prayers were often taken from the legends of the saints for this purpose, *e.g.* the prayer of Judas Kyriakos from the legend of the Invention of the Cross (in *Papyrus d'Anastasy*, 9), the dying prayer of the Theotokos from the Koimesis, prayers of St. Paphnutios, St. George (cf. *Byzant. Zeitschr.* xii. 547), or Cyprian the magician. A healing virtue was attributed to the prayers said to be composed by the Apostle Paul (against the bite of snakes, Ac 28³ [Vassiliev, 330]), or by Luke the Evangelist and 'beloved physician' (Col 4¹⁴).

The introductory narratives of these magic prayers are often touchingly naive (cf. 5 B (3)): Uproar arises in heaven; all the angels hurry hither and thither, till Christ asks what is amiss; it is a woman who cannot be delivered; then He sends forth the angels, and so on. Or Christ is walking with Peter: He hears complaints, and learns from Peter that a woman is confined, and bids her be summoned to Him. Or Christ coming from Paradise sees a hind, etc. (O. von Lemm, *Kleine Kopt. Studien*, liv.).

In the later Middle Ages, prayers endowed with special indulgences, as those addressed to Christ's napkin (Veronica), to the blood of Jesus, His seven wounds, His measure, and also invocations to the saints, were much used as protective charms, as may be seen from the notices appended to them. This was the purpose of many of the earliest printed pamphlets—sheets containing such prayers—which were produced in great numbers in Italy.

(9) The Holy Cross.—The Holy Cross, as the protective charm most used by Christians, deserves a special notice. There is no need here to discuss what significance may have been attached in pre-Christian times to various forms of the cross (see art. Cross), for in any case Christianity gave a prominence to this symbol above all others, loaded it with Christian thoughts, and claimed it for its own peculiar possession. It soon became a conventional form, dominating the ground-plans of churches, appearing in processional crosses, crosiers, *encolpia*, votive crosses, crosses engraved or scratched on wood, stone, and metal. Crosses let into the floor were forbidden, because it would be unseemly to tread upon them (*Cod. Just.* i.; Conc. Trull. [A.D. 692], can. 73 [Mansi, xi. 976]). In the Greek Church a cross was erected (σταυροπήγιον) where a piece of ground was to be sanctified. Three crosses drawn in the sand by St. Hilarion prevented Epidaurus from being flooded by a stormy sea. Most of the monastic saints worked their miracles by their cruciform staffs, σιδηροῦν σταυρίον, σταυρότυπος σιδηρᾶ βακτηρία (*e.g.* Joannikios, *AS*, Nov., II. i. 344, 402). Mediæval justice used, among other ordeals, the trial of the cross: the opposing parties were stationed against crosses with their arms outstretched; he who first let his drop was guilty. Even sorcery dragged the crucifix into its service, though only as an object of insult: to shout at a crucifix on Good Friday was a means of becoming a *Freischütz*; pieces broken from a crucifix render their wearers invulnerable.

But far more general is the practice of making the sign of the cross with the hand on breast, forehead, and all parts of the body, for protection against all kinds of danger. With the sign of the cross the Christian is sealed (σφραγίς) in baptism, and secured at once against all malevolent witchcraft. This belief is as early as Tertullian (*de Cor. Mil.* 3): 'ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum et calciatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quaecumque nos conversatio exercet, frontem signaculo terimus.' In a similar way, Cyril of Jerusalem describes to his catechumens how the whole Christian life is permeated by the sign of the cross: it was made at rising, dressing, going out, at table, and on going to bed (cf. Cyr. *Catech.* xiii. 36 [*PG* xxxiii. 816]: μέγα τὸ φυλακτήριον). It was the surest defence against demons, and the remedy for all diseases. There are a number of *enkomia* (*e.g.* pseudo-Chrys. *PG* l. 819; pseudo-Ephr. *Opp. gr.* ii. 247; ancient Nubian text, ed. H. Schäfer and C. Schmidt, *SBAW*, 1907, xxxi.; Joh. Damasc. *de Fide Orth.* iv. 11) in which the cross is called τρόπαιον κατὰ δαιμόνων, διαβόλου νῖκος, ναῶν καθαίρεσις, βωμῶν ἀνατροπή, κνίσσης ἀφανισμός, νοσούντων ἰατρός, λεπρῶν καθαρισμός, παραλυτικῶν σφίγξις, etc. These phrases may originally have been intended figuratively to clothe a purely spiritual thought, but later they were understood quite literally. Then we read of a temple falling in ruins before the sign of the cross made by an Apostle. Ignatius (*ad Eph.* 9) speaks of the cross as the μηχανὴ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ which lifts us up on high (spiritually); in the *Mart. Matthaei*, 26, it is the coffin containing the Apostle's body which is lifted up from the bottom of the sea by means of a miraculous cross. John makes the sign over a cup of poison, and drinks it in safety; Benedict causes the vessel of poison to fly in pieces by means of this sign; a cancer is healed by it (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8); by a mere sign of the cross St. Martin turns aside a tree that was falling upon him, keeps fire away, and drives the flames against the wind. St. Columban opens locks and bolts by its means; Eligius increases a quantity of wine miraculously, and heals a blind man (*PL* lxxxvii. 500, 503); Bernardinus of Siena keeps off a storm of rain that threatens to interrupt his preaching. Even Julian the Apostate is said, in fear of his demon, to have made the sign of the cross and learnt its power (Greg. Naz. *Or.* iv. 55

[*PG* xxxv. 577]). The symbol acquired special importance in the Crusades; it adorned the coats and arms of the crusaders, not merely as a badge of faith, but as a means of security and victory. Its protection was extended even to their relatives at home, as when the wife of one of them was assisted in her travail by her husband's crusader's cloak (Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial.* x. 22).

The cross is inviolate; a fire that burnt to ashes a house and all that it contained spared the piece of a garment on which a cross was embroidered (*ib.* 32, 33). The emblem of the saving cross was found everywhere in Nature (Physiologus, xl. [p. 270, ed. Lauchert]).

(10) THE SACRAMENTS.—Though the significance of the acts of worship named by the Greek Christians 'mysteries,' and by the Latins 'sacraments,' is properly wholly spiritual, it was extended in the popular religion to the natural life. The official teaching of the Church could not prevent a magical interpretation being given even to their religious effects. Baptism was held to cleanse *ipso facto* from all sin; children who die after baptism attain immediate blessedness; the unbaptized are doomed to hell, or at least to a *limbus infantium*. The communion administered as *viaticum* serves to ensure blessedness in the future life (*exitum munire*), and so does extreme unction. Moreover, to both sacraments thoughts of bodily healing were attached. By baptism a doctor loses his gout, and an actor his paralysis (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8). In the Sylvester legend the Emperor Constantine becomes free from his leprosy in baptism; this may be an answer to the criticism of Julian the Apostate, who complained of the absence of such physical effects in baptism (*adv. Christ.* i. 209, ed. Neumann). Cæsarius of Heisterbach (x. 43–45) relates similar instances, with the just comment: 'licet enim baptismus medicina sit animae, multi tamen illius virtute sanitatem corporis consecuti sunt.' The communion is equally effective: instead of reciting *praecantationes* and employing *characteres, fumigare, fascinum*, the sick man should rather come to church, receive the body and blood of Christ, and use the holy oil (pseudo-Aug. *Serm.* 279, 5 [*PL* xxxix. 2273]); in the church is to be found the twofold cure for soul and body (*ib.* 265, 3 [p. 2238]). A communicant is for the next day safe against all malevolent magic (Anast. Sin. *Narr.* 48, 50; *Oriens Christ.* iii. 68, 70), and even certain of victory in a duel (Cæsarius of Heisterbach, ix. 48). Many a knight setting out for the wars, and many a soldier too in modern times, has thought through the communion to render himself impervious to sword and shot. The way in which this sacrament was regarded is shown by the use of the elements as amulets (*e.g.* Anast. Sin. *Narr.* 43, 63), and even as fertility- and love-charms (see above, 4 B (5) and (8): this is most profusely illustrated for the 13th cent. by Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mirac.* dist. ix.). They were also used for the conviction of accused persons, or to prove innocence; cf. *e.g.* Lotharius II. before Pope Hadrian, A.D. 869 (Regino and Hincmar, *ad ann.* 869). This *purgatio canonica* in clerical trials took the place of the oath of purgation. The reception of the communion by Gregory VII. and Henry IV. at Canossa was so understood by the people (see Lambert's Annals, *ad ann.* 1077).

The *sacramentalia* had the same attributes, especially the holy oil; it was repeatedly found necessary to prohibit the priests from supplying holy oil *ad iudicium subvertendum* (Metz [A.D. 888], can. 6 = Burchard, iv. 80; Regino, i. 72 [*PL* cxxxii. 206]). Holy water, incense, consecrated salt, and wax from the altar candles were much used; for remedial purposes, holy water, oil, or bread was serviceable (for some examples among hundreds see *Vita S. Cuthberti*, 25, 29, 30, 31 [*PL* xciv. 765 ff.]). Even the water with which the priest washed his hands after Mass was used by the devout as an antidote against sickness, or as a fertility-charm. Cæsarius of Heisterbach, however, after relating for the edification of his readers a long series of these anecdotes, declares that it is not well-pleasing in the sight of God, *si ad aliquos usus temporales sacramenta illa convertantur.*

(11) RELICS.—Among the material instruments of Christian magic, the relics of Christ and the saints call for first notice (cf. art. RELICS). Of these, pieces of wood from the Holy Cross were most treasured, after its supposed discovery by Helena. Gregory's sister Macrina wore an iron cross as an amulet (Gregory of Nyssa, *PG* xlvi. 989), but later we find wooden crosses (Jerome on Mt 23⁵ [*PL* xxvi. 175]). Most *encolpia* contained them (Anast. Sin. *Narr.* 45, 53; *Oriens Christ.* iii. 65, 79).

Nails even from a gallows were supposed to be effective charms, and, of course, the holy nails from the cross possessed extraordinary virtue. Yet the ancient legend did not shrink from relating that Helena had them worked into the bridle and stirrups of her son Constantine as talismans and for a profane purpose; later they were greatly revered as relics. But every saint possessed healing and protective power, and this power resided in every particle of his body; so λείψανα ἁγίων were worn as phylacteries (Theophanes, p. 446, ed. de Boor). The relics of St. Gratus quenched a forest fire at Aosta in 1542. On the death of a revered monk in Byzantium, a struggle ensued among the populace for possession of his cloak and even his hair and teeth, which they desired as talismans (e.g. *Vita Eustratii*, 39 [Papadopoulos Kerameus, *Anal.* iv. 393]). In the West such dismemberment of dead saints was, at least in theory, forbidden. As substitutes, any objects served which had been in contact with the saint himself, his dead body, or his grave. As specially gifted persons could heal by a touch of their hands, so garments worn by them could convey this healing power (Ac. 5^{15} 19^{12}; cf. *e.g.* Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mirac.* x. 5, 6). But it sufficed merely to have brought one's own garments into contact with the saint's grave and then to lay them over a dying man in order to save his life; or to touch with a flower first the reliquary and then the eyes of a blind man (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8). Oil from a saint's grave (*i.e.* from the lamps burning there) was much esteemed: *e.g.* from the shrine of St. Stephen at Uzala (Aug. *Sermo* 32); but in the legend it became a miraculous spring of *myron* flowing from the shrine. Such oil was sent far and wide. At Golgotha all manner of things were consecrated by contact with the sepulchre. A similar production of relics was carried on, on a great scale, at the graves of the Apostles Peter and Paul, which were particularly suited thereto, because it was possible to reach the deep-lying sarcophagus through holes in the covering slab of marble (H. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 271 ff.). A great number of pieces of wool, cloth, or whatever it might be, were consecrated by contact with the Holy Sepulchre and then called *eulogia* (Drews, *Zeitschr. f. prakt. Theol.* xx. 18 f.), and in the West *brandea*, to be used as charms for various purposes, especially as amulets. But the grave of any saint could serve the purpose, and the nature of the object used was quite immaterial. Gregory of Tours (*de Virt. S. Juliani*, 45) says very characteristically: 'accedite ad Martyris tumulum et aliquid exinde ad aegrotum deportate,' and in fact a little dust brought and administered to the patient in water proved most effective. Dust from

the rock of the oratorium of St. Calminius or from the grave of St. Felix of Bourges, taken in water, was a remedy for fever. Thus it is quite a natural development whereby modern Roman Catholicism no longer allows actual relics to fall into private hands, and offers as substitutes consecrated rosaries, medallions, etc. Where this consecration is not merely sacramental, accomplished by their use at Mass or immersion in holy water and so forth, it is derived from contact with a shrine, a martyr's grave, or a relic.

(12) PICTURES, etc.—The power of a saint extended from objects connected with his person to pictures and statues, which were regarded by no means as aids to contemplation, but as signs of the actual presence of the saint himself. Greek theologians proved, with the help of Neo-Platonic mysticism, the real association of *archetypos* and *ektypoma*. Their use as charms was most prominent among the Greeks and, under Greek influence, among the Slavs. It is very interesting to observe how in the legend of Edessa the portrait of Christ superseded the letter to Abgar as protector of the town; it was placed over the city-gate, and, when an attempt was made to set fire to the town in time of siege, some oil from the lamp that burnt perpetually before it was sprinkled upon the flames, which it turned against the besiegers. Byzantine ships nearly always carried images of the Madonna for protection against storm, as the heathen ships had carried *palladia* or images of the Dioscuri. In Rome, figures of St. Symeon Stylites guarded every workshop (Theodoret, *Relig. Hist.* 26 [*PG* lxxxii. 1473]; Joh. Damasc. *de Imag.* i. 27 [*PG* xciv. 1253]). No Greek or Roman house was without its saint, which took the place of the ancient *penates*, as the protective genius of the home. Famous pictures and images were washed at high feasts, and the water, sanctified in the process, was scattered over the congregation for their benediction (in Edessa as in Rome; cf. v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 66, 163, 112**). In Edessa this water was used as a lotion for the eyes. Water with which portraits of saints had been washed, or into which some colour had been scraped off them, was administered to invalids as medicine.

The Western peoples were at first rather timid of such uses; but after the 9th cent. the belief in images was established among them also. Statues of patron saints erected over town- and castle-gates, pictures on the walls (in churches, pictures by preference of Michael or Christopher; in private houses, of Florian and Agathe, who kept off lightning and fire), and representations on amulets, all had apotropæic significance. In time of pest appeared painted or, later, printed sheets with pictures of St. Sebastian or St. Rochus, often with prayers and, in some cases, hygienic directions appended, which certainly were intended to give protection, and not merely as devotional objects (P. Heitz, *Pestblätter des XV. Jahrh.*, Strassburg, 1901).

Special virtue was, of course, assigned to pictures of miraculous origin, and also to copies of them. This and the indulgences connected with it are the causes of the extensive circulation of the shroud portrait (Veronica). Another important charm in and after the 15th cent. was the so-called measure of Christ, a length taken presumably from the holy sepulchre (G. Uzielli, *Misure lineari medioevali*, 1899). It was employed, *e.g.*, in witch trials (*Malleus malefic.* iii. 16); joined with a prayer it served as an amulet (Uzielli, *L'Orazione della Misura di Cristo*, 1901, p. 10).

6. The application of charms.—(1) *Preliminary requirements.*—The satisfaction of a number of personal conditions is as necessary a preliminary to charm-working as it is to worship; the chief is freedom from sin and especially from sexual pollution, wherefore children were frequently entrusted with the operation, *e.g.* in drawing lots (cf. in early times Apuleius, *de Magia*, ii. 47, ed. Bipont.) and in clairvoyance; pregnant women were also employed. A preliminary fast, such as was necessary to the reception of a revelation, was also frequently required.

A peculiarity of magic is its fear of knots: every knot represents a binding, and may therefore carry a counteractive force. Therefore the clothing must be free from all knots; complete absence of clothing was abhorred in the Christian Church, though common in black magic. For similar reasons it was generally necessary to hold the breath; and silence was ordained, since any word might break the spell or introduce the disturbing influence of another spell. Above all, no names might be mentioned, for they are to a special degree endowed with magic powers. This is the explanation of the endeavour to write spells so that they could not easily be read, either in foreign letters (for a Greek spell in Latin characters, see G. Maspero in *Collections du Musée Alaoui*, i. 101 ff.; for an Italian spell in Greek letters, Pradel, *loc. cit.*). This custom may prove the magical purpose of the well-known copies of the Apostles' Creed, Greek in Latin characters in the Aethelstan Psalter, Latin in the Codex Laudianus.

Time and place are, of course, important; charms are especially, and sometimes exclusively, efficacious if applied before sunrise; midnight is the hour of spirits; certain days in the year, once heathen festivals, such as the winter and summer solstices, and later converted into Christian saints' days, are significant for certain forms of magic; and lastly come the phases of the moon.

Magic had also its holy places. In heathendom these were springs, trees, and cross-roads, where gods or demons were supposed to have their abode. But the Church regarded them askance, and erected crucifixes at such places to break the evil spell. The magic which enjoyed the Church's approval naturally gave the preference to consecrated spots, churches, and chapels, or clung to their neighbourhood in churchyards.

During the preparations the purpose must never be forgotten; the Lord's Prayer must be recited during the collection of herbs; the manufacture of wax effigies must be accompanied by the express declaration of the purpose for which they are to serve. Great stress is always laid, as in the Church's sacramental teaching, on the intention. Certain conditions regulated the material employed. For amulets the skin of unborn calves (*pergamentum virgineum*), and, next to it, leather from a lion's skin were most valued; for curses, leaden tablets or old potsherds. Things taken from a churchyard or a gallows were precious to black magic, especially if they were stolen or acquired by irregular means.

(2) *Manner of application.*—According to the nature of the effect contemplated, the application of a charm may be a single act or the establishment of a permanent condition; protective charms are thus permanently operative. The mere fact of their presence is sufficient, and there is no need for them to be seen, known of, or believed in. Fertility of the land is also secured by the mere presence of relics (*e.g.* the relics of SS. Abdon and Sennen in Arles), without the necessity of special processions at every season. It is, indeed, presumed that reverence is paid to them, and the omission to celebrate their festivals may have evil consequences. Apulia was punished by St. Mark with drought for this reason. Neglect can turn a beneficent charm into a source of injury.

But generally the application of a charm pro-

ceeded through a number of actions, carrying, touching, etc. (see 5 A (2)), and, above all, through recitation (*ib.* (3)). These ceremonies generally bore the character of a senseless hocus-pocus, calculated only to impress the superstitious. But originally they must have been inspired by magic thoughts, *i.e.* by the desire to work upon the spirits. How much actual fraud they contain, and whether the charm-working magicians themselves believed in the efficacy and necessity of all their operations or practised with fraudulent intention upon the credulity of their adepts, are questions which altogether elude the researches of scientific inquiry.

(3) *Manner of working.*—The working of a charm is generally conceived to follow immediately *ex opere operato*: the amulet protects, the spell banishes the disease, the love-potion works love, and so on. Belief in their efficacy on the part of those who use them is, of course, assumed; but it was originally supposed that they could work upon people who neither knew of them nor believed in them. Only afterwards, when the desired effect failed to appear, the explanation offered itself that unbelief on the other side hindered the working; but generally failure was attributed to a counter-charm. The instructions often reckon with the possibility that the effect may not be immediate, and in such cases direct more frequent repetition, a stronger formula, or the adoption of an additional charm. The experience that not every charm is at once efficacious was the cause of the multiplication and mixing of different charms and formulæ.

It is an important principle, moreover, that the charm does not work directly only upon the person to whom it is applied. It was possible to undergo the ordeal as a substitute for another; and there is an instance of some water which had been poured over a copy of the prayer of St. Paul being administered vicariously to the messenger who announced that some one else had been bitten by a snake (Vassiliev, 331).

The working is often subject to certain conditions. St. Benedict freed a cleric from a demon so long as he neither ate flesh nor performed priestly functions; so soon as he broke either of these conditions, the demon again took possession of him. Bartels calls this making terms with the devil. Those who made such compacts rejoiced to outwit the foolish devil by fixing an impossible date for his return, *e.g.* when Christ is born again of Mary, or when Christ shall write a new Gospel.

On the other hand, it is demanded in many cases that a time-limit shall be set to the working of the spell, which must be loosed at a certain moment: *e.g.* in the enchantment of wasps, which must last only so long as the peasant is out in the fields with his cattle. Then the wasps must be freed, that their lives may be preserved.

The science of the *Aufklarung* declared all these charm-workings to be humbug, ghost-stories, old wives' tales, and completely devoid of reality. But Romanticism took a new interest in them, set about collecting the materials, and to some extent revived beliefs in their actuality. The modern science of religion has no cause to deny that in many cases a real effect was wrought; but it seeks to explain such effects psychologically by suggestion, physiologically by the action of narcotics, and so forth. The important task which must first be accomplished is to collect and arrange the abundant material, not overlooking the differences amongst the many similar phenomena occurring in different races and at different times, and with great caution to determine the mutual influences of the different civilizations.

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On § 5 C (12): K. Schwarzlose, *Bilderstreit*, 1890; E. von Dobschütz, 'Christusbilder' (*TU*, new series, iii.), 1898; E. A. Stückelberg, *Schweiz. Archiv für Volkskunde*, i. (1897) 77.

On § 6 (3): S. Singer, 'Wirksamkeit der Besegnungen' (*Schweiz. Archiv für Volkskunde*, i. [1897] 202 ff.).

Besides the Journals already mentioned, see *FLJ*, 1883 ff.; *FL*, 1890 ff.; *Mélusine*, 1877 ff. (Gaidoz); *Rev. des trad. populaires*, 1886 ff.; *La Tradition*, 1887 ff.; *Archivio per le tradizioni popolari*, 1882 ff.; *Rivista delle tradizioni popolari italiane*, 1893 ff. (de Gubernatis); *Ztschr. für österr. Volkskunde*, 1895 ff. (Haberlandt).

E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Egyptian).—

Egyptian religion is so intermingled with magic, that it is difficult to separate the properly religious elements from mere charms and incantations. Magical spells or charms occur in considerable numbers. We have whole books of them, and they often appear in the medical papyri.

If we consider first the spells which have chiefly *a protective character*, the so-called magic papyrus Harris furnishes good examples of them. It consists of two parts. The title of the first is: 'Chapter of the songs which disperse the immerged' (*i.e.* all dangerous animals lurking in the water). The spell is a long hymn to the god Shu:

'Hail to thee, divine flesh of Ra, elder son issued from his ody, selected by him previous to his birth.'

The hymn is interesting by reason of its style, and of what we learn about the religious doctrine, in sentences such as this:

'O unique Lord issuing from the Nu (water)! O divine substance self-created! O maker of the substance which is in himself!'

Sometimes his defensive power is alluded to:

'Thou repellest the crocodile coming out of the abyss, in that name which is thine, Repeller of Crocodiles.'

The reptile itself is addressed:

'Stand back, crocodile Maka, son of Set, do not steer with thy tail, do not move thy arms, do not open thy mouth; be the waters before thee turned to a burning fire.'

Occasionally we find a rubric like this:

'This chapter is recited, an egg from . . . being given into the hand of a person at the prow of the boat; anything coming out of the water is thrown again into the water.'

All the first part contains formulæ for closing the mouth of the crocodile and preventing dangerous beings from coming out of the water. The second part, called 'Book of the spells for remaining in the country,' is meant to protect the inhabitants of the country against wild beasts, such as lions, hyænas, and leopards. Regarding neither of the two parts do we know by whom it is to be read, or on what occasion it may be effective. Magical spells of the same description are found, more or less, among all nations of antiquity, and are not peculiar to Egypt.

Another kind of charms may be called *medical spells*. They are intended to ensure that a remedy shall be effective. We find many examples in the medical papyri, the largest of which, the papyrus Ebers, has been called the pharmacopœia of the ancient Egyptians. The following formula dispels white spots from the eyes:[1]

'When there is thunder in the southern sky in the evening, and storm in the northern sky; when the pillar falls into the water, then the seamen of Ra flourish their stakes, but their heads fall into the water. Who is it who will bring and find them? I am he who brings them, I am he who has found them. I bring you your heads and I raise your necks. When I have put in its place every thing which has been cut off from you, then I shall bring you that you may expel the god of fever and of death. To be said over the brain of a turtle mixed with honey which is put on the eyes.'

Here is one which seems to act by its own magical power.[2] It is taken from a collection of such spells:

'Another incantation for the head. The head belongs to Horus, and the place of the head to Thoth. My mother Isis and her sister Nephthys are keeping watch over me. They give my head. . . . This chapter is said over threads made in knots and put on the left foot of a man.'

We might quote a great number of similar charms. A papyrus of the Museum in Berlin contains nothing but spells for the birth of a child, for the milk of the mother, and for illnesses of the infant.[3] Generally there are mythical allusions, often very fragmentary and obscure; then comes a rubric like this:

'This spell is to be said over three beads—one of lapis-lazuli, another of jasper, and another of malachite—threaded together; they are to be hung to the neck of a child.'

We hardly understand the mythical names or allusions which are contained in those spells; and it is doubtful whether the Egyptians themselves understood them better. We must remember that it is the characteristic of magical words to be obscure and mysterious; otherwise they would lose most of their virtue.

A curious kind of incantations are those which consist not of more or less disconnected sentences, but of a myth or story with a definite purpose.

We hear, for instance, of the goddess Isis, who desired to be equal in power with her father Ra.[4] The only means of having her wish fulfilled was to know the mysterious and hidden name of her father. She therefore devised a stratagem. She caused Ra to be bitten by a serpent; the pain of the wound was so intolerable that the voice of the old king reached the sky and all the gods flocked around him. Ra is described as expatiating at great length upon his sufferings, which the crafty goddess does not attempt to relieve until her father consents to be searched by her, so that she may get hold of his mysterious name. Then only does she call on the venom to go out of the body of Ra. The narrative ends here; but we are told that this story is to be said to, or, as the Egyptians say, over, figures of Tum, Horus, and Isis, which will thus be made talismans against the serpents. This story is to be written also on the piece of cloth put around the neck of a person. It is then a powerful remedy.

[1] Pap. Ebers, pt. lviii. 7.

[2] Pleyte, *Étude sur un rouleau magique du Musée de Leyde*, 1866, p. 54.

[3] Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, 1901.

[4] Lefébure, 'Un chapitre de la chronique solaire,' *ZÄ*, 1883.

We see that the purpose of this myth is not literary; it is medical, as is the case with several Egyptian myths. We might quote another, where Horus, the son of Isis, is restored to light by Thoth. This narrative is said to be a talisman used by the inhabitants of Buto against bites of scorpions and serpents.[1] This is undoubtedly the most interesting class of charms, since in a certain measure they bear a literary character, which we did not find before, and which does not exist in the most common kind of spells, the amulets.

An *amulet* is properly an ornament with a magical power, which is worn as a preservative against mischief and evil. This definition would hardly apply to the considerable number of objects which are found in Egyptian tombs, and which very often are models on a small scale of tools or instruments of ordinary life. Generally the name 'amulets' has been applied to a great part of the paraphernalia which are given to the mummy, or drawn on the coffin of the deceased and on the walls of the tomb. It is not every one of these objects that possesses magic influence; they are not all supposed to be preservatives or to be symbols. They certainly were not so at the beginning. In later times they assumed a religious meaning, and became either magical or symbolical. Thus we read in a Roman text from the temple of Denderah, that, on the festival of the burial of Osiris, 104 amulets made of gold and precious stones were given to him. Every one of them was supposed to have a special virtue which we do not know; in the case of most of them, we are not in possession of the mystical formulæ explaining why they were amulets and what was their meaning. When these formulæ are extant, as is the case with several mentioned in the Book of the Dead, we can hardly say that we fully understand them, and that we have discovered the esoteric meaning. The words under which this meaning is hidden are simple enough, but the translation does not always yield a really intelligible sense.

Most of the Egyptian amulets are destined either for the dead, whose life in the other world they are to influence, or for the gods, to whom they are as necessary as to mortals. In order to understand the benefit conferred on the deceased by his amulets, it is necessary to consider briefly the ideas of the Egyptians as to a future life.

The human personality was not regarded as single; it consists of four, or even more, elements, but the most important are three: the body, the soul, and a third, called by the Egyptians the *ka*—a word which has been translated in various ways: 'the double,' 'the living image,' 'the genius' of each man, which springs into existence at the same time as himself and grows with him. The *ka* is not always seen; nevertheless, it always accompanies a living man, and, when it is represented, it often assumes his exact appearance. It is what the Greeks would call his εἴδωλον. Very often also the *ka* is spoken of as present, though invisible, or there is a symbol in its stead.

The *ka* was believed to be an indispensable constituent of every being which had life; the gods and the kings were even supposed to have more than one—as many as fourteen. After having been indissolubly united during life, *ka* and body were separated at death; the body was mummified and placed in a coffin; the *ka* became independent, and continued to live in the other world. Since it could not restore life to the body, it was supposed to animate the statues which were in the tombs, and on which it rested. The *ka* was the living element of the human being; but its existence was conditional upon that of the body. If the body was destroyed either by violence or by corruption, the *ka* also would perish, and the whole personality would disappear. This was the motive for mummification, and for the care which the Egyptians took to preserve the body, because thereby the continuance of the life of the *ka* in the other world was ensured. Occasionally the *ka* might visit the embalmed body and enjoy the gifts and offerings of all kinds which were brought to the tomb.

During life, the *ka*, though not seen, is inseparable from the body. It is even its most powerful preservative, its best talisman. It is supposed to be always behind the person. We very often see it represented as following the king in the form of a man of smaller size, having in his hand a cane, at the top of which is a head. The head is sometimes surmounted by the hieroglyphical signs meaning 'royal *ka*.' In many cases it has the symbolic form of a fan, which is made of feathers or assumes the shape of a leaf. The fan is often the substitute for the whole person, and is placed on a throne; but it is constantly seen as the protecting *ka*; *e.g.* in battle scenes, where a fan is certainly out of place, it is sculptured over the head of the fighting king. When the *ka* is absent, it is very rare for the formula to be omitted declaring that its protecting power surrounds the king.

Since the *ka* was to live for ever, it was desirable that its life should be as pleasant as possible, and that it should enjoy not only all the comforts and luxuries of its former existence, but additional ones. There was a certain, and comparatively easy, way of endowing the deceased with wealth and abundance. This was based on what is called imitative magic, the idea being that the representation of the image of an object causes it to come into existence. Everything has its *ka*, its double, which may exist in the other world like the *ka* of man. The mere fact of making a picture or a model of it, however small, is the means of calling it into existence in the other world—one might even say of creating it. The deceased does not like solitude; therefore wooden or porcelain figures will have to be put in his tomb, sometimes in great numbers, to constitute his society or his attendants. In the same way he will have to be provided with all kinds of objects of the ordinary life which the living *ka* will use—weapons, ornaments, musical instruments, tools for building, such as saws and knives, borers, the mason's square, and the level. These objects are generally called amulets; some of them, in the course of time, may have acquired a symbolical meaning, but the present writer believes that originally they were nothing but what the deceased was supposed to need in his new life.

One series is more directly connected with religious ideas; they are the insignia of Osiris, the king of the lower world, the judge before whom the deceased may have to appear. They consist of small models, in porcelain or hard stone, of the different diadems of the god, of his sceptres, and of his emblems of royal power. The motive for their being given to the deceased is that one of the numerous transformations he will have to undergo, one of the prospects he has before him, though it is not always necessary, is a complete assimilation to Osiris. 'I am Osiris, brother to Isis,' says the deceased. 'He who rescueth me, together with his mother, from all my adversaries, is my son Horus.' Since he will be a king, it is necessary that he should wear the crowns, and hold the sceptre and other emblems belonging to the sovereign of the lower world.

The life of the *ka* is not safe from all perils. It may be assailed by all kinds of genii or evil beings, endangering its existence, even threatening it with

[1] W. Golenischeff, *Die Metternichstele*, 1877.

destruction. In that respect the deceased is in the same condition as the gods themselves, especially Osiris, who every night is overcome and cut in pieces by his brother Set, and restored to life again by his son Horus. As preservatives, the *ka* uses magic formulæ or amulets, the most usual of which we shall now describe. The magic text referring to them is generally contained in the Book of the Dead.

The scarab is the image of the *Ateuchus sacer*, a kind of beetle very common in the region of the Mediterranean. The Egyptians supposed the scarabæus to be male, and to be born again from the egg which it had made alone. This we find expressed in the following way. Among the formulæ of praise to Ra, this god is called 'the beetle that folds its wings, that rests in the lower world, that is born of its own body'—or, as we should say, 'its own son.' The Greeks translated the Egyptian legend by *αὐτογενές ἐστι τὸ ζῶον*, as we know from Horapollo, and also by *ἐκ μόνου πατρὸς τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει ὁ κάνθαρος*. It is not surprising that this creature became the symbol of resurrection. There are scarabs of various sizes. Small ones are found by thousands in porcelain, steatite, and hard stones like cornelian or amethyst. They were deposited in the tombs with the mummies, but they were also worn by the living as ornaments that were considered to have a preservative virtue. Larger ones sometimes have figures engraved on their backs: the boat of the sun, Osiris with flail and crook, Harmakhis with a hawk's head. The large scarabs, which are sometimes as much as 5 ins. long, are chiefly the funereal or heart scarabs. When the deceased was mummified, the heart was taken out of the body to be embalmed separately, and afterwards either put in a so-called canopic vase—a jar with a cover in the shape of a jackal's head—or left on the legs and bandaged with them. The heart, as with other nations of antiquity, was supposed to be the seat of the moral side of the individual—one may even say of conscience, since it appears as the accuser. There are two words for 'heart': one meaning strictly the heart itself, and the other the heart with its envelopes, the cavity of the heart. It was necessary that the *ka* should have a heart; therefore there are no fewer than four chapters in the Book of the Dead relating to the heart; some of them even have two different versions. According to a papyrus, each of them is connected with a particular gem cut in the form of a heart and worn as an amulet: lapis-lazuli, green felspar (or opal), cornelian, and serpentine. We have amulets in the form of a heart; they are usually of cornelian. The magic words of these chapters are pronounced when the heart is supposed to be given, or rather restored, to the deceased; they prevent its being taken away after it has been put back in its place. One of these chapters is particularly important, since it refers to one of the most interesting scenes of the Book of the Dead—the judgment. The deceased appears before Osiris, who sits as judge. The heart is being weighed in a balance against the deceased himself, or, more frequently, against the emblem of the goddess of truth and justice. Then the deceased is supposed to appeal to his heart:

> 'Heart of my mother, heart of my birth, heart which I had on earth! do not rise as witness against me, do not be my adversary before the divine powers, let not there be a fall of the scale against me, in presence of him who keepeth the balance!' Further, the deceased invites his heart to 'come forth to the place of bliss towards which they go.'

This chapter, which is called 'The chapter of preventing the heart of the deceased from opposing him in the nether world,' is often engraved on a large scarab of green stone, put either outside or inside the chest, at the place of the heart. These large heart-scarabs are found in all museums. The Egyptians liked to give them to their dead. It was a token for them that they were justified, that their heart spoke truth, that their limbs were pure, that all their body was free from evil. When they had this scarab, they might exclaim: 'I am pure, I am pure.'

The question which naturally arises here is, Why did the Egyptians give the heart the form of a large scarab? The answer is that the scarab is the emblem of resurrection. The Egyptians considered that life proceeded from the heart; that this organ was the centre of vital power. It was, in fact, the living being which animated the whole body. Therefore they gave the heart the appearance of a being having life and motion by itself, whereas a heart of stone would have represented something quite motionless, and absolutely deprived of any activity. Scarab and heart are two amulets relating to the resurrection and the restoration and re-constitution of the body. To the same category may be assigned the *dad* and the buckle.

The *dad* has been explained in various ways. It has been called the four pillars which support the four corners of the sky. They are seen one behind the other, so that their capitals seem to be on the top of each other. Maspero thinks that in its original form the *dad* was the trunk of a tree from which sprang four cross branches cut short near the bole. Certain vignettes in the Book of the Dead seem to make it quite certain that the *dad* is a conventional way of representing the human skeleton, the backbone to which the ribs are attached and which stands on two legs. Frequently a human head wearing feathers is placed on this skeleton, and arms are attached to it, holding the insignia of Osiris. The *dad* has become the emblem of Osiris, as the buckle is that of Isis. The two figures are often used together as ornaments on shrines or furniture, or in religious sculptures, to indicate that the objects on which they are seen are under the protection of Osiris and Isis. As an amulet, the *dad* has an influence on the restoration of the deceased, as we know from the text which refers to it.[1] 'Here is thy backbone, O still heart. Here is thy spine, O still heart; I put it at thy place . . .' And the rubric says that, if this amulet is put on the neck of the deceased, he will be perfect and appear at the festivals of the New Year among the followers of Osiris. The *dad* to which this formula refers is made of gold. There are a great number in porcelain, and many in cornelian.

The buckle is generally red in colour, of cornelian or of glass. It is the emblem of Isis, and its effect is chiefly protective, as we know from the text.[2]

> 'The blood of Isis, the virtue of Isis, the magic power of Isis, are protecting this the Great One; they prevent any wrong being done to him. This chapter is said on a buckle of cornelian, dipped into the juice of the *ankhamu* plant, inlaid into the substance of sycomore-wood, and put on the neck of the deceased. Whoever has this chapter read to him, the virtue of Isis protects him; Horus, the son of Isis, rejoices in seeing him, and no way is barred to him.'

The *uza*, or sacred eye, is the human eye outlined with *kohl*. This amulet is, next to the scarab, the commonest of all. The eye has various meanings. It may be the right or the left one. Both eyes often occur at the top of the stelæ, as where they seem to represent the two periods of life, the ascending and the descending one. The two eyes of Ra are the sun and the moon. The 'filling of the eye' may be either the sun in the summer solstice, or the full moon. The eye of Horus gave birth to all useful substances—oil, wine, honey, sweet liquors, milk. It had an independent exist-

[1] Book of the Dead, ch. clv.
[2] *Ib.* ch. clvi.

ence. As an amulet the eye seems to have given to the living, as well as to the dead, health and soundness of sight. Maspero has shown that the figure of the eye, which is read *uza*, is an ideogram of the word *uza*, which means 'flourishing,' 'healthy.' Whoever wears this amulet will come out of all the dangers which might threaten his health, just as was the case with the eye of Ra. Chapter clxvii. of the Book of the Dead, which explains what is the virtue of the eye, mentions a wound having been inflicted on it by Ra. Another chapter speaks of the eye being in distress, or being obscured by a hairy net. It is probable that the eye is here a heavenly body, the moon, and that this is the mythical way of speaking of an eclipse. The eye is wounded by Ra; a shadow called the hairy net obscures her, but the shadow is removed, and, as she comes out quite sound and healthy, so will the wearer of the *uza* come out of all dangers. This seems to be the sense to be attributed to the text of ch. clxvii.: 'When Thoth had brought the eye, he appeased the eye; for, after Ra had wounded her, she was raging furiously; and then Thoth calmed her after she had gone away raging, "I am sound, she is sound, the deceased is sound."' Thoth appeased or calmed the eye, because, as we read in another chapter, not only did he deliver the eye from the veil of darkness which oppressed her, but he carried her off, 'in life, health, and strength, without any damage.' This effect the amulet will produce. The eye was bound on the knuckles, neck, or heart of the mummy, or placed within the abdomen. It is found in gold, lapis-lazuli, felspar, wood, glazed ware, and other materials.

The little green column belongs also, like the eye, to what might be called *figurative amulets*, the names of which represent the benefits conferred upon the wearer. The word *uaz*, the name of the column, means 'to be green,' 'to grow,' 'to sprout.' The amulet was generally made of a green stone such as felspar, and was put on the neck of the deceased. The formulæ referring to it, which constitute two chapters of the Book of the Dead, are very obscure. The effect of this amulet seems to be similar to that of the eye. He to whom it has been given is safe, and preserved from any injury or wound.

The head-rest or pillow is an object made of wood or of stone, and very often found in the tombs. It is used at the present day by the Nubian women to prevent their hair from draggling in the dust. We sometimes see mummies the heads of which are supported by such pillows. Miniature head-rests in hæmatite or other stones occur as amulets. They have generally been considered as the means whereby the deceased is assured of a peaceful slumber. The present writer believes the purpose of this amulet to be quite different. Its virtue is much more powerful; it is a token for the deceased that he will not be dismembered, and that his body will be raised up again quite intact like that of Osiris. The head-rest is a substitute for the stone heads which were sometimes put in the tombs during the Old Empire. They are both protests against the original custom of taking the body to pieces, of dismembering it as Set had done to Osiris. The proof of this lies in the fact that the chapter referring to the pillow is nearly identical with another called 'Chapter whereby the head of a person is not severed from him in the Netherworld.' It runs thus:

'Awake! Thy sufferings are allayed, thou art awaked, when thy head is above the horizon; stand up, thou art triumphant by means of what has been done to thee. . . . Thou art Horus, the son of Hathor, the flame born of a flame, to whom his head has been restored after it had been cut off. Thy head will never be taken from thee henceforth, thy head will never be carried away.'

Several amulets are ornaments, like the collar which the Book of the Dead says is to be made of gold and put on the neck of the deceased on the day of his burial. The words of ch. clviii. seem to be of a late date. We find the gift of a collar made not only to a deceased person, like King Seti I., but to the gods in general. When man or god has put it on, his nature changes; he becomes Tum, the great god of Heliopolis, and is addressed as such. Therefore we can hardly call the collar an amulet; like all the vestments and ornaments given to the gods, it has a magical sense and a magical effect. The collar is a ritualistic object, and has its place in the ceremonies of the worship of the gods and of the deceased.

The above are the most important and most common amulets. There are a great many more. Some of them are figures of a god or a goddess, like the vulture, or the frog—which seems to be an emblem of immortality. Others are figurative, like the cartouche, which stands for the name. The name is indissolubly linked with the personality; 'creator of one's name' means 'creator of one's person.' There are many, like the two fingers, whose meaning is unknown to us. It seems evident that, in Greek and Roman times, the number of amulets increased considerably, or rather that a magical sense was attributed to many objects of common use. Egyptian religion under the Roman Empire was known chiefly through its magic.

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ED. NAVILLE.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Greek).—The use of charms and amulets among the Greeks, as among all other peoples, is to be derived from the desire of influencing the course of nature or events, of creating or counteracting certain effects. This sort of influence is regarded at a later stage as supernatural; but, no doubt, a primitive people saw nothing supernatural in it. There are three categories of such influence, all of which may be found simultaneously in use: certain words, certain actions, and certain objects or their image, for to primitive belief an object and its image are identical. For us the third category only is important.

The reasons why certain objects are used as charms or amulets are various. There are a great many objects which are regarded as endowed by nature with special forces. (They are not, however, on that account to be considered as habitations of gods or souls [cf. Kropatscheck, *De amuletorum usu*, p. 18; Abt, 'Amulette,' in Schiele, *Religion*, i. 1908, 448].) The great number of ways in which it was possible to make use of certain charms proves that their powers were not confined to one kind of effect only. Apion, *e.g.*, taught (Pliny, *HN* xxx. 18) that the herb *cynocephalia* was potent against every kind of magic spell (cf. *ib.* xxiv. 103, 'contra perniciem omnem'). Furthermore, we must lay stress upon the fact that the same means that are used to attract blessings are, at the same time, able to dispel ill luck. Where there is good luck, ill luck cannot enter; and health enters where illness has been driven out.

The common snapdragon (ἀντίρρινον) is a remedy against sorcery, if worn round the neck; it beautifies, if applied as an ointment, together with oil from the lily (Dioscorides, *De mat. med.* iv. 131 [130 Wellm.]). One remedy against sorcery is to drink a tea of peonies; on the other hand, this tea promotes the secretion of milk for nursing women (Pradel, 'Griech. Gebete,' *op. cit. infra*, iii. 367). The agate renders fields fertile ([Orpheus], *Lith.* 238 ff.), and athletes invincible (Plin. xxxvii. 142); and it possesses manifold other apotropæic and magic forces (*ib.* 139 ff.). Cf. also the promise of Priapus, in an inscription on a rock of Thera (*IG* xii. 3, 421*c*), to bring the inhabitants of the island unbounded wealth and to be their companion-in-arms.

Thus there is no fundamental difference between the apotropæic amulet and the charm with its power to attract the positive blessing (φάρμακον, cf. Abt, 'Apol. des Apulejus,' *op. cit. infra*, iv. 186 ff.; W. Havers, 'φυσικόν,' *Indogerm. Forsch.* xxv. [1909] 375 ff., cf. Weidlich, *Sympathie in der antiken Litteratur*, p. 68). It is, however, conceivable that a certain differentiation soon took place, and that the amulet came to play a much more important part than the object used as a charm. For, in order to attain a positive effect, one makes use of a momentary magic device; but, if one desires to be safe at every moment against every kind of evil, one must make the magic remedy a constant one; and this explains the fact that the number of amulets far outweighs that of charms. As the amulet was mostly worn on a cord, the Greeks called it περίαμμα, περίαπτον, περιδέραιον (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 10). But this is not the only thing the ancients designate by the word 'amulet'; the term comprises everything that is used for protection against any kind of harm. In this sense the amulet is called φυλακτήριον, ἀποτρόπαιον, ἀλεξιφάρμακον, etc. Thus we find this word applied to everything we are accustomed to term 'apotropæic.' And, last of all, the same remedies that have a prophylactic use, *e.g.*, to protect against an illness, are used to cure the disease when it has set in; and we often find that in such a case the remedy against the illness that has already developed is worn as an amulet in its more restricted sense, on a ribbon round the neck (Jahn, *SSGW*, 1855, pp. 40, 43; Heim, *op. cit. infra*, p. 506, cf. *ib.* no. 132 with 507, 133; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 42). We thus see that the vast domain of popular medicine bears the closest affinity to our subject, and therefore a minute classification of their different functions cannot be attempted here when discussing the several charms. The detailed analysis of each case, which would be necessary, has never yet been undertaken, and would not be possible within the scope of this article. A full treatise on popular medicine is contained in the article DISEASE AND MEDICINE.

In all probability there was originally hardly anything, animate or inanimate, to which men did not attribute some specific force. Kropatscheck (*op. cit.* 20) is right in saying that there is hardly anything existent that has not at some time been used as an amulet; cf. also a like remark by Otto Jahn about the animals endowed with powers of magic (*op. cit.* 100). Magic functions were probably often specialized by means of differentiation. In other cases a charm had a special function to begin with, based on the popular idea of sympathy and antipathy of most, perhaps even all, animate and inanimate things in the world (cf. Weidlich, *op. cit. passim*). Lemon and cucumber, fig and rue, are good friends; therefore the lemon thrives better if cucumber is planted in its vicinity (Pallad. iv. 10, 15), and the rue grows more abundantly under the shade of the fig-tree (*ib.* 9, 14). Cabbage and vine do not agree, therefore one must eat cabbage to be safe from inebriety (Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Aberglaube,' pp. 58, 62 ff.). The scorpion fears the lizard; its bite is therefore cured with a remedy in which the lizard plays a part (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 21). The charms whose effect can be described by the words 'similia similibus' bear a close affinity to these (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 44, 1). The yellow bird Charadrios or Ikteros (Riess, *op. cit.* 69, 2; 73, 68; Weidlich, *op. cit.* 56) is a help against jaundice, but the bird itself perishes (a case of transferred illness). A specific against headache is an olive-leaf tied round the head and bearing the name of Athene, who sprang from the head of Zeus (*Geopon.* ix. 1, 5), or a herb grown on the head of a statue (Riess, *op. cit.* 59, 26); against colic, the hair from the belly of a hare (Marcell. Empir. xxix. 35); against disease of the eye, the eye of a fish (Ael. *Nat. An.* xxiv. 15); against toothache, the corresponding tooth of a dead horse (Plin. *HN* xxviii. 181). A positive influence is reached on the same principle: the tongue of a frog makes the woman suspected of adultery speak the truth (Plin. xxxii. 79); urine from a eunuch stops fertility (Plin. xxviii. 65); the sinews of a crane are a help against fatigue (Plin. xxx. 149). The mere name of an object is also sufficient to make it suitable for certain sympathetic purposes (Apul. *de Mag.* 34 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 213 f.). Thus the plant called *lysimachia* is used to calm a quarrelsome team of horses (Plin. xxv. 72); the *satyrion* excited sexual desire (Riess, *op. cit.* 65, 18); the amethyst was a remedy against drunkenness (Abt, *op. cit.* 214, 4). Occasionally also its magic use may have been the reason for giving the object its name.

A number of charms owed their efficacy to the place at which they were to be found. Thus it was related that the famous athlete Milon of Kroton had rendered himself invincible by means of stones, the size of a pea, which had all been found in the stomachs of cocks (Plin. xxxvii. 144); a stone found in the stomach of a hen helps soldiers to courage and victory (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 61); concerning stones from the stomachs of swallows, cf. Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 24 f. A grain found in the horns of snails makes teething easy (Plin. xxx. 136). A bone out of a horse's heart helps against toothache (Plin. xxviii. 181); a stone that 'grows' in the Nile, of a pea-like aspect (cf. above, the stone of Milon), is a charm against barking of dogs and frenzy. Perhaps the latter example is already influenced by the idea of the sacredness of the place, which is expressed when a plant growing on a boundary or a crossway is considered to possess magic power (Riess, *op. cit.* 47, 5. 24). A similar notion underlies the belief that a plant from the margin of a stream or river is a remedy against tertian fever (Plin. xxiv. 170); the power of flowing water which cleanses and washes away all evil (Abt, *op. cit.* 114, 7) allows the beneficent powers of the plants to develop undisturbed. In like manner, whatever has come into contact with lightning is endued with special powers. Wood struck by lightning helps against toothache (Plin. xxviii. 45); the stone *ceraunia* is sought after by magicians, because it is found only in places that have been struck by lightning (Plin. xxxvii. 135).

Anything connected with death or the dead has a special importance in magic (Riess, *op. cit.* 92, 13; Fahz, *op. cit. infra*, ii. 148 ff.; Abt, *op. cit.* 268, 5). Human bones and skulls (Abt, *op. cit.* 215) are used for various magic manipulations; with a torch from the funeral pyre of a dead man dogs are silenced (Ael. *Nat. An.* i. 38); a garment worn at a funeral is safe from moths (Plin. xxviii. 33); the words of an imprecation become especially potent when engraved on the fragment of a tombstone (Wünsch

in Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 1898–1900, pp. 173, 187). The influence of uncanny objects connected with a dead body was greatly enhanced when the death had been a violent one (Riess, *op. cit.* 92, 50). The underlying idea seems to be twofold: on the one hand, it was supposed that the remains of a βιαιοθάνατος retain something of the full vital energies that were his up to the moment of his sudden death (Riess, *op. cit.* 92, 51); and again, that one who has died before his time, and still longs for life, lets his demonic powers pass with greater energy into this world. When the eye-tooth of an unburied corpse is prescribed as an amulet against toothache (Plin. xxviii. 45), the latter thought is uppermost; the unburied man, too, has no peace, but hankers after life in this world; and so do the ἄωροι (cf., for these notions, Norden, *Æneis*, vi. [1903] 10 ff.). Everything that has any connexion with the βιαιοθάνατος has special powers—the rope of the hanged person, or a nail from the cross. Even the place where the man died is charged with a power that can be transferred; hence diseased pigs were fed with oats that had lain at such a place for a night (Plin. xxviii. 8); in a love-charm of the Parisian magic papyri (Fahz, *op. cit.* 167, l. 4), one is told to throw some of the dirt from such a place into the room of the beloved. When, according to the London magic papyrus (121, l. 657 f., Wessely), some relic from a stranded ship is required, we again meet with the notion that, where uncanny powers have been at work, special magic forces attach themselves to the objects concerned.

Many charms have an apotropæic character only. Foremost among these are the images of ghastly forms intended to paralyze the menacing evil charm; above all, the Gorgoneion (Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie*, 1906, p. 902, 3; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 27, 5; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 262, 3), and its counterpart, the head of Phobos (Weizsäcker in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Phobos'; Wolters, *op. cit.* 269 ff.); cf. also the apotropæic face on the back of a leaden amulet (*Rev. des ét. gr.* v. [1892] 79). The curious (ἄτοπα) and ridiculous (γελοῖα) preventives (Jahn, *op. cit.* 66 f.) of which Plutarch (*Qu. Conv.* p. 681 f.) and Pollux (vii. 108) speak belong to this group—caricatures and the like, with regard to which the present writer would suggest that the apotropæic character of the ridiculous may have originated at the very moment when the formidable phantom came to be considered a mere grimace (cf. also Perdrizet, 'L'Hippalektryon,' *Rev. des ét. anc.* vi. 7 ff.; Wace, 'Grotesques and the Evil Eye,' *British School Annual*, x. [1905] 103 ff.).

Another method of protecting oneself against incantation is to turn the tables against the enemy by bringing him into subjection. His evil intents are thus, in a way, forestalled. A species of grasshopper was said to be infested with the evil eye (Jahn, *op. cit.* 36, 30), and its image was erected on the Acropolis by Pisistratus (*ib.* 37, 31; cf. Weinreich, 'Ant. Heilungswunder,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* VIII. i. 162 ff.). The hail, which was pernicious to the peasant's harvest, was a preventive of thunder if hailstones were put into the hatching-straw (Colum. viii. 5, 12; perhaps specifically Roman). The owl, on the one hand, was considered a bird of evil omen (Riess, *op. cit.* 70, 23; cf. Perdrizet, 'Le folklore de la chouette,' *Bull. de la société nat. des antiquaires de France*, 1903); but, on the other hand, it was a protective against hail (Pallad. i. 35, 1). The clearest example of this kind of protection by forestalling the enemy is that of the apotropæic eye. This does not oppose the evil eye with the power of the 'good eye' (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Fascinum,' p. 987), but it defeats it with its own weapons, and keeps off all kinds of evil powers (cf. also Wolters, *op. cit.* 269 f.). The idea that he who carries upon him parts of a dog is safeguarded against dogs must be interpreted differently (cf. Riess, *op. cit.* 73, 12); for it originates in the belief that whosoever has power over a part can conquer the whole. In both cases like is dispelled by like. But the like can also repair the misfortune that has occurred (Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* 669). The most famous example of this belief is the tale of Telephos (ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται). The bite of a shrew-mouse is healed by a shrew-mouse, and best healed by the same shrew-mouse (Plin. xxix. 89; Riess, *op. cit.* 80, 30). And the close connexion of this belief with that mentioned before is best illustrated by the fact that a live shrew-mouse in a clay casket was worn round the neck as an amulet against the bite of these animals (Riess, *op. cit.* 80, 32).

We mentioned above that words and actions, formulæ and rites, came within the scope of magic charms, as well as objects. They do not in themselves belong to the matter here treated, but cannot be ignored in so far as they have become fixed objects, *i.e.* the actions are depicted, the words written down.

To these apotropæic figures belong the numerous scenes in which an eye is represented as surrounded by hostile animals and men (Bienkowski, 'Malocchio,' *Eranos Vindobonensis* [1893], 285 ff.; *Arch. Anz.* [1903] 20; *Oesterreich. Jahresh.* vi. [1903], Beiblatt, p. 23, fig. 3; Wolters, *op. cit.* 263, 1). The evil eye is to be robbed of its powers by the fixed representation of the attack against it. This is still more effective than the using of these animals as amulets, for by means of the image of the eye itself the evil eye is imprisoned and spellbound.

When on the marble block from Xanthus a *phallus* is threatened instead of the eye (Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 289), this is probably due to an inadvertent adherence to the former scheme. Occasionally the eye is pierced by a lance. This brings us to the picture of Herakles throttling the lion, found on an amulet against colics (Heim, *op. cit.* 481, 60). The same image is used for the protection of vegetables against weeds, ὀσπρολέων (*Geopon.* ii. 42, 2), where the sympathy of name also has some weight. A protective against gout shows the image of Perseus with the head of Medusa (Heim, *op. cit.* 480 f., 59). On Byzantine amulets, Solomon on horseback, piercing with a lance the female demon of disease, who lies on the ground, is a favourite theme (Schlumberger, *Rev. des ét. gr.* v. [1892] 73 ff.; Perdrizet, *ib.* xvi. [1903] 42 ff.). Cf. the encounter of Michael with Βασκανία (the personification of witchcraft) in a new amulet-text (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* [1904], 297 ff.); and the legend told, in Abyssinian magic-scrolls, of the saint Sūsneyōs, who kills the witch Werzelyā from his horse, because she caused his child's death; see also, in the same scrolls, the scene depicted in closest analogy to the Solomon pictures (Worrell, *ZA* xxiii. [1909] 165, and pl. ii. 4). On the marble relief of Bedford, which formed the starting-point of Jahn's famous treatise on the superstition of the evil eye (*SSGW*, 1855, p. 28 ff.), a man sits above the eye with bare hind part, in an unmistakable attitude (Jahn, *op. cit.* iii. 1, p. 86 ff.). This is generally explained as a sign of disdain, and classed along with the baring or depicting of the genitalia in order to ward off a spell (Jahn, *op. cit.* 68 ff.; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 896, 1; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 27, 4; Abt, *op. cit.* 211, 14; *Thera*, iii. [1904] 186). The obscene female figures of Naukratis (*JHS* xxv. [1905] 128) belong to the same category (against J. E. Harrison's opinion, who explains the gesture of Baubo as a προβασκάνιον [*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 1903, p. 570, note 1]; cf. Diels, *Miscellanea Salinas*, 1907,

p. 9, 1). In the same way as the uncovering of the genitalia may be replaced by special imitative gestures with the hand (*digitus infamis* and *fica*), so, too, the *fica* is formed into an apotropæic object. Shells are also considered images of the *cunnus* (Jahn, *op. cit.* 80; Abt, *op. cit.* 211, 15). The present writer doubts whether the original purpose of this kind of apotropaia was to express disgust or disdain. He would prefer to bring them into relation with the 'Zauber der Körperöffnungen' (cf. Preuss, *Globus*, 86, 321 ff.). Those who wish to retain the notion of disdain as the prominent one must ascribe these apotropaia to a later stage of development; primitive humanity certainly had no comprehension of this feeling. The ithyphallic apotropaion (Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. 262, 263, 266 ff., pl. x. f.) must be explained differently, as is already indicated by its much more frequent occurrence, compared with that of the anithyphallic (hardly correct; Jahn, *op. cit.* 73) and female (Jahn, *op. cit.* 79) apotropaion. The ithyphallic apotropaion is a symbol of strength, blessing, luck. On the Pompeian house a phallus was depicted with the inscription: 'Hic habitat felicitas' (Heim, *op. cit.* 510, 143). Where there is good fortune, misfortune cannot enter, as we have already remarked (cf. also Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, ii. [1905] 2, 405; Schwenck, *Myth. d. Röm.* 1855, p. 141; *ARW* x. [1907] 296 f.). Strength, or the image of any kind of strength, has apotropæic power (cf. also Prott, *ARW* ix. [1906] 93); therefore Herakles is the dispeller of evil *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Thus Priapus also has changed from a god of fertility into a protector of gardens, and—yet another change—into a scarecrow!

Like the magic act, the magic word also becomes fixed. It is written on different substances, and, as durability was desired, small metal tablets were preferred, especially as this substance heightened the magic power. Thus we find the use of gold, silver, and tin (Siebourg, *Bonn. Jahrb.* ciii. [1898] 125 f., 134 ff., cf. *ib.* cxviii. [1909] 158; Audollent, *Defix. Tab.*, Paris, 1904, p. xxxiv ff.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 25; Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 24), lead (in harmful incantations; Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* [1897] p. iii, *Seth. Verfluchungstafeln* [1898], 72, 76; Audollent, *op. cit.* p. xlvii ff.), stones and linen (Wünsch, 'Antikes Zaubergerät,' *Archæol. Jahrb.*, Ergänzungsheft vi. 39), sherds (Pradel, *op. cit.* 379, 1), shells (Abt, *op. cit.* 218 f.), and also the less durable papyrus (Wilcken, *APF* i. 420 ff.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 26 f.; cf. *Geopon.* xiii. 5, 4). The words written down were various kinds of magic formulæ (cf. art. MAGIC), 'Ephesia Grammata' (Wessely, *Ephesia Grammata*, 1886; Weidlich, *op. cit.* 64 f.; Wünsch, *Seth. Verfl.* 80; Audollent, *op. cit.* p. lxvii; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 884, 2; Tambornino, 'De antiquorum dæmonismo,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* VII. iii. 80; W. Schultz, *Philol.* lxviii. [1909] 210 ff.), alphabets (Dieterich, *Rhein. Mus.* lvi. [1901] 77 ff., *Mithrasliturgie*[2], 1910, p. 221), anagrams (Heim, *op. cit.* 530, 1; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.' p. 36), cryptograms and *isopsepha* (Prentice, *Amer. Journ. of Archæol.* x. [1906] 146 ff.), Homeric verses (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 18. 29; Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 2 ff.). Their place was taken, in Christian times, by Psalms (Pradel, *op. cit.* 381) and texts from the Gospels (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 29); also whole prayers, sometimes of considerable length, were written down for magic purposes (*ib.* 30 ff., cf. *ZA* xxiii. [1909] 158 ff.). Sometimes the texts were written from right to left (Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* p. iv; Münsterberg, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* vii. [1904] 143), or some other game was played with the letters (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.' 28 f.); a triangle of magic import is formed by writing down a magic word as many times as the word has letters, and always dropping a letter in each word till only one is left (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 29). In the Egyptian room of the National Museum of Athens (no. 864) the present writer saw an amulet on which the anagram ΑΚΑΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΑΚΑ[1] had been formed into a triangle by the successive subtraction of the first and last six letters. Besides formulæ, the names of powerful gods are found (Jahn, *op. cit.* 45 ff.; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 19, note); above all, that of the great Jewish God Iao (Abt, *op. cit.* 254, 1). Mere knowledge of the name has the power to protect (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 19 f.). The Jewish angels, too, have this power (Prentice, *op. cit.* 143), as well as the spirits of the planets, which are designated by the seven vowels *α ε η ι ο υ ω* (Heim, *op. cit.* 540, note; Siebourg, *Bonn. Jahrb.* ciii. 140 ff.; Audollent, *op. cit.* p. lxxiii; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' 29 f.). Instead of words we also find special magic symbols on magic objects, the so-called 'characters' (Audollent, *op. cit.* p. lxxii), whose affinity to Egyptian hieroglyphics has been traced by Wünsch ('Ant. Zauberg.' 31 ff.). In many cases the substance itself, on which the magic words are engraved, is endowed with magic power, so that the effect is heightened, and still more so if there are magic emblems in addition to words. Kropatscheck (*op. cit.* 35 f.) holds that magic objects obtained power only through the medium of the words engraved on them, and that afterwards the formulæ (or symbols) were omitted, and the objects alone worn as amulets. But this is certainly not the case, for surely some objects had magic power attributed to them at the outset, without their bearing a single magic inscription.

Another group comes within our scope, which we would term 'derived charms.' The idea connected with them is that of spell-binding. The nail which is used on manifold occasions to fasten some evil, or to lame an enemy, finally becomes imbued with magic forces. Thus, for example, iron nails protect the hatching-nests of hens against thunder (Riess, *op. cit.* 50, 60).

Numerous magic nails of this kind have been preserved down to our time (Jahn, *op. cit.* 106 ff.; Hubert in Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Magia,' p. 1508, 25; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 895, 7; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 25, 5; Prentice, *op. cit.* 144). The specimen from the Asklepieion of Paros, with the inscription ΠΥΡ (*Athen. Mitt.* xxvii. [1902] 229), seems to have the special mission of protecting against fire.

The key plays much the same part as the nail. As the action of locking in bears an affinity to that of spell-binding, the key becomes endowed with magic powers. In order to protect a field against hail, many keys from different buildings are tied all round it (*Geopon.* i. 14, 6; cf. also Heim, *op. cit.* 541, 236 f.). The use of the thread and knot goes still further (Frazer, *GB*[2] i. 392 ff.; Hubert, *op. cit.* 1508, 23; Wolters, *ARW* viii. [1905], Usenerheft, 1 ff.; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 885, 6–8; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 25; Abt, *op. cit.* 148 ff.). More especially, coloured, three-coloured, and red threads were preferred as enhancing the effect (cf., besides the above, Deubner, *De incub.*, 1900, p. 25; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 70). Whatever is enclosed by a ribbon, thread, rope, or the like, is, according to very ancient belief, thereby safeguarded against every kind of evil. The evil cannot step over the magic boundary. For this reason the thread or ribbon itself acquires magic importance, possessing not only apotropæic, but also positive, power. Only thus can we understand the rite whereby, in the case of an illness already present, the patient is fettered, and thus believed to be saved (cf. *e.g.* Diog. Laert. iv. 56). The influence of the knot must be explained differently. The knot is not really a derived charm, but a part of the action of binding which has been stereotyped, and by which the evil is fixed. The

[1] In this reading, instead of the usual *αβλαναθαναλβα*, the present writer has been confirmed by the kind verification of Dr. Karo.

same effect may be obtained by encircling limbs with threads, whereby the inimical force is likewise bound fast. The human limbs chosen for this ceremony play quite a secondary part. In this sense we must interpret Ælian (*Nat. An.* iv. 48), according to whom a furious bull can be pacified only if a man whose right knee is bandaged with a fillet goes to meet it. The same idea of binding predominates in the ring (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 255, 97; Frazer, *GB*² i. 401 f.; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.,' 42 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 16 f., 26, 1), for it is a band of metal. Aristophanes (*Plut.* 883 f.) is already acquainted with rings as potent against evil, and mentions the name of a man Eudamos (cf. schol. *ad loc.*) who traded in such rings. Alexander of Tralles recommends an iron ring, engraved with magic formulæ, as a charm against colics (Heim, *op. cit.* 480, 57); Schlumberger (*op. cit.* 85) reproduces a golden ring, engraved with a snake and 'Ephesia grammata,' Wünsch (*ARW* xii. [1909] 19) one in bronze; Teukros recommends rings, engraved with constellations, for apotropæic purposes (Westermann, *Paradoxogr.* [1839] 148, 3).

It is, of course, exceedingly difficult to determine in each case why the object in question has come into use as a charm or amulet. Often it is not for a single reason; a whole series of beliefs may attach to an object. A more detailed classification could be undertaken only on the basis of an exact and repeated analysis of the whole vast subject-matter. This work has still to be done, and requires careful studies in different forms of belief. The present writer must content himself with giving a summary of magic objects, in so far as they have not already been mentioned above.

[The Literature which is given in the following list is, as a rule, not mentioned elsewhere in the article.]

MINERALS AND THE LIKE: Moon-dew (*virus lunare*), perhaps only Roman (Dedo, *De antiquorum superstitione amatoria*, p. 3; Fahz, *op. cit.* 153); moon-shaped amulets (Jahn, *op. cit.* 42, 48); earth (Plin. xxix. 131; Marcell. Emp. xxxii. 20); Lemnian earth (*Ath. Mitt.* xxxi. [1906] 72 ff.), γῆ κρητηρία (*Pap. Lond.* cxxi. 169); Ebusian earth, earth from carriage-tracks and footmarks (Riess, *op. cit.* 46, 46 ff.); water (Riess, 44, 3; *Pap. Paris*, 224 ff.; Wessely, *Neue gr. Zaub.* 1893, p. 15); rain-water (Riess, 43, 55); sea-water (Riess, 44, 27), hallowed water (Christian: Wünsch, *Seth. Verfl.* p. 75); fiery flame (Abt, *op. cit.* 239, 3); metals (*Rev. des ét. gr.* xx. [1907] 364 ff.; Tambornino, *op. cit.* 83 f.); gold (Siebourg, *Bonn. Jahrb.* ciii. 129 f., 130, in whose underlying mythical idea the present writer has no faith; Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Amulett,' 1985, 60); silver (*Geopon.* xiii. 9, 2); bronze, pre-eminently used on grounds of ritual conservativism (Wunsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* p. iii f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 159 f.); iron (Riess, 'Abergl.' 50, 40; Dedo, *op. cit.* 13 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 161, 1; cf. also the sword which wards off ghosts [Pradel, *op. cit.* 382]); lead (cf. above, and Riess, *op. cit.* 51, 38); stones and jewels (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 252; Wessely, *l.c.*; Abt, *op. cit.* 189 f., 264 f.; Tambornino, *op. cit.* 83); gems, covered, especially at a later stage, with signs and pictures for magic purposes (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Abraxas'; Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Abrasax'; Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 1900, iii. 361 f., 363; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 28, 2; Wunsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 22); pre-historic stone-axes (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.,' p. 40, *ARW* xii. [1909], 33; cf. a small axe made of thin bronze, from Crete, *ib.* vii. [1904] 265); magnet (Wunsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.' p. 40); coral (Jahn, *op. cit.* 43, 51; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 253; Riess, 'Aberglaube,' p. 50, 37); salt (Plin. xxxi. 101; Wessely, *Griech. Zauberpap.* 1888, Index, *s.v.* ἅλς; Hubert, *op. cit.* 1506, 16; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 889, 3; Pradel, *op. cit.* 363 f., 365).

PLANTS (Plin. xxv. 13; 'Carmen de viribus herbarum,' ed. Haupt, *Vorlesungsverz. Berlin*, 1873–4; Riess, *op. cit.* 51 ff.; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 253; Hubert, *op. cit.* 1506; Wessely, *Neue gr. Zauberpapyri*, 1893, p. 15; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 41 ff.; Pradel, *op. cit.* 361 ff.; Abt, *op. cit.* 145 f., 163 ff., 182 f., 208 f.; Tambornino, *op. cit.* 85 f.; Eitrem, 'Hermes und d. Toten,' *Christiania Vidensk. selsk. Forh.* v. [1909], 24 ff.), especially from Thessaly (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1499, 8; Dedo, *op. cit.* 5): asparagus (Dioscor. *De mat. med.* ii. 151 [125 Wellm.]); cherry-stones (Marcell. Emp. viii. 27); honey (Deubner, *op. cit.* 46); incense (Abt, *op. cit.* 147, 205 ff., 271 f.); juniper (Gruppe, *op. cit.* 889, 6); laurel (Abt, *op. cit.* 151 ff.); linen (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 25; Abt, *op. cit.* 289 f.; cf. Marignan, *La Médecine dans l'église au sixième siècle*, 1887, p. 7, 3); mandragora (Randolph, *Proc. of Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, xl. [1905] 485 ff.; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 852, 6); peonies (Pradel, *op. cit.* 364 ff.); sea-onion (Gruppe, *op. cit.* 889, 7); wine (Deubner, *op. cit.* 45; Pradel, *op. cit.* 368); frankincense (Wessely, *l.c.*; Pradel, *op. cit.* 362 f., 372 f.; Tambornino, *op. cit.* 83), coal from the censer (Pradel, *op. cit.* 365); perfumes (Wessely, *l.c.*); bread (Pradel, *op. cit.* 365 f.); eatables (Abt, 136 f.).

ANIMALS (Riess, 'Abergl.' 68 ff.; Wessely, *l.c.*; Tambornino, *op. cit.* 86, 88 f.; Eitrem, *op. cit.* 30 ff.): ape (*ARW* viii. [1905] 521); birds (*ARW* viii. [1905] 521; Abt, *op. cit.* 295, 1); boar (Abt, *op. cit.* 138); chameleon (Plin. xxviii. 112); cock (Deubner, *op. cit.* 47); cricket (Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1829, p. 973); dog (Roscher, *Kynanthropie*, 1896, pp. 27, 66; 45, 125; Deubner, *op. cit.* 46); fish (Abt, *op. cit.* 141 ff., 229); frog (Dilthey, *Arch.-epigr. Mitt. aus Oesterreich*, ii. [1878] 55 f.; Dedo, *op. cit.* 6); hare (Abt, *op. cit.* 137); hyæna (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 24 f.); lion (Jahn, *op. cit.* 49 f.; Abt, 'Amulette,' 451); lizard (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 53; Hubert, *op. cit.* 1506, 23; Abt, 'Apulejus' 183 ff., 275 f.); owl (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1506, 21); stag (Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 262 f.); triton-shell (*Brit. School Annual*, viii. [1903] 368, *ib.* ix. [1904] 291, 6; *ARW* viii. [1905] 525); vulture (Heim, *op. cit.* 552, 1); wolf (Roscher, *op. cit.* 45, 125; 56, 161; Pradel, *op. cit.* 372).

PARTS OF ANIMALS (Riess, *l.c. passim*; Abt, 'Amulette,' 452 f.): ashes (Alex. of Tralles, i. 443, 445 [Puschm. 1886]; Kroll, *op. cit.* 24); blood (Plut. *Qu. Conv.* 700 f.); eyes (Fahz, *op. cit.* 154 f.); feet (*Geopon.* xiii. 14, 9); fleece (Riess, *l.c.*, *passim*; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 823; Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, 1906, p. 6; cf. art. FLEECE); heads (Jahn, *op. cit.* 58); hippomanes (Abt, *op. cit.* 166); liver (Marcell. Emp. xxii. 41); tooth (Fahz, *op. cit.* 142, 8); wool (Abt, 'Apulejus,' 144 f.).

PARTS AND EXCREMENTS OF HUMAN BEINGS (Riess, *op. cit.* 53 ff.; never in the magic papyri; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 27): hand (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 63 f.; cf. Wilhelm, *Oest. Jahresh.* iv. [1901], Beibl. 16 f.; Deissmann, *Philol.* lxi. [1902] 255; Weinreich, 'Antike Heilungswunder,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* viii. 1 ff.; esp. 17, 3; 48); foot (Weinreich, *op. cit.* 70 ff.); in both cases the independent magic power of the members is a derived one—originally they were only the conductors of these powers (cf. the analogous remarks of Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 298); dirt from the sandal (*Pap. Lond.* cxxi. 492); blood and seed (Apollod. *Bibl.* ii. 152 W.); saliva (Abt, *op. cit.* 260 f.); marrow and liver (Horace, *Epod.* v. 37 f.); fœtus (Fahz, *op. cit.* 111, 3).

Hearth (Riess, *op. cit.* 49, 11); door (Plin. xxviii 49); sieve (Riess, *op. cit.* 96, 67); purse-string (*Pap. Lond.* cxxi. 209); clay from the potter's wheel (*ib.* 935); bell (Cook, *JHS* xxii. [1902] 5 ff.; Pease, *Harvard Stud.* xv. [1904] 29 ff.; Abt, *op. cit.* 264, 2; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909], 262, 1; *IG* xiv. 2409, 5; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Tintinnabulum' (not yet published); wheels (M. Bieber, *Das Dresdner Schauspielerrelief*, Bonn, 1907, p. 21, note); small magic-wheels (ἴυγξ) in love-incantation (Hubert, *op. cit.* 151 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 172 f., 178 f.); statuettes of women and children with special gestures (Jahn, *op. cit.* 47 ff.); gladiators (Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 268); images of Alexander the Great (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 258; Weinreich, *op. cit.* 75).

IMAGES OF GODS (Jahn, *op. cit.* 45 ff.; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.' 42 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 28, 1; Abt, *op. cit.* 298; cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *l.c.* 256): Aion (Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 32); Aphrodite (Abt, *op. cit.* 195 f.); Apollo (Plut. *Sulla*, 29; Abt, *op. cit.* 299); the Ephesian Artemis in an ædicula, surrounded by 'Ephesia grammata' (Daremberg-Saglio, *l.c.* 255); Eros in love-magic (Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 14; *Pap. Paris.* 1843); Hecate (Jahn, *op. cit.* 88; Abt, *op. cit.* 204, cf. 200 ff.); Herakles, fashioned in touchstone, therefore doubly potent (Wunsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.' 40); Hermes (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 55; Abt, *op. cit.* 282 f., 300 f.), ithyphallic, the phallus ending in the head of a ram, in a Delian shop (*BCH* xxx. [1906] 591, fig. 37; cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* 79, 206; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 268); Selene (*Pap. Lond.* cxxi. 937).

SYMBOLS: geometrical figures (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1519; Prentice, *op. cit.* 138); Kerykeion (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 47); lightning (*ib.* 48).

PARTS OF SACRIFICES (Fahz, *op. cit.* 142, 9).

The potency of a charm may be enhanced in two ways: by the addition of other ingredients, or by adherence to special prescriptions as to rites to be performed when using them. Kropatscheck (*op. cit.* 69 f.) has enumerated several cases in which plants, combined with other matter, are used. The effect of the phallus was enhanced by tying on bells (Jahn, *op. cit.* 79; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 267 f.). Against fever, a caterpillar, wrapped in a piece of linen, tied round thrice with a thrice-knotted thread, was used, with recitation of a special magic sentence (Plin. xxx. 101). Against a cough the name 'Ialdabra' was written on a blank sheet, in which was wrapped a stone that had been taken out of a new sponge (Pradel, *op. cit.* 380 f), and the whole was worn round the neck (Heim, *op. cit.* 587, 23). The so-called 'votive hands,' which were formerly regarded as an extreme example of the accumulation of magic ideas, should most probably be excepted here if we accept the interpretation of Blinkenberg (*Archæol. Stud.*, 1904, 66 ff.), which brings them into close connexion with the Phrygian cult of Sabazios; on the other hand, a remarkable golden amulet in the shape of a heart has been found in Crete (*ARW* vii. [1904] 265),

covered with different symbols: hand, snake, spider, scorpion, spiral, rosette (or shell) (*ib.* 273 f., viii. [1905] 523). A good example of the complication of rituals is given by Pliny (xxvi. 93). He records that a remedy is specially potent when applied by a naked (Jahn, *op. cit.* 93; Deubner, *op. cit.* 24; Abt, *op. cit.* 246, 1), sober (Abt, *op. cit.* 113 f.) virgin (Pradel, *op. cit.* 377) to a sober patient. The virgin thrice recites a magic formula, holding her hand in a prescribed position (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 62, 39 f.), and both expectorate (Abt, *op. cit.* 260 f.) thrice. The virgin is especially powerful on account of her purity, which quality, together with that of chastity, is indispensable to the efficacy of magic remedies (Abt, *op. cit.* iii. 115, 237, 241, 246, 258 f., 263, 330; cf. art. PURITY). Another remedy (Plin. xxiv. 172) is especially effective when rubbed in to the right (Abt, *op. cit.* 273 ff.; cf. Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* p. iv) by three men of three different nationalities.

A passage of Pliny (xxviii. 46) shows how the idea of a remedy becomes mingled with that of magic by transmission. Against fever a piece of nail or rope from a cross was worn round the neck as an amulet. When healed, the person hid this amulet in a place which the sun's rays could not reach. The notion was that the nail or rope had absorbed the disease; and yet these objects possessed healing power only in so far as they were connected with the dead, and therefore had apotropæic force. We also find cases in which the amulet changes its function. The scarab from Tusculum edited by Wünsch (*Bull. Com.*, 1899, p. 289 ff.) is inscribed with a Greek magic formula, containing the invocation of an unnamed demon, for the purpose of a nocturnal oracle—thus a positive, spell-binding invocation. Wünsch is right in remarking that the proprietor of Tusculum is not likely to have used the scarab for purposes of incantation. It is more probable that he wore it as an amulet, after it had come into his hands in some way, for that is the usual form in which scarabs were used in Rome (Wünsch, *op. cit.* 294).

The forms in which the powers of a charm were concentrated on the possessor were manifold. On a tablet from Knidos (Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* p. xii, no. 91, 14 f.; cf. *ib.* xxiii[b]) the chief possibilities are combined: *φάρμακον ἢ ποτὸν ἢ κατάχριστον ἢ ἐπακτόν*, where the noun *φάρμακον* is limited consecutively by three verbal adjectives. The charm might be drunk (Fahz, *op. cit.* 132 ff.; Dedo, *op. cit.* 4; Pradel, *op. cit.* 372): even magic words written on some eatable substance, or dissolved in a potion, were eaten or drunk (Pradel, *op. cit.* 380 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 19); even the act of licking sufficed—a practice to which the kissing of an amulet bears affinity (Kropatscheck, *l.c.*). Furthermore, the remedy might be applied as an ointment (Kehr, *Quæst. Mag. Specimen*, 1884, p. 19; Dedo, *op. cit.* 3 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 143) or in the form of a powder (Pradel, *op. cit.* 363, 369). And lastly, one could bring it into contact (*ἐπάγειν*, cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 318; *Phœn.* 343) in any other way with the person to be bewitched, if evil was purposed. The remedy could also be effective by being merely worn (Pradel, *op. cit.* 375). Here the favourite form was the real amulet (cf. above), which is also prescribed most frequently by Dioscorides when he gives sympathetic remedies (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 67). Kropatscheck has discussed the different forms in which the amulet was worn (*op. cit.* 33 ff.; cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* 41). It was wound round the head (which is important for the signification of the wreath), the neck, the right or left arm; or it was held in the hand (cf. Riess, *op. cit.* 52, 60; 65, 18). There is also a curious prescription to wear a golden or silver leaflet *στρατιωτικῶς*, which Kropatscheck interprets as a mode of wearing it like a military neck-ring (perhaps more correctly 'like the phaleræ'). There are still other fashions: phylacteries are worn under the feet (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.' p. 39), under the tongue, or in the mouth (Theophrastus, *Char.* 16, 2; Fahz, *op. cit.* 138; Rohde, *Psyche*, i.², 1898, 237), or under the pillow (Riess, *op. cit.* 57, 23). Even the mere looking at a charm may be effective (Riess, *op. cit.* 59, 22; 69, 60; 74, 2; Weinreich, *op. cit.* 169 f.), and the knowledge of the god's name alone has the power of protecting against evil (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 19 f.). Without any loss of efficacy (Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 298), charms are often enclosed in linen, or leather (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 34 f.), or in metal caskets: from this custom, as from the wearing of amulets in general, the use of ordinary jewellery originated (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' 254, 257; Riess, 'Amulett,' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1986; cf. Trendelenburg, *Blätter f. d. Mitglieder d. Wiss. Centralvereins*, no. 1, Berlin, 1909 [*Wochenschr. f. klass. Philol.*, 1909, p. 1025]). Not infrequently the proprietor may have had the intention of thus protecting his charm against contrary charms (Riess, *op. cit.* p. 1985; cf. Abt, *op. cit.* 282 f.), but the practical purpose must have been at least as frequently prevalent: the tongue of a fox or the heart of a lark cannot well be worn *in natura*, therefore we find for both the prescription to wear them in a bracelet (Plin. xxviii. 172, xxx. 63). If this is golden, as in the latter case, there is a conscious heightening of the magic powers. The same remedies are often found prescribed for eating, or for wearing (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 43), so that the mode of their use is not that which is significant. The variety of uses of one remedy recorded by Dioscorides has been quoted above (p. 434[a]).

The Greeks endeavoured to protect not only themselves and their children (Jahn, *op. cit.* 40, 42) but also their entire household from evil powers: their cattle (Riess, 'Aberglaube,' 45 f., 'Amulett,' 1988; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 37; Pradel, *op. cit.* 377), the horses (Riess, 'Amulett,' 1986, 1988; Weidlich, *op. cit.* 61 f.), the stables (Pradel, *op. cit.* 379; Prentice, *op. cit.* 138), the dove-cot, the hatching-places of the hens, the wine-casks, the grain, and the trees (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 73 f.), above all, the house itself and its entrance (Riess, 'Abergl.' 48, 3, 'Amulett,' 1988; Heim, *op. cit.* 509 f.; cf. Dedo, *op. cit.* 30, 1; Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 36), the workshops (Jahn, 66 f.; Prentice, *l.c.*), the implements of daily life (Jahn, *op. cit.* 159, 100; Riess, 'Amulett,' 1986 f.; Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 298), the clothes (Jahn, *op. cit.* 60), shield and weapons (Riess, 'Amulett,' 1986; Karo in Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Ocrea,' p. 147; *Journ. intern. d'arch. numism.* ix. [1906] 5 ff.), towns, walls (apotropæic eyes on the town wall of Limena (Thasos), *JHS* xxix. [1909] pl. xviii. e), gates and public buildings (Jahn, *op. cit.* 59; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 20) sanctuaries, altars, graves (Riess, 'Amulett,' 1988) and the dead themselves (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 16). There is a tendency tectonically to unite the amulet with the object thereby protected—implements, weapons, clothes, buildings, and the like (the amulet thus becomes an apotropaion in its more restricted meaning). Lastly, the magic practice itself is protected by phylakteria against harmful anti-magic (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1516; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.' 38 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* ii ff.). Even animals were believed by the Greeks to make use of certain prophylactic means (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 37; Plin. xxiv. 174, whose testimony is, however, doubtful [cf. Riess, 'Abergl.' 57, 63]).

In many passages of magic literature the wonderful results attendant on the possession of certain charms are enumerated. Kropatscheck has made a selection of some (*op. cit.* 13 ff.; cf.

Hubert, *op. cit.* 1495; Abt, *op. cit.* 130), from which we obtain an impression of the good things the Greeks most desired to possess, and the evils they were most desirous to escape: love (φίλτρα, Abt, *op. cit.* 175 f.), renown, victory in battle or in contests or in lawsuits (*ib.* 130 f.; cf. Hellwig, *Globus*, xcv. [1909] 21 ff.), honour, riches, legacies, greatness, popularity, friendship [especially of influential people], life, and health (cf. a Byzantine bronze amulet with the inscription ΥΓΗΑ ΣV ΔΟΡΙΤΕ = ὑγείαν σοι δωρεῖται [*Journ. intern. d'arch. num.* x. 1907, 333 f.]), well-being, power, luck, success, peace, quietude, invulnerability, good looks, credit, memory, discernment, goodness, beauty, knowledge, many children, quick and easy birth, the gift of foreseeing the future, of exciting fear and admiration, of transforming oneself, of opening doors, of rending fetters and stones, of breaking magic spells, of becoming invisible or indiscoverable (the wish of runaway-slaves), of spell-binding the enemy, and of harming him, of getting and knowing everything one wished to have or know. The Greeks protected themselves against: the evil eye (Gruppe, *op. cit.* 878, 1; Daremberg-Saglio and Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Fascinum'; S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, 1910, esp. i. 29), being bewitched by evil tongues (Abt, *op. cit.* 130), sufferings and illnesses of all sorts, such as fever, coughs, etc.; stress and danger by land and by water, storms and lightning, demons, ghosts and nightmares, somnambulism and frenzy (Tambornino, *op. cit.* 75 ff.), poisonous animals, especially snakes and scorpions, vermin of every kind (*Geopon.* xiii. 14, 9; Heim, *op. cit.* 478, 47; Riess, 'Aberglaube,' 89, 50), enemies and enmity, accusers, robbers, wrathful kings, lords, chiefs, and ruling powers (Abt, *op. cit.* 129), thieves (cf. Westerm. *Parad.* 145, 1 f.: βρῶμα κλεπτέλεγχον]), impiou sdeeds, and spells.

How much of the matter here enumerated is genuinely Greek cannot now be ascertained. Jahn (*op. cit.* 110) had already drawn attention to the great difficulty of obtaining 'eine Einsicht in den Gang der historischen Entwickelung.' Dilthey (*op. cit.* 65) considered a large part of ancient superstition to be of alien origin, and this supposition has only been strengthened by the researches of recent years. Especially Egypt, the old home of magic, transplanted its beliefs into Greece from the earliest times. In the *Odyssey* (iv. 219 ff.) an Egyptian charm is mentioned, and the scarab was a well-known form of amulet in Hellas (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 257). It is also impossible to make an exact division between Greek and Roman belief within the classical period, seeing that these countries stood in continual and close contact (Kroll, *op. cit.* 5), though no doubt the greater part of superstitious beliefs must have been imported into the matter-of-fact Roman mind. Riess ('Amulett' p. 1989) assumes the possibility of a classification into periods and nations by exact statistical work. Whether this will ever be realized remains to be seen. It is more important to recognize the primitive forms of belief, and to marvel at the tenacity with which old heathen forms have found refuge under the mantle of Christianity. The following striking example may stand for many. An old heathen house-benediction (Kaibel, *Epigr.* 1138, cf. *Eph. arch.* 1909, 22) reads as follows: 'Here lives the all-powerful Herakles, the son of Zeus; may no evil enter!' and on an early Christian house in Syria (cf. Prentice, *op. cit.* 140) we find the inscription: 'Here lives our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son, the Word of God; may no evil enter!'

LITERATURE.—(1) For the ancient writers, see Hubert in Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Magia,' p. 1501; cf. also *Hermes*, iii. [1869] 1–30; *Catalogus codd. astrolog.* iii. [1901] 41 ff.; *Oxyrh. Pap.* iii. [1903] 75, no. 433 (Blass, *APF* iii. [1906] 279, 213). The most important magic papyri are enumerated by Wünsch on p. 19 of his book cited below.

(2) Modern literature: the best compilation in Hubert, *op. cit.* 1494 ff.; also Jahn, 'Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks' (*SSGW*, 1855, p. 28 ff.); Dieterich, 'Papyrus magica' (Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.*, Supplementband xvi. [1888] 747 ff.); Heim, 'Incantamenta magica' (*ib.* Supplementband xix. [1893] 465 ff.); Weidlich, *Die Sympathie in der antiken Litteratur* (1894) Kroll, *Antiker Aberglaube* (1897); Dedo, *De antiquorum superstitione amatoria* (1904); Fahz, 'De poetarum Romanorum doctrina magica,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. u. Vorarb.* [*RVV*] vi. 3 [1904]; Wünsch, 'Antikes Zaubergerat aus Pergamon' (*Archæol. Jahrb.*, Erganzungsheft, vi. [1905]); Pradel, 'Griech. u. südital. Gebete' (*RVV* iii. 3 [1907]); Kropatscheck, *De amuletorum apud antiquos usu* (1907); Abt, 'Die Apologie des Apulejus' (*RVV* iv. 2 [1908]); Riess, 'Aberglaube' and 'Amulett' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 30, 1984; and Daremberg-Sagio, i. 1, 1877, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' with the bibliography at the end.

L. DEUBNER.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Hebrew).—1. In the OT the references to charms and amulets are, from the nature of the canonical literature, of a more or less incidental character. Still, such as they are, they suffice to show that alongside of the official religion, so to say, of Jahweh, there survived the antique and ineradicable belief in the efficacy of amulets which is so prominent a characteristic of the Eastern peoples, and of none more than of those of the Semitic group. The first of such references is found in Gn 35[4], where the association of the ear-rings of Jacob's household with 'the strange [better 'the foreign'] gods which were in their hand'—for these see below on the results of the recent excavations—shows that the ear-rings were regarded as of the nature of charms or amulets. The possession of such articles, and the belief in their efficacy which it implied, the Hebrew historian rightly regarded as inconsistent with whole-hearted devotion to Jahweh. In early times, indeed, it may be said that every ornament was an amulet (cf. the Aram. *ḳĕdāshā*, 'holy thing' for 'ear-ring'). The venerable custom of wearing jewellery, in short, is believed to be less the outcome of female vanity than the result of a desire to secure the various orifices of the body against the entrance of evil spirits (see W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2], 1894, p. 453 and footnote).

Among the articles of female adornment in Is 3[18-23] we find, in addition to the more easily identified jewels, such as the 'nose jewels' of v.[21]—originally amulets to guard the nostrils—mention of articles which the etymology of the original (*lĕḥāshîm*) shows to have been charms pure and simple, hence RV rightly has 'amulets.' Their precise nature and form cannot be determined. According to Ibn Ezra (*Comm. on Isaiah, in loc.*), they were 'writings written upon gold or silver after the manner of a charm.' To judge from the context of the original term in Ec 10[11], the *lĕḥāshîm* may have been charms in the form of miniature serpents—a world-wide form of amulet (see last paragraph of this art. for illustrations). Another article in Isaiah's list is the *śahărôn* (v.[18]), literally 'little moon,' Vulg. *lunula*, RV 'crescent.' Golden crescents, which derived their potency as 'defensatives' from their association with the moon-god, were not only worn by the Midianite chiefs in the days of Gideon for protection in battle, but were hung, as amulets, about the necks of their camels (Jg 8[21. 26]). Numerous specimens of such crescent ornaments have been found in the recent excavations.

Again, in 'the stone of grace' (Pr 17[8] AVm), or rather 'stone of favour,' we may recognize a stone worn as a charm to procure favour or good luck for the wearer. The universal belief in red coral as an amulet is perhaps sufficient justification for finding a reference thereto in La 4[7] (RVm). For the view that the obscure word rendered 'pillows' in Ezk 13[18. 20] should rather be rendered 'charms' or 'amulets,' see W. R. Smith, *JPh* xiii. 286.

Passing to the deutero-canonical writings, we find a striking instance of the use of amulets as protection against the risks of battle in the story of certain soldiers of Judas Maccabæus, who lost their lives in an engagement, and were afterwards found to have worn under their garments 'consecrated tokens (ἱερώματα) of the idols of Jamnia, which the law forbids the Jews to have aught to do with; and it became clear to all that it was for this cause that they had fallen' (2 Mac 12[40] RV). These ἱερώματα were probably small images of the heathen deities. An earlier parallel to this practice is found in 2 S 5[21], which tells of the Philistines bringing 'their images' (*'ăṣabbêhem*, read: 'their gods' [*'ĕlōhêhem*], according to the original text preserved in 1 Ch 14[12]) with them as charms to the field of battle. In Ben Sira's day (*c.* 180 B.C.) it was a common practice to wear amulets on the wrist, as appears from the figurative language of the original Heb. text of Sir 36[3] (EV 33[3]): 'A sensible man understands the Word, and the Law is for him an amulet (*ṭôṭepheth*), a band upon the hand' (so Smend).

2. In addition to the direct witness of the passages cited in the foregoing section, another important line of indirect evidence for the popular belief in the efficacy of charms and amulets among the Hebrews is to be found in the legislation regarding the three great 'signs' of Judaism, the phylacteries (Ex 13[9. 16], Dt 6[8] 11[18]), the *mĕzūzā*, or doorpost symbol (Dt 6[9] 11[20]), and the fringes or tassels at the four corners of the upper garment (Nu 15[37ff.], Dt 22[12]). This is not the place to discuss the origin and nature of these 'signs' (see the relative artt. in *HDB*); it must here suffice to say that modern scholars, reasoning from the existence of similar practices among the neighbouring peoples of Egypt and Syria, and from the analogy of similar adaptations in other religions, including Christianity, are inclined to explain the place of the 'signs' among the sacred laws of the Hebrews as due to the desire of the Hebrew legislators to find a place within the national religion for certain immemorial and deeply-rooted religious customs of heathen origin and associations. To enable this to be done, the customs in question were infused with a new significance and a worthier motive consistent with the religion of Jahweh. Indeed, as regards the first of these signs, the word of the original (*ṭôṭāphôth*), which our EVV render by 'frontlets,' can mean only 'jewels,' or, more probably, 'amulets' (see Sir 36[3] cited above), worn upon the forehead ('between thine eyes') and the wrist ('upon thy hand'). Similarly the NT name for the sign in question, φυλακτήρια, *i.e.* 'amulets,' shows that the wearing of strips of leather or parchment inscribed with words of special potency as charms must have been an old and familiar custom.

The antiquity of the 'phylactery' is proved by the recent discovery of small tablets, which the Minæans were wont to wear, inscribed with the words 'Wadd^{m} Ab^{m},' *i.e.* 'Wadd (the national deity of the Minæans) is father'; see Nielsen, *Altarab. Mondreligion*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 192, with illustrations.

Further, the practice of inscribing doorposts and lintels with sacred names and texts in order to guard against the entrance of evil spirits is attested for many countries, and particularly for Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, ed. Birch, i. 361 f.; Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, 1896, p. 68 ff.). Later evidence of the special virtue popularly ascribed to both these 'signs' is afforded by the Targum on Ca 8[3], which the paraphrastic translator interprets as signifying that the phylacteries and the *mĕzūzā* have power to prevent evil spirits from doing any manner of harm.

With regard, finally, to the third of the signs in question, the tassels (Heb, *ṣîṣîth*), the representations of Syrians and other Asiatics on the monuments of Egypt (see Wilkinson, *op. cit.* i., coloured plate ii. b), show that these ornaments were a feature of the dress of Israel's neighbours from an early period. Their position at the corners of the upper garment was doubtless due to superstitious ideas regarding corners, which have left their traces in other provisions of the Hebrew legislation; in short, the tassels were originally charms. That healing virtue was ascribed to them in NT times is seen from the incidents recorded in Mt 9[20], Mk 6[56]. Here may be mentioned the bells upon the skirts of the high priest's robe of office (Ex 28[33f.] 39[25f.]), now usually explained as 'a survival, like the gargoyles in our churches, of the primitive practice of the employment of charms to frighten away demons and evil spirits' (McNeile, *The Book of Exodus*, 1908, p. 185). The custom referred to in Zec 14[20] of hanging bells on the foreheads and necks of horses also belongs to the same circle of ideas. Numerous small bronze bells, such as are here mentioned, have been found at Gezer in strata known, on other grounds, to be post-exilic (*PEFSt*, 1904, p. 353, illust. plate iv. nos. 4, 5).

3. A flood of fresh light has been thrown upon the great popularity of amulets in Canaan at all periods, even in the pre-historic, by the excavations of the last twenty years. Every site excavated has yielded its quota to the list of amulets worn by the living and buried with the dead. One of the oldest yet discovered comes from Gezer, in the shape of the 'metacarpal bone of a kid,' perforated with two holes for suspension, which was found in the cremation cave of the Neolithic inhabitants (*PEFSt*, 1902, pp. 343, 348, illust. 350). In the following Canaanite period black slate was a favourite material for amulets. In shape these were 'either oval, rectangular, or sinker-shaped, generally flat, and always perforated for suspension' (*ib.* 343, with illust.). In this department of the ancient life of Canaan the predominance of Egyptian influence is very marked, especially, as we might expect, in Southern Palestine. Thus in addition to the countless scarabs in every variety of material, hundreds of amulets were found of an exclusively Egyptian type, such as the 'eye of Horus,' images of Osiris, and, in particular, of 'the bandy-legged Bes' (Erman, *Egyp. Religion*, Eng. tr., 1907, p. 75). The latter was regarded both as a talisman against serpents and other harmful creatures, and as a tutelary guardian of the home. While such purely Egyptian amulets as the figures of Ptah and the so-called 'dad' column, the symbol of Osiris (see *PEFSt*, 1903, p. 212, plate ii. 28), were probably imported, the greater number were doubtless of native manufacture. Thus a mould for the making of Bes amulets was found at Gezer (*ib.* p. 214). For illustrations of these figures of Bes, see Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 1894, p. 40 (with a ring attached to the head); Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in S. Palestine*, 1902, plate lxxxiii. f.; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, 1904–6, figs. 99, 124.

Under the head of amulets the present writer would include both the plaques of Ashtart (Astarte), the goddess of fecundity, and the small figures, in the round, of the same deity, which have been found in such numbers at all the sites. They appear to be too small to have been used as proper objects even of domestic worship. Such images, however, help us to understand the nature of the 'strange gods' favoured by Jacob's household (see above).

The excavations further show that from the earliest times, shells of all kinds were reputed to possess prophylactic virtue. Even at the present

day in Northern Arabia 'almost every woman, every child, every mare and she-camel wear shells round the neck, for these protect from the evil eye' (Musil, *Arabia Petræa*, 1908, iii. 314). This venerable and universal superstition no doubt had a place among the popular beliefs even in Bible times, as it certainly had in the later Talmudic period (Hamburger, ii., art. 'Böser Blick'). For every death due to natural causes, it was believed that there were ninety and nine caused by the evil eye. The desire to be safeguarded against its baneful influence explains the vast numbers of beads of various materials and colours found in the excavations. Blue was evidently a favourite colour then as now; in Palestine, at least, flat, circular beads, blue with white in the centre, are to-day the favourite amulet, especially for the protection of animals.

This recalls an artistic silver amulet, found at Gezer, in the shape of a pill-box, covered in part with a deep blue enamel with a white spot in the centre. It was filled with white earth—small bags with earth from some sacred spot, such as a weli's tomb, is a favourite present-day amulet—and fitted with a loop for suspension (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 303 f. with illust.). With this pendant may be associated another of yellow glass, whose former use as a charm is placed beyond question by the Greek inscription which it bears *in reversed letters*: *εὐτυχῶς τῷ φοροῦντι*, 'with good luck to the wearer' (*ib.* 1904, p. 354 with illust.—where see for other amulets, including a tiny fish [a symbol of fertility?] in ebony, plate iv. no. 13, said to be of Maccabæan date).

Serpents have in all ages been reckoned as powerful charms—a fact which justifies our placing here the miniature bronze serpent found at Gezer (illust. *ib.* 1903, p. 222). It can scarcely be separated from similar bronze models of serpents found by Glaser in Southern Arabia, with a hole through the head for a cord by which they were hung about the wearer's neck (Nielsen, *op. cit.* p. 190, with illust.).

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the article.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Indian).—In no region of the world, except perhaps W. Africa, is the use of various protectives against malignant spirit influence more common than among the natives of India. These races are constantly beset by the fear of danger from spirits of various kinds and from the evil eye, and to these agencies they attribute most of the diseases and other misfortunes to which they are exposed. Their strong faith in the efficacy of ritualistic cultus leads them to adopt various magical and semi-magical devices which they believe capable not only of securing protection, but of being used offensively to destroy an enemy. An examination of the various forms of domestic ritual, those practised at marriage, conception, birth, puberty, initiation, and death, shows that they largely consist of a series of charms and other magical devices intended to protect bride and bridegroom, mother and child, youth and maiden, and the mourners for the dead (see Colebrooke, *Essays*, London, 1858, p. 76 ff.; Grierson, *Bihār Peasant Life*, Calcutta, 1885, p. 357 ff.; *BG* ix. pt. i. 31 ff., pt. ii. 227 ff.; Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*, Madras, 1896, p. 94 ff.; Dubois, *Hindu Manners and Customs*[3], Oxford, 1906, p. 212 ff.).

The word 'charm' (Lat. *carmen*) primarily denotes 'the chanting or recitation of a verse supposed to possess magic power or occult influence' (*OED*, *s.v.*); in other words, what is commonly called a spell. In its secondary significance it includes material things credited with magical properties, worn on, or in close connexion with, the person whom it is designed to protect; and in popular acceptance it is extended to various magical devices intended to effect the same object. Besides being protective, charms may be offensive, devised, as those used in the Tāntrik school, to injure or destroy an enemy. The 'amulet' belongs to a sub-class of the physical charm. It is usually defensive, and is worn about the person protected, in a case which is generally made of some metal. In order of date it is probably later than either the spell or the physical charm.

The word 'charm' has thus a very wide connotation, and it is difficult to arrange in orderly sequence the numerous devices of this kind used by the races of India. In general they are all based on the principles of Animism current among all classes of the population. The charms used in the official ritual of Brāhmanism do not, in principle, differ from those employed by the non-Aryan races or by foreign immigrants, like the Muhammadans or the Parsis. They are common to believers in all the existing religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, Islām, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism—and many have been retained by native Christian converts. In this article the tribal and religious variances will be defined so far as it is possible to do so; but distinctions of race and religion do not, in themselves, furnish a basis for classification.

1. The spell or spoken charm.—The general name for these spells is *mantra*—a term which in the Vedic age was applied to hymns and prayers addressed to the gods, though at a later time it came to acquire a magical meaning. But, as the Vedas are comparatively late in the development of Indian religions, this may not represent the actual course of evolution, which was probably in the reverse direction, that is to say, from spell to prayer (see R. R. Marett, *FL* xv. 132 ff.; Jevons, *Introd. to the Study of Comparative Religion*, London, 1908, p. 151 ff.). In the later use of the word the *mantra* is all-powerful. 'The universe is under the power of the gods; the gods are under the power of *mantrams*; the *mantrams* are under the power of the Brahmins; therefore the Brahmins are our gods' (Dubois, *op. cit.* 139). In a similar class are the *bīja*, or 'seed,' the mystical letter or syllable which forms the essence of the *mantra*; and the *dhāranī*, which is the term applied to spells in Buddhist literature (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 146 f.). *Mantras* are of various kinds, the greatest being the *gāyatri*, or invocation of the sun-god Sāvitri (Rigveda, III. lxii. 10)—the most universal of all Vedic prayers or invocations (Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*[4], London, 1891, p. 19). The Tāntrik *mantras* originating in the corrupt Sākta cultus fall into a different class. *Mantras* accompany every Hindu religious rite, and form a necessary part of every domestic ceremony. They assume many varied forms, being sometimes an adjuration to the deity in whom the suppliant believes, or who is supposed to be competent to secure the desired result; sometimes the appeal is made to some hero or deified saint; or it is addressed to the spirit producing disease or other calamity whom the worshipper desires to scare or prevent from doing further mischief.[1]

Similar spells are used by Muhammadans, of which the most potent is the *Bismillāh* (*q.v.*), which is used before meals, at the putting on of new clothes, at the commencement of books, and when any new business is undertaken. In an

[1] The *mantras* used in the domestic rites are given by Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 76 ff.; Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, Madras, 1906, p. 259; L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Madras, 1909, i. 163 ff.; for the Tāntrik *mantras*, see Monier-Williams, *op. cit.* 197 ff.; for those used by the Himālayan Buddhists, Waddell, *op. cit.* 141 ff., 214, 217.

abbreviated form, omitting the attributes of mercy ascribed to the Creator, it is used at the slaughter of animals and at the opening of a battle, with the object of averting blood-guilt.

2. **Substances out of which charms are prepared, and other substances and devices used for similar purposes.**—The list of substances out of which charms are prepared is extensive, and here only a selection, for purpose of illustration, can be given.

(*a*) *Various natural substances.*—To this class belong the branches, leaves, fruits, flowers, etc., of various sacred trees and plants. Such are the fig, mango, *tulasī*, or sacred basil, the *bel* (*Ægle marmelos*), the bamboo, and many others. Thus, special trees are selected to form the pavilion in which the marriage rite is performed; leaves and flowers are hung round the necks of the bride and bridegroom, or on the mother during the pregnancy rites, or are placed in the room in which the marriage is consummated, or in that in which the child is expected to be born. At the marriage of Rājputs and some other tribes a coco-nut is sent to the bride as a fertility charm. Various kinds of grain are used in the same way. Rice, wheat, or barley is scattered over bride and bridegroom, and used in many other family rites. A compound of various kinds of grain is specially efficacious: women in N. India, in order to avoid the attack of demons, put under their pillows seven kinds of grain; each of these, by a later development, is supposed to represent one of the seven sisters of the malignant Mother-goddess (*NINQ* iv. 160; and, for the belief in the efficiency of various kinds of grain, see *BG* ix. pt. i. 389 ff.; Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, Bombay, 1885, pp. 94, 456). Mustard seed is often used in this way. In N. India demons are believed to fly before the stench of salt and mustard burnt in a fire of the wood of the sacred *nīm* tree (*Melia azadirachta*); the ghost of the dead clinging to the Nāyar mourners in Malabar is repelled by rubbing them with oil in which the seeds of sesamum have been mixed (*NINQ* iv. 197; *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 351).

(*b*) *Substances derived from animals.*—These are believed to confer upon the wearers the courage, agility, cleverness, etc., of the creatures from which they have been taken. Among these may be mentioned the claws, teeth, fat, milk, rudimentary clavicles, and skin of the tiger or leopard (Dubois, *op. cit.* 112, 183; *NINQ* v. 200; Campbell, *op. cit.* 280; Thurston, *op. cit.* 265). At the coronation of an ancient Hindū Rājā he was sprinkled with the water of holy rivers mixed with the essence of holy plants, and he stepped on a tiger skin (for details, see art. ABHIṢEKA). The five products (*pañchagavya*) of the sacred cow—milk, curds, butter, urine, dung—and the extract (*gaulochan*) prepared from her urine are used in charms and various rites (Dubois, *op. cit.* 43, 152 f.). The Nāmbūtiri Brāhman youth in Malabar wears a strip of the skin of the yak attached to his sacred thread (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 41). The skin of the black buck (*Antilope cervicapra*), the sacred animal of the Aryans, forms the seat of the ascetic, and, when a man dying abroad is cremated in effigy, the leaf figure representing him is bound with a strip of the hide (Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 99). Hair from the tail of the elephant, the pearl (*kuñjaramaṇi*, *gajamuktā*) said to be found in its forehead, and another extracted from the brain or stomach, possess protective qualities and are used in charms (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 221; *NINQ* iii. 53; Crooke, *PR* ii. 240; Waddell, *op. cit.* 208); bracelets of ivory are protectives for married women (Campbell, *Notes*, 20; *BG* ix. pt. i. 376). The horn of the rhinoceros detects poison and cures epilepsy (Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 1896, ii. 325; Fryer, *New Account of E. India and Persia*, London, 1698, p. 288). The hair of the bear and the gall-bladder, worn by children, ward off diseases (Thurston, *op. cit.* 265; *NINQ* v. 180). In the Panjāb the horn said to be found in the head of the leader of a pack of jackals saves the wearer from being scolded, and in Madras realizes desires and secures jewellery from robbers (Blanford, *Mammalia of India*, London, 1891, p. 142; *PNQ* i. 89; Thurston, *op. cit.* 269 f.); its flesh cures asthma, and the head of a hyæna, buried in the stall, prevents cattle disease (Thurston, *op. cit.* 275 f.). The eye of the loris (*Loris gracilis*) is used in necromancy, and the small musk-rat, worn on the person, renders a man invulnerable to sword-cuts and musket-balls (*ib.* 270, 274). The custom of hanging the skulls of animals over the house-door and at the entrance of the village as a charm is common to many hill-tribes (Gurdon, *The Khasis*, London, 1907, p. 35; Thurston, *op. cit.* 271; Waddell, *op. cit.* 484 n.).

Some birds possess similar virtues. The flesh of the species *buccros*, if hung up in the house, is believed to bring prosperity, and the bones attached to the wrists of children repel evil spirits (Hislop, *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes*, Nagpur, 1866, p. 6). Chicken bones are worn in the same way by the Was of Upper Burma (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 505). The fat of the peacock, which moves gracefully, is, on the principles of mimetic magic, a cure for stiff joints; and smoking a feather in a pipe keeps off snakes (Thurston, *op. cit.* 275; *NINQ* i. 15). The habit of wearing feathers, common among the forest tribes, is probably due more to a desire for protection than for ornament (Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, pp. 284, 309; *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. pt. i. 461). The wearing of boar tusks in the head-dress, as among the Abors and Nāgas of Assam (Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, plates xiii., xvi.), has been assumed by Ridgeway to be the origin of the Turkish crescent (*Man*, vii. 144, cf. *JAI* xxxviii. 241 ff.); but the moon seems to be sometimes used in charms, as when crescents of gold, with the points turned upwards, are worn as protectives by children in S. India, or when Mādhava Brāhmans in the Deccan make an image of the crescent moon on the marriage altar (Thurston, *op. cit.* 263 f.; *BG* xxii. 79; cf. Tylor, *JAI* xix. 54 f.; Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, p. 181 ff.).

Reptiles also are used in charms. Alligator flesh, particularly the testicles, is in repute as a restorative. A man in S. India who has been stung by a scorpion sits with an iron bar in his mouth, and applies chopped lizard flesh to the puncture; an equally effective remedy is the excrement of a lizard fed on scorpions (Thurston, *op. cit.* 274). In the Bahāwalpur State the sand-lion is known as *chor*, and is hung round the neck of a child suffering from a fever called by the same name; another insect hung round the child's neck cures convulsions (Malik Muhammad Dīn, *The Bahāwalpur State*, Lahore, 1908, pp. 12, 187).

(*c*) *Stones.*—Perforated stones are specially valued as protectives. An ancient perforated stone implement was found hung round the neck as a cure for goitre in the Central Provinces (E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk Tales*, London, 1909, p. 75; cf. Crooke, *PR* ii. 19, 164; *JAI* xvii. 135 f.). This, combined with the idea of fertility, is the probable explanation of the use of the potter's wheel and the household grindstone at Hindu weddings as a charm (Campbell, *op. cit.* 164, 335). In the orthodox Brāhman ritual the bride treads upon a stone with her right foot, while the bridegroom says: 'Ascend this stone; distress my foe; be firm like this stone.' Similar rites are performed

at the present day among the higher castes in N. India, as well as among the forest tribes (Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 135; Dalton, *op. cit.* 194, 234, 252). In the same way old flint implements are valued. They are stored at Saiva shrines, where they represent the *lingam*, and in S. India at the temples of Vighneśvara the elephant-god, who averts evil; the Burmese use them for medicinal purposes, powdered celt being considered a cure for pain in the stomach and for inflamed eyes (Thurston, *op. cit.* 351; Crooke, *PR* ii. 12, 164; cf. W. Johnson, *Folk Memory*, Oxford, 1908, p. 121 ff.).

(*d*) *Precious stones.*—The same feeling attaches to many precious stones. They are most valued in special combinations. The collection of nine (*navagraha*)—ruby, pearl, coral, emerald, topaz, diamond, sapphire, amethyst, and cat's eye—and of five—gold, amethyst, diamond, emerald, pearl (*pañcharatna*)—are most efficacious. Jade, possibly under Chinese influence, is used as a charm, especially in the Burmo-Tibetan region; it diverts lightning and cures heart palpitation; when thrown into water it brings snow, mist, and rain; and, if poison be poured into a cup made of it, the cup cracks (Gray, *China*, London, 1878, ii. 356; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. W. Smith, 1854, iv. 196 n.; *NINQ* iv. 198). If a man bathes while wearing a turquoise, it is believed in N. India that the water which touches it protects him from boils and snakes; it is inserted as a charm in the forehead of images of Buddha, and, if large enough, it is engraved with a formula or the figure of a dragon (*NINQ* iii. 53; Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*[3], London, 1906, p. 349). Coral wards off the evil influence of the sun, and purifies mourners from the death tabu (Campbell, *op. cit.* 69; Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 101). Similar protective powers are attributed to other precious stones (Campbell, *op. cit.* 119 ff.; Crooke, *PR* ii. 17 ff.).

(*e*) *Beads.*—The protective value of beads depends partly upon the substances of which they are composed, partly on the fact that they are perforated, and thus exposed to the entry of spirits. Those worn by Śaivas are made of the 'Rudraeyed' (*rudrākṣa*), the berry of the plant *Elæocarpus ganitrus*; those of the Vaiṣṇavas of the wood of the sacred basil (*tulasī*), both bringing the wearer into communion with, and under the protection of, the deity. The shell of the cowrie (*Cypræa moneta*) is similarly hung on the necks of women, children, and cattle, and it is supposed to crack when the evil eye falls upon it (Campbell, *op. cit.* 126 ff.; Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 17). The blowing of the conch shell (*Turbinella rapa*) scares evil spirits from the temple-offerings, from the married pair, and from the corpse (Campbell, *op. cit.* 126). When the coils of the shell are turned to the right (*dakṣiṇāvarta*), it is specially valued (Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 223).

(*f*) *Metals.*—i. *Iron.*—The demons and evil spirits of India come down from the Age of Stone, and for this reason they dread the influence of metals. Iron is specially valued as a protective (cf. Johnson, *op. cit.* 169 ff.). When a child is still-born, the Burmese place iron beside the corpse, with the invocation: 'Never more return into thy mother's womb till this metal becomes as soft as down' (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 3). The Vadvāls of Thāna, in order to guard against the spirit which attacks the child on the sixth day after birth (an unconscious recognition of the danger from infantile lockjaw, caused by neglect of sanitary precautions), place an iron knife or scythe on the mother's cot, and an iron bickern at the door of the lying-in room—a custom which also prevails in the Panjāb (Campbell, *op. cit.* 387; Malik Muhammad Din, *op. cit.* 98). An iron bracelet is worn by all Hindu married women, those of high rank enclosing it in gold (Rajendralala Mitra, *The Indo Aryans*, London, 1881, i. 233, 279; Risley, *op. cit.* i. 532, 533, ii. 41). In the form of the sword it has special power. When a birth occurs among the Kachins of Upper Burma, guns are fired, knives (*dhā*) and torches are brandished over the mother, and old rags and chillies are burnt to scare demons by the stench (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 399). The Muhammadans of N. India wave a knife over a sufferer from cramp, with the invocation: 'I salute God! The knife is of steel! The arrow is sharp! May the cramp cease through the power of Muhammad, the brave one!' (*NINQ* v. 35). On the Irrawaddy river in Burma iron pyrites are valued as a charm against alligators (Yule, *Mission to Ava*, London, 1858, p. 198). A curious belief in the sanctity of iron appears among the Doms (*q.v.*), a criminal tribe of N. India. They inherit from the Stone Age the belief that it is unlawful to commit a burglary with an iron tool; any one disobeying this rule is expelled from the community, and it is believed that the eyes of the offender will start from his head (*NINQ* v. 63).

ii. *Copper.*—Copper is a sacred metal with Hindus, and many of the sacrificial utensils are made of it. In the Panjāb a couple of copper rings or ear-rings scare the spirit which brings sciatica (*PNQ* iv. 149). The Lingāyats of Dhārwār, with the same intention, place over the corpse twenty-one small pieces of copper, on which sacred formulæ have been engraved (*BG* xxii. 115; cf. European superstitions regarding the use of bronze [Johnson, *op. cit.* 120]).

iii. *Jewellery.*—The same beliefs extend to precious metals in the form of jewellery, the use of which was in India prophylactic before it came to be ornamental. This is shown by the fact that jewels are used to guard the orifices and other parts of the body most exposed to the entry of spirits—the ears, nose, temples, neck, hands, feet, waist, and the pudenda. Further, among the forest-tribes, ornaments take the shape of the leaves, flowers, fruits, or berries of the sacred trees which were originally used for the purpose of protection; and to these are added the bones, teeth, or horns of animals, the virtues of which are thus communicated to the wearer (Campbell, *op. cit.* 20 ff.). The ring, in particular, is supposed to possess special power. In the folk-tales we find that a charmed ring, placed on the ground in a clean square, and sprinkled with butter-milk, secures the attainment of any wish (Temple-Steel, *Wideawake Stories*, Bombay, 1884, p. 199). In Burma, Kachin women wear, as protectives, on the front of the hair a silver crescent held up behind by cowrie shells, and on the upper part of the ear a silver circlet with a cock's feather (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 395). A ring of the *kuśa* or *darbha* grass (*Poa cynosuroides*) is worn on the fourth finger by Hindus during sacred rites, and is known as 'the purifier' (*pavitra*), that is to say, the protector from evil influences (Dubois, *op. cit.* 150 f.). That worn by the Nāmbūtiri Brāhmans of Malabar is usually of gold in the shape of the figure 8; it must be worn during certain rites, and those who do not possess a gold ring make one of the *darbha* grass for each solemnity (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 41). All Hindus and many Muhammadans wear at marriage a crown of precious metals or tinsel as a protective.

iv. *Coins.*—Coins are used as protectives partly on account of the metal out of which they are made, and partly because Hindu coins are engraved with the figures and symbols of deities, Muhammadan with sacred texts. But it is only those of the older dynasties, not those of British mints, which are valued. In Nepāl, the local rupee, covered with Śaiva emblems, is shown to a woman

when her delivery is protracted, and in N. India the coin of the Emperor Akbar, known as that of the 'four friends' (*chāryārī*), because it is engraved with the names of the four successors of the Prophet —Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmān, and 'Alī—is used in the same way (Crooke, *PR* i. 116). The Deśast Brāhmans of Dhārwār, when child-birth is delayed, dose the woman with water in which old gold coins have been placed (*BG* xxii. 74). In Malabar, Nāmbūtiri Brāhman boys wear amulets containing the *chakram* coin, of which 28 make one rupee, and Venetian sequins are also worn to bring good luck (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 42, 41, 196). In Gujarāt, children of the Kāyasth caste are made to lick a little rice and milk from a rupee as a prosperity charm (*BG* ix. pt. i. 61). Coins of Queen Victoria were valued by Himālayan Buddhists, because the image was supposed to represent the mild goddess known as the Great Queen; but they refused to accept those of King Edward VII., which they believed to represent the head of the Lāma (Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*[3], 354).

(*g*) *Salt.*—Salt, probably on account of its preservative qualities, is often used in charms. The Rautias of Bengal repel the evil eye by waving mustard seed and salt round the patient (Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 209). In Gujarāt it is deemed specially lucky to buy salt on New Year's Day; to be freed from the death throes a dying person makes a gift of salt to a Brāhman; on the great spirit day in October, Hindu women make marks with salt at the cross-roads (*BG* ix. pt. i. 349). Salt is part of one of the elaborate Toda charms (Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 263 f.).

(*h*) *Colours.*—Special colours are prescribed in many charms. Yellow, red, and black are obnoxious to evil spirits. The belief in the virtue of yellow is one of the reasons why both Hindus and Muhammadans smear the bride and bridegroom with turmeric. The same explanation probably accounts for the use of the substance known as 'milkmaids' sandalwood' (*gopichandana*) for marking the forehead. Vermilion is used to mark the forehead, and is also applied as a protective to new clothes. The virtues of black are illustrated by the almost universal custom of smearing the eyelids of women and children with lampblack, partly because spirits detest black, and partly as a disguise against the evil eye (Campbell, *op. cit.* 63 ff., 458).

(*i*) *Strings, threads, knots.*—These are used as charms to produce union, and also to bar the entry of hostile spirits. All castes knot the clothes of the bride and bridegroom as a marriage charm. In a marriage in S. India an important part of the rite is the tying of the 'lucky thread' (*mañgala-sūtram*), a saffron-coloured thread or cord attached to a small gold ornament, fastened round the neck and hanging down in front, like a locket. It is worn, like the European wedding-ring, by all married women, who never part with it during life; it is cut at the death of the husband, and its absence is a sign of widowhood (Padfield, *op. cit.* 126 f., 239). Analogous to this is the rite of tying the *tālī*, which, as its name imports, was originally a leaf of the palmyra palm (Skr. *tāla*) (Dubois, *op. cit.* 224; Thurston, *op. cit.* 121 ff.). Among the Todas its place is taken by the 'bow and arrow touching' (*pursūtpimi*), represented by a blade of sacred grass and the twig of the shrub *Sophora glauca* (*Bull. Madras Museum*, ii. 159; Rivers, *The Todas*, 319 ff.). The tying of the marriage wristlet (*kañkaṇa*), which often consists of blades of *kuśa* grass, is common in most parts of the country (Dubois, *op. cit.* 222; *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 62; *BG* ix. pt. i. 45). Another form of this sacred thread is the Brāhmanical cord (*yajñopavīta*), with which the high-caste youth is invested at the rite of initiation (*upanayana*) (Dubois, *op. cit.* 160 ff.; *BG* ix. pt. i. 36 ff.). It is fastened with the special 'Brahma knot' (*brahma-granthi*). In another form of the rite in S. India the thread is reinforced with a strip of the hide of the male deer; or a long strip of it is worn as a sash (Padfield, *op. cit.* 77). During the rite of initiation a saffron-coloured thread is tied to the wrist of the neophyte (Dubois, *op. cit.* 165).

Another charm of the same class is the *rākhī* (Skr. *rakshika*, root *raskh*, 'to guard'). It is tied by women or by Brāhmans on the wrists of men at the Salono or Rakshābandhan feast held on the full moon of the month Śrāvaṇa (July–August). It is closely connected with the Brāhmanical cord, a new cord being annually assumed on the same date at which the *rākhī* is tied (Padfield, *op. cit.* 78; Crooke, *PR* ii. 293). This is one of the symbols which mark brotherhood (see art. BROTHERHOOD [artificial], vol. ii. p. 862[b]). A similar rite among Muhammadans is the 'year knot' (*sālgirah*), a string tied on the wrist of a child on its first birthday, which is replaced each succeeding anniversary (Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, Madras, 1863, p. 26; Blochmann, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Calcutta, 1873, i. 267).

Similar uses of threads and knots as charms are numerous. Barren women, in the hope of obtaining offspring, tie knots of coloured thread on the marble tracery of the Saint's tomb at Fatehpur-Sīkrī (*q.v.*). The Burmese wear coloured string wristlets as a protection against cholera (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* ii. 108). The Kāmi woman in E. Bengal, when she names her child, ties seven threads round its wrist, saying, 'Be fortunate, be brave, be healthy' (Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, p. 229). Among the Mrūs of the same region, every one attending a wedding has a thread tied round his wrist by the oldest woman of the bride's family; this must remain on the wrist until it decays and falls off (*ib.* 234). The Grand Lāma ties knots of silk round the necks of his votaries (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 321). If a Mālā child in Madras grinds its teeth in sleep, a piece of broken pot is brought from a graveyard, fumigated with incense, and tied round the child's neck with a string rubbed with turmeric, or with a piece of gut (Thurston, *op. cit.* 265).

(*j*) *Fire and light.*—Lights scare evil spirits. Among the Kachins of Upper Burma torches are waved over a woman after her delivery (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 399). The Nāyars of Malabar place lights, over which rice is sprinkled, in the room in which the marriage is consummated (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 234; cf. Dubois, *op. cit.* 227). Among the Savaras of Bengal the bridesmaids warm the tips of their fingers at a lamp, and rub the cheeks of the bridegroom (Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 243). The Muhammadan Khojas of Gujarāt place a four-wicked lamp near a young child, while the friends scatter rice (*BG* ix. pt. ii. 45). In Bombay the lamp is extinguished on the tenth day, and again filled with butter and sugar, as a mimetic charm to induce the light to come again and bring another baby (*PNQ* iv. 5). The folk-tales often refer to jewel-lamps guarding young children (Somadeva, *Kathāsaritsāgara* [tr. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880], i. 189, 246, 305). The Śrigaud Brāhmans of Gujarāt at marriage wear conical hats made of leaves of the sacred tree *Butea frondosa*, and on the hat is placed a lighted lamp (*BG* ix. pt. i. 19; and cf. *ib.* 272).

Fire is commonly used for the same purpose. The fires lit at the Holī spring-festival are intended as a purgation of evil spirits, or as a mimetic charm to produce sunshine. Touching fire is one of the methods by which mourners are freed from the ghost which clings to them. When an Arer woman

of Kānara has an illegitimate child, the priest lights a lamp, plucks a hair from the woman's head, throws it into the fire, and announces that mother and child are free from tabu (*BG* xv. pt. i. 215). The rite of fire-walking practised in many parts of the country appears to be intended as a means of purging evil spirits; and the fire lighted by all castes in the delivery-room seems to have the same object. Such use of fire is naturally common among the Zoroastrian fire-worshippers (Shea-Troyer, *The Dabistān*, Paris, 1843, i. 317).

(*k*) *Shouting, gun-firing*, etc.—Noise is a charm against evil spirits. When epidemic disease appears in Burma, 'the whole population break out into yells, and make as much noise as they can, with the view of scaring away the evil spirit who has brought the disease' (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 282). Bell-ringing, drum-beating, and other forms of music have the same effect (Campbell, *op. cit.* 45 f., 108 ff., 407).

(*l*) *Incense and foul smells.*—The burning of incense and the production of foul smells act in the same way. In the Himālayas a mixture of incense and butter is burnt to scare demons (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 432 n.). In N. India, bran, chillies, salt, mustard, and sometimes the eyelashes of the patient, are waved seven times over a sick child; when these things are burned, if a foul smell is produced, as is necessarily the case, the infant is believed to be freed from the effects of the evil eye (*PNQ* i. 51).

(*m*) *Blood.*—Blood is used as a prophylactic against evil spirits, and marks the blood-covenant. At a Kachin marriage in Burma the blood of fowls is scattered on the bride and her attendants, and along the path by which she comes to the house of her husband (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 407). At animal sacrifices in Gujarāt, the blood is sprinkled on the image of the goddess, and on the floor and door-posts of the temple (cf. the Passover rite, *HDB* iii. 689); if the offering be made for the good of the community, it is rubbed on the gates of the town and on those of the chief's palace or hall, and on the foreheads of the bystanders; the exorcists and barren women drink cups of the blood, and the person making the offering takes to his house a portion, in which he mixes grain of various kinds, and this is scattered in the rooms of the house and laid in a corner of his field; even Brāhmans keep cloths steeped in the blood of the victim, as a charm against natural and spirit-sent diseases (*BG* ix. pt. i. 407).

(*n*) *Abuse and indecency.*—The custom of using foul abuse and indecency at various religious and domestic rites seems to be practised with the same object. The abuse of the bridegroom and his party by the friends of the bride, commonly explained as a survival of marriage by capture, is probably based on the desire to protect the married pair from evil spirits. In some cases, as a propitiatory charm, people submit to gross abuse, as when, on the feast day of Gaṇeśa, men who have to go out and risk the danger of seeing the moon fling stones at the house of a neighbour, in the hope that he may abuse them and thus remove the evil (Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, London, 1878, p. 610; Crooke, *PR* i. 16 f.; cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, 1900, ii. 492; Farnell, *CGS* iii. 104, 172). Mock fights, which are often a mimetic representation of the victory of the powers of good over those of evil, are probably intended to secure the same object (Crooke, *PR* ii. 321; cf. Farnell, *op. cit.* v. 194; Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 290 ff.).

3. Charms written, engraved, or inserted in the flesh.—Charms of this kind fall into several classes.

(*a*) *The yantra*, 'that which holds, restrains, fastens,' is a combination of mystical symbols and diagrams, drawn on copper or other metallic plates, and supposed to possess occult powers. One worn by a Nāmbūtiri Brahman of Malabar had a pattern engraved on a silver plate, and the wearer alleged that its use relieved him from a feeling of heat in the cool season—a symptom which he attributed to the influence of an evil spirit (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 41, 305 ff.). Another *yantra* represented, on a sheet of metal, the enemy that the wearer wished to destroy; and it contained a threat that bodily injury or death would overtake him; to effect the same object, nails are thrust into the body of a live frog or lizard, which is enclosed in the shell of a coco-nut—the death of the animal and of the enemy being supposed to occur simultaneously (*ib.* iii. 51). For other examples of similar *yantras*, see L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, i. 307, 317. Witchcraft by means of such images is common (Herklots, *op. cit.* 215 ff.; Crooke, *PR* ii. 278 ff.).

(*b*) *Cabalistic squares.*—Such squares, in which the total of the figures in each column amounts to 15 or some other mystic number, are very commonly used. For examples, see Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 15, ii. 127 f.; *BG* ix. pt. ii. 147; Herklots, *op. cit.* 246 ff.; Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 457, 467.

(*c*) *The triangle and the pentacle.*—Mystic marks of this kind are used in N. India in the ornamentation of domestic vessels, which they are supposed to protect (*PNQ* ii. 29; Crooke, *PR* ii. 39). The pentacle is also used as a charm against scorpion-stings and fever (*PNQ* iii. 205; *NINQ* ii. 10). In Bombay the pentacle, when enclosed in a series of circles and curves, prevents a child from crying (Campbell, *op. cit.* 391). Muhammadans believe that by it Solomon was able to work magic. The trigrams used by Himālayan Buddhists fall into the same class (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 395).

(*d*) *Representations of the eye.*—These are drawn on ships and boats as a sort of mimetic charm to enable them to see their way at night and avoid shoals and rocks. They are largely used by the Burmese and Siamese (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 81; Bowring, *Siam*, London, 1857, i. 393; cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. 17 f.).

(*e*) *The swastika.*—The symbol of the *swastika* (Skr. *svasti*, 'welfare,' 'health') is known in Europe under the name of fylfot, cross cramponée, etc., and it is the *gammadion* of Byzantine ecclesiastical ornament. For its origin and significance, see art. Cross; T. Wilson, *The Swastika*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1896; G. d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, London, 1894, p. 32 ff. It appears on the early Iron Age pottery of S. India. At the present day it is drawn on textile fabrics, on religious and domestic utensils, on representations of the footprints of Buddha and other Divine and saintly personages, and on the opening pages of account-books, etc., where it is believed to be a charm against all evil influences. In the normal form the arms bend to the right; in Buddhism they are 'always bent in the respectful attitude, that is, towards the left' (Waddell, *op. cit.* 389; Wilson, *op. cit.* 767).

(*f*) *The labyrinth.*—The labyrinth (Skr. *chakravyūha*) is used as a mimetic charm in cases of protracted labour, a figure of it being drawn and shown to the woman (*PNQ* ii. 114).

(*g*) *The charmed circle.*—The charmed circle, when made with substances like milk or ashes, which possess mystic powers, protects the person enclosed within it from malevolent spirit agencies. Thus it protects cattle from disease, and in the folk-tales we frequently find that a circle made of ashes is used to protect persons from demons (*PNQ* ii. 148; Crooke, *PR* ii. 41 f.; Somadeva, *Kathasaritsāgara*, tr. Tawney, i. 337). The *maṇḍala*,

or magic circle of Buddhism, is of the same type (Waddell, *op. cit.* 397 f.).

(*h*) *Handmarks.*—The mark of the hand made upon a house or any article in one of the lucky colours (see above, 2 (*h*)) is a protective charm (*NINQ* v. 115; cf. Elworthy, *op. cit.* 233 ff.). The handmark of a *satī* on her way to death is regarded as specially fortunate, and is preserved to this day on the gates of forts in Rājputāna.

(*i*) *Tatu.*—Ornamentation of the skin in the form of the tatu is probably based on various principles, one being its use as a prophylactic (*JAI* xvii. 318 ff., xxx. supp. 116, xxxi. 29; Crawley, *op. cit.* 135). In Burma, where the practice is most common, it appears in the form of various cabalistic and protective marks, as, for instance, in love charms, and to alleviate the pain of flogging (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 48 f., 50 f.). In Bengal it is a cure for goitre, and in Madras for muscular pains and other disorders (Risley, *op. cit.* i. 292; *Bull. Madras Museum*, ii. 116).

(*j*) *Charms embedded in the flesh.*—The custom of inserting in the flesh various substances as charms is wide-spread in Burma, and it was used by the Japanese to protect themselves against the armies of the Great Kaan (Marco Polo, ed. Yule, London, 1871, ii. 205, 207 f.; Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 51; Yule, *Mission to Ava*, 208 n.; *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, ii. pt. i. 79). It is occasionally used by Rāmoshī (*q.v.*) thieves in W. India; and natives believe that the famous Madras mutineer, Muhammad Yūsuf Khān, had a magic ball inserted in his thigh, and that he could not be executed until it was extracted (*BG* xviii. pt. iii. 36 n.; Wilson, *Hist. of the Madras Army*, Madras, 1882–89, i. 386).

4. Charms connected with sacred persons, places, etc.—Some charms are connected with deities, holy men, and holy places. Hindus often wear round their necks little metallic lockets containing an image of the goddess Devī, or of some other divinity. In the same class fall the ammonite (*śālagrāma*) used in the worship of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, which is regarded as holy, either on account of its whorls, or because of the interstices which Viṣṇu, in the form of a worm, is said to have made on its surface; and the *liṅgaṁ*, or phallic symbol, of Śiva. Both are valued as protective charms, and small images of the *liṅgaṁ* are worn for this purpose by the Liṅgāyat (*q.v.*) order. In the same way the imprints of the footsteps of Buddha and Viṣṇu (*viṣṇupada*) are depicted on buildings and on various articles. In another class is the 'foot-nectar' (*charaṇmṛta*), or water in which the feet of holy men have been washed. This is often drunk or used as a charm, as is the water in which a sword has been plunged in the Sikh form of initiation (cf. Crawley, *op. cit.* 100 f.). The water from holy rivers, like the Ganges or Narbadā, is given to the dying, and is valued as a remedy. In the same way, Muhammadans use water from the sacred well Zamzam at Mecca. It is used to break the Lenten fast, applied to the eyes to brighten the vision, given to the dying, when Satan stands by holding a bowl of water—the price of the departing soul (Hughes, *DI*, p. 701). Secretions of holy persons are used in the same way, such as pills made from the excrement of the Grand Lāma (Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 397 n.; for similar holy pills, cf. the same author's *Buddhism of Tibet*, 323, 448); and the spittle of the Meriah victim of the Kandhs (*q.v.*) (Risley, *op. cit.* i. 405; Macpherson, *Memorials of Service*, London, 1865, p. 118), and of holy men in Gujarāt and Madras (*BG* ix. pt. ii. 127 n.; Dubois, *op. cit.* 132; Thurston, *op. cit.* 305). When cattle in Bahāwalpur are attacked with farcy and other diseases, earth from the tomb of the saint 'Ali Ashāb is thrown over them (Malik Muhammad Dīn, *op. cit.* 159). Clay from holy places, like that from the Karbalā or Mashhadu'l-Ḥusain—the great place of Shī'ah pilgrimage in Al-'Irāq—is given to the dying Khoja in W. India, to protect him from the arch-fiend (*BG* ix. pt. ii. 46). Dust from the footsteps of a cow was used to drive evil spirits from the infant god Kṛṣṇa; and, when a Hindu pilgrim bathes at a sacred place, he rubs the holy earth on his body, saying, 'Earth, free me from my sins, that, my sins being destroyed by thee, I may reach heaven' (Campbell, *op. cit.* 79). When a Mhār in the Deccan is possessed by an evil spirit, the officiant takes a little dust from his feet, and rubs it between the eyebrows of the possessed person, and the spirit leaves him; the Chitpāwan Brāhman boy at initiation has his hands rubbed with sand, and, when a girl arrives at puberty, she is rubbed with seven kinds of earth and then bathed; the Chambhārs of Poona put sand under the mother's pillow after childbirth; the seven kinds of sacred earth used in such rites are taken from a king's palace gate, from a hill, from under the foot of an elephant, from a place where four roads meet, from a cowshed, and from under the tree *Andropogon muricatum* (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 119, 141, 327). Pilgrims carry away with them from a sacred site in Assam scrapings of the rocks and soil, which they treasure as protectives, and place beside the corpse, in the belief that they protect the soul from transmigration into one of the lower animals (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 309). Pilgrims to Tibet bring back with them dust of a rock near the temple of medicine at Lhāsa, which is swallowed as a charm (Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 376).

One of the chief sacred substances used in making charms is ashes. It is probable that these were originally the ashes of the sacrifice (*vibhūti*, 'great power'), which are still used by Śaiva ascetics to rub on the body and form their sectarial marks (Padfield, *op. cit.* 89). In the Himālaya one of the most potent charms against evil spirits is that known as the 'ashes formula' (*vibhūti mantra*), after the recitation of which some ashes are smeared on the forehead of the patient three times, and then rubbed off, so as to disperse the dangerous influence; and a patient of the Śaiva sect in S. India is rubbed with sacred ashes while a charm is recited (*NINQ* iii. 74 f.; Padfield, *op. cit.* 50). A bath of ashes is one of the modes of purification used by the Liṅgāyats (*q.v.*) (Dubois, *op. cit.* 181). The Mikirs of Assam use ashes as a cure to relieve blindness (Stack, *The Mikirs*, 51). The Todas, in order to avert the influence of demons, make a mark with ashes above the nose of the patient (Rivers, *op. cit.* 269). In Bombay, rubbing the head with ashes cures headache; a person excommunicated is relieved of the tabu by swallowing ashes administered by his spiritual guide; ashes from the censer of Māruti, the monkey-god, or some other guardian deity, scare spirits (*BG* xxii. 51, xxiii. 114). Ashes produced after the fusing of iron, copper, or silver, are regarded as the elixir of life (Campbell, *op. cit.* 21). Old women, both Hindu and Muhammadan, sprinkle ashes, with the recital of a formula, over the bridegroom when he retires with his bride, believing that this makes him subservient to her (*NINQ* v. 215). The ashes of the sacred fires, like that lighted at the Holī festival, and those maintained by various Musalmān saints and at Hindu temples, have high repute as prophylactics. In the folk-tales, the person exposed to witchcraft or spirit influence finds shelter within a magic circle of ashes (Somadeva, *op. cit.* i. 337).

5. Places where charms are most frequently used.—(*a*) *Cross-roads.*—It is a common habit to perform charms at the place where four roads meet.

In the orthodox Brāhmanical death-rites, lamps are placed at cross-roads (Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 102). At the marriage rite among the Bharvāds in Gujarāt, a eunuch flings balls of wheat-flour towards the four quarters of the heavens, as a charm to scare evil spirits; and in the same province, at the Holi festival, the fire is lighted at a *quadrivium* (*BG* ix. pt. i. 280, 357). In Bombay, seven pebbles, picked up from a place where three roads meet, are used as a charm against the evil eye (Campbell, *op. cit.* 208). Some of the Gujarāt tribes, apparently with the intention of dispersing the evil or passing it on to some traveller, sweep their houses on the first day of the month Kārttik (November), and lay the refuse in a pot at the cross roads (*ib.* 329). On the same principle, a common form of small-pox transference is to lay the scabs or scales from the body of the patient at cross-roads, in the hope that some passer-by may take the disease with him (Crooke, *PR* i. 164 f.). Many instances of such practices have been collected by Westermarck (*MI* ii. 256 n.), who comes to the conclusion that suicides were buried at cross-roads because the cross was believed to disperse the evil, so that this would be a favourite place where a person could divest himself of disease or other ills attributed to spirit agency.

(*b*) *Boundaries.*—Charms are often performed at boundaries, in order to protect the village from the entry of strange, and therefore hostile, spirits. The *baigā*, or medicine-man, of the non-Aryan tribes of the central hills, yearly makes a line with spirituous liquor along the village boundary to repel foreign spirits. The Kandhs, with the same object, used to offer animal sacrifices at their boundaries (Macpherson, *op. cit.* 366).

(*c*) *Cemeteries.*—Tāntrik charms, in which portions of corpses, human bones, or ashes from funeral pyres are used, are sometimes performed in cemeteries, which are believed to be the haunts of those demons whom it is the object of the charm to bring under control.

6. Conditions of charm-working.—(*a*) *Nudity.*—It is often an essential part of such rites that they shall be done in a state of nudity. A mason, in a state of nudity, sets up the 'magic stone' (*yantram rāyi*) in Madras (Thurston, *op. cit.* 264). In one of the folk-tales the conditions for working a charm are thus defined:

'Rise up in the last watch of the night, and with dishevelled hair and naked, and without rinsing your mouth, take two handfuls of rice as large as you can grasp with your two hands, and, muttering the form of words, go to a place where four roads meet, and there place the two handfuls of rice, and return in silence without looking behind you. Do so until the Piśācha [cannibal demon] appears' (Somadeva, *op. cit.* i. 255 f.; cf. 154).

This ceremonial nudity appears in many rites in India (*Journal Eth. Soc.* iv. 333 ff.; *JAI* v. 413; *PNQ* iv. 88, 197; Dubois, *op. cit.* 388). It perhaps represents profound submission to spirit power, or is based on the belief that clothes used in a sacred place or in magical rites become tabu and cannot be used again (W. R. Smith, p. 451).

(*b*) *Purity.*—The chief condition of successful charm-working is that the officiant must be in a state of personal purity. He must exercise extreme care in reciting the charm, lest, in the event of error, it may recoil upon himself. For this purpose he must be carefully instructed in the art. A person desirous of learning Muhammadan charms must repeat them several times for forty days, during which he should abstain from animal and certain other kinds of food (*BG* ix. pt. ii. 144). In a tale in the *Jātaka* (iv. 124 ff.) a man learns a charm from a Chandāla out-caste, and loses the power of working it because, through shame, he denies the source of his knowledge.

7. Methods of working charms.—The custom of waving things which are regarded as charms over persons exposed to spirit dangers is common. The technical name for the process is *ārti* (Skr. *ārātrika*), and it is commonly used in making offerings to idols, etc. (Dubois, *op. cit.* 148 ff.). In Bengal, when a Napit bridegroom comes to fetch his bride, women wave round him a basket containing five lamps, five lumps of coloured earth, a looking-glass, a box, vermilion, turmeric, rice, and grass (Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 126). The Malāi Vellālas of Madras swing a live fowl round the married pair, wring its neck, and give it to the musicians (Thurston, *op. cit.* 279). With this may be compared the Musalmān rite known as *taṣadduk*, in which a person takes upon himself the calamity impending over another. It is told of the Emperor Bābar that, when his son Humāyūn was dangerously sick, he walked thrice round him, took his illness upon himself, and from that time lost his health (W. Erskine, *Hist. of India*, London, 1854, i. 513 f.; cf. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, 1907, i. 217). It is said that his grandfather in this way removed the disease of the late Sir Salar Jung (Bilgrami-Wilmott, *Hist. Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions*, Bombay, 1883, i. 148). On the same principle, at Hindu and Muhammadan weddings, old women crack their fingers and touch their foreheads, thus taking upon themselves the danger which menaces bride and bridegroom.

A favourite mode of using charms is to write the formula on paper or on the inside of a cup, and then to dissolve the writing in water, which is administered to the patient. For the same purpose, charms are often engraved inside metal cups which are reserved for this special object (Thurston, *op. cit.* 357; *BG* ix. pt. ii. 57 n.; cf. Waddell, *Lhasa*, 377). Medical prescriptions, which are really charms, given by the Lāmas, are eaten by the northern Buddhists, who also drink the water in which the magical writing has been reflected (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 401).

8. Charms and mimetic magic.—From the examples which have been given in this summary account of Indian charms, it will have been made clear how largely they depend upon the principles of white magic in the forms known as 'mimetic,' 'sympathetic,' or 'homœopathic.' Two ideas underlie magic of this kind: 'first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and second, that things which have once been in contact, but have ceased to be so, continue to act on each other as if the contact still persisted' (Frazer, *GB*[2] i. 9). The following examples illustrate these principles. The Burmese, in order to protect a person from drowning, tatu a representation of an egret or paddy-bird on the body (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 56). In N. India, wearing the bones of a wolf makes a child active (*NINQ* iv. 198). The Nāmbūtiri Brāhman husband in Malabar, at the 'male-production' rite (*puṃsavana*), feeds his wife with one grain of barley and two beans, symbolizing the genital organs of the male (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 116). So in Bombay, cutting off and swallowing a portion of the foreskin of a newborn child produces male issue (*PNQ* iii. 116). In Bengal, at a Magh wedding, the bride and bridegroom eat some curry and rice from the same dish; what they leave is kept in a covered earthen vessel for seven days, during which the married couple may not leave the village or cross running water. On the eighth day the vessel is opened, and if maggots are found in the food, it is believed to show that the union will be fertile (Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 32). Ague is cured in N. India by enclosing parched grain in a marrow bone, which is buried in a hole just where the shadow of the patient falls, with the invocation: 'O fever, come when this grain sprouts again!' (*NINQ* ii. 9). In Madras, lumps of molasses are thrown into temple-tanks by

persons suffering from boils or abscesses, in the belief that the latter will disappear as the former are dissolved in the water (Thurston, *op. cit.* 352).

9. **Amulets.**—Amulets, which in the Tāntrik school are known by the name *kavacha*, which means 'a cuirass, breastplate, or body armour,' are formed out of the same substances as those used in charms. Passages from a sacred book, as by Muhammadans the sections of the Qur'ān known as 'The Daybreak' and 'Men' (Qur'ān, *sūras* cxiii., cxiv.), are often enclosed in cases made of silver or other precious metal, and are worn round the neck or on the parts of the body most liable to danger, physical or spiritual. Such cases are often beautiful specimens of the art of the jeweller (see illustrations from the Panjāb and Tibet in Baden Powell, *Handbook of Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1872, p. 178; Waddell, *Lhasa*, 348). When General Nicholson was attacked by a Ghāzī fanatic, he was obliged to shoot his assailant; the ball passed through a sacred book which he had tied across his breast as a protective (Kaye, *Lives of Indian Officers*, London, 1867, ii. 452). A curious form of amulet, known as 'the crown of the co-wife' (*saukan morā*), is used in N. India. It is an image of his first wife worn by a man who has married a second time. All gifts made to the new wife are first laid before the image of her predecessor, lest, through jealousy, the latter may work mischief (*PNQ* i. 14; Campbell, *op. cit.* 171). Compound amulets, containing a collection of various protectives, are commonly used. The Himālayan Buddhists wear cases containing little idols, charms, and written prayers, or the bones, hair, or nail-parings of a Lāma (Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, London, 1891, pp. 89 f., 141). Chin men in Upper Burma wear in their necklaces tiger and bear claws; women wear hog-deer teeth; children, claws of the wild cat; merrythoughts of fowls are worn to commemorate recovery from illness through the sacrifice of a fowl; in similar cases men wear cocks' feathers round the throat, or tigers' claws or cocks' feathers attached to their gaiters (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 469). An amulet worn by a man in the Panjāb was found to contain a piece of an umbilical cord encased in metal; a tiger's claw; two claws of the great owl turned in opposite directions, and fixed in a metal case; a stone, probably tourmaline or quartz; and an evil eye destroyer in the shape of a jasper or black marble bead. These were all considered necessary. But, as an additional precaution, were added some gold, a whorled shell, an old copper coin, ashes from the fire of a Yogī ascetic, an iron ring, a cowrie shell, and the five ingredients out of which incense is made. The owner admitted that the last articles might advantageously have been replaced by a *yantra*, or magic copper tablet (*PNQ* iii. 186).

10. **Functions of women in connexion with charms.**—Women, owing to their greater susceptibility to spirit influence, are often appointed to priestly functions (cf. J. E. Harrison, *Proleg. to Gr. Rel.*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 260 ff.; Farnell, *op. cit.* v. 159 f.). It is old women of the family who usually perform the wave rite at marriage; and the same feeling accounts for the part taken in such magical rites by dancing girls and sacred slaves attached to the great Hindu temples (Campbell, *op. cit.* 336, 452 f.).

LITERATURE.—References to charms and amulets are found in many ethnographical works on the Indian races, some of which have been quoted in the course of this article. There does not appear to be any monograph on the subject. The most useful collections of charms are to be found in Sir J. M. Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, Bombay, 1885; E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, Madras, 1906; *PNQ*, 1883–1887; *NINQ*, 1891–1896. The use of charms forms a considerable element in the folk-tale literature. See the standard collections, such as Somadeva, *Katha-sarit-sāgara*, tr. C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880; *The Jātaka*, ed. E. B. Cowell, Cambridge, 1895–1907; Mrs. F. A. Steel and Sir R. C. Temple, *Wideawake Stories*, Bombay, 1884; J. H. Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, London, 1888; Lal Behari Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, London, 1883; C. H. Bompas, *Folk-lore of the Santal Parganas*, London, 1909; M. Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, London, 1870; W. L. Hildburgh, in *JAI* xxxix. [1909], 368 ff.; A. N. Moberley, in *Memoirs As. Soc. Bengal*, i. 223 ff.

W. CROOKE.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Iranian).—Although the name of the Zoroastrian priests, the Magi (on the meaning, see art. MAGI, and A. Carnoy, 'Le Nom des Mages,' in *Muséon*, new ser., ix.), has actually supplied the generic term for magic of all kinds, yet, as a matter of fact, 'witchcraft, incantations, and similar superstitions are indeed to be found among the ancient Iranian people, but apparently occupied no very extensive place' (Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur*, Erlangen, 1882, p. 331). In this respect the Iranians stand in marked contrast to their Indian cousins, with their strong trend towards Tāntrik and other superstitious practices. On the other hand, as the same writer justly remarks, a system which, like the Avesta, considers the whole world as filled with evil spirits and noxious creatures must naturally be disposed to avert the malignant effects of such beings. Among such are constantly reckoned some species of sorcerers or witches, known by the names of *jatu*, *pairika*, etc.; and 'witchcraft' is denounced as an abomination. It is against them, as well as against various forms of disease, noxious animals, and other physical ills, that prayers (*mañthra*) and spoken or written charms (*nīrang*) are directed. The Parsis possess formulæ of incantations and magical prayers in abundance, and Anquetil du Perron published many in his second volume (Spiegel, *Traditionelle Literatur*, ii. 167, Vienna, 1860).

Several such efficacious prayers or conjurations against evil creatures occur in the Avesta itself; and certain Avestan passages were considered specially efficacious, and are written out even at the present day, e.g. *Yašt* xxxii. 5. Of material objects used as amulets there are fewer traces. The *locus classicus* in the Avesta is *Yašt* xiv. (the 'Bahram Yašt'). Therein Zarathuštra asks what remedy there may be if a man who hates him throw a curse upon him, or utter a spell against him. Ahura Mazda directs him to 'take a feather of the wide-winged bird *vārəñgana* (owl, or raven [?]), and with it rub thy body; with that feather thou shalt curse back thy enemies.' If a man hold a bone or a feather of this same bird, no one can overcome him, but he will be ever victorious over all foes (*Yašt* xiv. 33 ff., 'a most remarkable passage,' as Windischmann says [*Zor. Studien*, Berlin, 1863, p. 211]). But these feathers can also be used in divining the future. When two hostile armies are drawn up facing in battle array, the prophet is told either to throw or scatter four of the feathers in the space between the hostile ranks, and whichever of the two shall first worship the Genii of Strength and Victory shall gain the day. This spell is esoteric, and must be told to none except by father to son, brother to brother, or priest to pupil (*ib.* 43–46). The bird here referred to soon became identified with the mystic bird, Saēna, the Sīmurgh (see Casartelli, 'Cyena-Simurgh-Roc; un chapitre d'évolution mythologique,' in *Congrès scient. intern. des Catholiques*, Paris, 1891, vi. 79–87), whose feathers, in the *Shāh-nāmah*, cure both Rustam and his mother of their wounds.

Several formulæ of spells or amulets used by Zoroastrians have been published in recent years. J. J. Modi, in two papers read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay in 1894, described a charm for ulcer in the cornea of the eye, 'prepared by a respectable Parsee family of Nowsharee,' consisting of the root of a plant (*vār mogro* = *Jasminum pubescens*), plucked with very elaborate

ceremonial, bound round with yarn, and passed over fumes of incense. But the present writer doubts if this amulet, learned 'from a fakir,' is genuine Iranian. Modi also exhibited a stone amulet (marked with something like an eye) for the same disease. Again, he quoted a *taviz*, or written conjuration, against all diseases of the eye, written in a mixture of Avestan, Pazand, and Pahlavi, and to be tied on the left hand. In 1891 the same author published a Pahlavi spell against noxious insects, to be written with saffron water on deerskin or paper, and posted on the house door, whilst sand is blessed and sprinkled. He interprets an Avestan fragment (published by Westergaard [frag. 2]), whose obscurity has puzzled all translators, as (according to the heading of one old MS) 'a *nīrang* for forming friendships and companionships.' Three more such written charms are published by K. Edalji Kanga in the *Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, viz. one in Pahlavi, for the destruction of noxious creatures, including wolves; another, in Pāzand, against rats, cats, snakes, and wolves; a third, also in Pāzand, against fever, diseases, and the evil eye. Spiegel (*loc. cit. supra*) published two curious charms: 'In order to put a stop to cattle-disease, take the *rōj Ardibihišt* and write it out on a skin; cut off a little wool from the scrotum of a ram, then bind it up, and at the place where the sheep pass, bury it in the earth' (p. 167). Another is a *nīrang* 'to smite the evil spirit, the *dēvs*, magicians,' etc., and is a prayer, based on that of Zarathuštra in *Vend.* xix. 17 ff.

It is noteworthy that in nearly all these various conjuratory formulæ (most of which are preserved in Persian *rivāyats*) there is special mention of the great Iranian hero Thraētaona, the later Farīdūn, with whom are often combined the star Tištrya, and other heavenly bodies. This is probably owing to the fact that Thraētaona is specifically connected with the healing art and the origin of medicine, in the same way as the Greek Asklepios. It is interesting to learn from Williams Jackson that he found among the Zoroastrians of Yezd at the present day similar charms and amulets in use against the evil eye. The *mobeds* are frequently called in to read passages from the Avesta for this purpose (*Persia Past and Present*, New York and London, 1906, p. 379).

LITERATURE.—J. Darmesteter, 'Zend-Avesta, ii.,' in *SBE*, xxiii., tr. of *Bahram Yašt* and notes, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–93, ii. 570 ff.; F. Spiegel, *Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, Leipzig, 1860, p. 167 ff.; W. Geiger, *Ostirān. Kultur im Alterthum*, Erlangen, 1882, p. 331 f.; J. J. Modi, *Charms or Amulets for Diseases of the Eye*, Bombay, 1894, *Two Amulets of Ancient Persia*, Bombay, 1901; K. E. Kanga, 'King Farīdūn and a few of his Amulets and Charms,' in *Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 141-145. L. C. CASARTELLI.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Japanese).—There are comparatively few houses of the lower or middle classes in Japan where amulets are not to be found, either openly displayed upon an outer doorway, as a warning to ill-disposed spirits, or carefully preserved from contamination within the household shrine; and few families in which some, at least, of the members do not carry amulets upon their persons. The majority of them are more or less religious in character, for at almost every temple or shrine charms or amulets may be bought, often those issued by the temple itself, but perhaps more frequently, especially in the case of the smaller places of worship, those issued by greater temples, or by famous shrines, of the same sect. They are called *o-mamori* ('honourable protections'—a term applied to amulets of religious origin, but more particularly to those which are portable), and *o-fuda* (tickets of religious origin, to be affixed to some part of a structure), or *majinai* (a term including minor magical, or supposedly magical, practices, together with secular amulets), and may be divided, roughly, into amulets purely religious in conception; amulets which seem purely magical in conception, although they receive a religious sanction; amulets to which certain religious associations are attached; and purely secular amulets. The underlying feature, common to the amulets of both religious and secular origins, of most of the amulets, with the exception, of course, of those by which the beneficent influence of some deity is believed to be caused to be directed towards the possessors, is that of sympathy—a sympathy so wide that it embraces not only actual contact or association with the objects or vehicles of the ministrations, but also even a mere mental association, as in a play upon words. While the main principles of this sympathy are the same as those underlying the amulets and magical practices of most peoples, there are, in Japan, certain manifestations of it which appear to be peculiar to that country.

In Japan, contrary to the common usage in other countries, very few amulets are worn as ornaments, but probably we may ascribe this largely to the comparative absence of jewellery among the Japanese, there being but few objects worn by adults which could be replaced, in case of necessity, by others having an amuletic purpose. The rings, brooches, and pendants, which so often have served as media for amuletic intentions in other countries, are (except where of recent introduction) almost lacking in Japan. Combs and other hair-ornaments are occasionally amuletic, as in the case of those made from the horns of, or even with small effigies of, the Kasuga temple deer at Nara, which are worn against headache. But even *netsukes*, which might reasonably be expected to be found often used as amulets, show an almost negligibly small proportion so used; beyond the bottle-gourd (admirably adapted for a *netsuke* because of its shape), which is believed to protect its wearer from injury by falling, there seem to be very few *netsukes* which are amuletic by virtue of their design, and similarly few which are intrinsically amuletic. Few Japanese amulets are carried exposed to view—not, apparently, from the notion, found in other countries, that the efficacy of an amulet may be impaired if it be shown, but probably because the Japanese costume makes, except in the case of children, no provision for them. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that the amulets used for the protection of houses or their inhabitants are generally placed in such positions that they cannot fail to attract the attention of those concerned. The personal amulets, sometimes twenty to thirty in number, carried by adults are carefully wrapped up in the form of a small packet, often with a piece (even a mere fragment) of brocade to serve as their own amuletic protection against impairment of their virtues due to accidental contamination. Children's amulets,[1] however, such as the small bell, the bottle-gourd, the *maigo-fuda* (label with the child's address) with protective designs, or objects believed to be curative of various ailments, excepting the fragile ones carried in a special bag (the *o-mamori kinchaku*), are commonly worn exposed to view, attached to the girdle (*obi*) or hung from the neck.

Amongst the principal purposes to which Japanese amulets are commonly applied are: general protection; protection from the demons causing ill-luck or various diseases; against accidents in general or of specific kinds, or to bear the burden of an injury in the event of an accident; the protection of houses, crops, or domestic animals; the

[1] Cf. W. L. Hildburgh, 'Japanese Household Magic,' in *Trans. Japan Soc.*, London, 1908.

direct (supposedly medicinal) alleviation of various maladies in which the effects are not ascribed to demons; in connexion with the phenomena of gestation and childbirth; against bewitching; and for the bringing of good fortune or, very commonly, improvement in one's luck.

The earliest recorded Japanese amulets seem to be the mythical 'Tide-flowing Jewel' and 'Tide-ebbing Jewel,' given by the god of the sea to the heavenly grandchild, whereby the actions of the tide might be controlled.[1] The actual amulets of pre- and proto-historic times have left few distinct traces. So many foreign influences have since been at work amongst the assimilative Japanese, that it is almost impossible to determine which of the beliefs relating to amulets formed of perishable materials—wood, seeds, hair, skin, claws, etc.—are of native origin, and which of foreign or of late derivation. Presumably, the perforated teeth, perforated shells, and certain of the anthropomorphic figures and plaques, found in the graves, served, as amongst other primitive peoples, as amulets, although their purposes can only be guessed at, since, strangely enough, neither perforated teeth nor shells appear to be used (as amongst other peoples) as amulets by the present-day Japanese. The well-known *magatama* ('curved jewels') and *kudatama* ('tube-shaped jewels') of proto-historic times may possibly have been amuletic, but the present evidence of this is insufficient to enable them to be so classed with certainty. The printed charms seem to be Buddhist in origin, and to have been brought with Buddhism from the Asiatic continent, although they are also issued at present in great numbers by the Shinto shrines; the earliest specimens of block-printing in Japan were Buddhist charms, of which a million were printed, dating from A.D. 770.[2]

The charms sold at the temples and shrines consist, for the most part, of slips of paper, printed in black with a sacred text, or a more or less rude woodcut of the divinity whose aid is invoked, or the name of the shrine, or one or more of these, together with the purpose of the amulet; and they are generally folded up and enclosed in envelopes, often both the charm and the envelope bearing a red imprint of the seal of the shrine to attest their genuineness. Instead of the deity's picture, there may be given the picture of some animal or object intimately associated with the deity—the foxes of Inari, for example, or the wild-dogs of the deity at Mitsuminesan, whose likeness protects from burglary; or a horse, used by jinriksha coolies to increase their fleetness of foot; or a demon, the hand of Kobo Daishi, a fan, rice-bales, etc.—in virtue of which picture the charm may be used, because of its assumed sympathetic relations therewith, for purposes entirely unconnected with the divinity actually invoked. Some of the paper charms serve several purposes, such, for example, as those issued by the Suitengu shrines bearing five debased Sanskrit characters, which are carried for general protection, but which, a character at a time, may be eaten or drunk as remedial agents, or used in a domestic form of divination; or a certain picture of Daikoku bearing his sack, used as a traveller's amulet, or a draught for childbirth, or to represent the victim (a thief with his booty) in a ceremony for injury which is performed by perforating an image. Sometimes the charms are made of wood instead of paper, forming small tickets to be carried, or large ones to be fastened over doorways, upon ships, or in similar situations. At some temples, charms are issued for many different purposes; thus at the temple of Sensoji at

[1] Cf. W. G. Aston's *Nihongi* (Eng. tr.), London, 1896.
[2] B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*[5], London, 1906.

Asakusa, Tokyo ('Asakusa Kwannon'), the paper amulets to be carried (all alike in form and differing only in their inscriptions) included, in 1907, special amulets against lightning, dangers while travelling, dangers on shipboard, conflagrations, misfortunes in general, calamity due to sickness, burns or scalds, 'insects' (within the body, supposed to be the cause of certain ailments), and for the purpose of bettering one's fortune.

Other purely religious amulets sold at the temples include small images of the deities or their attendants, in wood, clay, or metal, or even carved from grains of rice; medals (a modern development, corresponding to the paper amulets for general protection); relics, such as fragments of the shrines periodically demolished at Ise; paper *gohei*; and food which has been offered to the deities. There are also preserved as amulets, although not commonly sold at the temples, *shari*, stone-like relics of Buddhist saints, which are generally kept in more or less elaborate tower-shaped reliquaries (*shari-to*), though they are occasionally carried upon the person.

The religious amulets are preferably obtained by their users, and during the course of a pilgrimage; but since a pilgrimage is not always feasible, a pilgrim will usually bring back with him a considerable number of amulets from the more famous and popular shrines for distribution among his friends. The cost of the paper amulets is generally very small, although amulets of finer materials may be fairly expensive. The paper amulets bearing Buddhist texts should be retained within their envelopes, and not taken out and read; this is probably intended merely to avoid danger of contamination. People prefer to renew their amulets yearly, if possible; and, when they have replaced the old amulets by new ones, they destroy the former in a 'clean' manner, by throwing them into running water or burning them in a fire of clean materials.

Of amulets, whose underlying conceptions seem purely magical, yet which receive a religious sanction and are sold by the priests, the charmed sand for the cure of disease and for protection, the fragments of stone to be carried by childless persons desirous of offspring, the parti-coloured girdles of paper to be worn as a protection during pregnancy, and the combs for straightening wavy hair may be cited.

The third category—amulets to which, although they are not sold by the priests, religious associations are more or less attached—includes a large and very curious class, of which only a few typical examples can be given here. Such are the small elongated packets of cooked food wrapped in leaves, thrown, tied together in bunches, from the processional cars at a great temple-festival at Kyoto to the spectators along the route, to be scrambled for eagerly, and thereafter, if not eaten, to be fastened up by doorways as a protection against thieves; the charred fragments of the wood used at certain fire-festivals; the lanterns affixed to the houses in honour of some religious festivals; and possibly, to a certain extent, the special toys or ornaments sold annually at various temple-fairs and placed within a shop to ensure its prosperity, or the sweepings of the outer platform of a popular temple, to be scattered in the morning just outside the shop, to ensure good trade for the day. As the extreme stage there may possibly be taken such amulets as the stick of holly with the head of a sardine stuck upon it, placed at the outer doorway at the Setsubun festival in order to prevent the demons from re-entering the house after having been magically driven out;[1] or various other objects, some genuinely religious, some

[1] W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1905, p. 313.

secular in character, used in connexion with the New Year ceremonies, and preserved, as protective, throughout the year.

Of purely, or apparently purely, secular amulets there are a multitude, of so many kinds that it is possible here to refer only to some of the principal varieties. Corresponding to the religious printed charms there are secular written charms for all sorts of purposes, some of which are merely verses, or notices intended for the attention of the offenders, or even meaningless formulæ, while others consist of certain ideographs repeated many times and arranged in some specified design, or of magical formulæ, interspersed with magical designs. Some of the simpler of these charms are commonly known; others may be obtained from printed collections of household recipes; others require preparation by a professional magician or diviner.

Puns, although used in connexion with amulets, are more common in other forms of magic. The use of *imori* (a kind of red-bellied newt) for the production of an amuletic love-powder is probably derived from a pun on *imo* ('woman,' or perhaps 'darling') and *ri* ('victory' or 'gain').[1] Another form of the principle is illustrated by a cure for a corn (one name of which is *mame*, 'a bean') on the foot, in which the ideograph for 'pigeon' is written thrice upon the corn and then (when the 'pigeon' has eaten the 'bean') is rubbed out.

Images of persons or animals inimical to the feared sources of danger are used. Thus, an image of Shoki, the slayer of demons, is placed upon a roof to frighten demons away from a house; or a picture of the *baku*, a mythical animal believed to have the power of swallowing evil dreams, is painted upon a pillow, as a charm against nightmare. An extension of the principle to paper amulets consists of the written name of an enemy of the particular demons feared, pasted above a doorway in order to give the idea that the house is his. Another extension seems to lie in the use of the imprint of the hand, actually or supposedly that of some influential personage, in ink upon paper; this application of the hand-imprint apparently differs in origin from that of the imprint of the hand of a prospective or possible victim (generally a child) of certain diseases, which may be similarly placed. Representations of the animals of the Chinese Cycle are used to preserve from harm persons born in their respective years, or at some fixed time (such as that of the seventh animal away) from their respective years; for example, children wear *maiyo-fuda* inscribed with a likeness of the animal of their birth-year. Living fish of a certain kind may be kept as amulets; the shells of molluscs or crustaceans are also used. Vegetables, fruits, flowers, seeds, and stems of certain kinds are used amuletically, principally about the house. Thus, in some districts a bulb (and stem) of garlic is fastened to the doorway, in order to protect the inmates from infectious diseases, presumably on the principle that the powerful odour of the garlic will overcome the odours believed to be connected with the diseases.

Certain coins and coin-like tokens are believed to have protective or curative virtues, due either to their composition (as in the case of the *bun-sen*, made from the metal of a Daibutsu destroyed by an earthquake), or to the inscriptions or designs, sometimes religious, sometimes secular, which they bear.[2] Children's toys of various kinds are used amuletically. For example, the *maneki neko* ('beckoning cat'), the image of a cat resting upon its haunches and having one forepaw raised as if in invitation, is an amulet commonly used to attract custom to a shop; and the tumbling toy, representing Daruma (a Buddhist ascetic whose legs dropped off through inaction) is used in a variety of ways, such as, because of its stability, to prevent a wrestler from being overthrown, or, because of its red colour, against certain diseases. Small bells, to whose tinkling the power of keeping demons away from a child is sometimes still ascribed, although the belief in their virtues is more often found at present in connexion with falling, are worn by children. The colour red, noted above, is often used in amulets or charms for general preservation, for the cure of several diseases, and for matters related to the blood. Certain magical properties are also attributed to purple, but in general there does not seem to be so great a reliance on the magical virtues of colours as is to be found amongst other peoples. The type of amulet in which the interests of numerous persons are combined in favour of the wearer of the amulet is well represented, one of its best illustrations being the girdle, commonly worn by soldiers in the Russo-Japanese war, of cloth containing 1000 knotted stitches, each made, with a short wish for the preservation of the future wearer, by a different woman.

In conclusion, attention should be directed to Western amulets, which are being introduced with Western culture. The medals now issued at several shrines have been noted, but a more striking example is that of the iron horse-shoe which, at seaport towns and in places where cavalry are stationed, may occasionally be found used as an amulet in European fashion.

LITERATURE.—W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, Lond. 1905; B. H. Chamberlain, 'Notes on Some Minor Japanese Religious Practices,' in *JAI* xxii. [1893], and *Things Japanese*[5], Lond. 1906; F. Brinkley, *Japan*, Lond. 1904, vol. v. ch. 6, 'Superstitions'; W. L. Hildburgh, 'Japanese Household Magic,' in *Trans. Japan Soc.* (Lond.) 1908; J. E. de Becker, *The Nightless City*[2], Yokohama, 1905; E. W. Clement, 'Japanese Medical Folk-Lore,' in *TASJ*, vol. xxxv. [1907]. Numerous references to charms and amulets are scattered throughout Chamberlain's *Murray's Handbook for Japan* (various editions); L. Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Boston, 1894; and J. C. Hepburn's *Japanese-English Dict.*, London, 1903.

W. L. HILDBURGH.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Jewish).—It is necessary to define more accurately the meaning of the words 'charm' and 'amulet,' which are now used somewhat indiscriminately, though there is a profound difference between them. The field covered by both together is much larger than that by each of them separately, and they must therefore be treated separately if we are to gain a clear insight into this part of practical magic. The 'charm,' as the name denotes, is a *carmen* (from which the word is derived), an incantation, a mystical song or spoken spell. The 'amulet' is not the spoken word, but the written or engraved representative of it. It is worn as a protection, a talisman (*apotelesma*); it exercises a decided beneficial effect for the wearer, man or beast; it averts evil. The 'charm,' again, is the work of an expert: a priest, a wizard, one initiated, or one specially prepared and taught can perform it. It is of a twofold character: it may do good or it may cause evil. It may protect man from the attacks of unknown—and in some cases known—foes, human or superhuman; or it may inflict terrible diseases, nay, bring about the destruction of the enemy. It may also heal the patient by driving away the cause of illness, or it may transfer the illness to other persons. A charm may be only an incantation, the recital of a certain poem or a string of words,—some intelligible and some unintelligible to mortals,—and may be accompanied by some mysterious actions; or it may assume the form of a conjuration, a powerful oath binding the

[1] Hildburgh, 'Japanese Household Magic' (*loc. cit.*)
[2] Cf. N. G. Munro, *Coins of Japan*, Yokohama, 1904, for engravings of some of these.

forces of evil and compelling them to act according to the will of the 'conjurer.' The latter is credited with possessing the knowledge of words or 'spells,' which give him the mastery over such invisible powers; and he afterwards becomes the writer of the amulet or the maker of such mystical tokens and symbols, to which similar protective power is ascribed. And, just as there are unintelligible words in the charm, so there are unintelligible words and signs on the talismans. These are understood only by the man who draws them, and are dreaded by those powers which he wishes to subdue and make to serve his purposes, or whose aid he invokes in combating other inimical powers.

It was necessary to formulate at the beginning the theoretical aspect of the practical Kabbala, if this term be used in a wider sense, in order to explain the fundamental system of Jewish charms and amulets such as have been preserved to us and found in ancient books of magic and of mystical tradition. The names which charms and amulets bear in Hebrew are extremely suggestive. We, of course, eschew here everything referring to the magical practices mentioned in the Bible, for, on the one hand, they are things forbidden and not practised by the Jews, and, on the other, they belong to the art. MAGIC proper, whilst the charms and amulets are merely one part of the magical literature and practice of old. With the possible exception of the word *leḥāshîm* found in Is 3[20], where it seems to denote a certain ornament worn by women, there is no direct mention in the OT of any real charm. Nor could it find a place there. The underlying idea of all charms is more or less a negation of the Unity of God. It presupposes a number of evil spirits endowed with great power, bent on doing harm to man or beast; and also various ranks or degrees of powers among these spirits or demons, some greater, others smaller. Therefore, if one could obtain the help of the more powerful, one could by their assistance avert all the consequences of the machinations and attacks of inferior demons. One could also use that assistance to the detriment of one's foes. Such a hierarchy of evil spirits, nay, the very existence of a powerful evil spirit who from without could injure man, contradicts the very principle of the Unity of God, and thus it is no wonder if no mention of charms is made in the Bible.

A problem which has hitherto not been touched upon is, How did the notion of such evil spirits, of demons and *shēdîm*, enter into the conception and beliefs of post-Biblical Judaism? The question is raised here for the first time, and we shall deal with it as succinctly as possible—mainly for the purpose of helping us to understand how such a remarkable syncretism could arise at the time of the beginnings of Christianity and be found in the mystical speculations of the numerous Jewish sects that flourished in Palestine, Egypt, and Western Asia during the last centuries before and the first centuries after Christ. The regular process observed in the religious evolution of nations has been that, when they adopted a new teaching, the old was not entirely forgotten, but only relegated to a secondary place of consideration. The gods of the older religion became the spirits and then the demons of the later. European demonology is the best and most convincing proof of this evolution. The old practices are retained, but when they cannot be sufficiently assimilated to the new principles, they become 'superstitions' (that which 'remains standing over,' 'survivals'). We assume now that the process of evolution in ancient Israel followed the same line, for then it is easy to understand how the Israelites became acquainted in the first place with demons and *shēdîm*, and how the practice of conjuring them arose in their midst. The old gods of the aborigines and of the surrounding nations, and then those of the Babylonians and Egyptians, etc., became evil spirits, demons; and the ancient practices became 'the ways of the Amorites' (*Sanhedrin*, lxv. 6; *Shabb.* lxvii. 6), stigmatized as superstitions to be shunned, and rigorously forbidden to the observant Jew. Now the very essence of any 'god' and similarly of these 'gods' is the *name*. The knowledge of the name hands the god over to him who has obtained that knowledge, for with it he has obtained the full mastery over the god. If such is the case with the heathen god, it follows naturally that much greater would be the power of the operator if he obtained the knowledge of the names of the angels who minister before the true God, and still more if he could obtain the knowledge of the mysterious ineffable Name of God Himself, the creating Word, the power by which the heavens and the earth and the fullness thereof had been created. Everything and everybody short of God Himself—as the Name was only an outward manifestation of His creative power and not the sum and substance of His being—could then be made subservient to the wielder of that Name. The heavenly hierarchy, with its numerous angels and the manifold names of God, is set forth in the old book of the 'Heavenly Halls,' from which most of these names were drawn. A full discussion of the mysterious, ineffable Name of God, the Tetragrammaton, with its innumerable combinations, manipulations, and modalities, lies outside the immediate scope of this article. The whole Jewish magical literature, as well as the entire basis of Jewish charm and amulet, will be found, however, to rest on the use of that and other Names in the manner sketched above. The differentiation begins with the names and the *modus operandi*, but otherwise little difference can be found between one set and another.

The practices prohibited in the Bible, like the *yideʿônî* or *ḥôber ḥeber*, as well as the *mekhashshēph* (variously translated and no doubt erroneously), we pass over. Whether the 'singing' of David (1 S 16[16]), who thereby drove away the evil spirit, the *afflatus* (for that is the correct tr. of the Heb. *rûaḥ*) which had taken hold of Saul, was an 'incantation,' it would be difficult to say. It is not impossible, though no one has yet suggested it. We may recall that the daughter of Saul had 'teraphim,' which she placed in the bed to hide the disappearance of David (1 S 19[13]), and David himself put on an 'ephod' (2 S 6[14] and 1 Ch 15[27]) as if he were a priest. The operations of the 'witch' of Endor (1 S 28[7ff.]) are very obscure, but they remind one of the oldest forms of 'conjurations,' by means of which the dead are made to reappear in this world. But conjuration, casting out of evil spirits (by means of the Name), was an universal practice in the time of the Apostles; it must already have flourished long before among the various sects, and is referred to in the records of the NT. Not only heathen but also Jews exorcized demons (Ac 19[13]), and Justin Martyr in the 2nd cent. speaks of the Jews who exorcize demons (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 76):

'We exorcize all demons and evil spirits, [and] have them subjected to us.' Similarly ch. 85: 'But though you exorcize any demon in the name of any of those who were amongst you,—either kings or righteous men, or prophets, or patriarchs,—it will not be subject to you. But if any of you exorcize it in [the name of] the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, it will perhaps be subject to you. Now assuredly your exorcists, I have said [ch. 76], make use of craft when they exorcize even as the Gentiles do, and employ fumigations and incantations.'

Some of these exorcisms and charms seem to have been preserved in the later form of the Tables of Defixion, and in the Greek texts found in the

Magical Papyri where the 'Logos Ebraikos' and 'Orkismata Ebraika' are mentioned. They are conjurations and incantations for the protection of the wearers, or for the benefit of those who ordered them, averting evil or inflicting harm. Of the same nature may have been the conjuration or the exorcism of the Essene Eleazar, who drove out an evil spirit from a demoniac (Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5 [45-49, ed. Niese]) by means of an incantation composed originally by King Solomon, and evidently forming part of the book in which he had left directions for expelling demons—'a method of cure of great force unto this day,' according to Josephus. The 'Logos Ebraikos,' mentioned above, of the Paris Papyrus (presumably of the 2nd cent. A.D.) has been shown by the present writer (*JRAS*, 1901) to be an abstract from the Book of Enoch, full of esoteric teaching, and considered to be a revelation of heavenly mysteries. The famous Table from Hadrumet is another exorcism preserved from ancient times, a real charm of purely Jewish origin, which gives us the very form and substance of these old charms and spells.

Another example of exorcizing a demon is contained in the Talmudical history of the journey of R. Simeon ben Yohai to Rome; he drives out a demon from the daughter of the Emperor, and thus obtains those favours for the people which he had been deputed to ask. The name of the demon was Ben Temalion (Bar Tolomæus!) (*Me'ila*, 17*b*). An incantation recited in the name of Jesus, son of Pandira, over a patient had the desired effect of healing the patient, though the man who uttered the exorcism was sternly rebuked for having used the name of Jesus in the exorcism (Jerus. *Shabb.* 14*d*). Apocryphal books, ascribed to Moses, Solomon, etc., and spells in Greek Papyri and Hebrew MSS which have thus far been preserved, allow us an insight into the form of these conjurations and incantations. They follow the general line. Mystical and magical names of angels and of God are invoked, and mixed up with them are incidents of Biblical history of a symbolical character; for it was expected that the reciting of an event in which God had saved either the whole nation or some individual, or healed one or many, would have the same effect of healing the patient to whom the words were addressed, and driving away the cause of the evil, the demon who possessed him. To certain passages and verses of the Bible a special symbolical meaning was attached: *e.g.* Ex 15^{26}, 'for I, the Lord, will heal thee,' is mentioned in an incantation in Mishn. *Sanh.* x. I. In *Sifra ad Levit.* 26^{6} we find that the recital of Ps 92 'drives the *mazzikim* (evil spirits) from the world.' More of this will be mentioned later, when the incantation and exorcism have become amulets.

In Hebrew MSS of a later age the present writer has discovered almost identical 'conjurations' (*hashbāōth*), into which also some astrological notions have crept. The sphere of good and evil powers expands. The magical 'pantheon' has no limits. Not only are the angels and God Himself appealed to, but in a special manner such angels and forces as are believed to inhabit the sun, moon, and stars; and in addition to them other invisible powers mighty upon earth and under the earth. The *apotelesmatic* literature and the 'Sabæan' mythology, reduced to magical formulæ, joined the other, in which only the names of the heavenly hierarchy were invoked. Such is the case in the 'Wisdom of the Chaldeans' (ed. Gaster, *PSBA*, Dec. 1900). In the so-called 'Testament of Solomon,' the Greek forms of such conjurations, going back to the first centuries of the Christian era, are found; and the Hebrew 'Sword of Moses' (discovered by the present writer, and edited, London, 1896) is a complete manual of charms and directions as to how each of the numerous mysterious names in which it abounds is to be used on the different occasions when it would be applied. In these books, as in some of the Papyri, it is no longer an incantation or a recitation of powerful names by word of mouth which is to have the desired effect; the *written* word takes the place of the *spoken*. The ancient 'charm' has become a formula, which is inscribed on bowls, on potsherds, on parchment; and the names of these powers, when written down, exercise the same influence upon the evil demon as the spoken incantation. The 'charm' has been turned into an 'amulet.'

In Hebrew literature the name *kemi'a* is given to the amulet, and also *s^egûlôth* (plural)—the latter apparently of a more recent origin. Contrary to the etymologies given hitherto to the word *kemi'a*, explaining it to mean 'a folded thing,' 'a satchel,' with mystical writings in it or with certain drugs and herbs, the present writer sees it in the 'cameo' of the Gnostics, the gem with the mystical inscription and with the seal. From the gem the inscription was transferred to the parchment, and with it also mystical and magical symbols. The human figure engraved on it was, of course, omitted as being contrary to the commandment not to have any graven image of anything, or the likeness of that which is in the heavens above, or on the earth, or under the earth. But all the rest was placed in the amulet as a means of protection. All that was spoken before was now written down, and in addition to the words—and, as we shall see, of the verses and chapters of the Bible—there was the 'seal.'

Next to a name there was nothing so personal, so precise in the characterization of the individuality of each demon and spirit, as the 'seal.' Just as no two persons, much less two angels or demons, have the same name, so also, it is conceived, no two demons could have the same seal or signature. Each one has a seal of his own, by which he ratifies the pact and 'seals' the doom. By it he is recognized and identified, and the knowledge of that seal gives to the magician or exorcist the same power over that demon as the knowledge of the name. It is the *sphragis* of the Gnostic teaching and of the old magical formulæ. The Hebrew word for 'seal' is *hôthām*, and this is the clue to the explanation of the other name which the amulet has in Hebrew. It is called *s^egullāh*, but more often *s^egûlôth*—a name which has hitherto baffled every attempt at explanation. For the Heb. word *s^egullāh* means 'select' or 'treasure,' which has nothing whatever to do with an amulet. But by way of popular etymology the Greek word *sigla* (also plural), meaning 'ciphers,' etc. (*i.e.* the mystical seals), taken over with the amulet, was transformed into the Heb. *s^egûlôth*. The seal of the demon was regularly inserted in the prescription, and often added at the end of the formula. Here also there was a constant evolution going on. The seal was originally the 'signature,' written, of course, with special 'demoniacal' signs, or letters, or combinations. The demons as well as the angels had thus alphabets of their own. Such alphabets were then invented, and in these strange characters the mysterious names were written. There are such alphabets found in old MSS ascribed to the angel Metatron; then there is an alphabet of the angels, of Moses, of Abraham, and also of other unknown authorities, but of equal potency in subduing evil spirits.

The oldest mention of 'amulets' worn on the body is in 2 Mac 12^{40}. 'Under the shirts of every one that was slain, they found things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites which is forbidden the Jews by the Law'; and for this transgression in

wearing such things consecrated to the idols they were slain. The practice must have existed then in Palestine, for even the soldiers under the Maccabæan could not free themselves from it. If, instead of 'things consecrated to idols' or votive offerings (?) banned by the Law, they had carried the Name of God or of His angels, there would probably not have been any exception taken. We next find the *kemi'a* in the Mishna as a regular practice sanctioned by common usage; the only question raised was as to whether man or beast would be allowed to wear it on the Sabbath (*Shabb.* 78*b*, *Kiddush.* 73*b*). It is there described as a satchel or a folded piece of parchment, with writing in it and containing also drugs. The writing supposed to have been in the *kemi'a* was a series of names of God and of Biblical verses of symbolical character, which were to protect the wearer from any attack of evil demon or illness. Besides symbolical verses with sympathetic contents, other verses were used on the strength of traditional interpretations that they contained one or other of the mystical Names of God. Of all the verses in the Bible, Ex 14[19-21] are those of the highest magical and mystical importance. These three verses consist each of 72 letters, and one of the mysterious names of God consists also of 72 letters. Those three verses then are believed to represent the ineffable Name, and they are combined and transposed, and manipulated so as to form 72 groups of names of three letters each, one letter from each of the three verses. Nu 23[22. 23] begins with the word which may mean either 'God' or 'No,' and forms a palindrome, if the word is read backwards, as is done with some of the Biblical verses in the amulets, mentioned already in the Talmud (*Pesaḥ.* 111*a*). The formula of that prayer (amulet) alluded to in the Talmud has been preserved in full by R. Ḥananel of the 10th century. It runs as follows:

'Lord God save me from all evil, from all hurt and harm, for in Thine hand is strength and might, and Thou art God'; or, if the allusion is to Nu 23[19], 'Do *not* forsake me, my God, do not leave me. Take care of me as of the apple of the eye, fulfil my wishes, grant my request, hear me before I call unto Thee; say not *No*.'

In addition to the Pentateuch, the book of predilection for such use was the Psalter, and not only were whole Psalms considered efficacious against magic (*e.g.* Ps 92 mentioned above, Ps 91 known as 'the song against evil attacks' [*shîr shel p'ga'îm*], and others, like Ps 145, which, if repeated thrice in the course of the day, would open the gates of Paradise), but each Psalm was a specific against one illness or other; for in some of the verses of each of the 150 Psalms a mysterious Divine name was concealed. A book called *Shimush Tehillîm*, 'The mystical Use of the Psalms,' is mentioned from ancient times, and has been preserved. We find here an indication, at the head of each Psalm, of the good which may be accomplished by the recitation of it. The range of usefulness is very great. It covers many forms of illness; it affords help against robbers and evildoers; it provides support for one appearing before a judge or ruler; it secures favour and love, protection against evil spirits, assiduity in study, and a good and retentive memory. To this very day the Psalms are recited, and the whole book read, in case of serious illness. The best known amulet is Ps 67, written in the form of a seven-branched candlestick, in a peculiar manner, and with the initial and final letters combined to form mystical names. Similarly a book called *Shimush Tefillin* is mentioned in writings of the 8th cent., but no positive information has been preserved. The phylacteries (for that is the meaning given to *Tefillîn*) were considered as a protection against evil spirits as far back as the Targum to Canticles (8[3]), but even in the time of Justin Martyr they were not yet believed to be amulets (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 46). Their efficacy in protecting against demons rested on the Biblical passages written thereon. In outward appearance they look like amulet cases worn to this day by the Arabs and found also among the ancient Babylonians. The inscription on the parchment inside was the protection, especially as some of the letters had to have a peculiar ornamentation, *taggîn*, or 'crowns.'

More elaborate than the short incantations and amulets with Biblical verses and the names of God and His angels are those in which the astrological element had been added, and with it also foreign names whose heathen origin was entirely forgotten. Such are the 'Wisdom of the Chaldeans' mentioned above, where the guardian angels of the planets are fully described, and in some MSS also depicted; further, the so-called 'Key of Solomon' (the famous 'Clavicula'), and the 'Book of the Moon'—all full of the most extraordinary medley of Greek, Babylonian, Egyptian, and other ancient traditions, mixed up with Biblical quotations, and with references to the mysterious power of the combined letters of the various magical names, and having also *sigla* and other ornamented signs.

In more recent times the elaborate ancient amulet has given way to simpler forms—tablets, metal disks, medals with the names either engraved or stamped upon them, or small pieces of parchment to be worn round the neck, and consisting of Biblical verses disposed in magical intersecting circles, the corners being filled up with mystical names, and having, as a rule, the name 'Shaddai' in the centre, or Ps 67 written in the form of the seven-branched candlestick, with or without further additions from the Kabbalistic literature.

The history of Jewish charms and amulets has a romance of its own. In turns condemned and allowed, towards the middle of the 18th cent. the writing of certain amulets by a great Talmudical scholar not only brought him near excommunication, but almost divided Jewry against itself. R. Jacob Eibenshutz, the Rabbi of Hamburg, had written a number of amulets which, his antagonist Jacob Emden alleged, contained among the holy names also that of the false Messiah Sabbetai Tsebi, and hence the writer was accused of being a partisan of the false Messiah. Being written in a cryptic form, the amulets could be deciphered so as to read as Emden alleged. The controversy lasted many years, and helped to destroy the belief in amulets among European Jews.

In defining here as briefly as possible the principal elements of Jewish amulets and spells, we have deliberately refrained from mentioning any date. The study of the beginnings of the Kabbala and of mysticism among the Jews in general is either in its infancy, or is influenced by biased notions and preconceived ideas, in most cases unsympathetic towards it. Assertions are made that it is of comparatively modern origin—9th–10th century—in spite of overwhelming contradictory evidence, which forces us to recognize that it belongs to a very old stratum of popular belief, and that it also grew and developed on familiar lines, adopting and adapting many elements from other sources and moulding them in accordance with the fundamental principle of the Unity of God and of the limited power of evil spirits. Popular beliefs know no rigid dogma, and much of that which is held to be strong and efficacious among other peoples is taken over in the belief that it would be beneficial. The literature of this branch of mysticism, practical Kabbala, is still mostly in MSS. It is also found among the medical recipes as a recognized part of the medical practitioner, who would use drugs and amulets indiscriminately or conjointly, for the use of the amulet is as wide-spread as that of any other medicine. There is nothing for which one or

more amulets could not be prescribed, and the practice goes even further, for by means of amulets such results could be obtained as the drug alone could not effect: luck, good fortune and riches, favour and strength, the power of making oneself invisible, covering wide stretches of ground in an incredibly short time, preventing persecution, slaying wild animals and wilder enemies, holding communion with the dead, obtaining a sword that would fight the enemies, and many more wonderful things which no real drug could produce. The subduing of evil demons through the invocation of the aid of good spirits is only a materialization of higher spiritual truths. Faith is the underlying principle. One example may suffice to give an idea of such amulets, inasmuch as it contains also the directions for writing it.

Against Fever.

'Ab Abr Abra Abrak Abraka
Abrakal Abrakala Abrakal
Abraka Abrak Abra Abr Ab.

"And the people called unto Moses, and Moses prayed to God, and the fire abated" (Nu 11[2]). May healing come from Heaven from all kinds of fever and consumption-heat to N. son of N. Amen Amen Amen. Selah Selah Selah.

This Name which we have written down as a cure against fever must be written exactly as it is written in the scroll of the Law, on specially prepared parchment intended for the sanctification of the name of God. It must be written with square or "Ashuri" letters, so that no letter shall touch the next, leaving a free margin round each letter; and it must be written in purity and whilst fasting. It is good also, after writing it, to place it folded in a piece of hart leather or anything else that is proper, or one is to put it [sew it] in some cotton or some soft rag, and wrap it round with a piece of leather which has not come near any uncleanness. And, when thou hangest it round the neck of the patient, do it when he is not aware of it, or when he is asleep; and he is not to look at it all that day and the following night. The lines on the parchment must be drawn on the hairy side, and the writing must be on the flesh side; and it must be done in the name of the patient. The parchment must be cut in the name of the patient, and the drawing of the lines must be done likewise; and when he [*i.e.* the writer] dips the pen into properly prepared ink, he must say: "In the name of Shaddai who created heaven and earth, I, N. son of N., write this *ḳemi'a* for N., son of N., to heal him of every kind of fever." And then he must say the blessing of the *ḳemi'a* as follows: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, who hast sanctified Thy great name and hast revealed it to Thy pious ones, to show its great power and might in the language [in which it is expressed], in the writing of it, and in the utterance of the mouth. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, holy King, whose great name be exalted"' (Cod. Gaster, 38 fol. 11, 'The Ets hada'ath of Elisha of Ancona' of 1536).

Here all the elements of the *ḳemi'a* are to be found: at the head the mysterious name which reminds one of the Abraxas; then the Biblical, symbolical, and sympathetic quotation; then an invocation in Aramaic; and the final threefold Amen and Selah. The writing and preparation are the same for every *ḳemi'a*. In others more of these mystical names occur, and *sigla* are added, besides the supposed figures of angels and demons, as well as signs and drawings—among them the so-called 'shield of David' (the hexagon), inscribed with various letters and holy names.

LITERATURE.—The books and MSS in which charms and amulets are mentioned are so numerous, considering that they form part of the practical Kabbala and are often referred to in the theoretical treatises on Kabbalistic teaching and speculations on the Name of God, that we limit the present bibliography to the most prominent books, in which prescriptions and formulæ for conjurations, spells, and amulets form the preponderating part, or are exclusively devoted to this branch of Kabbala. Most of the books and MSS mentioned in the Literature to art. BIRTH (Jewish) belong also to the present article. In addition the following may be given:—

PRINTED BOOKS.—Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*[2], Frankfort, 1892, pp. 172-179 (the whole of the Talmudical mystical literature); *Sefer Hechaloth*, and *Sefer Yetsirah*, numerous editions; *S. Raziel Hamalach*, 1st ed., Amsterdam, 1701, pp. 40-45*b* (the fountainhead of many modern amulets); *Harba de Mosheh*, 'The Sword of Moses,' ed. M. Gaster, London, 1896; 'The Wisdom of the Chaldeans,' ed. M. Gaster, London, 1900 (*PSBA*); 'The Logos Ebraikos,' by M. Gaster (*JRAS*, 1901); *Sefer Shimush Tehillim*, ed. Heidenheim, together with the Book of Psalms (Rodelheim, 4th ed. 1852) fol. 125[b], 135[a]); *Mafteaḥ Shelomo*, 'The Clavicula Solomonis,' ed. H. Gollancz, London, 1903; 'The Testament of Solomon,' Eng. tr. by Conybeare (*JQR* xi. [1899]); *Shem Tob Kaṭṭan*, by Benjamin Benish, Zolkiew, 1798; *Derech Yesharah* of Reuben C. Abraham, Leghorn, 1788; *Dubek Meaḥ* of Abraham C. Shalom Hamwee, Leghorn, 1874, and *Nifla'im Ma'asecha*, Leghorn, 1881; *Yalkut Eliezer* of Zusman Eliezer, Presburg, 1864-71, vol. iii. f. 88[a]-92[b]; R. J. Emden, *Sefat Emet Ve-lashon Zehorit*, 1752, with the copies of the alleged Eibenshutz amulets; Jacob Asheri, *Tur Yoreh Deah*, ch. 179; Joseph Karo, *Shulḥan Aruch, Yoreh Deah*, ch. 179, *Oraḥ Ḥayyim*, ch. 301, § 25-27; L. Blau, *Das altjüd. Zauberwesen*, Budapest, 1899. M. Schwab's *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie*, Paris, 1897, is misleading and valueless.

MSS.—Of these every library possesses a greater or smaller number, but not one has yet been studied thoroughly or even carefully described. We mention, in addition to those enumerated in art. BIRTH, the following in the possession of the present writer [some of them are copies made for him of MSS in other libraries]: 'Habdallah de R. Aḳiba,' Cod. 336 (Oxford, 1331); 'Sefer Ḥanoch' [entirely different from the well-known Book of Enoch], Cod. 521 (Br. Mus. Add. 15,299); 'Sefer ha-yashar' [attributed to the Gaon Samuel of Babylon], Cod. 334 (Oxford Cod. 1960); Cod. 38: 'Ets hada'ath of Elisha of Ancona, 1536; Cod. 213: Hebrew and Arabic charms (Yemen, 16th cent.); Cod. 214: amulets (Yemen, 16th or 17th cent.), Cod. 232: amulets (orient. Spanish hand, 19th cent.); Cod. 492: amulets, Heb. and Arab., from the Genizah, Cairo; Cod. 727: collection of conjurations, 16th-17th cent. (cf. Cod. 1299, Br. Mus. Add. 27, 141 f., 691 ff., in which only a portion of these conjurations has been preserved by an Italian scribe of the 17th cent.); Cod. 720: a large collection of Kabbalistic amulets, 1647 (orient. Spanish hand [Galilee]); Cod. 765: 'Meḳor ha-Shemoth' (Spanish hand 19th cent.; an alphabetical list of all the mystical names of angels, with indication of the Biblical passages whence they have been derived); Cod. 1000: collections of conjurations and amulets (orient. Spanish writing; many hands, 15th-18th cent.); Cod. 1285: from the Genizah of Aleppo (17th cent.). There may be added reference to the writer's Cod. 995—very likely the 'Almadel' (or Clavicula) of Solomon (Morocco hand, 16th cent., with illustrations); Cod. 590 (Br. Mus. Or. 6360); and 'Sefer ha-Lebanah'—the last two being astrological compilations with directions for conjurations.

M. GASTER.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Mexican and Mayan).—As in other parts of America, the amulet was regarded in Mexico as a personal fetish. The wholesale manner in which everything pertaining to native worship or superstition was swept away by the Spanish Conquistadores renders a thorough knowledge of personal fetishism among the Nahua peoples impossible, but scanty notices in the writings of authors who lived in the generation immediately subsequent to the Conquest throw some light upon the description of charms and talismans in use among the Aztecs and kindred peoples. They appear to have been principally manufactured and sold by the priests of the various deities, in much the same manner as the medicine-men of the N. American tribes make and sell such articles. The use of charms was notable chiefly in connexion with the funerary customs of the Aztecs. On the death of a person, his corpse was dressed in the habiliments supposed to be worn by his tutelary deity, and was strewed with pieces of paper, which were regarded as charms against the dangers to be encountered on the road to Mictlan, the Mexican Hades. The papers in question contained written prayers or magical formulæ to ward off the dangerous spirits to be met on the way; and this is reminiscent of Egyptian funerary practice. From time immemorial the Nahua peoples made use of talismans of hard sand-polished stone, such as are still carried by the Indians of Central America. They were employed as oracles, and their possessors were supposed to see future events reflected in their polished surfaces, much in the same manner as modern crystal-gazers profess to discern events to come in the globes they consult. It has been thought that the principal god of the Aztecs, Tezcatlipoca, had his origin in the figure of death believed to be described in these stones before a demise took place. In the Dresden Codex the *pinturas* represent the deceased on the road to Mictlan as wearing a wooden collar, probably an amulet, to show that he belongs to one or other of the Nahua deities. For the same purpose, probably, he wears a plume on his head.

The principal objects which have either come down to us or are known to have served the purpose of personal or household talismans to the Nahua peoples are:—

(1) *Death-masks.*—These were probably the skulls of ancestors, and were kept in the houses of their descendants. They consist of two classes: one in which the skull of the deceased person has been inlaid with mosaic, and the other in which a conventional image of the deceased has been manufactured by inlaying mosaic upon jade. These death-masks are not to be confounded with the masks spoken of by many writers on Nahua custom as being used by the priests in religious ceremonial, or with those placed on the faces of the dead to ward off evil spirits. The mosaic work of which they are composed is often of very great beauty, and excellent examples of it are to be seen in the American Room at the British Museum. Specimens of such work are exceedingly rare, and are chiefly confined to those objects sent to Europe at a period immediately subsequent to the Conquest. Numerous small masks and heads which served as amulets have been discovered on the site of Mitla, the city of Mictlan, the god of the dead. Most of them are of terra-cotta, and of good workmanship.

(2) *The tepitoton, or diminutive deities.*—These were small figures of the Lares and Penates type, but not, as has been thought, of the class of the Egyptian *ushabtiu*, or servant figurines. They were probably relics of a shamanistic form of worship, and nearer to the ancestor-idol type than the little fire-and-food gods of the Romans, though they possibly partook of the characteristics of both. At the close of the great sun-cycle of fifty-two years, when the Nahua thought the universe was in danger of perishing, they broke those small figures in despair, believing they could no more seek aid from them.

(3) *Travellers' staves.*—These staves, decorated with feathers, were carried by all merchants whilst on a journey, and showed that they were under the protection of Quetzalcoatl, the culture-god of Mexico, or, as he has been more aptly named, 'Man of the Sun,' the great traveller. Sahagun (lib. i. cap. 5) gives an interesting account of the worship of these staves by the Mexican itinerant merchants. On coming to their evening halting-place they tied their staves in a bundle, and sprinkled them with blood taken from their ears, tongues, and arms. Incense was brought and burned before them, and food, flowers, and tobacco were offered to them. Although the name of the staff, *coatl*, means 'serpent,' it had, so far as its nomenclature was concerned, no connexion with the Sun-Man; and, indeed, when the staves were gathered together in a bundle, the name they collectively bore was *Yacatecutli*, the name of the patron of merchants or pedlars. Still, the staff was regarded as the invention of Quetzalcoatl, the culture-hero, and those using it practically placed themselves under his protection.

(4) *Amulets symbolic of the gods.*—These were probably numerous, but few are recorded. Chalchihuitlicue, the goddess of water, was worshipped under the likeness of a frog, carved from a single emerald or piece of jade, or sometimes in human form, but holding in her hand a lily-leaf ornamented with frogs. In the Mayan codices it appears as a symbol of water and rain (Codex Cortesianus, pp. 12, 17, etc.). Images of it, cut from stone or made from clay, have been frequently discovered. They were kept by the post-Conquest Indians as talismans. The symbol or crest of Huitzilopochtli, the Aztecan war-god, was, as is implied by his name, a humming-bird. This crest, the *huitziton*, was carried before his priests in battle, and it is probable that they and illustrious members of the warrior class wore the symbol as a talisman or decoration.

(5) *Flint talismans.*—As elsewhere, the thunderbolts thrown by the gods were supposed to be flint stones; and these were cherished as amulets of much virtue, and as symbols of the fecundating rains. The Navahos of New Mexico still use such stones as a charm for rain, and believe they fall from the clouds when it thunders (*Senate Report on the Indian Tribes*, Washington, 1867, p. 358). The Chotas of Mexico continued until comparatively recent times the worship of their triad—the Dawn, the Stone, and the Serpent (*Diccionario Universal*, App. tom. iii. p. 11).

(6) *Amulets depicted in the Mexican and Mayan 'pinturas' or native MSS.*—The Mexican and Mayan native MSS give representations of what are obviously ornaments and personal decorations of the nature of amulets in great profusion, but, owing to the careless drawing displayed in the Mexican *pinturas*, it is almost impossible to determine their exact nature. The highly conventional manner in which they are executed is also greatly against their elucidation. The comparative clearness of outline in the Mayan *pinturas* renders it much easier to speculate upon the nature of the objects represented therein. But it is only by induction that the character of these objects can be arrived at, the ruinous intolerance to which all native American *objets d'art* were subjected having long since destroyed their very names. It will be well, then, to glance at the Mayan MSS while we attempt to discover what were the amulets worn by the figures depicted in them. We find that these objects are usually worn by figures representing gods, but it is well known that the symbol or ornament of the god usually becomes the symbol or ornament of his special worshippers—the people of whom he is the tutelary deity. In Egypt the *ankh* (the cruciform symbol of life carried by all the gods) was worn very generally, as was the *uzat* (the symbolic eye of Horus, which protected the wearer from the evil eye, and against snake-bite), and the *thet*, the girdle-buckle of Isis. In early Scandinavia the raven-wings of Odin adorned the helmet of the warrior; and, not to multiply instances, which are numerous, we have already seen that the Aztecs wore amulets depicting the frog-shaped rain-goddess Chalchihuitlicue. Hence there is no reason to suppose that the special worshippers of other Nahua deities did not wear amulets depicting either their tutelary deity or some ornament supposed to have been worn by himself, and, perhaps, representing one of his attributes, like the staff of Quetzalcoatl, or the humming-bird of Huitzilopochtli. An examination of the three Mayan MSS which we possess—those of Dresden, Madrid, and Paris—shows that most of the deities therein represented are accompanied by certain distinct and well-marked symbols, which, it would seem, frequently decorate the figures of priests and people in the same MSS. The head-dress of Schellhas's 'God E,' the maize-god, for example, appears as a frequent symbol worn by persons represented in the MSS, and it is obviously correct to make of him a counterpart of the Mexican maize-god Centeotl, the latter deity being sometimes female, sometimes male, according as he takes the part of mother or son. 'God F,' again, the god of war and human sacrifice, who, Schellhas thinks, resembles the Aztecan god Xipe, but who, in the present writer's opinion, more nearly resembles the Aztecan war-god Huitzilopochtli, because of his general appearance, sometimes wears an ear-peg of huge dimensions—a common ornament in many Mayan sculptures. As each god in the Mayan MSS is represented with his monthly sign, it is not unlikely that his immediate devotees would have worn these much in the same manner as persons in Europe wear amulet-rings in which are enclosed stones typifying

the months of the year. The neck ornament of the frog-god 'P' seems to occur, too, with some frequency in the figures depicted in the Madrid codex, and the same may be said of several other apparent amulets.

(7) *Amulets among modern cognate tribes*.—The Zuñi of New Mexico, who are distantly related to the Nahua of Mexico, possess a peculiar belief concerning amulets or personal fetishes. They imagine, upon discovering a fossilized animal or other object, that they have met with great good fortune, and explain the fossilization of these objects by a myth which relates how the two Sun-children—two hero-gods of theirs—being displeased at the multiplicity of wild animals in early times, turned many of them into stone by striking them with lightning, at the same time giving them a magic power to assist the children of men. See 'American' section of this article, § 7.

LITERATURE.—B. Sahagun, *Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España*, Mexico, 1829–30; P. Schellhas, *Representations of Deities of the Maya Manuscripts*, Cambridge, Mass. 1904; D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, Philadelphia, 1868; E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, Oxford, 1892–99; Marquis de Nadaillac, *L'Amérique préhistorique*, 1882 (Eng. tr. by N. D'Anvers, London, 1885).

LEWIS SPENCE.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Muhammadan).

—1. **Historical and legendary sources.**—In the so-called science of conjurations and talismans the Arabs show the same lack of originality as in the other sciences, *e.g.* Alchemy and Mechanics. They appropriated part of what had been already developed in this direction before their time, and did nothing beyond adding to existing formulæ a few invocations taken from the Qur'ān. The sources from which they drew their knowledge of the art of talismans are, pre-eminently, Gnostic and Talmudic.

In their legends it is the prophets, Biblical and other, who are credited with the invention of charms. To begin with, they trace this invention back to the time of Adam himself, to whom, they say, this branch of knowledge was revealed; Adam's daughter 'Anāḳ was the first, according to the *Summary of Wonders* (Fr. tr. by Carra de Vaux, Paris, 1898, p. 142),

'to reduce the demons to serve her by means of charms. God had revealed to Adam certain names which the spirits were forced to obey, and had told him to communicate them to Eve, so that she might carry them about on her person as a protection. Adam obeyed, and Eve kept these names and was safeguarded by them; but, while she was asleep, 'Anāḳ took her by surprise and robbed her of them, and, by means of them, conjured evil spirits, practised the magical art, pronounced oracles, and gave herself up openly to impiety.'

Solomon also, according to Musalmān legend, was a great magician. He controlled the beasts and the winds, and had the genii as well as the demons under his command. The legend, which is of Talmudic origin (see Seligsohn, in *JE* xi. 440), is introduced into the Qur'ān (xxvii.). The great king is seen reviewing an army composed of men, genii, and birds; talking with the ant; sending the hoopoe on an embassy to the Queen of Sheba; and making the throne of that princess be brought to him by means of an *'ifrit* (kind of genie).

Solomon's ring is celebrated in Arabian tales. In the popular tale of the fisherman (*Thousand and One Nights*) the hero draws up in his net a copper vase with a lid of sealed lead; he breaks the seal, and a genie escapes from the vase. This was a proud spirit who had once rebelled against Solomon, and had been imprisoned by the prophet-king in this vase and sealed with his seal. Descriptions of this famous ring[1] are given in the legends; it is the typical talisman, on which was seen inscribed 'the greatest name of God.'

The Berbers also were considered by the Arabic story-tellers as having been highly skilled in the art of talismans. In the *Summary of Wonders* (p. 307) we find the queen of the Berbers contending against the Egyptians by means of talismans:

'The queen was the oldest magician among this people. Her subjects said to her, "Make talismans for us against the land of Egypt and its inhabitants." . . . Then she composed charms to enchant the Nile. She confided these to certain of her subjects, commanding them to take them to Egypt, and scatter them all over, and throw some of them into the Nile above this country. The men proceeded to the frontiers of Egypt, and to the most fertile places, and there they threw their talismans. Thereupon the people saw the Nile swell more quickly than they had foreseen. The rising exceeded all bounds, and the waters, remaining for a long time on the earth, spoilt all the crops. Crocodiles and frogs multiplied, and all sorts of epidemics attacked the inhabitants. Foxes and scorpions appeared from all directions.'

The priests of Egypt themselves were also skilled in the art of magic; but they were not clever enough to annihilate the power of the Berber talismans, and the country would have been lost, if king Malik, who was then reigning, had not turned to the true God and embraced monotheism.[1]

2. **Arabic works on talismans.**—Various Arabic authors have written about talismans, the way to construct them, their use, the processes necessary for conjuring demons, and the suitable formulæ in the incantations. Among these authors we may mention Majrītī, Ibn-al-Waḥshiya, and al-Būni.

The scholar Maslama al-Majrīti († 1007), who was a native of Madrid, wrote on magic; he had travelled in the East, and brought back to Spain the writings of the 'Brethren of Purity.' The library in Vienna contains a book, under his name, entitled *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* ('The Perfection of the Sage'), the aim of which is the construction of talismans.

The alchemist Ibn-al-Waḥshiya (second half of the 3rd cent. A.H.), an Arabic forger, who is known chiefly by his book on *Nabatæan Agriculture*, in which he unconsciously compares the ancient civilization of Babylon with the Arabic civilization, also wrote a treatise on the ancient alphabets of the various peoples, as well as a dissertation on the Egyptian priesthood, which was translated into English by J. Hammer, London, 1810.

The works of al-Būni are the best known as regards our present subject, and it is they that are used in our own day by dervishes and those who occupy themselves with talismans. They set out to explain the virtues of heavenly names, their use in talismans, the virtues of letters, etc. Muḥyi ad-Dīn Abū'l-Abbās al-Būni died in 1225. In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there are some amulets composed by al-Būni, and others attributed to the famous scholar Ghazālī.

Besides these books by well-known authors, there are in our libraries various treatises on charms ranged under very strange names, which are supposed to be Greek, Persian, or Indian. In Paris, *e.g.*, there is a short treatise (Arab. no. 2630), very curious in point of angelology, which is attributed to Andahriush, or al-Dahriush,[2] of Babylon; another (no. 2634) is given under the name of the Hindu sorceress Cherasm, who cites among her sources a book by al-Osuṭās. In Budapest there are treatises by the Hindus Ṭomṭom and Chāniur, the latter representing himself as a commentator on Plato.

3. **Angelology.**—The purpose of incantations is to conjure the spirits that preside over the life of Nature and of men. In order to subject the spirits to himself and force them to serve him, the magician must, first of all, know them and know their names. Hence arises a complete science of angelology. This science began to take shape among the Gnostics. Thus we are told by St. Irenæus (I. xxiv. 3) that Basilides gave names to the angels inhabiting the different heavens; and in the system of Valentinus the names of the Æons are given. They are bizarre words, probably derived from actual terms corrupted in transmission, perhaps by systematic processes of 'cryptogloss,' but now quite unintelligible to us; at one time Matter tried in vain to explain them. Other magic names used in Gnostic initiations are found in the *Pistis Sophia*. Among them we can distinguish the name of the Æon of Light. It is formed by a series of words, some of which are repeated two or three times, sometimes identically, sometimes with slight variations, to make doublets.

[1] The talisman that is actually worn in the Arabic and Jewish world under the name of 'Solomon's seal' is the hexagonal star. See the figures in Schwab, 'Le Manuscrit 1830 du fonds hébreu de la Bibliothèque Nationale,' *Notices et extraits*, vol. xxxvi., and cf. Seligsohn, in *JE* xi. 448.

[1] According to Turkish tradition, the inventors of the art of magic were Adim, Sheddad, and certain legendary Egyptian or Persian princes. See one form of these traditions in d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire Othoman*, Paris, 1787–1820, vol. i. p. 357.

[2] This is probably the same name as we find in Africa under the form al-Andhrun. The bearer of this name was a magician-king, who is responsible for a kind of popular talisman in Africa (see Doutté, *Magie et religion*, p. 152).

It is this Gnostic tradition—which will be seen, on the other hand, to pass into the Kabbala[1]—that was followed by the Arabian magicians. We shall take as our guide here the manuscript treatise of Andahriush mentioned above. The author adopts, in the first place, the four great Islāmic angels: Gabriel, Michael, Azrael, and Isrāfīl. The names of these four great spirits often appear in talismans. According to the traditions of Islām, Gabriel, or Jibrīl, is set over the armies and the winds, and he also makes known the will of God to the Prophets; it was he who brought the Qur'ān to Muhammad. Mīkā'īl (Michael) presides over rain and plants. 'Azrā'īl is the angel of death; he seizes the souls of men when their 'hour' is come. Isrāfīl rules over these three archangels. He stands beside the throne of God, and guards the heavenly trumpet. The others receive their orders from God at his hands.[2]

But these four spirits, notwithstanding their importance in theological and popular tradition, seem to have somewhat lost their position in the occult theory of Andahriush, with which they do not harmonize very well. According to this theory, there are seven great angels by the throne of God, who have names inscribed on their foreheads, hands, and feet; the knowledge of these names gives great power in conjurations. The seven planets also have their angels, who appear to be quite distinct from the former seven. 'Aṭāṭīl is master of the power and light of the Sun. Biṭā'īl presides over the fires of Venus. Chamkhiā'īl is the angel of the sphere of Saturn. Meṭāṭron is assigned sometimes to Juppiter and sometimes to Mercury, although he also appears independently, and is identified with the archangel Michael. Meṭāṭron is of considerable importance in the *Zohar*, where he practically assumes the rôle of Demiurge.

The treatise of Andahriush gives names of angels for every day of the week. There are seven for each day. They are called *'ifrit*, a name frequently used in the *Thousand and One Nights*, and also employed as a proper name in the Qur'ān. In other parts of the treatise we can distinguish fragments of a different nomenclature, in which the angels were distributed according to the days of the month.

The seven *'ifrit* of the day and night of the Sabbath are called Yasheokūr, Shaushahr, 'Anjelūsh, Kalīlūsh, Balfiūsh, Madhiūsh, and Sherdūsh. The seven *'ifrit* of Sunday are called Hendāūsh, Bāriḳ, Shejfā, Markiūsh, 'Ardiūsh, Alish, and Sā'iḳ.

These strange names are sometimes, as in the time of Gnosticism, formed in doublets, in the same way as Gog and Magog in Biblical literature, and Yājūj and Mājūj, Hārūt and Mārūt in Arabic. Thus we find the following terms employed to invoke great spirits: Ṭalikh and Ilikh; Hīb and Hoyūb; Ḳaiṭar and Maiṭar; Ḳinṭash and Yāḳinṭash. See also the incantation of the scorpion given below.

In order to be an absolute master of the art of magic, it was necessary to know all these names, and the connexion of the spirits bearing them with different times and different objects. Next it was necessary to write suitable formulæ containing these names on appropriate material—silver, porcelain or silk—which was then sprinkled with the perfumes required in each case. Then the amulet had to be worn on a specified part of the body. In practice, however, it was very difficult to possess a special talisman for every individual case, and the people contented themselves with talismans having the general virtue of protection from all ills, or at least from a large category of ills; and the greater part of this science of angelology remained a dead letter.

4. The names of God.—A verse of the Qur'ān (vii. 179) says: 'God's are the most excellent names; call on Him then thereby, and leave those who pervert His names.' The commentators have given lists of these names, which are, in their opinion, adjectives such as: the Great, the Good, the Merciful, the Learned, the Wise, the Subtle, the Beneficent, the Manifest, etc. Tradition has it that there are 99 such names. Pious Musalmāns recite them on their rosaries, and the mystics meditate on the qualities expressed in them; Ghazālī, *e.g.*, wrote a treatise entitled 'The Most Excellent Names.'[3] These terms are employed in talismans; but 'the greatest name' of God—that name which possesses absolute magical virtue—is unknown to men. At the utmost it has been revealed only to prophets and saints. It is an ineffable name. This idea of a name of God that cannot be spoken or heard by men is clearly connected with the Jewish custom of declining to pronounce the name of JHWH, when reading the Torah, and substituting for it *Adonai* or some epithet.

[1] See S. Karppe, *Étude sur les origines et la nature du Zohar*, Paris, 1901, p. 79, and *passim*.

[2] Cf. the present writer's art. 'Fragments d'eschatologie musulmane,' in *Comptes Rendus du 3me congrès intern. scient. des Catholiques*, 2me section, 1895, p. 12; d'Ohsson, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 431.

[3] Tirmidhi, Ibn Māja, and others have given lists of these names. Tables of figures are also formed, representing the numerical value of their letters. For a poetic version of the theme, cf. Sir Edwin Arnold's *Pearls of the Faith*, London, 1883.

5. Various mythical beings.—The composers of Musalmān talismans employ the names of several other legendary personalities besides the names of angels. Those most commonly used are the Seven Sleepers and their dog; the angels Hārūt and Mārūt; and the collective beings, Gog and Magog.

The well-known legend of the Seven Sleepers belongs to several literatures, being found among Christians, among Jews, and among Musalmāns. The Qur'ān alludes to it in plain terms, and calls the Sleepers 'the Companions of the Cave,' while one *sūra* (xviii.) is entitled 'The Cave.' Mention is also made, it is said, in this passage, of the dog that accompanied the seven young men (verse 8: 'Hast thou reckoned that the Companions of the Cave and ar-Raqīm were a wonder among our signs?'). In the opinion of certain commentators, this *ar-Raqīm* is the name of the dog, but others think that the word designates an inscribed tablet, in accordance with the sense of the root *raqama*, 'to trace figures.'[1] The young men had fled from the persecution of Decius, and had taken refuge in a cave. Here they fell asleep, and did not awake again till two centuries later, in the reign of Theodosius the Younger. Their cave was situated either on the sea-shore near Ephesus, or beside Qurrah, where the cave of Kharemi is found (Mas'ūdi, *The Book of Warning* [Arab.], Fr. tr. by Carra de Vaux, Paris, 1896, p. 202; J. Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende, ihr Ursprung und ihre Verbreitung*, Leipzig, 1883).

Hārūt and Mārūt are mentioned in the Qur'ān (ii. 96): 'It was not Solomon who misbelieved, but the devils who misbelieved, teaching men sorcery, and what had been revealed to the two angels at Babylon, Hārūt and Mārūt; yet these taught no one until they said, "We are but a temptation, so do not misbelieve," . . . but they can harm no one therewith, unless with the permission of God.' These mythical beings belong to Talmudic tradition (cf. Hirsch, in *JE* v. 333). They were—so says an Arabian story-teller—two angels who, at the beginning of the world, had jeered at the weakness of faithless man, declaring that, if they had been put to the same test, they would not have been overcome. God allowed them to try the experiment, and they at once fell into sin. Then, having asked as a favour to undergo their punishment in this world, they were thrown into a pit near Babylon, where they were bound with their heads bent down, and where they must remain until the end of time[2] (Kazwini, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1848, i. 61).

Gog and Magog (Yājūj and Mājūj) are mentioned in the Qur'ān (xviii. 93–99, xxi. 96). They were peoples of the North, who occupied vast territory and made incursions into the country of the South, spreading devastation everywhere in their course. Alexander stopped their progress by a wall of brass, which they are to overturn at the Last Day. This wall is located by some near the Caspian, by others in China. The historian Ibn Khorhadbeh tells of a journey that the interpreter Sallām made there at the command of the Khalif Wātik (*Ibn Khordadbeh*, tr. de Goeje, p. 124, note; cf. Kazwini, *op. cit.* ii. 400, 416; for a general summary, see Montgomery, in *JE* vi. 20).

6. Cabalistic letters.—In books of magic and in talismans, cryptographic alphabets of various forms are used. The majority of these alphabets, it appears, are not purely imaginary. We may recognize in their characters signs of the Hebrew or of the Cufic alphabet, somewhat deformed and altered by the addition of ornamentations. The author Ibn-al-Waḥshīya, whom we have mentioned above, gives a great number of cabalistic alphabets in his book, *Kitāb shauḳ al-mustahām* (see a notice by Gottheil on 'The Cabalistic Alphabets,' in *JA*, 1907). The twists or flourishes which often finish off the strokes in the magical writing are called 'lunettes' or 'crowns.' It is said in *Sepher Yeṣira* (tr. Mayer Lambert, p. 114) that every letter should have its crown, and that ancient amulet-makers thought the letters of no use whatever without their crowns.

The custom of using cryptographic alphabets among the Arabs was not confined to occultists. It appears even among scholars (see the alphabet in the mechanical manuscript of Oxford, which contains the Arabic text of the *Pneumatics* of Philo [no. 954; Marsh, 669; fol. 29]).

The theory of the power of letters had been

[1] In Arabic tradition the dog's name is Kitmīr.

[2] In Turkish tradition Hārūt and Mārūt are called Maḥle and Mehale, and are regarded as two famous magicians. On Hārūt and Mārūt, see also art. ARMENIA (Zor.) vol. i. p. 796a.

sketched out in the time of Gnosticism (see, *e.g.*, a treatise on the 'Mysteries of the Letters of the Alphabet,' quoted by Amélineau, *Gnosticisme égyptien*, Paris, 1866, p. 11). This theory was afterwards largely developed in the Kabbala. On this subject the *Zohar*, which belongs to the 11th cent., may be consulted. The Arabs do not appear to have made any very original use of it.

7. **Magic squares.**—The so-called magic squares are employed to a great extent in Musalman magic. The false art of talismans may be said to pay homage here to real science, the construction of magic squares being a nice and intricate question of arithmetic. This method of arranging numbers was known to the Arabs as early as the 10th cent. A.D., for it is evident from the writings of the 'Brethren of Purity' that they knew the squares of 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9 parallel columns. The historian Ibn Khaldun was also acquainted with some of these squares. They do not appear in Greek literature till later, the earliest text where mention of them is found being the treatise of Moschopoulos devoted to them, which dates from the end of the 14th century.[1]

The Arabic manuscript 2,662, Paris, contains quite a number of magic squares of different appearance, but these are really nothing but the squares with 3 and 4 compartments in a row. The 9 or 16 consecutive figures employed in them do not start at unity, but begin with some higher number. One set, for instance, goes from 9 to 24, another from 10 to 25, and so on. They give the totals, each row, vertical or diagonal, of: 66, 70, 91, 131, 170, 258, 298, and 340. We give here the square constructed on the numbers from 9 to 24:

16	19	22	9
21	10	15	20
11	24	17	14
18	13	12	23

The total got by adding the figures vertically, horizontally, and diagonally is always 66.

Squares with 3 compartments in a row are not nearly so frequent in this treatise as those with four compartments. Here is one beginning with the number 1210:

1213	1218	1211
1212	1214	1216
1217	1210	1215

The constant total is 3642.

Sometimes talismanic squares have letters instead of numbers. Thus a square with 4 compartments in a row is made up of 4 letters which all occur in every row, in every column, and in every diagonal. Squares of this kind have no further scientific interest.

l	l	h	a
h	a	l	l
a	h	l	l
l	l	a	h

The square formed by the first nine numbers appears in the Jewish liturgy of Ibn Ezra, who did much to develop the *kabbala* of numbers connected with that of letters (S. Karppe, *op. cit.* p. 202).

[1] Paul Tannery, *Le traité manuel de Moschopoulos sur les carrés magiques*, Gr. text and tr., Paris, 1886; S. Gunther, *Vermischte Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der mathemat. Wissenschaften*, Leipzig, 1876, ch. iv.; Cantor, *Vorlesungen uber Gesch. der Mathematik*, Leipzig, 1880-98, vol. i.

8. **Signs from astrology and geomancy.**—Among the signs to be met with on amulets are also those belonging to astrology—viz. the signs of the planets and those of the zodiac—and sometimes those belonging to geomancy.

Geomancy, or the science 'of the sand,' *'ilm ar-raml*, is a process of divination by means of dots traced in sand.[1] Dots are made haphazard, with the fingers or a rod, along four lines marked on the sand, or else dots are made at regular intervals along these lines, and a certain number of them are obliterated haphazard. The remaining dots, grouped vertically, form figures to which various significations are attributed. Those that express lucky ideas may be used in talismans. There are Arabic treatises on geomancy in existence, and this process of divination is still in vogue among the Musalmāns of North Africa, although nowadays they do not trace the dots on the sand, but on tablets.

9. **Human figures; animals; the hand.**—Islamic law forbids the representation of the human figure. This law was carefully observed in Arabia, but was rejected in Persia, and was little regarded by the Turkish dynasties that had recourse to Persian artists. The talismans of North Africa show scarcely any figures, but great numbers are found on magical objects, mirrors, cups, seals, etc., made in Persia, or made for princes who were lovers of Persian art.

These figures may be those of angels, sometimes in the form of griffins with human heads (as, *e.g.*, in a mirror with a Cufic inscription in the collection of the Duc de Blacas),[2] or of persons and animals representing the signs of the zodiac, for instance, or various other fancies. Reinaud mentions an Egyptian talismanic plate on which a man is seen drawing something out of a well. If we connect this with what Ibn Khaldūn says, this talisman must have been meant as a guide to finding treasure. The Arabic MS 2764, Paris, intersperses rude figures of men and animals among its cabalistic characters.

Among the most popular objects credited with magical virtue in the Musalman world is the human hand, which is seen engraved on medallions, or employed separately as a pendant or jewel. At the feast of Ashūra, the Persians carry flags with their staffs surmounted by an open hand. On African soil the special use of this emblem is to ward off the evil eye, like horns of coral in South Italy. Shī'ite Musalmāns see in the five fingers of the hand the image of the five most sacred persons of their sect: Muhammad, 'Alī, Fatima (daughter of Muhammad and wife of 'Alī), and Ḥasan and Ḥusain ('Alī's two sons).

10. **Verses of the Qur'ān.**—Although this use of the sacred text is not at all in harmony with the spirit of pure Muhammadan teaching, nevertheless Musalmān peoples freely employ certain verses of the Qur'ān as amulets. The favourite verses are those contained in the two short *sūras* of the 'Daybreak' and of 'Men' (cxiii. and cxiv.), and the verse 'On the throne' (ii. 256). The two short chapters we have just mentioned are called 'the two preservatives' (*al-muawidatain*). They are so short that we may quote them:

'Say, "I seek refuge in the Lord of the daybreak, from the hurt of what He has created; and from the hurt of the night when it cometh on; and from the hurt of the wicked women [witches] who blow upon knots, and from the hurt of the envious when he envies."'

This one is supposed to have special power against the ills of the body, and the following against the ills of the soul:

[1] See an example taken from a Gnostic talisman published in the *REG*, vol. xx. [1907], p. 376, 'Talismans magiques trouvés dans l'île de Thasos,' by W. Deonna.

[2] This figure is reproduced in the *Magasin pittoresque*, 1872, p. 64. Cf. others in the same volume, p. 272.

'Say, "I seek refuge in the Lord of men, the King of men, the God of men, from the hurt of the whisperer, who slinks off, who whispers evil into the hearts of men!—from *jinn* and from men!"'

The verse 'On the throne' tells of the greatness of God, and al-Būni composed a whole treatise on the excellence of this verse.

The *sūra Yā Sīn* (xxxvi.) is also held in great veneration by pious Musalmāns, and extracts from this chapter are engraved on the cups that dervishes carry. In addition to this, numerous passages of the Qur'ān are employed in various circumstances. There are treatises that tell which extracts suit each occasion (see the Arabic MS 1219, Paris, which is of this kind). The verses most usually worn are those containing the word *ḥifẓ*, 'guard,' which are called *ayāt al-hifz*, 'preservative verses,' and the verses called *kawari*, which contain a malediction against Satan (see Ishmael Hamet, art. 'Amulettes en Algérie,' in *Bulletin des séanees de la société philologique*, 1905).

In cases of illness, it was the popular custom until quite recently, in Musalmān countries, and especially in Africa, to have recourse to the texts of the Qur'ān. The verse appropriate to the case was inscribed on bone, paper, or parchment, and a decoction of this was made in water, which the patient had to drink.

11. Use and form of talismans.—The name 'talisman' (*ṭilsam*, pl. *ṭalāsim*) is a literary word in Arabic. Amulets are more usually called *hirz* or *horūz* in Algeria; *ḥamaye* or *ḥāfiẓ*, *'udzah* or *ma'ādzah*, in the Arabian countries of the East; *yafta*, *nūskha*, or *hamaïl* in Turkey. They are generally made by people of a religious order, *e.g.* members of a brotherhood, shaikhs, or dervishes, who declare that they have no value unless they are received from their own hands. This gift brings them in return payments in money, goods, and commodities of every kind. Talismans are enclosed in square or circular purses or sachets of morocco, which are kept constantly on the person. The Turks carry them on their arms or under their turban, or sometimes hung round their neck under their jacket. The Bedawīn wear them quite openly hung round their neck above their clothing. Among the wealthier classes, they are enclosed in lockets, or engraved on plates of gold or silver, which are hung round the neck on chains of the same material. Fashionable young Bedawīn have several rows of them, making rich necklaces. An amulet that is very highly prized by young Bedawī girls is the *ḥūrz*. This is a little religious book 7 cm. long by 4 or 5 cm. broad, which is enclosed in a case of gold or silver, and worn like a locket. Children are provided with amulets when they are only forty days old. These are sometimes very trivial objects—a simple shell or a piece of bone, placed in a leather case under the left arm. Amulets are also put on animals, especially horses (Ishmael Hamet, *op. cit.*; Emily Ruete, *Mémoires d'une princesse arabe*, 1905, p. 64; d'Ohsson, *op. cit.* v. 681).

The amulets are sometimes jewels of great value. Fine specimens of these may be seen in Reinaud's work on the materials of the Duc de Blacas's Collection. Drawings of less artistic amulets, which are, nevertheless, interesting for their composition and text, may be seen in Doutté's *Magic et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord.*

Some years ago the present writer had an amulet prepared by a dervish of Constantinople. It was a long strip of paper on which were drawn, from the top downwards, seven magic squares. Above each square, as if for a title, was the name of a chapter of the Qur'ān. Round about the squares were the names of the four great angels, and in the angles these words: 'His word is truth, and power is His.' The following conjuration appeared below the squares: 'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God, I conjure you and I swear, O tribe of holy spirits, celestial and infernal, by the truth of your amir and your chief Sheldiūshi, Malkiūshi, Kahīj, Mahīj, Aṣbaot, al-Shaddai, Meṭāṭron.'

Among the uncivilized peoples of Muhammadan Africa, the science of talismans blends with fetishism, and the amulet is confused with the *gri-gri.*

12. Methods of incantation.—Arabian magic is not confined to the composition and wearing of talismans. It also includes a complete science of incantations, composed of formulæ according to fixed methods. This science is prohibited by Muhammadan theology, and those who devote themselves to it commit an act of impiety. The prophet condemns sorcery in a verse in which, it is true, he mentions only the consultation of fate by arrows,—a method practised by the pagan Bedawīn at the sanctuary of Mecca,—but the meaning of this verse can easily be made general:

'O true believers, verily, wine, and *el-māisar* [game of chance], and [the worship of] statues, and divining (arrows) are only an abomination of Satan's work; avoid them then that haply ye may prosper' (Qur'ān, v. 92).

Similarly, we may notice the invocation against witches in the *sūra* of the 'Daybreak' quoted above (cxiii. 4).

Notwithstanding these prohibitions on the part of orthodox theology, the Bedawī magicians have written treatises on witchcraft, in which the aim of the practices indicated is usually of evil intention; in a great many cases, it is a question of bringing an enemy into one's power, of making him die, or at least of harming him. Among these practices we find that special form of spell called by the French 'envoûtement,' which is so celebrated in the history of magic throughout the world. Sometimes the aim of the incantation is the satisfaction of love.

The Arabic MS 2662, Paris, edited in accordance with the tradition of al-Būni, gives numerous incantations applicable to all sorts of cases. We may now quote some of them.

If you want to send a scorpion to an enemy, you take the animal, shut it up in a glass to avoid being stung, and, while naming the person whom you want to harm, pronounce the following conjuration over it seven times: 'Aryūsh, Sharhūsh; He is a God so great that there is none beside Him. Barṭimā, Malṭimā, Azriān (*bis*). Understand and hearken to what I say, O scorpion born of a scorpion; otherwise will I give the fire power over thee. Ṭarīush, Nākhūsh, Lāhūsh, Bamkhūsh, Darḳianūsh, . . . by the glory of God and the light of His countenance, go to so-and-so and sting him in such-and-such a spot.' Then you let the scorpion go, and it makes straight (so they believe) for the person mentioned.

There is a conjuration of the shadow which is curious. A man conjures his own shadow, speaks to it as to a spirit, and prays it to give him power over his enemy. To do this, he must stay up the whole night on a Sunday or a Wednesday. When all noises have ceased, and every one is asleep, he stands all alone in an empty house. He has a lit candle which he lays down towards the West. He stands in front of the candle and faces the East; then he sees his shadow on the wall. He recites a long invocation to his shadow—an invocation given in the book—and burns incense. At the end of the conjuration, he prays his shadow to bring harm to his enemy, and, while uttering this prayer, he thinks over all the ills he would like to befall the person whom he hates.

'Envoûtement' is practised by means of a leaf of paper on which a human figure is drawn. On this figure they write the name of the person they wish to injure. Then they nail it on the wall head downwards, and recite verses of the Qur'ān (lxxii. 1–4, xlvi. 31, which, however, contain nothing in any way related to such practices). They then take an iron needle, make it red-hot, and stab the figure through the heart with it, saying: 'Take his sleep from him, and enter his body as this needle enters this image.' The enchanted person is bound to fall ill and remain so as long as the needle is left in the figure.

The 'envoûtement' must have been known at the very birth of Muhammadanism. A tradition says that Muhammad was enchanted by the daughters of the Jew Lubaid; they made a little wax figure of the prophet and pierced it with a great number of needles.

Finally, conjuration for the purpose of gaining the regard of a loved one is performed by means of a dove. A wild turtle-dove is taken and kept prisoner for a Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday; then on Friday, at the hour of Venus, a thin leaf is taken, and on it is written with a bodkin perfumed with musk and saffron: 'As this dove sighs for her mate, so may such-and-such a one sigh for so-and-so and desire him with the desire of love!' Then the leaf is tied to a thread, which is fixed to the dove's wing, during a long invocation. All the ardour of the passion one longs to see in the loved one must be described.

Then the bird is tapped on the head with a little stone—to make the charm penetrate into the person it is directed against—and set free.

LITERATURE.—See the authorities quoted throughout the article and in the notes, the two most important books being: Reinaud, *Monuments arabes, persans, et turcs du cabinet du duc de Blacas et d'autres cabinets*, 2 vols., Paris, 1828; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1909. While profiting from the copious information contained in the latter volume, we are not to be taken as accepting the theory of its author, according to which religion had its origin in magic (p. 341, and *passim*).

B^{on} CARRA DE VAUX.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Roman).—It was a belief among the Romans, as among all primitive peoples (Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, ii. [Leipzig, 1905] 2, 202 ff.), that many substances were endowed with supernatural virtue, and that this virtue might be brought under the control of any one possessed of the requisite occult knowledge. To this end the adept had recourse to magic, and his usual method was to bring the given substance under the influence of other forces, likewise of a magical, non-material kind. One of these was the spoken *word*, especially in rhythmical form. It was a Roman belief that the farmer might by a magic spell transfer his neighbour's corn to his own fields, and accordingly the XII Tables impose a penalty upon any one 'qui fruges excantassit' (Bruns-Gradenwitz, *Fontes iuris Romani*[7], 1909, p. 30). Here we have the origin of the magic formula (see art. MAGIC). A like virtue was supposed to reside in the human *action*; thus, a woollen thread in which knots have been tied will cure disease (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 48). Here we have a typical example of the magic action (see art. MAGIC). The practice was to treat some amorphous material in such a way as to give it a form resembling a particular object or person; for, according to primitive belief, the original and its artificial semblance were identical, so that the one could be made by magic to suffer and to act in the same way as the other.

The magical virtues of the substances referred to were brought into requisition with a view to acquiring all that was deemed desirable—such things as wealth, beauty, riches, power, and love. If a man still lacked these gifts, he tried to force the hand of fortune, either negatively, by driving away existent evils (expulsive magic); or positively, by conjuring to himself the goods he lacked (beneficent magic). If, on the other hand, the objects of general desire were already his, the magically endowed substances became serviceable as a means of saving these from diminution. In the latter case the function of the substances in question was not so much to obtain benefit as to avert such evils as might threaten the possessor (prophylactic magic by means of amulets). Amongst these evils those due to the magical operations of one's fellow-men were special objects of dread. For, of course, a man may desire not only to benefit himself, but also to injure those who stand in his way, and may therefore seek to bring disease or death upon them. It was, in fact, against such maleficent magic that amulets were mainly used.

While such potent substances were used as amulets in various kinds of magic, it should be observed that no particular substance had its action limited to one single category of the occult art. On the contrary, most of the available substances were endowed with a many-sided efficacy. That which dislodged an existent evil would also act prophylactically against an apprehended evil; purslain, for instance, not only removed pain in the uvula, but could be used as an amulet to prevent headache (Pliny, *HN* xx. 215), while a substance which was efficacious in maleficent magic would also undo the mischief worked thereby (cf. in the 'Greek' section of this article the formula ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται; also O. Jahn, 'Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten,' *Ber. d. sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1855, p. 61); and that which warded off disaster would also bring prosperity, as, *e.g.*, the mora fish, which both prevented premature birth and attracted gold (Pliny, *HN* xxxii. 6, ix. 80). Hence, when we come to treat of the various substances employed, we shall be unable to draw a rigid line between 'charm' and 'amulet.' If we speak more of amulets than of charms, that is because, as the liability to misfortune and danger was universal, negative (or prophylactic) magic was resorted to by nearly every one, while relatively few advanced to the practice of positive (or beneficent) magic.

We appear to be well informed regarding the substances to which the Romans ascribed magical powers and which they used for magical purposes. A vast number of such objects, particularly of amulets, have been found in Italy (cf. Gius. Bellucci, *Amuleti ital. ant. e contemp.*, Perugia, 1900, and *Il feticismo primitivo in Italia*, Perugia, 1907), and they are frequently referred to by ancient authors, *e.g.*, by writers in prose such as Pliny (*HN*) and the *Scriptores rei rusticae*, and by physicians like Marcellus Empiricus, while poets of the time of Augustus and his successors furnish numerous descriptions of magical proceedings. Only a very few of these discoveries and references, however, give any indication as to whether the superstitions attaching to the articles concerned were indigenous to the Roman people, or whether they were imported from exotic modes of thought. Again and again Rome felt the powerful influence of foreign civilizations; the neighbouring nations (especially the Etruscans), the Greeks, and eventually the peoples of the Orient, successively transmitted certain elements of their magic to Latium; and Roman writers speak of this imported magic just as if it were a native product. Thus Virgil (*Eclog.* viii. 80) tells of a love-spell performed with wax; but this is simply taken from Theocritus (ii. 28). Accordingly it is in most cases impossible to decide whether a particular charm was a thing of immemorial practice amongst the Romans, or a later importation. It is probable that primitive forms of all the principal varieties of magic were to be found in Latium from the outset, and that these subsequently coalesced with more highly developed types of foreign origin. In any case, this later stage of Roman magic is all we have to proceed upon; and, moreover, it is permeated by the leaven of Greek magic to such a degree that it seems hardly more than a mere offshoot thereof. To Roman magic accordingly applies almost everything that has been said in the 'Greek' section of this article. In what follows we give only such selected instances as are shown by some particular feature to have taken firm root in Rome, or, at all events, to have been practised by Romans. These instances are but few, and, few as they are, not always certain.

As an example of beneficent magic we have some information regarding a kind of rain-charm, performed by means of the *lapis manalis* (Festus, ed. Müller, p. 128). We have a more precise knowledge of the love-spell (O. Hirschfeld, *De incantamentis atque devinctionibus amatoriis apud Graecos Romanosque*, Konigsberg, 1863; R. Dedo, *De antiquorum superstitione amatoria*, Greifswald, 1904; L. Fahz, 'De poetarum Romanorum doctrina magica,' *Religionsgeschichtliche Vers. und Vorarb.* vol. ii. pt. iii. [1904]). But the Roman accounts of the actual charms employed are almost entirely dependent upon Greek sources.

Moreover, the love-spell is not a genuine example of beneficent magic. In order to arouse love in one who was meanwhile indifferent, he was subjected to internal pains till such time as he yielded to the wishes of the person in whose name the spell was cast. The torment thus involved in the love-spell seems rather to place the latter in the category of maleficent magic. An evidence of its being practised in Rome is found in the word *venenum*, 'poison,' which is connected with the name *Venus* (F. Skutsch, *De nominibus latinis suffixi -no ope formatis*, Breslau, 1890, p. 9), and originally meant 'love-potion.' It was of such a φίλτρον that Lucullus is said to have died (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, xliii.).

The simplest form of maleficent magic was the evil eye (S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, Berlin, 1910). Even without accessories this could work injury to health and property (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Malocchio'; Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Fascinum'). Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 69, dealing with the death of Germanicus, is the classical passage for a more elaborate malignant spell performed with all the requisite materials:

'Reperiebantur solo ac parietibus erutae humanorum corporum reliquiae, carmina et devotiones et nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum, semusti cineres ac tabo obliti aliaque maleficia, quis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrari.'

The principal appliances of this kind of magic were the well-known *tabellae plumbeae*, and such tablets, inscribed with menaces directed against all that the object of the spell counted dear, have been discovered in large numbers (A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt*, Paris, 1904). Even this practice, however, was not native to the soil, but was borrowed from the Greeks as late as the 1st cent. B.C. (*Rhein. Mus.* lv. [1900] p. 271).

In cases where a man was suffering harm in person or property, he resorted to exorcism as a means of expelling the injurious thing. In most instances the evil took the form of a disease, and it was no uncommon thing to attack it by magical remedies. This was, in fact, the function of *medicina popularis* (see art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE), regarding which we are specially well informed by Pliny (*HN*; cf. *e.g.* xxviii. 47 ff.). We are not sure, indeed, whether or not Pliny availed himself of Greek sources, but we find a reference to a native remedy in Cato, *de Agri Cult.* 160, where it is said that a dislocation can be cured by binding upon the injured place a reed that has been blessed with a magic formula.

As the unknown perils to which a man was exposed were manifold, he did not wait till the blow had actually fallen, but sought to safeguard himself beforehand by making use of such articles as had a recognized protective virtue; and in this way the object utilized in the practice of exorcism became an *amulet*. The prevalence of this form of magic amongst the Romans is reflected in the number of terms signifying 'amulet' found in their language from the very infancy of their literature. One of these is *fascinum*, connected either with Latin *fari*, 'to cast a spell,' or with Gr. βάσκανος (A. Walde, *Etymol. Wörterb.*, p. 209). The derivatives of *fascinum*, viz. *fascinare* (Catull. vii. 12: 'mala fascinare lingua'), and *fascinatio* (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 35: '[saliva] fascinationes repercutimus'; xxviii. 101: '[hyaenae] frontis corium fascinationibus resistere'), show that at one time the word meant 'a malignant spell'; and, as a matter of fact, it was in the main applied to the baneful action of the evil eye (Virgil, *Eclog.* iii. 103: 'oculus mihi fascinat agnos'; cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 70 ff.). The actual *fascinum* was nearly always an amulet, and in most cases took the figure of the phallus, which, it was believed, would by its very impropriety avert the evil eye, or even render it innocuous by the beneficent influence of the reproductive principle. A *fascinum* hung round the neck was worn as an amulet by boys (Plautus, *Miles*, 1398 f.: 'quasi puero in collo pendeant crepundia'); and when the conqueror made his triumphal entry into the capital —the occasion on which he might well dread the malign glance of envy—a *fascinum* was tied to his chariot (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 39). The soil of Italy has also yielded numerous *fascina* in stone and metal, which may have been either worn upon the person, or built into tombs, houses, city-walls, etc., as a means of protection (Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 73 ff.). In the same sense was used the word *muttonium* (derived from *mutto*), which also means 'phallus' (Usener, *Götternamen*, 1896, p. 327): the scholia render it by πέος or προβασκάνιον (*Corp. Gloss. Lat.* ii. 131, iii. 351). The word *scaevola* likewise, according to F. Marx (*Lucilii rel.* i. p. xliv—a reference suggested to the writer by L. Deubner), seems originally to have denoted an amulet in the form of a phallus.

The child's *crepundia*, however, embraced more than the phallus. The word *crepundia* comes from *crepere*, 'to rattle' (Walde, *op. cit.* p. 150), and was originally applied to the small metal rattle which served not only to amuse the child, but also to protect him from demonic influence, as it was supposed that evil spirits were afraid of the jingling of metals, especially of bronze (A. B. Cook, *JHS* xxii. [1902] p. 14 ff.); gold and silver, however, were also efficacious. Plautus (*Rudens*, 1156 ff.) enumerates the *crepundia* of a girl as follows: a golden sword, a silver knife, two hands clasped together, and a miniature pig (the material of the last two is not specified); finally (1171), 'bulla aurea est, pater quam dedit mi natali die.' The statue of a boy in the Vatican Museum (Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 301) shows upon the shoulder a strap embossed with a whole series of such prophylactic figures, while an ornament of similar character is preserved in Vienna (*ib.* fig. 2066). The idea of warding off evil, in fact, came to be so closely associated with *crepundia* that the word was at length used to denote, not a child's rattle only, but an amulet of any kind (Apuleius, *Apologia*, 56).

The origin of many of these pendants is probably to be sought in Greece and Etruria. Plautus, in the passage quoted above, is translating from a Greek comedy, while the *bulla* mentioned by him is regarded by all investigators as Etruscan (see artt. in Daremberg-Saglio and Pauly-Wissowa). The word itself is Latin, and means 'water-bubble' (*bullire*, 'to boil up'), and then any object of like form (Isidore, *Origines*, xix. 3, 11). In most cases the *bullae* used as amulets were of gold; many of them took the form of a heart—as the seat of life—or of the moon, to which great magical virtue was ascribed (Pauly-Wissowa, i. 39 f., *s.v.* 'Aberglaube'). The usual form, however, was that of a bubble or convex disk, and there was perhaps some mental association between such a golden *bulla* and the sun as the source of life. *Bullae* of this kind were worn by Etruscan youths (Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 892), women (*ib.* fig. 893), and demons (*Archäol. Zeitung*, 1846, plate 47, at the foot), on a strap round the neck, as also by the Etruscan kings (Festus, ed. Müller, p. 322). In all probability, therefore, the Roman practice was borrowed from the Etruscans. The general himself wore the golden *bulla* on the day of a triumph (Macrobius, *Saturnal.* i. 6, 9), but with this exception it was worn mainly by boys of distinguished birth (Festus, p. 36), those of humbler origin having to be content with a makeshift ('lorum in collo,' Macrob. i. 6, 14), while the

bulla of a girl is but seldom referred to (cf. the passage quoted above, Plautus, *Rudens*, 1171). It may well be the case that the simple leather strap (*lorum*) of the humbler ranks was at one time universally worn by the Roman youth, and that it was afterwards discarded by the higher classes for the golden *bulla* of the Etruscans. Juvenal (*Sat.* v. 164) contrasts the 'Etruscum aurum' with the 'nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro'; for the significance of this 'knot' cf. P. Wolters, 'Faden und Knoten als Amulett' (*ARW* viii. [1905], Beiheft, p. 19). Children were presented with these amulets on the day of their birth (Plautus, *loc. cit.*), and wore them during the tender years in which they were unable to guard themselves against the evil eye and kindred perils. On reaching the age of puberty they dedicated the *bulla* to the Lares (Persius, v. 31).

From the specimens discovered we learn that in most cases the *bulla* was composed of two convex disks of gold, which could be fastened closely together by means of the overlapping hooks on their edges (Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 895). In the hollow space thus formed the Romans used to keep things 'quae crederent adversus invidiam valentissima' (Macrob. i. 6, 9), as instances of which Marcellus Empiricus (viii. 50) mentions the eyes of a green lizard. A *bulla* discovered in the grave of a soldier at Aquileia (Heydemann, *Mitt. aus d. Antikensammlungen in Ober- u. Mittel-Italien*, 1879, p. 27, cited by Pauly-Wissowa) was found to contain hair: it was a popular superstition among the ancients that hair was a protection against head wounds (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 41). It would appear that the various articles that might be deposited in the *bullae* were grouped under the general term *praebia*—a word which, according to Varro (*de Ling. Lat.* vii. § 107), had been already used by Naevius. Varro himself derives its meaning 'a praebendo ut sit tutus, quod sint remedia in collo pueris,' and Festus (p. 238) speaks of *praebia* composed of dirt taken from the folds in the robe of a certain temple-statue.

The most familiar and most comprehensive term of this class was *amuletum* (see artt. in Daremberg-Saglio and Pauly-Wissowa). The word is of uncertain etymology, being either an early adaptation—possibly from the Etruscan—or else a genuine Latin form in *-eto* (cf. Walde, *op. cit.* p. 27); on the latter alternative it is probably derived from *amulum*, and would thus mean 'food of coarse meal' (*Glotta*, ii. [1910] 219 ff.). There is no available evidence, however, for its usage in this sense; in every known instance it answers to φυλακτήριον. It is nevertheless quite possible that a word which primarily meant 'strengthening, farinaceous food' should at length come to signify 'a protection against evil.' Of a dish prepared with meal, Pliny (*HN* xxv. 128) says: 'iis qui cotidie gustent eam, nulla nocitura mala medicamenta tradunt.'

Charms and amulets could indeed be made of any kind of material (Hubert, art. 'Magie,' in Daremberg-Saglio, p. 13) possessed of some outstanding quality beneath which supernatural virtue might conceivably lurk. The conceptions which suggested the association of abnormal powers and magical effects with particular substances have been discussed in the 'Greek' section of this article, and need not again be entered upon here. Among terrestrial things—the sun and the moon have been dealt with above (p. 462b)—*plants* and *animals* were specially regarded as the media of magical power. Sometimes the particular object was used as a whole, sometimes a definite portion thereof was taken; and in the latter case the part was supposed to have special influence just because it was a part, or else to contain a portion of the power pervading the whole. The available records of vegetable and animal substances employed in this way would of themselves easily fill a lexicon; a beginning has been made by E. Riess (art. 'Aberglaube' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. cols. 51-83). The few typical instances given below will suffice to show that the Romans likewise shared in the superstitions regarding them.

With reference to *plants* used as amulets, it seems unlikely that there was any importation in cases where the magical influence is associated with their *names*—a phenomenon by no means infrequent (Apuleius, *Apologia*, 35)—and where this association holds good only in Latin. Pliny (*HN* xxvii. 131; cf. R. Heim, 'Incantamenta magica graeca latina,' in *Jahrb. f. Philol.* Suppl. xix. 478, no. 49) informs us that the plant called *reseda*, growing at Ariminum, will expel all kinds of inflammation if invoked with the formula 'Reseda morbos reseda,' where the name of the plant is also the imperative of *resedare*. Many of the examples given by writers *de Re Rustica*, again, have a genuinely Italian flavour; *e.g.* an oak log ('robusta materia,' Varro, i. 38. 3; Columella, ii. 15. 6) hidden in a dung-heap is a protection against serpents. Breaking one's fast upon cabbage is recommended by Cato (*de Agri Cult.* 156) as a cure for intoxication, while Varro advises that at the beginning of autumn the figure of a grape-cluster should be placed in the vineyard as a defence against bad weather (Pliny, *HN* xviii. 294). In a comedy of Titinius one of the characters declares that strings of garlic ward off witches—a saying that points to a popular superstition of ancient Italy (*Scaen. Rom. poes. Fragm.*, ed. O. Ribbeck [1897-8], ii. 188). The torches used in marriage processions at Rome had to be of hawthorn (Festus, p. 245; E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen u. Römer* [1901], p. 16), while Ovid (*Fasti*, vi. 129) refers to the same shrub as a prophylactic. Likewise, the custom of touching the threshold and door-post with a sprig of the strawberry plant (*arbutus*) as a means of driving away witches (Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 155) is regarded by W. Mannhardt (*Baumkultus*, Berlin, 1875, p. 299) as indigenous to Rome.

Similarly with regard to *animals*, popular etymologies sometimes enable us to recognize certain practices as of native Roman origin; thus, it was believed that the ashes (*carbo*) of three crabs that had been burned alive would counteract *carbunculus*, a disease of plants (Pliny, *HN* xviii. 293; Riess, *op. cit.* col. 74). Other instances connected with animals are given by prose authors as observed among the practices of their age. Pliny tells us that the snouts of wolves were fixed upon the door as a means of guarding against *veneficia* (*HN* xxviii. 157); Palladius (i. 35; cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoseon*, iii. 23) says that owls with outstretched wings were nailed to the house as a protection from hail; and, again (i. 35, *ad fin.*), that the skull of a mare or she-ass was placed in gardens to ensure fertility. Varro (*de Re Rust.* ii. 9. 6) adopts from Saserna the suggestion that dogs may be made faithful if they be given a boiled frog to eat. In order to avoid being struck by lightning, the Emperor Augustus always carried the skin of a seal (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 90).

Magical virtues were in like manner ascribed to certain parts of the *human body*. We have already spoken of the *fascinum*; a similar purpose was served by a representation of the female vulva, effected either by means of a gesture (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 433), or by a drawing (Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 79 f.). An invalid that Vespasian touched with his foot was restored to health (Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 81). The hand, too, had peculiar efficacy; it could ward off evil from what it grasped (Persius, ii. 35), but

could also cause death (Bücheler, *Carm. lat. epigr.* ii. [1897] no. 987; O. Weinreich, 'Antike Heilungswunder,' in *Rel.-gesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* vol. viii. pt. i. p. 58 f.). Even the nail-parings of one who had fever were used as a means of magically transferring the disease to another (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 86). Analogous properties were attributed to the various secretions of the human body. The spittle was regarded as a preventive; a Roman spat upon his breast when praising himself, in order to avert the jealousy of the gods; and, when engaged in the operation of magical healing, he sought to ward off hostile influences by the same action (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 36; cf. Varro, *de Re Rust.* i. 2, 27; A. Abt, 'Die Apologie des Apuleius,' in *Rel.-gesch. Vers. und Vorarb.*, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 261).

Stones and *metals* were likewise used as amulets, though but seldom in their natural state. In most cases the selected stone was subjected to special preparation; it was inscribed with some magically potent figure, or with a form of words, and in this way efficacy was given to the stone, and durability to the spell. Belief in the virtue of particular stones was a relatively late growth in Rome, and was probably of foreign origin. The oldest surviving 'stone-books' are Greek, *e.g.* the *Lithika* ascribed to Orpheus (Abel, *Orphica* [1885], 109 ff.), and the sources used by Pliny in this connexion are likewise non-Roman (cf. 'Damigeron' in Pauly-Wissowa). Stones thus carved and inscribed give us the so-called 'Abraxas gems' (cf. 'Abrasax' in Pauly-Wissowa; A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 1900, plate xlviii.), which were worn in all kinds of jewellery, and especially rings. The practice of making boys wear an amber bead as an amulet was also brought from abroad (Pliny, *HN* xxxvii. 50).

With regard to *metals*, again, we have seen that bronze was supposed to have the power of driving away evil spirits. The Italian museums contain numerous objects exemplifying the practice of using bronze for prophylactic purposes (cf. *e.g.* Bellucci, *Amuleti*, p. 11, nos. 10, 11, 'pesce in bronzo'; p. 12, no. 14, 'fallo in bronzo'; no. 15, 'vulva in bronzo'—all from the Iron Age). The use of silver and gold for the same purposes has already been referred to. These metals were brought to Italy at a relatively early period, and the Roman superstitions associated with them may therefore be fairly ancient. A thin plate of either substance was made an amulet by having engraved upon it a prophylactic text (M. Siebourg, 'Ein gnostisches Goldamulet aus Gellep,' *Bonner Jahrb.* ciii. [1898] 134 ff.). Iron also could ward off evil spirits (Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 260; cf. E. Norden's ed. [1903], p. 201). An iron nail was driven into the ground at the place where an epileptic had fallen, the idea being that the demon of epilepsy was thereby riveted to the spot (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 63). An iron nail also served to add efficacy to the *defixiones* inscribed upon leaden tablets (see above); to pierce with a nail the tablet containing the name of one's adversary was to impale the adversary in person. Nails used in this way, however, were sometimes formed of other metals; a well-known example is the bronze nail which, with its inscription, warded off the wild dogs of Domna Artemix (*Archäol. Jahrb.*, Ergänzungsheft, vi. [1905] 43).

The stone and metal figures used as talismans were in most cases representations of the deities that preserve men from calamity. Sulla carried in all his battles a golden miniature of Apollo which had been brought from Delphi (Plutarch, *Sulla*, xxix.). A kindred phenomenon is the respect subsequently accorded to the figure of Alexander the Great (*Script. Hist. Aug.* 'xxx Tyr.' xiv. 4), which was worn in rings and all sorts of ornaments. Magic virtues were ascribed also to the characteristic symbols of the gods; thus, on a prophylactic clay slab found in Naples (Jahn, *op. cit.* plate v. no. 3, p. 52), we recognize, among other objects, the *kerykeion* of Mercury, the trident of Neptune, the club of Hercules, the bolt of Juppiter, the lyre of Apollo, the bow of Artemis, and the tongs of Vulcan. Pictures of grotesque and horrible appearance were also used by the Romans, as were the *Gorgoneia* by the Greeks, for the purpose of keeping impending evils at bay (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxviii. [1909] 257). A stone head with the tongue thrust out was found beside a tower in a Roman fort in Hungary (*Österr. Jahreshefte*, vii., 1903, Beiblatt, p. 116, fig. 36 [communicated by L. Deubner]).

The method adopted for appropriating the magical qualities of the various substances was not always the same. Vegetable materials were often taken inwardly as food; thus, the stinging nettle, used as *cibus religiosus* (Pliny, *HN* xxi. 93), gave a whole year's immunity from disease. Or the substance could communicate its beneficent quality by being rubbed into the object for which protection was sought. Hence the bride rubbed the door-posts with wolf's fat (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 142). In some cases it was enough merely to touch the object, as with the *arbutus* (see above), but the usual course was to bring the protective material into permanent connexion with the thing to be protected, so that the virtue of the former might flow continuously into the latter. This end was best secured by binding the prophylactic to the object, and accordingly the amulet was in later times called *alligatura* (Filastr. *Div. Her.* 21. 3). The simplest method was to carry it by a string round the neck, as was the case with the *bulla*. In local ailments the specific was bandaged to the affected part (Cato, *de Agri Cult.* cap. 160: 'ad luxum aut ad fracturam alliga'). When once the remedial substance had done its work, it was probably dedicated to the gods; the *bulla*, as we have seen, was given to the Lares, while the 'remedia quae corporibus aegrorum adnexa fuerant' were taken to the temple of Febris (Valerius Maximus, ii. 5, 6). But most amulets were worn throughout life, and were not removed even at death, as is shown by numerous 'finds' in tombs.

Moreover, not only human beings, but animals as well, were safeguarded or healed by means of these pendants. The *phalerae* worn by horses closely resemble the *crepundia* of children (cf. Rich, *Illustr. Wörterbuch d. röm. Altertümer*, 1862, *s.v.* 'Phalerae'). Cattle were similarly provided with clay figures within which a living shrew-mouse had been immured (Columella, vi. 17). As already indicated, even inanimate things, such as gates, houses, gardens, tombs, and city-walls, were protected by amulets. Amulets for the house, in particular, have been found in great profusion; pavements with figures—*e.g.* of magically potent animals—designed to arrest the eye (P. Bienkowski, 'Malocchio,' *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 285 ff.; cf. the 'Greek' section of this art.), or inscriptions (Bücheler, *Carm. lat. epigr.*, no. 26: '[Felicitas] hic habitat; nil intret mali'). Such inscriptions were regarded as specially effective against fire (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 20; Festus, p. 18). Here, too, figure and writing were brought into immediate contact with the object they were meant to protect, being either imprinted upon or inserted into the wall, and thus becoming a component part thereof.

Belief in charms and amulets did not expire in Rome with the ancient period. It remained active even after Italy was Christianized (cf. the art.

'Amulette' in Schiele, *Rel. in Gesch. u. Gegenwart*, i. [1908] 454 ff., and in *DACL*, i. [1904] 1784 ff.); it was vigorous in the Middle Ages (J. Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, ii.[3] [1878] 279 ff.), and survives to-day with scarcely diminished force (Bellucci, *Amuleti*; Gius. Pitrè, *Bibliot. delle tradiz. popol. siziliane*, Palermo, 1875, vols. xvii., xix.; Th. Trede, *Das Heidentum in der röm. Kirche*, 1891, iv. 'Amulette,' p. 475, 'Zauber,' p. 498).

LITERATURE.—The more important works have been cited above, and under the 'Greek' section of this article.

R. WÜNSCH.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Slavic).—In no other quarter of Europe has magic, in all the various forms assumed by it from the dawn of history to the present day, exercised so great a sway as in the Balto-Slavic countries. In this article, however, the writer proposes to confine the inquiry almost entirely to Russia, partly because he is more conversant with this narrower area, and partly because it may be taken for granted that the conditions prevailing there extend also to the other Slavic countries and to the Baltic districts as well.

In connexion with Russia, a phenomenon that strikes us at once is the large variety of equivalents provided by the language for the word 'magician'—terms which, so far as their etymology can be definitely traced, afford a suggestive glimpse into the magician's mode of procedure. Thus we find that he is the 'maker,' *i.e.* the one who performs the magic actions; or he is the 'speaker,' who mutters the incantation; or, again, the 'knower,' the man who is learned in the magic rites.

To the first category belongs the Russ. (properly Old Bulg.) *carodejĭ*, 'magician,' from *cara*, 'magic,' and *dejati*, 'to make.' Originally the root *cara*, corresponding precisely to Old Iran. *cārā*, 'means,' 'remedy,' signifies simply 'making,' being cognate with Skr. *kṛṇoti*, 'he makes,' and *kṛtya*, 'action,' 'magic' (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 40). The same idea underlies the term *potvórnikŭ*, 'magician' (now obsolete in this sense), connected with *potvórny*, 'magical,' *potvorstvo* and *potvóry* (plu.), 'magic'; and all are derived from Russ. *tvoritĭ*, 'to make' (cf. Ital. *fattura*; O. Fr. *faiture*, 'witchcraft,' from Med. Lat. *factura*; O. Norse, *gorningar* (plu.), 'magic,' from *gora*, 'to do).' The 'speaker,' 'babbler,' is denoted by Russ. *volchvŭ* and *volšebnikŭ*, 'magician,' from O. Slav. *vlusnati*, 'balbutire.' To these we may add the dialectical Russ. forms, *báchari*, 'magician,' from O. Slav. *baju*, *bajati*, cognate with Gr. φημί, Lat. *fari*; *obajánnikŭ*, *obajanščikŭ*, 'magician,' from *obájatĭ*, 'to chatter,' and *obavnikŭ* (in the *Domostroj*[1]), probably also connected therewith. Finally, the 'knowers' are designated *vedúnŭ* (obsolete), from *vedatĭ*, 'to know,' and *znachárĭ*, from *znatĭ*, with the same meaning. No definite explanation has as yet been provided for O. Russ. *kudésnikŭ* (cf. *kudésŭ*, 'the masked one,' *kudesi*, 'magic,' 'witchcraft,' 'Christmas,' etc.); or *koldúnŭ*, which in all probability is not, as was stated in art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 45, a native Russian word, but rather an importation from the Finnish. In the Karelian dialect, at all events, this term is in common use (Georgievskij, *Russian-Karelian Dictionary*, St. Petersburg, 1908, p. 53); and the Karelians, be it remembered, have from time immemorial been recognized in Russia as adepts in the occult art. Thus, for instance, when the Grand Prince Ivanovic took as his second wife the young Gluška, he resorted to certain Karelians for such magical expedients as would enable him to have offspring.

We shall find occasion below to refer to other Russian terms for 'magician.' All those already mentioned have, of course, their respective feminine forms (*e.g.* *carodejka*, *vedĭma*, *znachárka*); and in Russia, indeed, as elsewhere, women, especially when old, were and still are believed to be specially versed in all manner of magic. During the 17th cent., for example, certain women belonging to Moscow gained so great a reputation in the art that their names have not yet been forgotten. It is worthy of note that the Russian magicians formed themselves into special gilds (*cechi*), by means of which the peculiar methods of the craft were handed on from one generation to another.

The *aims* of magic are of two kinds. Those who practise the art may intend thereby to secure some advantage either for themselves or others; or, again, they may seek to work injury upon others. Under the former class will fall the special case where recourse is had to magic as affording protection against the magical practices of one's enemies, such hostile machinations being called in Russian *porča*, 'enchantment,' from *portitĭ*, 'to damage.' The means used by the adept in furtherance of his designs may be *things* or *actions* or *words*. It is certainly impossible to regard these three categories as furnishing an exact classification of the extraordinary variety of available accessories, as in actual practice any single species seldom occurs alone, but is in most cases combined with one or both of the others; and, in particular, the selected things or actions sometimes acquire their potency only after an incantation or spell (*zagovórŭ*, *nagovórŭ*, from *govoritĭ*, 'to speak') has been uttered over them. Nevertheless, we must so far avail ourselves of the triple division indicated, if for no other purpose than to introduce some degree of order into the huge mass of material. Some consideration must also be given to the question whether, amid this jungle of delusion and absurdity, there may not be places where the presence of rational, or at least intelligible, elements is to be seen.

(1) Amongst the *things* manipulated for magical purposes, mention ought, first of all, to be made of plants and plant-substances. We find, indeed, a distinct order of magicians bearing the name *zeléjščiki* or *zelejniki* (in the *Domostroj*), from *zélije*, 'herb,' 'plant.' These were regarded as experts in herbs and roots. Every member of the order had his own 'plant-book' (*trávnikŭ*, from *travá*, 'plant,' 'herb'), which was bequeathed to his successor. Such *trávniki* may still be found in Russian villages, though very rarely; for it is believed that, if copies of them are made, the plants named in them will lose their efficacy. They are also exposed to other dangers (see below). They are handed down as precious heirlooms from one generation to another. These books give, first of all, the native name of the plant; then a description frequently very precise; then the locality where it may be found; and, finally, its medicinal properties. They often contain observations of this kind: 'it is good in cases where a person has become insane, or has been imbecile from childhood; steam yourself with it and drink the juice, and you shall be well' (cf. Kulikovskij, *Dictionary of the Dialect of Olonetz* [Russ.], St. Petersburg, 1898, p. 121). Many of these plants and their virtues have become known to us from the statements of a Siberian magician who was commanded by the Czar Alexej Michailovic to send an account of them to the authorities. Throughout Russia the Eve of St. John's is recognized as the peculiarly appropriate time for picking or digging such herbs. This holds good, above all, of the fern or brake—Russ. *páporotĭ*, a word which, representing the Indo-Germanic name (cf. Gr. πτερίς, O. Gall. *ratis*, from **pratis*, Lith. *papártis*, etc.), indicates the ancient repute of the plant. It was believed to be specially effective in the breaking of locks and the unearthing of treasure.

While the employment of vegetable substances for magical purposes may have some basis of reason in the gradually discovered remedial properties of plants, we look in vain for any such ostensible ground of rationality in the innumerable other things used in the operations of the magician—water and fire, bones and belemnites, stones and bears' claws, dead men's hands and winding-sheets, etc., although in another aspect, as will be explained more fully below, these things, too, may in some cases show a certain rational connexion with facts. Latterly, an outstanding significance was attached by the adept to certain objects which existed only in the sphere of imagination, such as serpents'

[1] *i.e.* 'The Book of Household Management,' composed in the reign of Ivan IV.

horns, the 'eagle stone' (a stone alleged to have been found in an eagle's nest), and the fabled horn of the unicorn. It is recorded that in 1655 the Czar Alexej Michailovic purchased three of these horns for a sum of 10,000 roubles.

To give effect to the virtues of the various objects named, the substances themselves—so far as they could in some form or another be eaten or drunk—were administered to the sick person by the magician, incantations being in most cases recited during the process. They were likewise freely used as ointments, in the mixing of which the most preposterous substances were employed—'turpentine, naphtha, arsenic, human blood, milk of women and animals, honey, dewdrops, sulphur, pitch, hops' (as given in an old MS in the Rumjanzow Museum). Besides these magical articles, roots and slips of paper inscribed with magic formulæ were often worn as amulets, the usual name of which (as in O. Russ.) is *náuzŭ*, from *navjazátĭ*, 'to attach' (*náuznikŭ*, 'wizard,' *náuzitĭ*, 'to practise witchcraft'; O. Russ. *nauzotvorĭcŭ*, 'amulet-maker' = magician).[1] Similarly, letters in which are written the Greek names of the various fevers are often worn as amulets, meant either to heal or to guard. Fevers, like most other diseases, are regarded as evil spirits—as the twelve daughters of Herod, virgins with dishevelled hair, whose supreme lord is the *besŭ trjašca* (*besŭ*, 'devil,' O. Russ. *tresĭca*, 'fever'). A connexion of the closest kind, extending even to the names, exists between the amulet (*náuzŭ*) and the knot (*úzelŭ*), which is used as a means of 'binding' one's enemy or his hostile actions. An ancient spell runs thus:

'Five knots will I tie for every unfriendly and unfaithful shooter (*strelĭcu*)—on the guns, on the bows, on every weapon of war. O knots, shut against the shooter all highways and byways, close up the guns, put all the bows out of order, string together all weapons of war; in my knots let there be a mighty virtue.'

(2) Passing now from things to *actions*, we would note at the outset one of the principal adjuncts of the *pórca* (see above), viz. the 'evil eye' of envy and malice (Russ. *sglazŭ* or *prizórŭ*; Gr. ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός; Goth. *augô unsêl*; cf. Mk 7[22]). By means of the evil eye—as also of the evil formula (*urókŭ*)—it is possible to bring upon people, especially children, who are peculiarly susceptible to its influence, all manner of diseases, and in particular the symptoms of epilepsy (*klikúšestvo*, from *klíkatĭ*, 'to scream') and hiccup (*ikóta*). It will hardly be denied that the dread of the evil eye has a partial justification in observed fact. In the circle of our own acquaintance, for instance, we may be able to recall some individual the very cast of whose eye makes us ill at ease in his presence (cf. S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, Berlin, 1910).

Another proceeding that was greatly dreaded was the 'secret bestowal' (*podmĕtŭ*) of objects fraught with occult dangers. In 1598 the Russians pledged their oath to the Czar Boris—

'that neither in eating nor in drinking, neither in their clothing nor in anything else, would they attempt to devise evil [against him]; that they would not send to him any of their people bearing sorcery or noisome roots; that they would not hire wizards or witches; that they would not efface his footprints with any magical design; that they would not by means of magic send any evil upon him by the wind' (see below), etc. In particular, all admission to the Imperial stables was forbidden, 'so that no evil-disposed person should place noxious herbs or roots in the Emperor's saddle, bridle, belt, gloves,' etc. We thus see that the Czars of that period had no less cause for apprehension than their successors in our own times.

A further method of inflicting evil upon any one was that just mentioned in the oath given to the Czar Boris, viz. 'conveyance by wind' (*nasylka po vetrú*). Sorcerers, being lords of weather and wind, are called 'cloud-dispellers' (*oblako-progonniki*) and 'cloud-preservers' (*oblako-chranitelĭniki*). For a sorcerer, therefore, invested with such power, it was a simple matter, by means of a magic word, to make the wind veer in any desired direction, to throw dust into the air, and cause the wind to carry the dust to any person he chose, so that the victim 'might become crooked, wrinkled, be blown asunder and desiccated.'

There is another large group of magic actions which become intelligible only in the light of the facts adduced in the art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 40, regarding the nature of magic in general. It was explained there that the magic action, in its genuine form, has its roots in symbolism. To put the matter concretely: an action is performed which in some way suggests the real object of desire, and is thus supposed to help towards its attainment. This fundamental characteristic of all magic manifests itself very prominently in the extraordinary operations of the Russian sorcerer and sorceress. When a person goes to law, he must take from a birch-tree a trembling twig (? *pereperŭ*, otherwise *pérepelŭ*) and say: 'As this twig trembles, so may my adversary at law and his tongue tremble.' When a woman feels that she is being neglected by her husband, the sorceress gives her a root, which must be placed upon a mirror with the words: 'As I look into this glass and do not tire of seeing myself, so let such an one never grow tired of seeing me.' When a merchant has difficulty in selling his goods, the sorceress casts a spell upon a piece of honey, and says: 'As the bees of the hive (? *jarosja*) swarm around [this honey], so let purchasers flock to this merchant because of his wares.' The merchant must then smear himself with the honey.

(3) The same symbolism—but transferred from the realm of action to that of speech—pervades the third category of Russian magic distinguished above, viz. the class of *magic formulæ*. This is, without doubt, the most interesting group of the phenomena under consideration. The magic formula, resting upon a perfectly intelligible belief in the determining, soothing, and even healing power of human speech (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 40), developed in Russia into an altogether unique species of popular poetry, to the study of which the scholars of that country have long devoted their attention. Our knowledge of these magic formulæ is derived from oral and written tradition. At present, it is true, both sources of supply show a tendency to languish. By reason of the multiplication of schools and the growing dissemination of the knowledge of written and printed characters—once, in village life, the monopoly of the adept—it is now difficult for the inquirer to find a person who will condescend, even for money, to unfold the treasure of magic formulæ stored in his memory; and the difficulty is augmented by the belief that the formula loses its virtue when communicated to another. Chap-books (*tetrádki*) containing such incantations, notes of charms, etc., like the plant-books (*trávniki*) already referred to, must formerly have had a wide circulation in Russia, while they are now gradually being brought to light in manuscripts—dating in some cases from the 17th cent.—rescued from the dust of archives and libraries. Of written memorials of this kind, however, there has recently appeared in village life a dangerous enemy, viz. the inclination of the peasantry to turn every available piece of paper into *cigárki* (cigarettes).

In what follows, the reader will find a few speci-

[1] Cf. the Germ. renderings of *amuletum* given in F. Kluge, *Etymolog. Worterbuch der deutschen Sprache*[7], Strassburg, 1909, *s.v.* 'Amulett': 'Artzney so man ann Hals henckt,' and 'Anhängsel.' According to R. Wunsch, *Glotta*, 1910, ii. 219 ff., *amuletum* is not derived from *amoliri*, 'to drive away,' but from Gr. ἄμυλον, 'starch-flour,' which, if taken as food, was believed to have magical effects; cf. the Roman section of this art., p. 463a. The Lith. term is *seitai*, i.e. 'amulets and suspended things that have been consecrated by a Seitone' (on this word cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 54).

mens of magic formulæ drawn from a collection recently published by N. N. Vinogradov in the *Zivaja Starina* (see the Literature at end of art.). The selection has been guided mainly by the desire to present such examples as exhibit the *comparison* which here takes the place of the symbolic magic action.

(1) *An incantation used as a love-charm* (Vinogradov, 1907, no. 54): 'I, the servant of God, Vasilius, will rise up, blessing myself; I will walk, crossing myself, out of the room by the door, and out of the forecourt by the gate, across the square before the gate, through the wicket in the fence; I will go out into the open country; in the open country is the blue sea, in the blue sea lies a white stone, beside this white stone stands a withered tree, and by this withered tree stands a withered man; he hacks the withered tree and lays it on the fire. As soon and as swiftly as the withered tree flames up in the fire, so soon and so swiftly may the heart of the handmaiden of God [so and so] flame up for the servant of God [so and so], etc. . . . Of all my words may the key be in the sea, the lock in my mouth,—I shut, I bar to all eternity. Amen.'

(2) *Incantation for extinguishing love* (*ib.* 1907, no. 32): 'I, the servant of God [name], will rise without blessing myself; I will walk without crossing myself, out of the room, not by the door, out of the forecourt, not by the gate; I will go into the open country, to the blue sea; I will stand upon the beam of the ground flat; I will glance, I will gaze towards the north; in the north lies an island of ice; on the island of ice stands a cabin of ice, in the cabin of ice are walls of ice, a floor of ice, a roof of ice, doors of ice, windows of ice, window-glass of ice, a stove of ice, a table of ice, a seat of ice, a bedstead of ice, bed-clothes of ice, and there sits the emperor of ice himself. In this cabin of ice, on this stove of ice, sits a Polish cat, sits an over-sea dog; they sit with their backs turned towards each other. When the Polish cat and the over-sea dog turn their noses towards each other, they tussle and bite each other till blood flows. So may the servant of God [name] and the handmaid of God [name] nag and bite each other till they have blue marks and bloody wounds, etc. Amen.' The person must repeat this thrice, spitting each time.

(3) *Incantation against fleas, bugs, beetles, and other insects* (*ib.* 1908, no. 70): 'Fleas, bugs, beetles, and all such creatures, behold, I come to you as a guest; my body, as bones; my blood, as pitch; eat moss, but not me. My word is sure. Key. Lock. Amen, Amen, Amen.'

(4) *Incantation upon gun and powder* (*ib.* 1908, no. 46): 'Adam comes upon the street. In his hands he carries a cudgel. Powder—dung! Shot—dust. *Mingo* [Lat.] upon him; he shall not kill me, but he shall not escape from before my shot. Now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.'

(5) *Conclusion of an incantation designed to turn a maiden against a youth* (*ib.* 1908, nos. 73, 74): 'According to this incantation, let a person take a forked twig, break it in two, and, burning one piece, hide the other in the earth, with the words: "As those two pieces do not grow together, and will not again come together, so may the servant of God [name] and the handmaid of God [name] not come together or meet each other to all eternity."'

(6) *Incantation against bleeding* (*ib.* 1908, no. 75): 'I will rise up, blessing myself; I will go, crossing myself, into the open country, upon the blue sea. In the open country, upon the blue sea, is a blue stone, and upon it a brown horse; on the horse sits an old man; he holds in his hand a golden needle, a silken thread; he sews, sews up the wound, stanches the blood, takes away gout and rheumatics, wards off evil eyes and enchantment (*prizory, prikosy*) from the servant of God [name]. Thou, O blood, stop, flow not, and do not drop from the servant of God [name]. To all eternity. Amen.' This must be repeated thrice, and a needle drawn thrice round the wound. Then the needle is thrown into the river or well.

Even these few examples of Russian incantations will serve to show that we are here in touch with some of the very oldest elements of magic, and, at the same time, with some accretions of later growth, and probably not of Russian origin at all. The frequent reference to Biblical persons and occurrences, or to the mysterious stone *latyri*, the marvellous island of Bujan, etc., which cannot be brought into direct relation with the Russian people, seems rather to bespeak a foreign, and in the main an Eastern, source of influence. It does not fall within the scope of this article, however, to enter upon this aspect of our subject, which, be it remarked, re-emerges in various ways in the fields of the popular legendary poetry of Russia, *i.e.* the *bylini*. Suffice it meanwhile to draw attention to a recent work by V. J. Mansikka, *Über russische Zauberformeln*, etc. (see the Lit.), which puts the reader in possession of the latest information on the wider questions referred to.

The practice of magic, as carried on by means of objects, actions, and words, pervades every phase of ancient Russian life. A suggestive inventory of the magic devices to be guarded against by the devout Christian when he is sick is given in the *Domostroj* (16th cent.), ch. xxiii. ('How the good Christian should cure himself of disease and all ailments'). It was a rooted conviction of the popular mind that all things are possible to the proper employment of occult power. Certain sections of life were supposed to be peculiarly open to the influence of *porcu*, as for instance—besides health of body and mind—the day of one's marriage. On that day the presence of the *koldúnŭ* was simply indispensable, while the *drúška* also—the master of ceremonies for the time—must needs be an expert in all the arts of magic (cf. P. V. Sejn, *The Great Russian in his Songs, Rites, Customs, Superstitions, Tales, and Legends* [Russian], 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1898, 1900). The same phenomena meet us everywhere: charm and counter-charm, sorcery pitted against sorcery. In ancient Russia, as we learn, the rivalry of magicians often resulted in actual pitched battles.

The special form of occult art which is concerned with the divination of the future need not be dealt with here, as it has already been discussed with some fullness in the article ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 54 f., with special reference to the Baltic peoples.

LITERATURE.—N. Kostomarov, 'Sketch of the Domestic Life and Customs of the Great Russians in the 16th and 17th Centuries,' ch. 21 (Beliefs), in *Sovremennik*, vol. lxxxiii. p. 529 ff. [Russian]; N. N. Vinogradov, 'Spells and Blessings,' in Appendixes to the *Zivaja Starina* (1907, 1908) [Russian]; V. J. Mansikka, *Über russische Zauberformeln mit Berucksichtigung der Blut- u. Verrenkungssegen* (Helsingfors, 1909); on pp. vii–ix of the last-named work will be found an extensive list of Russian works dealing with the subject.

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CHARMS AND AMULETS (Tibetan).—Charms are very extensively, almost universally, used in Tibet, owing to the intensely superstitious character of the people and their inveterate animistic beliefs. In their hard struggle for life amidst some of the fiercest and most awe-inspiring environments in the world, the Tibetans see in the storms of hail, and in the floods and avalanches which wreck their homes and scanty crops and vex them with disaster, the work of malignant spirits infesting the air and water and locality. They attribute to these spirits also all other misfortunes—accidents, disease, and untimely death. They are ever haunted by the fear of harm from those unseen evil agencies, and to ward it off they seek protection in charms, especially those supplied to them by their Buddhist priests. Indeed, the chief attraction which Buddhism possesses for the populace is the mastery which it is supposed to afford votaries over the evil spirits and devils which beset them on all sides. In this way it happens that the charms in use in Tibet are mostly borrowed from Indian Buddhism, and incorporate largely, as the present writer has shown (*Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 404), ancient Vedic ritual of the nature of sympathetic magic. This the Tibetans seized on eagerly, and have preserved, as it presents so much in common with their own native animistic beliefs.

These ancient Vedic charms, with their preparatory incantations, readily lent themselves to be adapted by the later Buddhists, who, by an extension of Buddha's nihilistic idealism, taught that, where nothing really exists and all is the product of illusion, the name of a thing, spoken or written, is to be regarded as being as real as the thing itself. A charm thus may be in the form of an uttered, or even unuttered, incantation with cabalistic gestures; or, as is much more common, a concrete objective one containing inscribed charmed sentences or letters. The written charms are prepared in cabalistic fashion, with special enchanted material, according to set prescriptions. Thus, for

the *charm against weapons*, the directions are as follows:

With the blood of a wounded man draw the annexed monogram [this is an ancient Sanskrit character, and seems to read *dsam*—possibly, in the opinion of the present writer, intended to express onomatopoetically the hum of a spear or a sling-stone], and insert it in the centre of the diagram entitled 'the Assembly of Lamas' hearts.' The sheet should then be folded and wrapped in a piece of *red* silk, and tied up with string and worn around the neck or on an unexposed portion of the breast immediately next the skin, and never be removed.

Again, *for kitchen cooking smells offensive to the house-gods*:

With the blood of a hybrid bull-calf write the monogram GAU [='cow'], insert it in the print, and fold up in a piece of hedge-hog-skin. [This last may be compared with the Western Aryan myth of the Greek hearth-god Vulcan, whose mother Hera as Io is represented as a cow.]

In others, the charmed Sanskrit sentence or formula (*mantra*) is extracted from the later Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures of the Yoga and Tantrik era (c. A.D. 500 onwards), and consists of apocryphal sayings in corrupt Sanskrit ascribed to Buddha—often an unintelligible jargon of exclamations and incantations like the 'Fe-fo-fum' of the nursery tales. Such sentences or formulæ are termed *dhāraṇī*, as they are supposed to 'hold' magical power. Sometimes a single letter only is used, in which case it is the 'germ,' or *bīja*, of the *mantra*. These letters or sentences are usually inserted in a diagram or *yantra*, which frequently is inscribed with the orthodox 'Buddhist Creed.'

The more indigenous charms usually contain Chinese astrological and geomantic signs and symbols; for misfortune is ascribed also to unfavourable planetary influences. In these, as well as in those imported from India, if they are to be worn on the person, an important part of the protection depends on the manner in which the folded charm is tied up into a packet with many-coloured threads in geometrical patterns. This is done according to the rites of the pre-Buddhist religion, the *Bön*.

Thus prepared, the charm is worn on the person or affixed to the house, or to a dangerous rock, or is tied on bridges or cairns at the top of passes, or on bushes by the river's edge, or is hoisted on tall flags. For wearing on the person, if for under the dress, the packet is stitched up in a case of cloth and covered with flannel, to be hung from the neck, or it may be worn as a sash or attached to the upper arm; and several different kinds may be fastened together. When worn outside the dress, charms are usually carried in a metallic amulet box.

The amulet box, termed *gaū*, may be of copper, silver, or gold, according to the wealth of the wearer. It is in two pieces, a front and back hinged together by one or two wooden plugs at the two sides. The size averages about 2 inches square and about ⅝ of an inch deep; but some are much larger. The commonest shape is somewhat oblong, with an acuminate tip to its arched top, which may possibly be intended to represent the form of a leaf of the Bo-tree (*Ficus religiosa*). It is usually embossed with the '8 lucky symbols' (*aṣṭa-maṅgalam*) or other signs. Others are ovoid, and many are inlaid with turquoise. Several are glazed in front to expose the features of the central image, which most of them contain.

The *contents* of the amulet box are varied. The objects which are put in are supposed to be such as are dreaded by evil spirits. They are: (1) the charmed sentence as a magical spell, tied with thread as above described. (2) Miniature images of the chief Buddhist deities and saints, usually as clay medallions or arched plaques, occasionally of metal. The favourite image is Amitābha Buddha, the god of the Western paradise, and his son Avalokita of the *Om mani* spell, and supposed to be incarnate in the Dalai Lama; also Avalokita's consort Tārā, the queen of heaven; less frequently the patron saints Padmasambhava and Tsongk'apa, and the demoniacal protectors of Buddhism, the king-devils, varying according to the sect, *e.g.* Vajrabhairava, etc.; Buddha himself is seldom carried. These images are wrapped in bits of silk or other cloth, leaving the face uncovered. (3) Sacred symbols, some of the 8 lucky emblems, etc. (4) Relics of holy lamas, shreds of robes, hair, and nail-parings, as fetishes. (5) Grains of consecrated barley, pills, and cake from altars. (6) Earth and small pebbles from holy sites. (7) Incense and musk. These amulet cases are worn by nearly every individual in Tibet. Most commonly they are suspended from the neck, often more than one, and sometimes they are so large that they form small breastplates. Laymen may have four or five strung on a sash which buckles over the shoulder. Smaller ones are occasionally fixed as an ornament on the top-knot of the hair. The people rest their faith implicitly on the efficacy of these charms, and may be seen to fondle them affectionately. The talismans are to them both mascots and fetishes.

LITERATURE.—S. W. Bushell, *JRAS*, 1880, p. 436 ff.; A. Csoma Körösi, *JRASBe* ix. 905; W. W. Rockhill, *Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet*, Washington, 1895; E. Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, Leipzig, 1863, Eng. tr. 1881, p. 174 ff.; L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London, 1904, pp. 8, 173 f., 268, 471, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, pp. 387–419, 570–572, and 'Ancient Indian Charms, from the Tibetan,' in *JAI* xxiv. 41.

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CHARMS AND AMULETS (Vedic).—Current English usage, restricting 'amulet' to the meaning of a talisman attached to the human body, although probably based in part on a false etymology (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyc.* i. 1984), is of service in the study of Vedic magic, because the use of such amulets is there so frequent that the ideas connected with them must have presented themselves to the mind of a Vedic Hindu as a separate group. The designation of this group was *maṇi*, a word exactly equivalent in meaning to 'amulet' as defined above, except for the fact that it is also employed in the broader sense of 'ornament.' Etymologically *maṇi* is connected with Latin *monile*, 'necklace,' and in the parent word we may see the designation of the neck-ornaments of the pre-historic period, which were undoubtedly intended for magic rather than for ornamental purposes (cf. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerman. Altertumskunde*, 1901, *s.v.* 'Schmuck'). A synonym for *maṇi* is *pratisara*, which in the Atharvan literature, however, always designates the amulet that turns the spells of a sorcerer against himself, in accordance with its etymology, 'going against,' 'counter-magic.'

i. SOURCES.—The use of amulets is not confined to the Atharva; but, as the fullest picture of the Indian use of such charms is contained in the works of that school, it seems best to present first the practices of the Atharvan priests, and afterwards supplement this treatment by the statements from other sources.

1. Amulets in the Atharva-Veda.—The Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā itself comprises a number of hymns which more or less avowedly betray the fact that they were intended to accompany operations in which amulets were the chief factor. Such are especially the hymns that contain invocations of amulets or praises of them (i. 29, ii. 4, 11, iii. 5, 9, iv. 10, viii. 5, 7, x. 6, xix. 28, 30, 31, 33, 36, 46). In other cases incidental statements reveal the same fact (i. 35. 1: 'The gold which the kindly Dākṣāyaṇas bound on Śatānīka, that do I bind on thee, that thou mayest have long life, lustre, strength, long life of a hundred autumns'). In ii. 9. 1 we have the invocation of a being made of ten trees (*daśavṛkṣa*), which is manifestly an

amulet. ii. 27 is the invocation of a plant, but the third stanza shows one method of its use by saying, 'Indra placed thee upon his arm in order to overthrow the Asuras.' Other examples are iv. 9, v. 28, vi. 81, xi. 4. 26, xix. 26, 32, 34, 35. The ritual literature, in its description of the ceremonies at which these hymns are employed, invariably bears out these indications, and prescribes, besides, similar practices in connexion with i. 1, 2, 3, 9, 22, 34, ii. 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 27, iii. 6, 7, 21, 22, iv. 37, v. 1. 7, 13. 11, 23. 1, vi. 4, 11, 15, 38, 39, 43, 72, 85, 90, 91, 101, 142, vii. 6, 43, 56, 76, 82, viii. 2, x. 6, xix. 27, 29, 37, 44, 45. In most of these cases the internal evidence of the hymns, by their resemblance to those of the previous classes, supports the ritualistic tradition.

(*a*) *Theory of the efficacy of the amulet.*—Upon this point we are but badly informed, as the ritual texts merely state the material of which the amulet is to be made, the occasion on which it is to be used, and the hymn with which it is to be fastened on; while the hymns are much more concerned in their vague rodomontades with the wonders which the amulet will achieve than with the method by which it will effect them. The crudest view is perhaps that the amulet contains a being of supernatural power who works on behalf of its possessor. According to Oldenberg (*Religion des Veda*, 1894, p. 514), this view in all its crudeness is not found in the Veda. Nor is this gainsaid by the fact that the Atharvan frequently speaks of the amulet itself as if it were a living thing. So in iv. 10. 7, in praising an amulet of pearl: 'The bone of the gods turned into pearl; that, animated, dwells in the waters'; in xix. 34. 1: 'Thou art an Aṅgiras' (a semi-divine being); and in the same hymn it is said that the gods thrice begot the amulet, with which is to be compared the 'god-born' amulet of x. 6. 31. In xix. 33, *deva* (god) is applied to the amulet as an epithet; cf. xix. 34. 6, vi. 142. 2, and note that in viii. 2. 28, an amulet is styled 'the body of Agni.' In two hymns it is spoken of as a man, as a hero (*vīra*): 'This attacking talisman, (itself) a man, is fastened upon the man . . . as a man it advances against sorceries and destroys them' (viii. 5. 1 2, cf. iii. 5. 8). Note also that it has a thousand eyes with which it is invoked watchfully to destroy enemies (xix. 35. 3), or two horns (xix. 36. 2), with which it pierces demons. It dwells in the house like a guest, and its actions are compared with those of a seer (viii. 5. 8), or of Indra (x. 3. 11, xix. 28. 3). Frequently it is directly invoked to accomplish the desired object, thus xix. 28 and 29 are made up of verses of the type: 'O *darbha*-grass, pierce my rivals, pierce my foemen, pierce all my enemies, pierce them that hate me, O amulet'—the changes being rung on 'cut,' 'split,' 'crush,' 'grind,' 'burn,' 'slay,' and other unpleasant imperatives; cf. also ii. 11. Such passages, however, must not be taken too seriously. In reality they are nothing but a result of the readiness to see life in everything, combined with the Atharvan tendency to elevate in the most extravagant fashion the various portions of its ritualistic apparatus (for similar tendencies, cf. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda*, 1897, p. 87).

In a soberer vein the Atharvan looks upon an amulet as a weapon or an instrument in the hands of the sorcerer, *ṛṣi*, or god; cf. i. 29; ii. 4. 4; iv. 10. 2, 3; viii. 5. 3, 5, 6; x. 3. 2, 6. 9, 12, 13; or as an armour for its wearer, cf. viii. 5. 7, 10, 14. In this sense may be understood the statements that it will protect on all sides (ii. 4. 2), or from straits or the missiles of the gods and Asuras (iv. 10. 5); that it will beat off sorceries (viii. 5); that it will ward off or protect from various dangers (x. 3. 4 ff.); and even the frequent statement that it will prolong life may in part belong to the same category.

These metaphors, however, are the expressions of a more advanced stage of belief. The primitive idea on which the use of amulets was based is that all qualities can be transferred by contact—an undue generalization from certain familiar facts of experience—combined with the further principle of magic that the part may be substituted for the whole, or the symbol for the thing symbolized. This idea may still be seen governing the choice of the material of which amulets are made (cf. below), and is clearly expressed in viii. 5. 11–12: 'Thou art the highest of plants, as it were a bull among moving creatures, a tiger as it were among wild beasts. He in truth becomes a tiger, likewise a lion, and also an uprooter of enemies who wears this amulet.'

The Vedic practices, however, have advanced beyond this simplest form of belief. This advance is shown in the attributing to the amulet of secondary effects in addition to that which, on the above principle, it was primarily intended to produce. This is due to the fact that one blessing frequently implies another; so, *e.g.*, an amulet that bestows long life must guard its wearer from diseases and demons, from the charms of hostile sorcerers, and from the attacks of human enemies, and thus bestow the prosperity without which long life would be unendurable. Another evidence is the complicated structure of some amulets (cf. below), due partly to the wish to secure several objects at the same time, and partly to the effort to take every chance for success. Finally, and most important, is the effort to reinforce by ceremony and spell the effect which the amulet was originally supposed to produce by natural means. Every investiture with an amulet involved an elaborate religious, or at least quasi-religious, ceremony (cf. below), and the hymns themselves show the same tendency by frequently ascribing to the amulets a superhuman origin, or by recounting the wonderful achievements which the gods accomplished with them. The extreme of such tales may be seen in x. 6. 6–22; but viii. 5 also furnishes abundant illustration; cf. also i. 29, 35, ii. 27, iii. 5, vi. 81. 3, xix. 30, 34, 35. Note also how the hymns mingle prayers to different deities with invocation and laudations of the amulets, or in some cases, *e.g.* vii. 6, 82, are apparently nothing but prayers. In short, we have not merely sympathetic magic, but magic in the guise of religion.

(*b*) *The tying on of the amulet.*—This in itself is a ceremony of some elaboration. From the general rules (*paribhāṣās*) of the Kauśika Sūtra, 7. 15–21, we learn that the amulet is first steeped for three days in a mixture of curds and honey, an oblation of ghī (*ājya*) is next made by the priest while reciting the required hymn, and, while the person who has the ceremony performed (*kārayitṛ*) stands behind him and touches him with blades of *darbha*-grass, the leavings of the oblation are put upon the amulet, and the amulet is blessed with the hymn, the *kārayitṛ* standing as before. The priest then ties the amulet upon the *kārayitṛ* (generally upon his neck, in one case upon his finger, while bracelets and earrings also serve as amulets), and gives him the curds and honey to eat.

The elaborateness of the ceremony is greatly increased, if with Caland we understand that the whole performance is to be included in that of the New and Full Moon sacrifice. To this view a certain support is given by the precept that the steeping of the amulet shall begin on the thirteenth day of the half month, but it leads to doubtful consequences (if strictly applied), inasmuch as it is difficult to understand how the *kārayitṛ* would in cases of pressing need wait for the change of the moon. The question, however, involves other magic practices, and accordingly will be discussed under MAGIC.

Frequently the tying on of an amulet is but one of a series of magic rites (cf. Kauśika, 11. 19–20;

13. 46; 25. 6, 10; 26. 16, 43; 27. 5, 29; 28. 20; 29. 14; 35. 10; 38. 20-21; 39. 1; 43. 1, 16; 48. 3, 24), or it enters into a ceremony of a more strictly religious nature, *e.g.* at the *medhājanana*, a ceremony to produce wisdom (10. 2); at the *nāmakaraṇa*, naming of a child (58. 15); at the *upanayana*, initiation of a youth into the Brāhmanical community (58. 8); at the wedding ceremony (76. 8); and at the *mahāśānti*, a ceremony to avert evil portended by prodigies, a different amulet being prescribed in the 19th section of the Śāntikalpa for each of its thirty forms.

(*c*) *Materials employed and objects to be gained.*—(1) The vegetable kingdom furnishes the greater portion of the amulets, and these produce a wide variety of effects. The symbolism intended often remains obscure, especially when, as is sometimes the case, it is impossible to identify the plant. To obtain long life are employed amulets of the *pītadāru*-tree, *Pinus deodora* (Kauś. 58. 15; Śānt. 19), or of rice and barley (Śānt. 19). For the closely allied wish of prosperity we find in use amulets of *parṇa*-wood, *Butea frondosa* (Kauś. 19. 22), a tree of peculiar sanctity, to which the myths ascribe a heavenly origin; of *talāśa*-wood (Kauś. 19. 26), an unknown plant which perhaps owes its auspicious properties simply to the assonance of its name with *palāśa*, a synonym of *parṇa* (the hymn vi. 15 points rather to the subjection of enemies than to the attainment of prosperity which the ritual states is the purpose); of barley (Kauś. 19. 27); of the *sraktya*-tree, *Clerodendrum phlomoides*; of the *varaṇa*-tree, *Cratæva Roxburghii*; and of the *khadira*-tree, *Acacia catechu* (19. 22). The last three trees are employed largely on account of their names, which are connected by popular etymology with the roots *var*, 'to ward off,' and *khād*, 'to chew,' while *srāktya* as an epithet of an amulet would mean both 'made from the *sraktya*-tree' and 'bristling.' Victor Henry's suggestion that the latter was the primary meaning, and that the amulet was shaped like a six-pointed star, is most attractive. Whether Kauś. 11. 19; 52. 20 means an amulet made of two *kṛṣṇala*-berries (*Abrus precatorius*, Linn.) or their weight in gold is doubtful; the hymns and commentators both favour the latter alternative.

Against diseases in general are employed: in Kauś. 26. 37, a *varaṇa*-amulet (Dārila limits the purpose to the cure of consumption, but both the hymn and Keśava indicate a wider scope); in 28. 20, an amulet of barley; in 26. 40, an amulet made of chips from ten different kinds of holy trees, glued together and wrapped with gold wire; cf. also 13. 5, where the same amulet bestows lustre. More interesting are the amulets employed for the cure of particular diseases: in 25. 6, for the cure of excessive discharges, the head of a stalk of *muñja*-reed, *Saccharum munja*, with a string derived, according to the commentators, from the same plant; in 25. 10, for constipation or retention of urine, substances promoting micturition (the commentators cite as examples gall-nuts or camphor); in 26. 43, for the cure of hereditary disease, *kṣetriya*, one sews together in the skin of a freshly-slain animal powder of a plant supposed to destroy the *kṣetriya*, brown barley with white stalks, blossoms of sesame, mud, and mud from an ant-hill, and binds it on the patient; in 32. 13, three pieces of fallen bark of the *vīriṇa*-tree, *Andropogon muricatus*, form one of the amulets for the cure of *jāyānya*, syphilis (?); in 29. 14, the *alābu*-plant, *Lagenaria vulgaris*, is employed against the poison of serpents. According to Keśava, on 29. 20, a root of reed grass (*Capparis aphylla*, Roxburgh) is employed as an amulet against worms in a child; the Kauśika itself, however, speaks only of an oblation of this substance.

Against disease conceived as due to possession by demons is employed, in Kauś. 27. 5, the amulet of splinters from ten holy trees; in 26. 35, a barley amulet is employed in case of danger from (disease-producing) demons, curses, or the evil eye—at least such is the interpretation given by the commentators (cf. Bloomfield, p. 285) to the word *mantrokta* 'mentioned in the hymn'; but the word 'barley' does not occur in the hymn, and the Śāntikalpa sees in *sahasrakāṇḍa*, 'having a thousand shoots,' of stanza 3 the most characteristic designation of the plant. Demons are slain in Kauś. 42. 23 with an amulet of the *jaṅgida*-tree (*Terminalia arjuna*), the string of which must be of hemp; and in 43. 1, with an amulet of the *aralu*-tree (*Colosanthes indica*), the thread must be reddish; in 35. 20, they are kept from a pregnant woman by means of white and yellow mustard. Sorcery is repelled in 39. 1 with the *srāktya*-amulet, and in 48. 24 by a *tārchha*-amulet, the commentators disagreeing as to whether this is of bone or *palāśa*-wood. An amulet of the last-named wood is prescribed in 43. 16 when a person is believed to be plagued by the presence in his house-fire of *kravyād agni*, the flesh-devouring Agni of the funeral fire. For triumph over human enemies is ordained in 48. 3, with transparent symbolism, an amulet made from an *aśvattha*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) that grows upon a *khadira*-tree (*Acacia catechu*); for success in debate, the root of the *pāṭā*-plant (*Clypea hernandifolia*) is employed in 38. 20.

At the wedding ceremony (76. 8) the bridegroom ties on his little finger an amulet of liquorice to make himself agreeable to the bride; the string must be coloured red with lac, and the knot made on the inside of the hand. An amulet of *darbha*-grass is employed in 36. 32, according to Keśava, in order to appease the wrath of a woman, and in 40. 16 to promote virility an amulet of *arka*-wood (*Calatropis gigantea*) with a thread derived from the same tree.

To this list of substances from the vegetable kingdom, the Śāntikalpa adds amulets of *udumbara*-wood (*Ficus glomerata*), of the *ajaśṛṅgī*-plant (*Odina pinnata*), and perhaps of the *śatāvarī*-plant (*Asparagus racemosus*).

(2) The animal kingdom is not nearly so well represented. We have already met the use of the skin of a freshly-slain animal as the covering for mud, and certain plants in a charm for the cure of *kṣetriya* (Kauś. 26. 43, where Caland is of the opinion that the plants constitute a separate amulet); the same amulet without the plants serves in 32. 6 to cure the poison of serpents, scorpions, and insects. *Kṣetriya* is also attacked (27. 29) by an amulet consisting of the horn of an antelope, the efficacy of which depends upon the pun between *viṣāṇa*, 'horn,' and *vi ṣyati*, 'he loosens.' For the cure of jaundice and related diseases, Kauś. 26. 16 employs an amulet made of the part of the hide of a red bull which was pierced by a peg when it was spread out for a seat, the desire of the operator being to fasten upon the patient a healthy redness. Most characteristic is the amulet employed (10. 2) at the *medhājanana* (ceremony to produce wisdom); it is constructed with evident symbolism from the tongues of three birds—the parrot, a certain species of crow (*sārika*), and a lark (*kṛśa*). Long life is sought (13. 1–3) with an amulet of ivory and elephant's hair wrapped with gold wire; or, instead (13. 4), the amulet may consist of hairs from the navel of a *snātaka*, a lion, a tiger, a goat, a ram, a steer, and a king, all pasted together and wrapped with gold wire. The same purpose is effected in 58. 9 by means of a pearl shell. An amulet of the skin of a black antelope, fastened on with hairs from its tail, is employed in 40. 17 to promote virility, and

one made from the wool of a male animal wrapped round pieces of *Prosopis spicigera* and *Ficus religiosa* is supposed (35. 10) to secure the birth of a male child. There is also the possibility mentioned above that the *tārchha*-amulet is of bone.

(3) Objects from the mineral kingdom are only rarely used in their natural condition. The employment of mud has already been mentioned, as has also the possibility that the weight in gold of two *kṛṣṇala*-berries is intended, not the berries themselves; likewise the fact that gold wire was employed to bind various substances together. Apart from these instances there occurs only the triple amulet of Athar. Ved. v. 28, probably identical with the unconquerable (*astṛta*) amulet of xix. 46, consisting of three pieces of gold, three of silver, and three of iron, employed to obtain long life in Kauś. 58. 10, and for a variety of purposes in the Śāntikalpa.

(4) Finally, there may be classed together a number of amulets made from manufactured objects, or in which the shape given to the material is significant. To secure victory for a king, the amulet is made (Kauś. 16. 29) from the felloe of a chariot wheel encased in iron, lead, copper, silver, or red copper, the centre of the case being of gold. Salve is employed as an amulet (58. 8) to secure long life. A spear-point furnishes (31. 7) an amulet against various sharp pains ascribed to the missiles of Rudra; and *jāyānya* (syphilis?) is healed in 32. 11 by tying on part of a lute by means of one of its strings, the instrument taking the place of the woman who played it, and the treatment being on homœopathic principles. In 23. 10 one who is about to divide an inherited estate ties on a bowstring as an amulet. In 35. 11 a bracelet is employed to ensure conception, but whether it is put on in the usual fashion, or tied around the neck as amulets usually are, is not clear. The Śāntikalpa 19 employs gold earrings, put on in the usual method, at the *āgneyī śānti*, *i.e.* when there is danger of fire, or for one who desires all blessings. An amulet in the shape of a ship ensures a safe voyage (Kauś. 52. 11). The head of an axe, or an amulet in the shape of an axe, and made of *palāśa*-wood, iron, red copper, or gold is employed in 46. 2-3 to restore an unjustly slandered man to honour. Prosperity is secured in 19. 23 by an amulet consisting of four pieces of *khadira*-wood, each made in the shape of a plough and put upon the string in a peculiar fashion.

2. Amulets in other branches of Vedic literature.—In passages in which there is simply an allusion to a *maṇi*, it is frequently impossible to determine whether an amulet or an ornament, a jewel, is meant; but for the period in question the two ideas must have been at least nearly synonymous. So in Rig-Veda, i. 33. 8 (the only occurrence of the word in the Rig-Veda), Indra is said to have vanquished the Dasyus 'adorned with golden *maṇis*,' *i.e.* in spite of the magical assistance of their amulets. Compare the taking away of ornaments or amulets from the Asuras accomplished by certain methods of sacrificial technique in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 4. 6, and note that the night-walking demons of Hiraṇyakeśin (*Gṛhya Sūtras* [HGS.], 2. 3. 7), and the demon of disease (*ib.* 2. 7. 2) wore ornaments, undoubtedly of magic power. Other passages that may be cited are Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, 24. 3, 30. 7; Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmana, 20. 16. 6; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 12. 3. 4. 2; Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, 6. 1. 5; but in *pratisara* of Śat. Brāh. 5. 2. 4. 20, 7. 4. 1. 33, the present writer can see no allusion to an amulet, the word having the more general sense of 'counter-charm.'

A clear example, however, is found in Vāj. Saṁ. 34. 50-52, the hymn for the putting on of the golden *dākṣāyaṇa* amulet, elaborated in Athar. Ved. 1. 35, and recurring in Rig-Veda *Khilani*, 10. 128; cf. Vaj. Saṁ. 19. 80. An amulet is mentioned in the *anubhunnāmokā mantraḥ* (Taittirīya Saṁhitā, 7. 3. 14. 1). At the *aśvamedha* (horse sacrifice), Katyāyana (*Śrauta Sūtra*, 20. 5. 16) directs that each of three wives of the king shall weave securely into the mane and tail of the horse a hundred and one golden amulets, which Śat. Brāh. 13. 2. 6. 8 interprets as symbolical of the king and the hundred years of life he wishes to attain.

In the Gṛhya Sūtras [GS.], the practice, as was to be expected, is better represented, though still without reaching the prominence attained in the Atharva. Differences are observable between the different Sūtras, but appear to rest more upon different degrees of minuteness in reporting details, than upon actual differences in the prevalence of the practices.

In the widest sense of the word the different parts of the costume of the *brahmachārin*, especially his girdle and cord, may be considered as amulets; at any rate they are handled in accordance with such magic potency. The verses with which, in HGS. 1. 4. 2, the new garment is put on the pupil at his initiation, are comparable in tone to a charm of the Atharvan to secure long life. The staff, too, must be carefully guarded, and in particular no person must be allowed to come between it and its bearer; and when the girdle is worn out a ceremony is necessary before it can be replaced. That golden ornaments have a magic power (an idea already alluded to) is shown by the formula employed at the wedding ceremony (Gobhila GS. [GGS.] 2. 2. 14; Khādira GS. 1. 3. 27; Mantra Brāhmaṇa, 1. 1. 8; cf. 1. 3. 8-11, 'Auspicious ornaments this woman wears'); and by the direction that a woman must wear them at the times when she is peculiarly exposed to the attacks of demons, thus during the three nights after her wedding (HGS. 1. 23. 10), and after her courses (*ib.* 1. 24. 8)—times when for the same reason chastity is prescribed. In line with this is the wearing of gold ornaments at the *sīmantonnaya* (the parting of the hair of a pregnant woman to secure easy child-birth), prescribed by HGS. 2. 1. 3, and permitted by Śaṅkhāyana GS. [SGS.] 1. 22. 17; and the direction, in GGS. 2. 10. 7, HGS. 1. 1. 7, to deck the youth with golden ornaments before his initiation, religious ceremonies being of a peculiar magical and *ipso facto* dangerous potency. Compare also the tying on of an ornament with the formula prescribed in Manava GS. 1. 9. 24, as part of the *arghya*-ceremony (reception of a guest).

In addition to these, there are a number of more special cases. At the wedding ceremony the bridegroom gives to the bride a porcupine quill and a string twisted of three threads; her relatives tie on her a red and black woollen or linen cord with three gems, and the bridegroom *madhūka*-flowers (word-symbolism); cf. SGS. 1. 12. 6, 8, 9. According to the same Sūtra (1. 22. 8-10), the father at the *sīmantonnaya* ties to the mother's neck, with a string twisted from three threads, three unripe fruits of an *udumbara*-tree; cf. Pāraskara GS. 1. 15. 6; GGS. 2. 7. 1, and the similar proceedings at the *puṁsavana* (ceremony to secure the birth of a male child), MGS. 1. 16. At the *jātakarman*, (ceremony on the birth of a child) SGS. 1. 24. 11-14 directs that a piece of gold be bound with a hemp string to the child's right hand. There it remains during the time of the mother's impurity, after which it is given to the Brahman, or may be retained by the father. The intention is evidently to furnish the child with a means of defence against the demons supposed to be hovering about the mother at that time.

At the *samāvartana* (the ceremony at the close of his study, when the pupil is about to leave his teacher's house) various amulets are employed. The use of earrings is clearly attested; jewellery, gold, or an amulet made of a perforated piece of sandal wood or *badarī*-wood overlaid with gold is used, or an amulet of this wood in conjunction with another amulet of gold; cf. for details Āśvalāyana GS. 3. 8. 10, 21; SGS. 3. 1. 7; PGS. 2. 6. 24, 26; HGS. 1. 10. 6–11. 3; Āpastambīya GS. 5. 12. 8 ff.; MGS. 1. 2. 14. Finally, GGS. 3. 8. 6, directs that after the *pṛṣātaka* the sacrificer and his family should tie on amulets of lac together with all sorts of herbs; and Āp. GS. 3. 9. 5–7, has a ceremony of a highly magic flavour, in which a wife binds to her hands the root of a *pāṭā*-plant (*Clypea hernandifolia*) in such a way that her husband cannot see it and then embraces him, her purpose being to make him subject to her. The unpublished Bāudhāyana GS. is said to make frequent mention of amulets.

Among later texts the Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa, 2. 6, includes in its list of portents the breaking of an amulet. The Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa also prescribes a number of amulets, and the method of their application is a complicated series of ceremonies, practically identical in all cases, which constitute a technique as characteristic of this school as the ceremonies previously described are of the Atharvan. The performer fasts for three days, selected in such a way that the beginning of the ceremony itself shall fall on an auspicious day. He then gathers the material required, and on the same day makes of it a triple amulet, brings it to the fire, and makes an offering without a *mantra*; he then lays the amulet down near the fire and makes a thousand, or at least one hundred, oblations accompanied by the singing of a specified *sāman*. He then wears the amulet on his neck or head, and regularly sings a specified *sāman*.

The materials thus employed and the purposes accomplished are: *bilva*-wood to drive away demons (Svidh. 2. 2. 2); the fuel must be from a tree that was struck by lightning, and the butter for the oblations from a white cow with a calf of the same colour; *Andropogon aciculatus* and *Sarpasugandhā* ('snake-perfume') to guard against snakes (2. 3. 3); white blooming *Solanum* to guard against danger from weapons (2. 3. 4); white blooming *Calatropis gigantea*; according to the *sāman* employed its wearer will be rich in food, will have food everywhere, will not die of thirst, will not die in water, will not have leprosy, or will not die of poison (2. 3. 5–10); violet-roots for success in debate (2. 7. 12); the first *udaṅga*-branch to get a hundred slaves (2. 8. 5); a ring of copper, silver, gold, or iron, to repel sorcery; in this case the ring must be worn on the right hand, and there is no prescription of a silent offering or the singing of the *sāman* afterwards (3. 5. 7). In one case the proceeding is somewhat elaborated. If the children of one's wife die young, the amulet is made from the sheaths of the buds of the *Ficus indica*. The amulet is treated as before, but the wife wears it in her girdle until she (shortly) bears a son, when it is put on his neck. The leavings of the butter of the oblations have been saved, are given to the child to eat, and are rubbed each day on all the openings of his body, the supply being renewed when necessary. The consequence is that the boy lives to be a hundred years old without suffering from the infirmities of old age (2. 2. 1).

ii. History of the amulet in India.—The material collected is sufficient to show that the wearing of amulets, a pre-historic custom, was practised familiarly and without disapproval among the adherents of all Vedic schools. How far their use is brought to the front, how far it is passed over in silence, depend chiefly upon the character and purpose of a text. Works dealing with the ritual of the great *Śrauta*-sacrifices naturally make but rare and incidental mention of them; hence to infer from the silence of the Rig-Veda that amulets were unknown at the time of the composition of its hymns would be to shut one's eyes to the one-sided nature of that collection. In the humbler *Gṛhya*-sacrifices amulets come more to the front, in spite of the fact that these, too, have lost much of their popular nature in coming under priestly control. Finally, as was to be expected, it is in the Atharva, that great document of the popular side of religion, whose aim is to secure the immediate fulfilment of each and every want, that we find the most abundant employment of amulets. Already in the hymns of the Atharvan we find the fundamental ideas connected with the amulet fully developed. Whether the ritual familiar to the authors of the hymns was identical with that known to us from the Kauśika we cannot fully determine (cf. Magic). But at the most we have between the Atharvan Saṁhitā and the Kauśika only new applications of old ideas, and perhaps an increasing complexity of ritual technique. It is a noteworthy fact that, in spite of the centuries between them, the Śāntikalpa in its manipulation of amulets is upon essentially the same basis as the Kauśika, thus showing the steadfastness of the tradition of the ritual when once established.

Literature.—There is no connected treatment of the subject, but incidental mention of it is made in the works on Vedic religion (wh. see), and especially in the works on the Atharva-Veda. Cf. also Magic [Vedic].

G. M. Bolling.

CHARTISM.—1. **Demands of the Chartists.**—The Chartist movement played the most important part in working-class annals between 1837 and 1842, and it did not finally leave the stage until 1848. Political reform was the direct object of the movement, but it was social in its origin and in its ultimate aims. The National Charter, drafted by Francis Place from materials supplied by William Lovett, embodied in the form of a bill the demand of its supporters. The six main points, none of them novel, were: (1) adult male suffrage, (2) vote by ballot, (3) annual parliaments, (4) abolition of the property qualification for members of the House of Commons, (5) payment of members, and (6) equal electoral districts.

2. **Origin in economic conditions of the time.**—Driving power for agitation was found in the economic conditions of the time, which occasioned among the working classes a sullen discontent with their lot. Wide-spread commercial and industrial depression marked the period 1837–42, in which are recorded two of the leanest harvests of the century, and a severe financial crisis. A vast amount of speculation in railways, mines, canals, and joint-stock banks, together with an unchecked expansion of credit, had characterized the prosperous years 1833–36. The bad harvest of 1837, causing a large export of gold in payment for imported wheat, combined with calls for gold from America and the Continent, shook the unwieldy credit superstructure, and precipitated a crisis which almost ruined the Bank of England, and forced seventy-three joint-stock banks to stop payment. Paralysis of enterprise naturally followed the crash, and the stagnation of business resulted in a large amount of unemployment. In those days anticipation of demand in the ever-widening market for which Great Britain produced was almost impossible. Convulsive fluctuations in commerce were common, and, while this ebb and flow of trade made the lot of the worker unstable, 'The huge demon of Mechanism smokes and thunders . . .

at every change of shape oversetting whole multitudes of workmen . . . hurling them asunder, this way and that . . . so that the wisest no longer knows his whereabout' (Carlyle, 'Chartism,' in vol. iv. of *Miscellaneous Essays*, 1872 ed. p. 130). Adam Smith's statement, that man is of all kinds of baggage the most difficult to transport, and that labour is of all commodities the most immobile, was eminently true of this period. Lack of power to change not only geographical position but also occupation, was a root-cause of much of the suffering of the time. The quality of adaptability, upon which modern thinkers lay emphasis, was rare. Custom bound men in fetters, and hindered their re-absorption into new callings. Moreover, there was a supreme lack of organization in the labour market. The Poor Law of 1834 was an added grievance. Underlying this Act was the principle of deterrence, that the position of those relieved should be less eligible than that of the lowest class of independent labourers, and that the reality of the distress of each applicant for relief should be proved by the workhouse test. 'Heretical and damnable as a whole truth,' says Carlyle of the principle of the new Poor Law, 'it is orthodox and laudable as a *half*-truth' (*ib.* p. 121). It was too much to expect that the operative classes should realize how necessary a drastic reform had been. Irish agricultural distress accentuated the evils of the time, by flooding the English casual labour market with men accustomed to a low standard of life; and a heavy corn duty, founded upon the obsolete maxim that 'England should live of her own,' made even bread scarce. Chartism was in part the expression of working-class dissatisfaction with these conditions.

3. Connexion between Chartism and Owenite Communism.—The wide-spread belief in political reform as a remedy for all social ills secured a large number of adherents for the Charter, but Robert Owen's gospel of social regeneration was perhaps equally responsible for the Chartist movement. Owen had preached the 'New Moral World,' and had enlisted the Trade Unions and other labour forces of the country to bring it about. It was to have been a kind of Communism. When practical steps were taken, however, failure succeeded failure. The general strike could not be carried out. It was then generally believed that the only possible engine wherewith to introduce the new moral world was the Government. But the working classes had little control over the Government; hence the demand for the reforms tabulated in the six points of the Charter to give them this control. Their thoughts naturally turned to political agitation after the Reform movement of the early 'Thirties.' Intermixed with the idealism of Owen's system were certain economic beliefs, such as the right of the manual worker to the whole produce of labour, which was popularly expressed in the following lines:

> 'Wages should form the price of goods,
> Yes, wages should be all;
> Then we who work to make the goods
> Should justly have them all.
> But if the price be made of rent,
> Tithes, taxes, profits all,
> Then we who work to make the goods
> Shall have—just none at all.'

Generally speaking, however, the Chartist leaders had no clear conception of what they wanted ultimately. Most were feeling their way to some new industrial organization; they were 'humanitarians, educationalists, moralists, socialists, dreamers after a new heaven and earth.'

4. Organization and tactics of the Chartists. The years 1836-39 saw the formation of the Working Men's Association of London (in 1836), the Birmingham Political Union, and the Unions of the North. The first was moderate and educational in its aims; the others spent much of their energies in denouncing machinery and the Poor Law. In 1838, O'Connell, the Radical member, moved an amendment to the Address, expressing a desire for further political reform—a desire echoed by all classes who had been disappointed in 1832. Lord John Russell's declaration against any further political change, supported by Sir Robert Peel on behalf of the Opposition, brought into line the organizations mentioned above. A National Convention was then formed to secure the adoption of the measures embodied in the Charter. Charter Unions sprang up, especially in the North, with amazing rapidity. Such masses of men had never rallied round any cause since the days of the 'Grand National' Trade Union. Among the leaders of the movement were Lovett, Feargus O'Connor, Bronterre O'Brien, Hetherington, Cobbett, and Vincent. Numerous papers came into existence for propaganda work: Hetherington's *London Dispatch*, the moral force organ, representative of the London Working Men's Association; O'Connor's *Northern Star*, the physical force organ, representative of the spirit of the Northern Unions; Bronterre O'Brien's *Operative*; Cobbett's *Champion*; and others. The method of monster demonstrations was used with effect in the great industrial centres, notably in Glasgow, Newcastle, and Manchester. Dissension among the leaders—eventually a continual source of weakness to the movement—soon broke out. The chief subject in dispute was the nature of the means to be employed for the attainment of the common object. Lovett, supported by the Working Men's Association, was in favour of moral suasion only; O'Connor, with the Northern Unions, was in favour of menaces and, if necessary, physical force. The Convention decided to submit the following five methods to the Branch Unions for consideration: (1) a run on the banks for gold, (2) abstinence from all excisable liquors, (3) exclusive dealing, (4) arming, and (5) universal cessation of labour (the general strike). No agreement was reached; but the repressive Government policy of 1839-42, seen in the long list of prosecutions for sedition, tended to throw the movement into the hands of O'Connor and the extremists. Violent strikes and rioting fill the records of those three years, beginning with the Welsh rising in 1839, and culminating in the Lancashire and Midland strikes of 1842, which almost became political rebellions.

5. Later course of the movement and its decline.—From 1842 Chartism steadily lost its importance. The improvement in economic conditions turned the working classes to objects more directly fruitful. The Co-operative movement sprang up anew, and Trade Unions with limited trade programmes won back the allegiance of the operatives. Industrial diplomacy and associated effort, aimed at immediate practical ends, gradually took the place of a class movement inspired by vague social aspirations. In 1848, events in Paris seemed to revive for a brief period the waning power of Chartism; but the failure of the monster meeting of 10th April, and the exposure of exaggeration as regards the numbers of the Chartists and their earnestness, combined with lack of political talent among its leaders, soon brought the agitation to an end. Two points only need to be noted in the years 1842-48. The one is O'Connor's land bubble, or, under its formal title, the National Chartist Co-operative Land Society, founded in 1843. O'Connor, or the 'Pauper's Bailiff,' as he called himself, ran this scheme in competition with the Charter as a means of social regeneration. His plan involved, among other things, placing town-bred men upon estates almost wholly bought with borrowed capital, and

trusting to their uniform success to pay off interest and wipe out the debt. So futile a proposal deceived few, but it undermined O'Connor's influence. The other point to note is the vain struggle of the leaders in 1844–45 against the growing ascendancy of Cobden and Bright over working-class opinion.

Viewed as an episode in the history of the democracy, the Chartist movement shows an enlargement of the social aspirations of the working classes, but no progress in the methods adopted to achieve their ends. 'Made respectable by sincerity, devotion, and even heroism, in the rank and file,' it was, as it has been perhaps too severely urged, 'disgraced by the fustian of its orators and the political and economic quackery of its pretentious and incompetent leaders' (Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, 1894, p. 158).

LITERATURE.—Carlyle, *Chartism*[2], London, 1842; William Lovett, *Life and Struggles*, London, 1876; R. G. Gammage, *Hist. of the Chartist Movement*, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1894; *The Northern Star*; *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 1832; *Historical Review*, Oct. 1889; Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*, London, 1898.

S. J. CHAPMAN and R. B. FORRESTER.

CHĀSĀ (Bengali *chāsh*, Hindī *chās*, 'tillage').—The chief cultivating caste of Orissa in the province of Bengal, to which, with a few emigrants into the Central Provinces, they are practically all confined. At the Census of 1901 they numbered 870,527. They are by religion orthodox Hindus, but they betray their non-Aryan origin by occasionally resorting to the old rite of burying instead of cremating the dead; and, to mark this lapse from the observances of Hinduism, their Brāhmans are not received on equal terms by castes which follow the same occupation, like the Khaṇḍait and Karaṇ. Most of them belong to the Vaiṣṇava sect.

LITERATURE.—Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1891, i. 192 f.

W. CROOKE.

CHASIDIM.—See HASIDÆANS.

CHASTITY.

Introductory (A. E. CRAWLEY), p. 474.
Babylonian.—See 'Semitic.'
Buddhist (T. W. RHYS DAVIDS), p. 490.
Chinese (W. G. WALSHE), p. 490.
Christian (A. J. MACLEAN), p. 491.
Egyptian.—See 'Semitic.'
Greek (I. F. BURNS), p. 494.
Hebrew.—See 'Semitic.'
Jewish.—See 'Semitic.'
Muslim (TH. W. JUYNBOLL), p. 495.
Roman (J. B. CARTER), p. 496.
Semitic (T. G. PINCHES), p. 497.
Slavic (O. SCHRADER), p. 501.
Teutonic (O. SCHRADER), p. 499.

CHASTITY (Introductory).—It is only within recent years—practically the last forty—that scientific attention has been brought to bear upon the subject of the nature and evolution of the sexual impulse in man. McLennan's study of *Primitive Marriage* (1865) marked an epoch in anthropological research, and the step then taken was the first indirect move towards a psychology of sex. Darwin's study of sexual selection directed attention to the biological aspects of the subject. Many converging lines of anthropological study have since made contribution; in particular, the close inquiry into the origin and evolution of the institution of marriage. Direct attacks upon the problem soon began. Psychologists and clinical students have made careful investigations into the phenomena of normal and abnormal sexual life among the civilized populations of the present day. Investigations have also been carried on among some of the uncivilized races still available for study. The result, considering the natural difficulties of the subject and the short space of time since investigation began, is remarkable. Though we are still far from definite knowledge on many points of importance, and though practical application of what is known is as yet impossible, we have reached a fairly clear understanding of some main aspects, and are able to formulate some probable principles.

The close connexion of the subject of sex with religion, both in social evolution and in individual psychology, renders the study of chastity an extremely important chapter in the past and future sociology of the race. Such an investigation brings us down to the biological foundations of individual and social life and morality. Roughly speaking, the sexual impulse is a psychical overgrowth from the nutritive, corresponding to it as physiological reproduction corresponds to physiological nutrition. Chastity, both as practice and as principle, is a biological and psychological moment, in phylogeny and ontogeny, of profound significance. In order to appreciate that significance in connexion with the evolution of religion, it is necessary (1) to investigate the various causes and conditions—biological, economic, and psychological—which have produced, generally, what is known as sexual morality, and, in particular, have elevated the regulation or control of the more or less reflex action of the reproductive centres into a religious virtue, a social ideal, and an individual duty; and (2) to trace the distribution of the habit of chastity, and the historical curve of its development, of course without prejudice to the question whether this or that opinion which has been held is physiologically sound.

The roots of civilized popular opinion, of theological, ethical, and ecclesiastical enactment, upon the questions of sexual life and habit are deep in primitive soil. But the popular and theological ideas which spring from this have been moulded by external conditions, continually, but slowly, changing with the evolution of society. At the same time there has been a decided evolution of the sexual impulse itself.

We merely note, without discussing, the connexion between the religious and the sexual impulse. This does not appear till puberty. Both impulses may be regarded as psychic 'irradiations,' which in adolescence tend to merge into one another, and to be confused. But there seems to be no reason for regarding the religious impulse of adolescence as a specialization of the sexual.[1] We know little about the religious impulse of primitive man; probably it was as slightly developed as the other.

That the sexual impulse is relatively weak among savages, as compared with civilized peoples, is proved by the difficulty often shown in attaining sexual excitement—a difficulty which frequently has to be overcome by the indirect erethism of saturnalian proceedings; it is proved also by the savage's relative lack of jealousy, which is correlated with the excessive system of checks upon intercourse, which generally prevails; and, lastly, by the undeveloped condition of the organs themselves.[2]

Havelock Ellis, who has brought out the point, notes that, while 'among the higher races in India the sexual instinct is very developed, and sexual intercourse has been cultivated as an art, perhaps more elaborately than anywhere else—here, however, we are far removed from primitive conditions—

[1] Starbuck, *Psychology of Religion*, 1899, p. 401 ff.; Vallon and Marie, in *Archives de Neurologie*, II. iii. [1897] 184 f.
[2] Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*[7], 1902, i. 212 ff.

farther to the east, as among the Cambodians, strict chastity seems to prevail; and if we cross the Himalayas to the north, we find ourselves among wild people to whom sexual licence is unknown.'

Even the negress is by no means very amorous. 'She is rather cold, and indifferent to the refinements of love.'[1] The notion that the negro race is peculiarly prone to sexual indulgence seems to be due partly to the expansive temperament of the race, and to the sexual character of many festivals—a fact which indicates the need of artificial excitement. Of the Malaysian races careful investigation has shown that the sexual impulse is 'only developed to a slight extent; they are not sensual. . . . The women also are not ardent.'[2] Sexual desire is said to be very moderate among the Andamanese. A high authority states that the North American race 'is less salacious than either the negro or white race.' 'Several of the virtues, and among them chastity, were more faithfully practised by the Indian race before the invasion from the East than these same virtues are practised by the white race of the present day.'[3] Another high authority, L. H. Morgan, had previously come to the same conclusion.

Such facts point to a relatively low development of nervous energy in the sexual centres—a condition correlated with the hardships of existence and the difficulty of obtaining food of good quality and regularly supplied. It may be conjectured that the establishment of cereal agriculture marked an upward step. In the struggle for existence a strong and well-developed sexual instinct has obviously an important survival value, and the higher races are undoubtedly to be credited with its possession.

The history of chastity is concerned with the various changes that occur between these two stages: of savage life where the sexual impulse is but slightly developed, and of high culture where it is relatively strong. The savage may be said to possess a 'natural chastity,' but this is not to be denied to the normal civilized man. In both cases there is the same physiological law of rhythm. The facts of this rhythm are parallel with that of nutrition; satisfaction is followed by a reaction during which the impulse and its organs, as it were, enjoy rest and recuperation; gradually the secretions are built up again, until at the top of the curve detumescence follows like an explosion of gathered forces. Moll and Havelock Ellis have worked out the mechanism of the sexual impulse into a process of tumescence and detumescence. Natural chastity is the psychical concomitant of the detumescent period; its first moment is the strong reaction which follows the explosion. This is the basis of proverbs such as *omne animal post coitum triste*, and should be the starting-point of all investigations into the psychology of sexual asceticism. In its various shades of meaning the virtue of chastity, whether it be that of the faithful wife, or the virginity of the immature or of the unmarried, or the temporary continence of warrior or medicine-man, or the more permanent attempts (sometimes becoming perversions) of priestly subjects—in all these applications its origin is the same, though cloaked and shrouded by varying conditions of life and culture, and by the shadows of superstition and mythological ethics.

Thus, when applied to the normal uncontaminated savage, such statements as that this tribe is licentious, and that is chaste, are meaningless unless we know the details, and, in particular, the external conditions. The old travellers' tales of savage lust and licentiousness are as far from the truth as philosophical encomiums of savage morality and paradisaical innocence. Other things being equal, the savage regards the satisfaction of the sexual instinct exactly as he regards the satisfaction of hunger and thirst.[4] The only control, apart from artificial laws and customs, is physiological, and this he unconsciously obeys. Consequently, there is nothing 'vicious' about his sexual habits. If he has no ideal of chastity, neither has he any perversion to unchastity. The terms as yet have no application in his life.

'It is not difficult to account for the belief, widely spread during the nineteenth century, in the unbridled licentiousness of savages. In the first place, the doctrine of evolution inevitably created a prejudice in favour of such a view. It was assumed that modesty, chastity, and restraint were the fine and ultimate flowers of moral development; therefore at the beginnings of civilization we must needs expect to find the opposite of these things. Apart, however, from any mere prejudice of this kind, a superficial observation of the actual facts necessarily led to much misunderstanding. Just as the nakedness of many savage peoples led to the belief that they were lacking in modesty . . . so the absence of our European rules of sexual behaviour among savages led to the conclusion that they were abandoned to debauchery. The wide-spread custom of lending the wife under certain circumstances was especially regarded as indicating gross licentiousness. Moreover, even when intercourse was found to be free before marriage, scarcely any investigator sought to ascertain what amount of sexual intercourse this freedom involved. . . . Again, it often happened that no clear distinction was made between peoples contaminated by association with civilization, and peoples not so contaminated. For instance, when prostitution is attributed to a savage people, we must almost invariably suppose either that a mistake has been made, or that the people in question have been degraded by intercourse with white peoples, for among unspoilt savages no custom that can properly be called prostitution prevails. . . . It has been seriously maintained that the chastity of savages, so far as it exists at all, is due to European civilization. . . . There is ample evidence from various parts of the world to show that this is by no means the rule. And, indeed, it may be said—with no disregard of the energy and sincerity of missionary efforts—that it could not be so. A new system of beliefs and practices, however excellent it may be in itself, can never possess the same stringent and unquestionable force as the system in which an individual and his ancestors have always lived, and which they have never doubted the validity of. . . . This dangerously unsettling process has been applied by missionaries on a wholesale scale to races which in some respects are often little more than children. When, therefore, we are considering the chastity of savages, we must not take into account those peoples which have been brought into close contact with Europeans.'[1]

Westermarck collected evidence (on which Ellis founds in the above summary) to show that 'the wantonness of savages' is often due to contact with Europeans; for instance, among the Eskimos, Indians of California, British Columbia, Vancouver and Queen Charlotte Islands, in Patagonia, Sandwich Islands, Ponapé, Tana, Samoa, Tahiti, Australia, and Madagascar.[2] He also concludes that 'irregular connexions between the sexes have on the whole exhibited a tendency to increase along with the progress of civilization.'[3] The analogy of domestic animals bears this out.

'In our domestic animals generally, which live under what may be called civilized conditions, the sexual system and the sexual needs are more developed than in the wild species most closely related to them.'[4] 'The organs which in the feral state are continually exercised in a severe struggle for existence, do not under domestication compete so closely with one another for the less needed nutriment. Hence organs, like the reproductive glands, which are not so directly implicated in self-preservation, are able to avail themselves of more food.'[5]

Heape suggests that the great reproductive power and sexual proclivities of rats and mice are 'due to the advantages derived from their intimate relations with the luxuries of civilization. He also concludes that 'it would seem highly probable that the reproductive power of man has increased with civilization, precisely as it may be increased in the lower animals by domestication; that the effect of a regular supply of good food, together with all the other stimulating factors available and exercised in modern civilized communities, has resulted in such great activity of the generative organs, and so great an increase in the supply of the reproductive elements, that conception in the healthy human female may be said to be possible almost at any time during the reproductive period.'[6]

Sexual periodicity forms a natural foundation for the development, by emphasis, of the resting period into an absolute abstinence and of the functional into an orgiastic explosion. This emphasized rhythm is analogous to the phenomena of rut. 'We are almost compelled,' says Westermarck, 'to assume that the pairing time of our

[1] Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, 1897-1900, iii. 218 f.
[2] H. V. Stevens, *ZE* iv. 180 f., quoted by Ellis, *l.c.*
[3] A. B. Holder, *Amer. Journ. of Obstetrics*, xxvi. 1, quoted by Ellis.
[4] See Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen*, 1886, *passim*.

[1] H. Ellis, *op. cit.* 207 ff.
[2] Westermarck, *Hist. of Hum. Marr.*[3], 1901, p. 66 ff.
[3] *Ib.* 69 f.
[4] Ellis, *op. cit.* 220.
[5] Adlerz, *Biolog. Centralblatt*, iv. (1[illegible]).
[6] W. Heape, 'The Sexual Season of Mammals,' in *Quart. Journ. of Microscopical Science*, xliv. (1900) 12, 39.

earliest human or semi-human ancestors was restricted to a certain season of the year.'[1] The Indians of California 'have their rutting seasons as regularly as have the deer, the elk, the antelope, or any other animals.'[2] Westermarck concludes that the fact of 'the sexual instinct increasing at the end of spring, or rather at the beginning of summer,' was not due either to abundance or lack of food, or to an increase of the sun's heat, and must therefore be regarded as a survival factor, the result of natural selection.[3] Saturnalia and orgiastic festivals, which form so conspicuous a feature of savage life, are not to be considered survivals of a primitive pairing season. Survivals of this kind must involve physiological necessity. They coincide with periods of plenty, and are, in their lowest terms, expressions of the natural impulse towards merry-making and nervous ebullition generally. In the circumstances the 'primitive burst' is inevitably an occasion for a general explosion of the sexual centres. Thus we have a cultural, as well as a physiological, rhythm of periodicity. The difficulty experienced by the savage in attaining tumescence, except under specially stimulating circumstances, is overcome by these so-called orgies, which also frequently have the secondary (and, often, the primary) intention of magical processes for the promotion of the fertility of the crops. The Marquesans are instanced by Foley to show the difficulty of erethism except at special seasons[4]—a case which is typical of the savage generally. The manifestations of the impulse, when they do appear, are excessive, just as the irradiation during the rest of the function is deficient.

'It is largely the occurrence of these violent occasional outbursts of the sexual instinct—during which the organic impulse to tumescence becomes so powerful that external stimuli are no longer necessary—that has led to the belief in the peculiar strength of the impulse in savages.'[5]

Man's later development owes as much to these 'bursts' as to the periods of natural chastity; the one process was exercise of the function, with all its psychical ramifications, the other was control. The service rendered by artificial chastity to civilization is to strengthen the function by self-control; this is the biological view of the matter, the premiss being that high development of such a function is of the greatest survival value.

The way in which custom, variously originating, comes across the natural sexual life, may be illustrated by sketching the latter where it still occurs. This, with not more than two exceptions, which themselves are not absolute, is found only among the unmarried. It is not universal even in this secluded sphere—a fact which shows that marriage-law soon extends its range to the ante-nuptial period.

In British Central Africa, 'before a girl is become a woman (that is to say, before she is able to conceive) it is a matter of absolute indifference what she does, and scarcely any girl remains a virgin after about five years of age.'[6] Among the Congo tribes sexual indulgence in children is not checked.[7] No disgrace is attached by Kafirs to intercourse by the unmarried.[8] In the Marshall Islands intercourse is free until marriage.[9] Maori girls 'as a general rule had great licence in the way of lovers. I don't think the young woman knew when she *was* a virgin, for she had love-affairs with the boys from her cradle. . . . When she married it became very different; she was then *tapu* to her husband.'[10] Boys and girls among the Cheremiss have complete freedom of intercourse.[11] In Indonesia this freedom is very marked, and begins at the earliest age possible before puberty.[12] Among the Nagas 'chastity begins with marriage.'[1] Other cases are the Philippines and the Hovas.[2] The Yakuts see nothing wrong in such licence, provided that no one suffers material loss by it.[3]

This, of course, is the point of origin for customs of repression leading to chastity; three types of this are more or less universal, viz. loss of virginity in purchasable daughters, infringement of the husband's proprietary rights in a wife, and the 'injury,' more or less mysterious, in its origin and content, resulting from intercourse between members of the same family-circle—mother and son, brother and sister. Before passing to the habits of chastity imposed in these and related circumstances, it is worth remark that among people like the Indonesians, where free intercourse is allowed to children before conception is possible, masturbation, so prevalent in moralized civilization, is conspicuous by its absence.

Chastity after puberty but before marriage is, on the whole, more prevalent in the lower races than in modern civilization, for reasons which we shall shortly discuss. But chastity (if the term be applicable to immaturity) before puberty, and therefore before conception is possible, seems to be practically unknown among savage and barbarian peoples, except where infant betrothal and marriage have been introduced. Intercourse at this age, possible as it is, and biologically natural, is apparently regarded as innocent 'play' of the sexual instinct.

Thus, among the Valave of Madagascar, children have intercourse at a very early age, and their parents encourage this and take a pleasure in watching them.[4] Such precocious connexion has been noted among the Indonesians, the Maoris, and the Bahuana of the Congo.[5] It is said that among the first named it is not uncommon for brothers and sisters to have intercourse at five or six years of age.[6] In New Caledonia girls lose their virginity in playing about at a very early age.[7] In certain South Australian tribes it is said that girls are accustomed to intercourse from their eighth year.[8] On Talmit, one of the Marshall Islands, the practice begins 'with the first stirrings of nature before menstruation.'[9] Similar accounts are given of the Nubians, Masai, and Nandi,[10] and of British Central Africa generally. 'There is scarce a girl who remains a virgin after about five years of age.'[11] Much the same is the case with the Basutos and Baronga, the Bambala, the tribes of the Lower Congo, and the Mande of Bonduku.[12]

Sexual control, exerted by the society, commences with the establishment of puberty. Here a difficulty presents itself. Why was such control ever instituted? It could not have originated from any notion of the harmfulness of exercising the sexual function when near or at its complete development, for experience of this kind is inconceivable in a primitive state of society, and superstitions on the subject are necessarily results, not originally causes, of such control. It might be supposed that, the possibility of conception being now introduced, it was necessary to make rules for adolescents so as to prevent promiscuous births. But there is strong evidence to the effect that, when such rules were instituted, the knowledge that sexual intercourse is necessary for conception had not been attained. The Central Australians, who have such rules, do not connect the phenomena of intercourse and pregnancy. Nor can we eliminate from their original institution the sexual point of view. To some extent they are concerned with the 'making' of young men and their admission to the ranks of the adult, but sexual maturity is the mark and sign of this elevation. Another aspect

1 Westermarck, *op. cit.* 28.
2 Johnston, in Schoolcraft, iv. 224; S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, 1877, p. 206.
3 *Op. cit.* 35. 4 *BSAP*, Nov. 6, 1879. 5 Ellis, *op. cit.* 213.
6 Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 1897, p. 405.
7 Torday and Joyce, *JAI* xxxvi. 285 ff.
8 Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws*, 1838, p. 63.
9 *ZVRW* xiv. 416 ff.
10 Tregear, *JAI* xix. 101 ff.
11 Smirnov, *Les Populations finnoises*, 1898, p. 337.
12 Riedel, pp. 41, 67, 370, and *passim*.

1 *Revue Colon. Internat.* v. 491.
2 De Morga, *Philippine Islands*, etc., tr. 1868, p. 303; Sibree, *JAI* ix. 43.
3 Sumner, *JAI* xxxi. 96.
4 Sibree, *JAI* ix. 39; Ploss, *op. cit.* i. 301.
5 *JAI* xxxvi. 285 ff. 6 Ploss, *l.c.*
7 *Ib.* i. 309. 8 *Ib.* i. 392.
9 Kohler, *ZVRW* xiv. 417 (quoted by Hartland, *Prim. Paternity*, 1909, ii. 262).
10 Ploss, *op. cit.* i. 399; Bagge, *JAI* xxxiv. 169; Johnston, *Uganda*, 1902, ii. 824; Hollis, *Masai*, 1905, p. xvi, *Nandi*, 1909, pp. 16, 58.
11 Johnston, *Brit. Cent. Africa*, 408 (quoted by Hartland).
12 Hartland, ii. 267 ff.

of these initiatory rites is education, including education in sexual matters. The fact that this is more complete and efficient in savage than in civilized societies does not necessarily involve the assumption that education was the primary object, any more than it involves degeneracy in the educational ideals of to-day. Yet we cannot doubt that the instinct, strongly developed in the savage parent, for the nurture of the young, which is the natural complement of the long childhood of the human individual, was soon extended even to this kind of instruction.

The possibility remains that the control over the sexual life of the pubescent youth of the community originated directly from the adult men, who wished to safeguard their own privileges as 'husbands.' A considerable portion of the moral law has had a similar origin in adult privilege, and not a few of the moral emotions and habits, such as unselfishness, have been learnt in the same way. The balance of evidence is against the view that the original or primitive marital state was promiscuity. The suggestion we have made coincides with such evidence. It also involves the assumption—*a priori* probable—that, at the remote period of the institution of this control, sexual capacity was coincident with the establishment of puberty. Biologically this was to be expected. Accordingly we must conclude that sexual intercourse before puberty was originally a physical impossibility. Precocious intercourse must then be ascribed to a development of the reproductive function due to improved conditions of life. In this connexion it is a significant fact that the Australian evidence as to premature coition is very doubtful, and applies only to the Southern tribes, which have been longest in contact with Europeans. Of its occurrence in the more isolated tribes there is no mention. Lastly, there is reason to suppose that the Australians represent a lower culture than the peoples, cited above, among whom it is prevalent.

'As regards savage and barbarous races of men, among whom the relations of the sexes under normal conditions take the form of marriage, nearly every individual strives to get married as soon as he or she reaches the age of puberty.'[1]

This statement of Westermarck may be received as embodying a general rule, with the proviso that the older males regulate the 'striving,' and that this 'striving' is usually confined to the male sex. Normally it is difficult for a young male to get married at once, and when he does succeed his first bride is rarely a young female. The old men exercise a monopoly in the matter of youthful brides. That puberty is originally regarded as the commencement of sexual capacity, as such, and at first without any idea of its being the commencement in the female of the child-bearing state, is shown by cases where the later development of precocious capacity is either ignored or forbidden. Observation would soon prove that child-bearing could not occur before maturity. Thus we find rules established to reinforce the original coincidence of puberty and capacity.

In the Pelew Islands sexual intercourse seems to be forbidden to girls until after the first menstruation.[2] A similar rule is found in Cambodia.[3] The Australian evidence seems to show that pre-pubertal intercourse did not exist.[4] The ceremonial perforation of the hymen common among the Central tribes is clearly a preparation for the sexual functions. Circumcision no doubt has a similar origin. Where the numerical proportions of the sexes are balanced, as among the Central Australians, such preparation of the female is coincident with allotment as a wife. It is thus both a puberty and a marriage ceremony. The general facts of puberty-customs show an artificial emphasizing of the sexual rhythm of rest and explosion. The Australian or South African boy during his initiation is, it goes without saying, chaste both by compulsion and by choice. So is it with girls. But the educative factor comes in at the end of the initiation, to coincide with the natural result of the period of rest of function. Immediately after circumcision a Ceramese boy must have intercourse with a girl.[1] In certain Central African tribes both boys and girls after initiation must as soon as possible have intercourse, the belief being that, if they do not, they will die.[2] Narrinyeri boys after the preliminary rites had complete licence.[3] After the seclusion of a Kafir girl at puberty she is allowed to cohabit with any one during the festivities which follow; Kafir boys after being circumcised may have connexion with any unmarried females they can persuade.[4] Similar practices are found on the Senegal and Congo.[5] As for theoretical education, Swahili girls at puberty are instructed in sexual knowledge; Apache girls in the duties of married life.[6] In Halmahera, boys are brought into a large shed in which are two tables, one for the men and one for the women, who must be separated while eating. An old man now rubs a piece of wood, which makes water red, into a vessel of water, imitating by his movements the act of coitus. This pantomime is gone through for each boy, whose name is called out by the officiator. The red water represents the blood which results from the perforation of the hymen. Then the faces and bodies of the boys are smeared with the red water, after which they go into the woods, and are supposed to promote their health by taking the sun.[7] In Ceram theory and practice are combined thus: the old woman who instructs the girls takes a leaf, which she solemnly perforates with her finger, by way of representing the perforation of the hymen. After the ceremony, the girl has full liberty of intercourse with men; in some villages the old men take the privilege to themselves.[8] It is important to observe that such intercourse is, as among Africans and Australians, a duty, rather than a privilege, of the newly initiated.

We now pass to a consideration of the prevalence and origin of post-pubertal and pre-nuptial chastity. Numerical and economic conditions necessarily render this interval between puberty and marriage the rule rather than the exception. Even where such conditions need not be regarded as imperative, the monopolizing instincts of the older men impose difficulties on immediate marriage. This may be regarded as the ultimate social or artificial reason both for the postponement of marriage and for the concomitant imposition of chastity during the interval.

In this connexion the theory of J. J. Atkinson may be cited. He suggests that the first step towards the regulation of the intercourse of the sexes, and therefore of marriage, was due to the jealousy of the old male, who was the autocrat of the small family group in some anthropoid genus. In order to secure his rights over all the females of the group, including his daughters, he expelled his sons when they arrived at puberty. Hence the law against incest between brothers and sisters, mothers and sons. The suggestion has the advantage of tracing to one common origin the inception of the family, of marriage-legislation, and of sexual morality generally. The prohibition of such unions, though a limitation of sexual freedom, hardly, however, comes under the category of chastity. Yet the origin of the law against incest is in some way, or at some stage, closely connected, as will be seen later, with general limitations of sexual freedom. One difficulty about this connexion, as also about Atkinson's hypothesis, is this—If the 'primal law' forbidding intercourse between brothers and sisters was inspired by proprietary or sexual jealousy on the part of the paterfamilias, why is it that in savage races, as we know them, adultery with a wife or allotted woman, when condemned, is condemned as an offence against property rather than as against morality or religion, while incest excites religious horror as a presumptuous infraction of a supernaturally moral fiat? This, for instance, is the case in Fiji, where the distinction is well marked. The mere fact of the greater antiquity

1 Westermarck, *op. cit.* 134.
2 Seufft, quoted by Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 177.
3 Aymonier, *Cochinchine française*, vi. [1880] 193
4 Howitt, *Native Tr[illegible]*, 1904, p. 260 f.

1 Riedel, *op. [illegible]* 13[illegible].
2 D. Macdonald, *Africana*, 1[illegible], i. 1[illegible].
3 Howitt, *JAI* xii. 37.
4 J. Macdonald, *JAI* xx. 117, 118; Maclean, *Compendium*, pp. 98, 101.
5 W. Reade, *Savage Afri[illegible]*, 18[illegible], p. 451, *JAI* xxii. 100.
6 Ploss, *Das Weib*[7], ii. 437; Featherman, *Races of Mankind*, 1881 ff., iii. 190.
7 Riedel, in *ZE* xvii. 81 f.
8 Riedel, *De [illegible] [illegible]haarig[illegible] Ra[illegible]*, 1[illegible].

of this prohibition cannot be brought forward in explanation, as it implies the equal antiquity of a jealous protection of the original wife or wives. If we supposed that the patriarch was in the habit of casting off an old wife as soon as he had an adult daughter, the supposition goes too far; this kind of luxurious uxorial habit is not safely to be ascribed to savages, much less to a semi-human species. Nor, though there are some indications of a prolonged survival of the habit of father-daughter incest, can we ascribe the religious intensity of the law against brother-sister incest entirely to such ferocity of the instinct for a youthful bride, not to mention any instinct for filial intercourse, without further evidence of their existence, prevalence, and strength.

Atkinson's hypothesis, however, hardly overstates the control which may be exercised in early communities by the old over the young. The superimposing of various emotional reactions from such control will concern us later. Here we may illustrate the way in which pre-nuptial chastity shows itself as a social fact, or rather desideratum.

The sexual morality of youth among the Tasmanians was of a high standard. 'The young men and lads moved early from the camp in the morning so as not to interfere with female movements in rising. Unmarried men never wandered in the bush with women; if meeting a party of the other sex, native politeness required that they turned and went another way.'[1] In Australia we find that among the Lower Darling natives, 'laws were strict, especially those regarding young men and young women. It was almost death to a young lad or man who had sexual intercourse till married.'[2] The laws of New South Wales were also strict: 'no conversation is allowed between the single men and the girls or the married women. . . . Infractions of these and other laws were visited either by punishment by any aggrieved member of the tribe, or by the delinquent having to purge himself of his crime by standing up protected simply by his shield or a waddy, while five or six warriors threw from a comparatively short distance several spears at him.'[3] In Western Victoria 'illegitimacy is rare, and is looked upon with such abhorrence that the mother is always severely beaten by her relatives, and sometimes put to death and burned. . . . The father of the child is also punished with the greatest severity, and occasionally killed.'[4] In the Central tribes no man may go near the *erlukwirra* (women's camp); and no woman may approach the *ungunja* (men's camp).[5] In Nias both seducer and seduced were put to death.[6] Among certain of the Sea Dayaks an unmarried girl with child was 'offensive to the superior powers.' The guilty lovers were fined.[7] Pre-nuptial intercourse was forbidden by the Hill Dayaks.[8] In some parts of the Philippines chastity was honoured, 'not only among the women but also among the young girls, and is protected by very severe laws.'[9] New Guinea girls are chaste.[10] In Melanesia 'there was by no means that insensibility in regard to female virtue with which the natives are so commonly charged.'[11] In Fiji boys were not allowed to approach women until they were eighteen years of age.[12] In Samoa chiefs' daughters at least prided themselves on their chastity, while intercourse with men of their own people was forbidden to ordinary girls.[13] The women of the Loyalty Island Uea were 'strictly chaste before marriage, and faithful wives afterwards.'[14] Among the Leh-tas of Burma the unmarried of each sex sleep in separate dormitories, and, 'when they may have occasion to pass each other, avert their gaze, so that they may not see each other's faces.'[15] In Cambodia girls are carefully secluded; 'the stringency of custom prevents the intercourse of the young. Accordingly the rôle of village Don Juan is scarcely possible.'[16] The humble Veddas of Ceylon and the Andaman Islanders valued chastity in the unmarried woman.[17] The Bodos and Dhimals of India value chastity in married and unmarried men and women alike.[18] Both Circassians and South Slavonians sold or punished severely erring daughters. Among the latter the girl's father had the right of slaying the seducer.[1] The seducer among the Tungus was forced to purchase the girl or to submit to corporal chastisement.[2] The Turks of Central Asia have been said to be ignorant of fallen virtue in their unmarried girls.[3] The Thlinkets make the seducer pay the girl's parents a heavy compensation.[4] Among the Aleuts 'unmarried females who gave birth to illegitimate children were to be killed for shame, and hidden.'[5] Egede reported: 'During fifteen years that I lived in Greenland I did not hear of more than two or three young women who were gotten with child unmarried; because it is reckoned the greatest of infamies.'[6] The women of the Mandans, Nez Percés, and Apaches are said to have been remarkably chaste, and seduction was regarded with reprobation.[7] Similar accounts have been received of the Paraguay, Patagonian, British Columbia, Vancouver, and Queen Charlotte Indians.[8]

West African tribes punish seduction.[9] Among the Kafirs the father of a girl seduced may demand payment if she becomes pregnant; seduction alone involves a heavy fine among the Gaikas.[10] Chastity of girls and to some extent of boys was highly regarded by the Basutos and the Bakwains.[11] The Baziba are reported to punish pre-nuptial amours, if a child is born, by flinging the man and the woman into Lake Victoria.[12] The Bakoki banished the erring woman from home, and fined her seducer.[13] The Beni-Amer and Marea put him to death, together with the woman and her child.[14] The Beni-Mzab impose upon the man banishment and a fine.[15] The punishment for seduction among the Takue is the same as for murder.[16] Mother and child are put to death by the Kabyles.[17]

The large majority of savage and barbarous peoples show particular care in separating the unmarried in the matter of sleeping-quarters. A constant source of this precaution is the horror of brother-sister incest. Many peoples have developed a system of dormitories for the unmarried men; some few employ them for the unmarried women also.[18]

Westermarck, on whose collections the above list is based, rather understates the case when he says: 'Yet, however commonly chastity is disregarded in the savage world, we must not suppose that such disregard is anything like a universal characteristic of the lower races.'[19]

Ignoring those peoples who allow pre-pubertal intercourse, and eliminating those with whom pre-nuptial intercourse is a preliminary to marriage, the seducer marrying the girl if she prove with child, and those who allow, in the latter connexion, a more or less free trial of mates, the balance is in favour of the conclusion that the majority of savage and barbarous peoples emphasize pre-nuptial chastity as an ideal, and attempt, with more or less success, to impose it in practice. The first efficient cause seems to be the monopolizing and jealous attitude of the older men. Secondary reasons seem to be the economic disturbance produced by childbirth, when no bread-winner for the new family has been formally appointed. To allow preliminary intercourse, with the proviso that marriage shall follow if a child is born, was a dangerous concession. Later, when fathers and brothers found that daughters and sisters possessed exchange-value, seduction was still more emphasized as a tort against property, on the assumption, chiefly, that virginity in a bride, no less than absence of encumbrances in the form of children, was an important asset. Pre-nuptial chastity in

1 Bonwick, *Daily Life, etc. of Tasmanians*, 1870, pp. 11, 59.
2 Holden, *Folklore of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 19.
3 Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, 1878, ii. 318.
4 Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, 1881, pp. 28, 33.
5 Spencer-Gillen[a], pp. 178, 467.
6 Wilken, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, v. iv. 444.
7 St. John, *Forests of the Far East*, 1863, i. 63.
8 Low, *Sarawak*, 1848, pp. 247, 300.
9 Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery*, 1821, iii. 66; Blumentritt, *Ethnographie der Philippinen*, 1882, p. 27.
10 Earl, *Papuans*, 1853, p. 81; Finsch, *New Guinea*, 1865, pp. 77, 82.
11 Codrington, *Melanesians*, 1891, p. 235.
12 Erskine, *Islands of the Western Pacific*, 1853, p. 255.
13 Turner, *Nineteen Years*, 1861, p. 184; Wilken, *l.c.* ii. 138.
14 Erskine, p. 341.
15 Fytche, *Burma*, 1878, i. 343.
16 Aymonier, 191, 198.
17 Nevill, in *Taprobanian*, i. 178; *JAI* xii. 344.
18 Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, 1880, i. 123.

1 Klemm, *Allg. Culturgesch.*, 1843–52, iv. 26; Krauss, *Sitte u. Brauch der Südslaven*, 1885, p. 197 ff.
2 Georgi, *Russia*, 1780–83, iii. 84.
3 Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, 1885, p. 240.
4 Petroff, *Alaska*, 1884, p. 177.
5 *Ib.* 155.
6 Egede, *Greenland*, 1818, p. 141.
7 Catlin, *N. Amer. Indians*[3], 1842, i. 121; Schoolcraft, v. 654; Bancroft, i. 514; Hearne, *Northern Ocean*, 1796, p. 311.
8 Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, 1822, ii. 153; Musters, *The Patagonians*, 1871, p. 197; Lord, *Vancouver Island*, 1866, ii. 233; Woldt, *Jacobsen's Reise*, 1884, p. 28.
9 W. Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 261; Forbes, *Dahomey*, 1849–50, i. 26.
10 Maclean, 64, 112.
11 Casalis, *Bassoutos*, 1859, p. 267; Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 1857, p. 513.
12 Cunningham, *Uganda*, 1905, p. 290.
13 *Ib.* 102.
14 Munzinger, *Ostafr. Studien*[2], 1883, p. 322.
15 Chavanne, *Die Sahara*, 1879, p. 315.
16 Munzinger, 208.
17 Hanoteau-Letourneux, *La Kabylie*, 1873, ii. 148, 187.
18 See Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 1902, p. 219.
19 Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, 1908, ii. 424.

women thus come to coincide for its principle with the 'chastity' or fidelity of the wife.

Before discussing this latter form of chastity, we may sketch the influence of the preference for virginity. Chastity *per se*, as a jewel of price, 'is not understood. An unmarried girl is expected to be chaste because virginity possesses a marketable value, and were she to be unchaste her parents would receive little and perhaps no head-money for her.'[1] This account is typical of such cases. Westermarck traces such proprietary emotion further back to a psychical or rather biological origin.

'If marriage, as I am inclined to suppose, is based on an instinct derived from some ape-like progenitor, it would from the beginning be regarded as the natural form of sexual intercourse in the human race, whilst other more transitory connexions would appear abnormal and consequently be disapproved of. I am not certain whether some feeling of this sort, however vague, is not still very general in the race. But it has been more or less, or almost totally, suppressed by social conditions which make it in most cases impossible for men to marry at the first outbreak of the sexual passion. We have thus to seek for some other explanation of the severe censure passed on pre-nuptial connexions.' This, he concludes, is 'chiefly due to the preference which a man gives to a virgin bride.' 'Such a preference is a fact of very common occurrence.'[2]

The proprietary emotion which insists on chastity in a daughter or sister is thus a reaction to the biological preference of the bridegroom for virginity. Such preference is proved for the Ahts, Chippewas, Thlinkets, Chicchimecs, Nicaraguans, and Aztecs, Samoa,[3] parts of New Guinea and Indonesia, the Rendile of East Africa, the Sudan, Somalis, Togos, West Africa, Ondongas, Herero, Bayaka, Beni-Amer, Samoyeds, Chuwashes, Chulims, Circassia, Hebrews, and, not to mention higher cultures, Persia, and China.[4]

This preference, according to Westermarck, 'partly springs from a feeling akin to jealousy towards women who have had previous connexions with other men, partly from the warm response a man expects from a woman whose appetites he is the first to gratify, and largely from an instinctive appreciation of female coyness. Each sex is attracted by the distinctive characteristics of the opposite sex, and coyness is a female quality. In mankind, as among other mammals, the female requires to be courted, often endeavouring for a long time to escape from the male. Not only in civilized countries may courtship mean a prolonged making of love to the woman. Mariner's words with reference to the women of Tonga hold true of a great many, if not all, savage and barbarous races of men. "It must not be supposed," he says, "that these women are always easily won; the greatest attentions and most fervent solicitations are sometimes requisite, even though there be no other lover in the way." The marriage ceremonies of many peoples bear testimony to the same fact. . . . Where marriage is the customary form of sexual intercourse, pre-nuptial incontinence in a woman, as suggesting lack of coyness and modesty, is therefore apt to disgrace her. At the same time it is a disgrace to, and consequently an offence against, her family, especially where the ties of kinship are strong.' 'Marriage by purchase has thus raised the standard of female chastity, and also, to some extent, checked the incontinence of the men.'[5]

But, as showing how natural modesty may produce natural chastity, the Veddas may be cited. Among these low savages, girls are not purchased, yet they are protected 'with the keenest sense of honour.'[6] Here we may infer the presence of what may be called natural female chastity, coinciding with parental recognition of a right to immunity. We thus reach back to the ultimate biological fact, which holds good throughout the animal, and perhaps the whole organic, world, that the female period of sexual rest requires far more stimulus for its passage into tumescence than does the male. Hence the production, by means of sexual selection, of the stimulating colours and sounds possessed by the male, and exercised for the purpose of rousing and exciting the female. This difference is recognized in a crude unconscious way by the more or less universal imposition of greater penalties for unchastity upon the females. 'One law for men and another for women' is a position based on biological laws, though it has resulted in cruelty towards the female sex. Westermarck urges that 'to anybody who duly reflects upon the matter it is clear that the seducer does a wrong to the woman also; but I find no indication that this idea occurs at all to the savage mind.'[1]

Yet the idea is certainly latent, however far short of it are savage views.

'Thus,' continues Westermarck, 'the men, by demanding that the women whom they marry shall be virgins, indirectly give rise to the demand that they themselves shall abstain from certain forms of incontinence.' The seducer is no less guilty than the seduced, though 'his act is judged from a more limited point of view. It is chiefly, if not exclusively, regarded as an offence against the parents or family of the girl; chastity *per se* is hardly required of savage men.'

Not until a late stage of culture was the offspring considered.

'In judging of matters relating to sexual morality, men have generally made little use of their reason, and been guilty of much thoughtless cruelty. Although marriage has come into existence solely for the sake of the offspring, it rarely happens that in sexual relations much unselfish thought is bestowed upon unborn individuals. Legal provisions in favour of illegitimate children have made men somewhat more careful, for their own sake, but they have also nourished the idea that the responsibility of fatherhood may be bought off by the small sum the man has to pay for the support of his natural child. Custom or law may exempt him even from this duty. We are told that in Tahiti the father might kill a bastard child, but that, if he suffered it to live, he was *eo ipso* considered to be married to its mother. This custom, it would seem, is hardly more inhuman than the famous law according to which "la recherche de la paternité est interdite."'[2]

Aquinas held fornication to be a mortal sin, because it 'tends to the hurt of the life of the child who is to be born of such intercourse,' or because 'it is contrary to the good of the offspring.'[3]

'But this tender care for the welfare of illegitimate children seems strange when we consider the manner in which such children have been treated by the Roman Catholic Church herself. It is obvious that the extreme horror of fornication which is expressed in the Christian doctrine is in the main a result of the same ascetic principle which declared celibacy superior to marriage, and tolerated marriage only because it could not be suppressed.'[4]

We shall refer later to principles of asceticism. It may here be noted, in connexion with Christian ideas, that in the stories of supernatural birth, which Hartland has shown to be of world-wide distribution, the virginity of the mother is often emphasized. This is an indirect result of ignorance of the fact that pregnancy can be caused only by sexual intercourse. To this ignorance must be attributed the therapeutic practices, the puberty and marriage rites whose object is fecundation, together with

'the prohibitions at puberty and on other occasions, for the purpose of avoiding irregular fecundation; and lastly, with the positive beliefs current among various peoples as to the fecundation of certain of the lower animals and even of women by other than the natural means.'[5]

When brought into connexion with the regulation of female chastity proceeding from masculine monopoly and jealousy, and later from commercial interest, this idealization of virginity became an important lever. Thus, the biological passivity of woman, in itself a natural chastity, the evolutionary purpose of which was to ensure the acceptance of

1 A. B. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 1887, p. 286.
2 Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 434 f.
3 Sproat, *Savage Life*, 1868, p. 95; Keating, *Expedition*, 1825, ii. 169 f.; Petroff, 177; Squier, *Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc.* iii. 1, 127; Bancroft, i. 632; Acosta, *Indies*, ii. 370, ed. 1880; Turner, *Samoa*, 1884, p. 95.
4 Wilken, in *Bijdragen*, iv. 446 f.; Bink, in *BSAP* xi. 397; Chanler, *Through Jungle and Desert*, 1896, p. 317; de Lauture, *Die Afrikanische Wüste* 1867, p. 19[illegible]; Waitz, *Anthropol.*, 1859-72, ii. 52[illegible], 11[illegible]; Grade, in *Aus allen Welttheilen*, xx. 5; Reade, *Savage Africa* 4[illegible]; Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhaltnisse*, 19[illegible], p. 330 ff.; Kohler, in *ZVRW* xiv. [illegible]4, 309; Torday and Joyce, *JAI* xxxvi. 45, [illegible]1; Kahle, in *Zeitschr. des Vereins*, xi 412 (quoted by Hartland); Munzinger, 319 ff.; Vambery, 461; Georgi, 232; Klemm, iv. 26; Deuteronomy, ch. 22; Polak, *Die Persien*, 1865, i. 21[illegible]; Gray, *China*, 1878, i. 209.
5 Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 435 ff.
6 Nevill, in *Taprobanian*, i. 178.

1 Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 4[illegible]7.
2 *Ib.* [illegible].
3 [illegible] *Summa*, ii. 2. 154.
4 Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. [illegible].
5 Hartland, *Prim. Paternity*, i. [illegible], 154.

a forceful and healthy male on the one hand,[1] and the complete production of tumescence in the female, a long-circuiting process due to the more complex sexual mechanism of that sex, on the other, was emphasized from several associated points of view. Lastly, as culture becomes more refined, the complex of ideas centring in female chastity is increased by the close association, original but enhanced by improved conditions,

'between the sexual impulse and a sentiment of affection which lasts long after the gratification of the bodily desire. We find the germ of this feeling in the abhorrence with which prostitution is regarded by savage tribes who have no objection to ordinary sexual intercourse previous to marriage, and in the distinction which among ourselves is drawn between the prostitute and the woman who yields to temptation because she loves. To indulge in mere sexual pleasure, unaccompanied by higher feelings, appears brutal and disgusting in the case of a man, and still more so in the case of a woman. After all, love is generally only an episode in a man's life, whereas for a woman it is the whole of her life.'[2]

An important factor must not be omitted here, namely, the parental impulse, which, as culture advances, binds husband and wife together in a tie, not merely parental, but mutually loyal and chaste. As the Latins put it, children are the 'pledges' of wifely chastity.

Returning to early stages, we notice that the causes to which chastity may be traced

'are frequently checked by circumstances operating in an opposite direction. Thus the preference which a man is naturally disposed to give to a virgin bride may be overcome by his desire for offspring, inducing him to marry a woman who has proved capable of gratifying this desire. It may also be ineffective for the simple reason that no virgin bride is to be found. Nothing has more generally prevented chastity from being recognized as a duty than social conditions promoting licentious habits. Even in savage society, where almost every man and every woman marry, and most of them marry early in life, there are always a great number of unmarried people of both sexes above the age of puberty; and, generally speaking, the number of the unmarried increases along with the progress of civilization. This state of things easily leads to incontinence in men and women; and, where such incontinence becomes habitual, it can hardly incur much censure. Again, where the general standard of female chastity is high, the standard of male chastity may nevertheless be the lowest possible. This is the case where there is a class of women who can no longer be dishonoured, because they have already been dishonoured, whose virtue is of no value either to themselves or their families, because they have lost their virtue, and who make incontinence their livelihood. Prostitution, being a safeguard of female chastity, has facilitated the enforcement of the rule which enjoins it as a duty, but at the same time it has increased the inequality of obligations imposed on men and women. It has begun to exercise this influence already at the lower stages of culture.'[3]

The problem presented to early races by economic conditions and by emotional prejudice, later races have been content to solve by prostitution. This is as far as solution has gone at the present day, unless we add the relative condonation of incontinence in unmarried men, and the complementary severity of condemnation of incontinence in unmarried women (a mere continuation of unnecessary injustice), and the indirect encouragement of masturbation and similar habits.

Lastly, with regard to precocious sexuality, a certain ideal seems to be unconsciously aimed at. This is the prolongation of the period of growth, the extension of the youth of the race. It has analogical confirmation in the generalization that the longer the youth of a species the higher is its organization. A statistical examination of the relation between enforced retardation of the sexual life and general growth is desirable. In this connexion there is a significant difference between the lower and the higher races: though up to puberty the savage child is as intelligent as the European, subsequently he 'runs to seed,' or rather 'to sex.'[4] The difference may be concerned with the higher opportunities enjoyed by European youth for developing the associational centres of the brain at a critical period.

[1] See H. Ellis, *op. cit.* iii. 27.
[2] Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 439 f.
[3] *Ib.* 440 f.
[4] Dudley Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, 1906, p. ix.

Chastity in the wife is merely fidelity to the husband. Though there is no reason for supposing any absence of the strong feeling of connubial or sexual jealousy in the earliest men, such as would give countenance to an age of promiscuity in human marital history, yet, as Hartland has shown, the rise of father-right and the supersession of mother-right are to be traced to the operation, not of a recognition of paternity, but of the proprietary instinct or jealous sense of ownership in the husband—a sense often not easily separable from mere sexual jealousy, the early prevalence of which has been pointed out by Westermarck.

Examination of the lower races shows an interesting gradation in the strength of the social indignation vented upon sexual 'irregularity.' It is strongest against incest between brother and sister—a real 'horror,' which is extended by association to tribal brothers and sisters, often unrelated. It is still strong, but has lost its supernatural content, against pre-nuptial intercourse without the consent of father or brother, where it is a legal-moral emotion; it is least strong against adultery, and perhaps, though often ferocious in its expression (a re-inforcement of the Law of Battle), may be regarded as purely legal or proprietary. This gradation has maintained itself to some extent in civilization, in spite of attempts on the part of religions like Christianity to assign the strongest religious condemnation to adultery, and in spite of the gradual loss of any special emotion against incest, the loss of emotion being in proportion as the offence, though not altogether unknown, becomes less heard of. The practices, so common in early races, of lending the wife to a guest as a mark of hospitality, and of exchanging wives as a mark of confidence, neighbourliness, and social solidarity, are not survivals. They are simply expressions of the feeling of ownership. They serve to show how it is that religious indignation is rarely found against adultery, any more than against theft in general.

Jealousy, as conducing to wifely chastity, is a constant factor. Originally sexual, it is overlaid in early culture by the sense of ownership, and in the higher by the sense of honour. Its operation has been shown for the following peoples: Fuegians, Australians, Veddas, Aleuts, Thlinkets, Kutchin, Haidas, Tacullis, Crees, Californians, Moquis, Creeks, Arawaks, Peruvians, Botocudos, Coroados, Sandwich Islanders, Nukahivans, Tahitians, New Caledonians, Maoris, Pelew Islanders, Sumatrans, Indonesians, Samoyeds, Tatars, Koriaks, Beni-Mzab, Africans.[1] The laws against adultery and every analogical consideration continue to render such lists incomplete, and to assure us that such jealousy is universal in man, and has, with rare exceptions, as the Todas and Central Australians, always been so.

Fused with the sense of ownership—'the sense of ownership has been the seed-plot of jealousy'[2]—it is attested of such peoples as the Bahuana, Mayumbe, and the coast tribes of West Africa generally, the Shire Highlands, the Dinkas, Bullams, Bagoes and Timmanegs, Wayaos and Manganja, the Elema district of New Guinea, Marshall Islands, Fiji, Melanesia, Indonesia, Eskimos, Malagasy, Maoris, American Indians—to select only cases of particular interest.[3] Laws against adultery[4] are similarly found all over the world; there are, as in the other aspects of the subject, curious exceptions. Conjugal fidelity frequently depends on the wife's or the husband's will.[5] If the husband allows her to cohabit with

[1] Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.*³ 117-122.
[2] Hartland, *Prim. Paternity*, ii. 102.
[3] Hartland, *op. cit.*, ch. vi. [4] Westermarck, *MI* ii. 449.
[5] See Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.*³ 130 ff.; Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 206 f.

another man, her 'chastity' is intact. On the other hand, fidelity in the husband is far less generally found or insisted upon. There are, again, interesting exceptions. Christianity pressed the view that no distinction should be made between wife and husband. Yet in actual European practice the old prejudice, that adultery on the part of the husband is more venial than on the part of the wife, still subsists. The reasons for this one-sided view of marital chastity are simple. 'Adultery is regarded as an illegitimate appropriation of the exclusive claims which the husband has acquired by the purchase of his wife, as an offence against property.'[1] Manu puts it that 'seed must not be sown by any man on that which belongs to another.'[2] Further, the prevalence of the rule of chastity in widows shows how strong is the sense of ownership in the husband. Apart from general rules of chastity among mourners, the rule as affecting widows is obviously derived from the jealousy of proprietorship. In several races the widow has to die with her lord; more frequently she is forbidden to marry again, or until after a certain interval.

Widows remained single in Peru, and among the old Aryans. The 'bare mention of a second marriage for a Hindu woman would be considered the greatest insult'; and, if she married again, 'she would be hunted out of society, and no decent person would venture at any time to have the slightest intercourse with her.'[3] 'In Greece and Rome a widow's re-marriage was regarded as an insult to her former husband; and so it is still regarded among the Southern Slavs.'[4] Similar reports have been made of the natives of Rotumah, the Marquesans, Tatars, Iroquois, and Arabs.[5] Chickasa widows were forbidden to be unchaste for three years, on pain of incurring the penalties of adultery; Creek widows were similarly placed for four years.[6] 'As a faithful minister does not serve two lords, neither may a faithful woman marry a second husband,' is the Chinese dictum.[7] The early Christians regarded second marriages by either sex as a 'kind of fornication' or a 'specious adultery.'[8] Savages, lastly, hold that the soul of the wronged husband can return and punish the unfaithful wife.

A last mode of wifely chastity is that presented by one of the earliest of legal fictions—child-marriage (*q.v.*). It is an obvious method of obtaining a safe option, and is practised fairly generally, if we include infant-betrothal, over the world.

Hitherto we have observed two main sources of the practice and theory of chastity, the first being the physiological process following upon detumescence and preceding tumescence, the second being proprietary sexual jealousy. It is clear that in the first we have the possibilities of a natural chastity, in the second the possibilities of an artificial, conventional chastity. In the first, again, is to be found the primary and permanent source of chastity; whether the second is to be styled in any sense primary is mainly a verbal question. There is no doubt that traditional sexual morality has a two-fold foundation—proprietary jealousy, and a complex of emotions developing from the complex physiological and psychological processes which make up natural chastity.

'Our sexual morality,' says Ellis, 'is thus, in reality, a bastard born of the union of property-morality with primitive ascetic morality.' 'The economic element has given it a kind of stability.'[9]

The effects of jealousy, thus crystallizing into marriage-law and a tradition of conventional chastity, the complement of that law, supply a notable example of sexual selection. Further consideration of psycho-physical origins must be postponed till we have discussed the magical and religious uses and theories of chastity.

In the majority of these, throughout the lower culture, the end is secondary, derived, or diverted. Chastity is employed not as a natural self-control and regulation of the sexual impulse, but for a variety of ulterior objects. In the higher culture there also appears the idea of chastity as a good in itself. The theory of these secondary uses is multifarious; the same result is sometimes due to one, sometimes to another, given reason. These reasons, mythological as they are, sometimes get to the psychological root of the matter, but, as a rule, have only a fanciful connexion with the end proposed. Yet to a remarkable degree, at least in primitive sociology, these uses, whatever their popular explanations, harmonize with biological facts, and the value of the explanations consists in having assisted (secondarily, as expressive of practices otherwise originating) the plastic nervous organism of man towards self-control, intelligent living, and general individual and social efficiency. When either practice or explanation is carried on into unsuitable conditions, or is pressed too far by priestly exploitation or social inertia, the conventional chastity involved disintegrates. This process becomes continuous, leading, after many experiments, slowly but surely, to a scientific development of that primal natural chastity with which man's sexual history began.

The social psychology of uncivilized peoples regards continence, temporary chastity *ad hoc*, as a sort of universal condition and infallible nostrum for all important undertakings and critical junctures.

In Noessa Laut it is believed that invulnerability in war results from sexual abstinence.[1] The Kei Islanders practise continence before war, and those who remain at home have to remain continent during its progress.[2] The Malays follow the same rule; it is believed that the bullets of those who break it lose their power. Similarly they have a seven-days' tabu of continence during the fishing season.[3] In Sarawak it is held that incontinence on the part of wives, while the men are collecting camphor, causes the camphor to be spoilt.[4] The Halmaherese practise continence during war, believing that connexion with women is enervating.[5] Continence is imposed on those at home also by the Motumotu of New Guinea, during war, hunting, fishing, or travelling.[6] The Dakota who wishes to succeed in any enterprise purifies himself by fasting, bathing, and continence. He also tries to induce a vision. The process is particularly stringent when the enterprise is war. A young man's weapons may on no account be touched by a woman.[7] The Seminoles held that 'to sleep with women enervates and renders them unfit for warriors; men therefore hut seldom have their wives in the apartments where they lodge.'[8] In New Caledonia continence is 'meritorious'; it is strictly observed on all solemn occasions, especially during war.[9] The Fijians practised a sort of Theban comradeship-in-arms, and abstinence from women was a rule of warriors.[10] Celibacy for warriors was instituted by Tchaka among the Zulus, upon an already existing custom of continence.[11] The Maoris were 'tabued an inch thick' during war; continence was a part of the deposit.[12] Similarly the warriors of Israel were 'consecrated,' and therefore chaste.[13] The practice was used by the Arabs, and was not obsolete in the second century of Islâm.[14] The manslayer is generally isolated by tabu. After taking a head, the Dayak may have no intercourse with women.[15] Among the Pelewans, Marquesans, and Natchez, the warrior who has slain a foe must not approach his wife for three or ten days, or six months.[16] After the ceremonial eating of human flesh, this rule is observed for a year by the Kwakiutl of British Columbia.[17]

1 Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 449.
2 *Laws of Manu*, ix. 42.
3 Garcilasso de la Vega, *Peru*, ed. 1800–1801, i. 305; Schrader, *Aryan Peoples*, 1890, p. 391; Dubois, *Hindu Manners*[3], 1906, p. 132 (quoted by Westermarck).
4 Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 451.
5 *Hum. Marr.*[3] 127.
6 *Ib.* 128.
7 De Groot. *Religious System*, 1892 ff., ii. 1. 745.
8 Gibbon, ii. 187 (ed. 1885); Lecky[2], 1865, ii. 326.
9 H. Ellis, *op. cit.* vi. 374.

1 *Tijdschrift Nederlandsch Indië*, v. 2. 507.
2 Riedel, *op. cit.* 223.
3 Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 1900, pp. 524, 315.
4 Hose, in Frazer, *GB*[2] i. 29.
5 Riedel, in *ZE* xvii. 69.
6 Chalmers, in *JAI* xxvii. 327.
7 J. O. Dorsey, in *11 RBEW* 436, 444; Adair, *Amer. Indians*, 1775, p. 161.
8 M'Gillivray, in Schoolcraft, v. 271.
9 A. Featherman, *op. cit.* ii. 92.
10 Williams, *Fiji*, ed. 1870, i. 45.
11 Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, 1857, p. 47.
12 Tregear, in *JAI* xix. 110; E. F. Maning, *Old New Zealand*, London, 1863, pp. 96, 114.
13 1 S 21[5], 2 S 11[8ff.]; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2] 454 f.; J. G. Frazer, *GB*[2] i. 328.
14 W. R. Smith, *l.c.*
15 Tromp, in *Bijd. Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxvii. 71.
16 Kubary, *Die socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer*, 1885, p. 131; Langsdorff, *Reise um die Welt*, 1803–7, i. 114; Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, 1744, vi. 186.
17 Boas, *U.S. Nat. Museum* (1895), [illegible]

Cases have already been noted of the curious, but logical, notion that the continence of friends and relatives has merit and efficiency. Thus the Chitomé of the Congo makes his judicial circuit. During this all married people are obliged to be continent. The penalty for transgression is death. 'The belief is that by such continence they preserve the life of their common father.'[1] The women of Babar abstain from eating and intercourse while the men are at war.[2] Malagasy women must be chaste, or their men will be wounded.[3] Both the wife and sister of the Aleut are required to be chaste during the absence of the man.[4] In East Africa it is believed that the unfaithfulness of the wife, while the man is hunting elephants, gives the quarry power over him.[5]

Equally instructive as to the incidence of secondary reasons is the case of the Australian and Hebrew warrior whose continence was connected with fear 'lest the enemy should obtain the refuse of their persons, and thus be enabled to work their destruction by magic.'[6] A variety of origin must be admitted for the continence of mourning. In ancient India, China, British Columbia, North America generally, and Indonesia, the rule applies to relatives, widow or widower, and to those who have handled the corpse.[7] In such examples the biological analogy between nutrition and reproduction is reasserted, and we constantly find a close connexion in both theory and practice between abstinence from intercourse and abstinence from food. 'Fasting,' said St. Chrysostom (*2 Thess.*), 'is the beginning of chastity.' 'Through love of eating,' said Tertullian (*de Jejun.*), 'love of impurity finds passage.'

The physiological purpose of temporary control here suggested, namely, the production of functional vigour, is well illustrated by numerous practices in reference to the growth of vegetation, where the principle of sympathetic influence is, of course, involved. Yet the virtues of self-control in the subject himself are at times equally involved.

For instance, in Yucatan the manufacturers of the new idols had to fast and preserve their continence during the process.[8] During the planting of cotton the Mayas abstained from salt, pepper, and stimulants, and did not sleep with their wives; and in all their agriculture the principle was followed, in order that the night before sowing or planting they might 'indulge their passions' to the fullest extent. Officials were appointed to perform the sexual process at the moment when the seeds were placed in the ground.[9] Frazer gives many examples of this sympathetic coitus and this sympathetic chastity.[10] It is reported that the Nicaraguans, 'from the moment that they sowed the maize till the time that they reaped it, lived chastely, keeping apart from their wives. To-day it is said that the Kekchiz do the same for five days before sowing maize, the Lanquineros and Cajaboneros for thirteen days.'[11] In Melanesia and New Guinea the same practice is followed while the yams are being trained, or to produce a good crop of bananas.[12] In the Motu tribe a chief man becomes *helaga*, and lives apart from his wife, eating only certain kinds of food.[13] Also in New Guinea and in the Torres Straits, chastity is observed while the turtles are coupling; in the latter case it is believed that if unmarried persons are incontinent no turtle will be caught, as on the approach of a canoe the male turtle will separate from the female and the pair will dive in different directions.[14] Similarly illicit love is commonly supposed to spoil the fertility of Nature.[15] In Loango, Indonesia (Sumatra, Borneo, Halmahera, Ceram), and among the Karens this belief is held, with, no doubt, the obvious corollary.[16] Frazer suggests that the rule of continence, which is still imposed on strict Catholics during Lent, 'was in its origin intended, not so much to commemorate the sufferings of a dying God, as to foster the growth of the seed, which in the bleak days of early spring the husbandman commits, with anxious care and misgiving, to the bosom of the naked earth.'[17] He concludes that, 'if rude man identifies himself, in a manner, with Nature; if he fails to distinguish the impulses and processes in himself from the methods which Nature adopts to ensure the reproduction of plants and animals, he may jump to one of two conclusions. Either he may infer that by yielding to his appetite he will thereby assist in the multiplication of plants and animals; or he may imagine that the vigour which he refuses to expend in reproducing his own kind will form as it were a store of energy whereby other creatures, whether vegetable or animal, will somehow benefit in propagating their species.' If the savage 'resists on occasion the sexual instinct, it is from no high idealism, no ethereal aspiration after moral purity, but for the sake of some ulterior yet perfectly definite and concrete object, to gain which he is prepared to sacrifice the immediate gratification of his senses. . . . Perhaps the self-restraint which these and the like beliefs, vain and false as they are, have imposed on mankind, has not been without its utility in bracing and strengthening the breed.'[1]

[1] Labat, *Afrique occidentale*, 1728, i. 254; W. Reade, *op. cit.* 362.
[2] Riedel, *op. cit.* 341.
[3] De Flacourt, *Hist. de la Grande île de Madagascar*, 1661, p. 97.
[4] Petroff, *op. cit.* p. 155.
[5] Reichard, *Deutsch-Ostafrika*, 1892, p. 427.
[6] Frazer, *GB*[2] i. 328.
[7] Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, 1894, pp. 578, 590; de Groot, II. i. 609; Adair, *Amer. Indians*, p. 186; Tout, in *JAI* xxxv. 139; Teit, in *Amer. Mus.* i. 331; Riedel, *op. cit.* 94.
[8] Bancroft, ii. 690.
[9] *Ib.* ii. 719 f., iii. 507.
[10] Frazer, *GB*[2] ii. 205–209.
[11] *Ib.* ii. 210.
[12] Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, 1887, p. 181.
[13] *Ib.*
[14] Haddon, in *JAI* xix. 467, 397.
[15] Frazer, *GB*[2] ii. 211 ff.
[16] *Ib.*
[17] *Ib.* ii. 214.

To this account may be added the suggestion that such beliefs are the outcome of biological processes, and that, like them, they have a rhythmical opposition. The suggestion is borne out by the remarkable phenomena of saturnalian proceedings, so frequently an accompaniment of first-fruit or New Year celebrations. In these a period of continence precedes a culminating period of indulgence and debauchery.[2] The swing of impulse is here, so to say, a social concentration of the rhythm of natural chastity, which keeps the balance between control and expenditure, between retraction and detumescence.

The principle of this conservation of energy was, we said, applied all round the sphere of important procedure in early society. Thus the Redskin medicine-man prepares for his professional visits by continence, just as the warrior similarly prepares for war.[3] A variety of ends naturally induces a variety of reasons alleged, and in many cases it would be idle to question the reason given, or to trace it to any one source. For, as mythological science develops, any practice may be based on reasons which may be merely associational. Here convention has its opportunity. Thus, chastity seems in many cases to be practised for fear of infecting the partner with some particular virus. For example, those who have touched a corpse may have no intercourse with others.[4] In other cases it implies the principle that suffering or self-mortification is gratifying to supernatural beings. It may appease their anger, or excite their compassion.[5] When this point is reached, the way is clear for a complete theory of the absolute merit of chastity in and for itself. This theory has, however, as foundation, the very opposite notion to that of mortification, namely, the notion of the impurity or sinfulness of the sexual act. The origins of this notion will be considered later. Meanwhile we may observe that even in low cultures chastity *per se* at times is honoured. Thus, the people of Gilgit celebrate the ceremony of *Seelo-ai-Thali*, 'the seat of chastity,' in which extraordinary honours are paid to old women who have been chaste all their lives. It does not appear whether the chastity is marital or virginal. As at Dunmow, candidates are examined. The woman is placed on a stone, and an official addresses the judge on the case. The judge is a white she-goat. This gives the verdict; if it touches the seat of the candidate, she is declared to have been perpetually chaste. If the goat bleats and walks away, the candidate is rejected.[6] The Tahitians, again, held that, if a man refrained from all connexion with women for some months before his death, he would pass immediately into bliss without any purification.[7]

The difficulty of finding a reason for certain miscellaneous applications of chastity is not lessened by appealing to the 'danger' with which the savage invests the sexual act, or to the 'magical' powers of it. We require to know *why* it is 'magical,' and *how* the magic works. The difficulty, again, of investigating this question is increased by the vagueness of savage ideas on the subject. Yet, however vague they may be, they must have an origin which comes under the law of probability, and they must be ultimately based on

[1] Frazer, *GB*[2] ii. 215 f.
[2] See, for example, cases cited in *GB*[2] ii. 331.
[3] Adair, 125.
[4] Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 306.
[5] *Ib.* 357 f., 362; Tromp, in *Bijd. Nederl. Indië*, v. 4, 32 (Dayaks).
[6] G. Muhammad, in *JRASBe* I. vii. 102.
[7] J. Cook, *Voyage to Pacific*, 1784, ii. 164.

physiological phenomena. For the root of all human ideas, false or true, on the subject of sex, is, like that of the sexual impulse itself, the reproductive process.

The Masai, when making poison, isolates himself very strictly; in particular, he must sleep alone. 'The motive,' as Frazer points out, 'which induces the Masai poison-maker to keep aloof from his fellows is not any regard for them; far from it, what he fears is not that the poison would hurt them, but that they would hurt the poison.' This 'is the avowed belief of the Masai.' They also enjoin strict continence on the persons who brew honey-wine.

'A man and a woman are chosen to brew the honey-wine, and it is considered essential that both of them should be chaste for two days before they begin to brew and for the whole of the six days that the brewing lasts. A hut is set apart for them, and they occupy it till the wine is ready for drinking; but they are strictly forbidden to sleep together. . . . The Masai think that, if the couple were to break the rule of continence while the wine is brewing, not only would the wine be undrinkable, but the bees which made the honey would fly away.' Frazer adds: 'The savage attributes to the relations of the sexes with each other a certain mysterious influence, a magical virtue, which the civilized man has long ceased to associate with such processes, and which he finds it hard even in imagination to comprehend.' We must, he insists, allow for 'the element of superstition' in, for instance, marriage-customs. Some of such superstitions, 'incomprehensible though they may be to us, probably lie at the root of many customs which we still strictly observe without being able to assign any valid reason for doing so.'[1]

The case here discussed is typical. The mythology of social habit and religion is full of such notions, but the precise clue to the notion is generally lacking. The Masai can say what would happen in the event of unchastity, but cannot inform us, for he does not himself know, how or why. Yet, though such mythology is interesting, it is not the most important part of sociology, nor does it give us the actual or biological reasons for a practice. It only gives us the savage's vague mental reaction to a process which was instituted without his volition, and still more without his consciousness. It is legitimate to use the term 'instinct' of the habits which result from the correlation of structure and function, and we may therefore with more advantage speak of an *instinct* for chastity in such cases as the above, as we undoubtedly must in cases of natural chastity generally, where there is no ulterior end. The savage is not chaste, even for a special purpose, because the act of sex is 'mysterious' or 'magical'; he is chaste by an unreasoned instinct, which he explains as best he may, or not at all. That ignorance is the heart of the 'mystery.' It is only by taking into account this vagueness of mental realization that we can explain the saltation from animal-man, *homo alalus*, to superstitious man; nor can we otherwise explain the attitude of *l'homme moyen sensuel* in civilization to questions like that of chastity. For his attitude is as unreasonable as that of the Masai; the only 'mystery' about the object of his attention is his ignorance. The term 'mystery,' if applied at all, should be reserved for the unknowableness of ultimate facts.

Still less can we make the step from any primitive conception of 'magical virtue' or 'supernatural danger' to the Mazdæan or Christian theory of the 'sinfulness' of the sexual act, as a motive for chastity. Such a step is an illegitimate process. Still less again can we pass therefrom to the conception that such acts are 'impure,' as distinguished from the so-called 'uncleanness' of the tabu state.

The whole question involves the scientific aspect of chastity, no less than its religious application. The latter now falls to be considered before further discussion is held. In primitive society, chastity

[1] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, 1910, ii. 411.

forms part of the rules of isolation known as tabu; it is thus enjoined on solemn occasions and at critical junctures. Among the Dayaks 'personal tabu' is fasting and chastity. By this they think they disarm the evil spirits, who compassionate the humility and self-denial exhibited by the deprivation.[1] Whatever the origin of such practices, the transition from them to chastity as a condition of ritual and worship is obvious and direct. In Central America, candidates for the order of Tecuhtli observed, during initiation, both fasting and continence.[2] It may be taken as a universal rule that chastity is enforced upon adolescents during 'initiation' at puberty.[3] That this control is generally followed by intercourse shows not only that sexual education is one main purpose of these ceremonies, but that the rhythm of natural chastity—control as preparatory for exercise of function—is the deep-seated biological origin of pubertal ritual.[4] The young Brāhman, when he became in the ordinary course of his education a student of the Veda, took a vow of chastity.[5]

Passing to relations with the supernatural world, we find continence to be a part of the ceremonial purity necessary for such spiritual intercourse. A typical case is supplied by Mazdæism. The great business of life, according to Zarathushtra, is to avoid 'impurity,' by which is implied a physical state, the principle being that everything which goes out of the body is defiling.[6] In Islām strict continence is required on the pilgrimage to Mecca.[7] Similarly it was required of the Hebrew congregation during the theophany at Sinai,[8] and before entering the Temple.[9] Ancient India, Egypt, and Greece enforced the rule that the worshipper must abstain from women during and before worship.[10] In Christianity, continence was required as a preparation for both Baptism and the Eucharist.[11] It was further enjoined

'that no married persons should participate in any of the great festivals of the Church if the night before they had lain together; and in the 'Vision' of Alberic, dating from the twelfth century, a special place of torture, consisting of a lake of mingled lead, pitch, and resin, is represented as existing in hell for the punishment of married people who have had intercourse on Sundays, church festivals, or fast-days. They abstained from the marriage-bed at other times also, when they were disposed more freely to give themselves to prayer. Newly married couples were admonished to practise continence during the wedding day and the night following, out of reverence for the sacrament; and in some instances their abstinence lasted even for two or three days.'[12]

In support of the view that 'holiness is a delicate quality which is easily destroyed if anything polluting is brought into contact with the holy object or person,' Westermarck brings forward some important data from the life of the modern Moors. They believe that,

'if anybody who is sexually unclean enters a granary, the grain will lose its *baraka*, or holiness.' But the holiness reacts 'quite mechanically against pollution, to the destruction or discomfort of the polluted individual. All Moors are convinced that any one who in a state of sexual uncleanness would dare to visit a saint's tomb would be struck by the saint; but the Arabs of Dukkâla, in Southern Morocco, also believe that if an unclean person rides a horse some accident will happen to him on account of the *baraka* with which the horse is endowed. Again, 'an act generally regarded as sacred would, if performed by an unclean individual, lack that magic efficacy which would otherwise be ascribed to it. . . . The Moors say that a scribe is afraid of evil spirits only when he is sexually unclean, because then his reciting of passages of the Koran—the most powerful weapon against such spirits—would be of no avail.'[13]

Similarly Iamblichus states that 'the gods do not hear him who invokes them if he is impure

[1] Tromp, *l.c.* v. 4, 52. [2] Bancroft, ii. 197.
[3] Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 296 ff. [4] *Ib.* 307 ff.
[5] G. Bühler, *SBE* ii. 8.
[6] Darmesteter, *SBE* iv. lxxii ff.
[7] W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2] 454, 481; *Qur'ān*, ii. 193.
[8] Ex 19[15], *Rel. Sem.*[2] 455. [9] Lv 15[31, 33].
[10] Oldenberg, *op. cit.* 411; Herod. ii. 64; Wachsmuth, *Hellen. Alterthumskunde*[2], 1846, ii. 560.
[11] Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 417.
[12] *Ib.* 417, with authorities.
[13] *Ib.* 417 f.

from venereal connexions.'[1] Tertullian recommends temporary abstinence as a means of adding efficacy to prayer.[2] Illicit love is frequently supposed to injure the growth of crops; sexual relations were supposed by the Efatese to be 'defiling,' and to destroy the 'sacredness' of 'sacred men.'[3] The Chibchas, and other peoples, held that the most acceptable sacrifice was a virgin who had had no intercourse with women.[4] Throughout folklore runs the idea that second-sight, and the vision of the supernatural, are especially, if not solely, the privilege of the virgin. Here may be noted also the practice of continence, analogous to and contemporary with that of fasting, as a means of inducing spiritual hallucination. Westermarck favours the explanation that pollution destroys holiness, but religious chastity is already more than half artificial; and, though we may trace it now to one, now to another, original source, and though in some cases its alleged reason is different from that given in others, we must regard it as a complex and self-subsisting institution, supported by inertia and by its general harmony with the social psychology of its environment. We certainly cannot pin it down to one definite pattern of origination.

The analogy between 'initiation' of youth at puberty and 'initiation' of priests is little more than verbal. Though religious prostitution has often been an institution, and priestesses, for instance, have practised physical chastity for the purpose of intercourse with the god, or abstention from secular in favour of priestly unions, and though, again, the feeling of control and power produced by continence plays its part in the production of spiritual insight, as in adolescence it is connected with ideal aspirations no less than with physical vigour,—we cannot assign generally the same reasons for chastity as a natural concomitant of puberty and for chastity as an artificial rule of the priesthood.

The ancient medicine-man more or less invariably submits to continence as a condition of his novitiate. The Marquesan candidate for the priesthood had to be chaste for some years beforehand.[5] The *skaga* of the Haidas recognizes his vocation by a tendency to dream and to see visions. He undergoes a severe training; eats little food, but many herbs, especially *moneses*; and refrains from sexual intercourse. At the end his mind is more or less deranged, but his social influence is secured.[6] Among the Tshi-peoples, candidates, whether men or women, are trained for two or three years; 'during this period of retirement and study, the novices must keep their bodies pure, and refrain from all commerce with the other sex.'[7]

Curiously enough, we often find, as if to confuse entirely all attempts at single-key explanation, cases where marital chastity only is required. The candidate for the shaman's office among the Huichols is required to be previously faithful to his wife for five years.[8] The high priest of the Hebrews was required to be 'chaste.' He married, but was forbidden to marry a harlot, a profane woman, or a divorced wife, or even a widow. 'Unchastity' in his daughter was punished by burning, for she had 'profaned' her father.[9] The 'dairy priest' of the Todas lives a celibate life, while among the neighbouring Kotas he is married, but at the great festival of *Kāmatarāya* he may have no intercourse for fear of pollution.[10] The priests of ancient Mexico, during the whole of their service, were maritally chaste; they even affected so much modesty and reserve that, when they met a woman, they fixed their eyes on the ground that they might not see her. Any incontinence amongst the priests was severely punished. The priest who, at Teohuacan, was convicted of having violated his chastity, was delivered up by the priests to the people, who at night killed him by the bastinado.[11] Burning or stoning was the penalty for incontinence by the unmarried priests of Nicaragua.[12] The same rule and penalty were observed in the case of Zapotec priests and the Mexican nuns. The Yucatecs had virgins dedicated to the service of Fire; those who violated their vow of chastity were shot to death with arrows. The priests of Tilantongo had their food prepared by women devoted to chastity. The pontiff of Yopaa, who was almost a rival of the Zapotec king, had to be 'a shining light of chastity' to the priests under him. Yet on one or two days in the year he became ceremonially drunk, and cohabited with the most beautiful of the virgins of the temple.[1] In ancient Anatolia the married priests during their 'course' separated from their wives.[2]

[1] *de Mysteriis*, iv. 11.
[2] Tert. *de Exhortatione Castitatis*, 10.
[3] D. Macdonald, *Oceania*, 1889, p. 181.
[4] Waitz, iv. 363.
[5] Mathias G***, *Iles Marquises*, 1843, p. 62.
[6] Dawson, *Geol. Survey of Canada*, 1878, p. 122.
[7] A. B. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 1887, p. 120.
[8] C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, 1903, ii. 236.
[9] Lv 21[7. 14. 9].
[10] Rivers, *The Todas*, 1906, pp. 80, 99; Thurston, *Madras Museum*, i. 193.
[11] Clavigero, *Hist. of Mexico*, 1787, i. 274 (Eng. tr.).
[12] Bancroft, iii. 496, 499.

We have already overstepped the artificial line between temporary continence and perpetual abstinence in those dedicated to supernatural relations. That natural chastity (namely, the regulation of the sexual life by bringing both continence and expression under the will, and by emphasizing the former in proportion to the explosive nature of the latter) should be elevated into an art, however crudely and irrationally, is not surprising when once the differentiation of social functions has begun. Nor, again, can we wonder that it was most widely undertaken by, and has lasted longest among, the class which first showed a sensitive reaction to psycho-physical states—the professors of magic and religion. When once started as a habit in such a class, a variety of influences inevitably tended to convert such chastity into asexuality, and normal continence into abnormal abstinence. As Rohleder points out, strict abstinence is a physiological impossibility, and therefore has never existed except in the worst cases of anæsthesia, since it

'must involve abstinence, not merely from sexual intercourse, but from auto-erotic manifestations, from masturbation, from homosexual acts, from all sexually perverse practices. It must further involve a permanent abstention from indulgence in erotic imaginations and voluptuous reverie.'[3]

This very fact has, in a sense, made the attempt more enticing, and has produced phenomena which, as is clear from the history of chastity and celibacy in Christianity, constitute at once the tragedy and the romance of the 'spiritual life.' Ignorance of sexual physiology, and in particular of the slow and wide process of irradiation involved by tumescence, has also contributed in every age to conceal the hopelessness of the attempt to set up an asexual life. But, as was noted, the step towards making continence *ad hoc* a perpetual abstinence, an asexual institution, was inevitable. A host of sentiments combined to render abstinence, or celibacy, or other varieties of the institution, as meritorious in their sphere as female chastity was in a sphere so widely different in character and in origin. When chastity thus becomes a virtue, it has lost its meaning; it is no longer an extension, but a perversion of itself. In the one case, of women, it is not chastity, but either pre-nuptial virginity or marital fidelity that is honoured under the term; in the other case, of religious persons, it is, in the married, a combination of attempted anæsthesia and of marital fidelity; in the celibate, an attempted anæsthesia and abstinence, marked either by lapses or perversions—in particular, erotic imaginings diverted to supernatural relations.

Westermarck has reviewed the occurrence of priestly continence as an institution and a professional virtue. To sketch the history of priestly celibacy, or the phenomena of the sexual life of monks and nuns, is impossible here. Some comparative examples and a brief discussion of the Christian institution may suffice for the illustration of the idea of chastity. Professional abstinence has never been more ferociously exploited than in the ancient civilizations of Central America. Some cases have already been adduced.

[1] Bancroft, ii. 204 f., iii. 435, 473, ii. 143.
[2] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1895–97, i. 136 f., 150 f.
[3] *Ztschr. für Sexualwissenschaft*, Nov. 1908, quoted by H. Ellis, *op. cit.* vi. 196.

The temple-women of Mexico were punished for unchastity with death.[1] The high priest of Ichcatlan, if he broke his vow, was cut in pieces, and the limbs handed to his successor as a visible warning.[2] In Bogota and Guatemala the priests were celibate.[3] The Virgins of the Sun in Peru were devoted to lifelong 'chastity' and seclusion. Lay women also at times took a vow of 'chastity'; they were held in great veneration for their chastity and purity, and, as a mark of worship and respect, they were called *Occlo*, which was a name held sacred in their 'idolatry.' Failure to preserve the vow involved the punishment of being burned at the stake or cast into 'the lake of lions.'[4] The Sun-god was regarded as the husband of the virgins in his service. They were of necessity daughters of the Inca; for, 'though they imagined that the Sun had children, they considered that they ought not to be bastards, with mixed divine and human blood. So the virgins were of necessity legitimate and of the blood royal, which was the same as being of the family of the Sun.' Thus did the Peruvians solve the problem of incarnation by birth. The violator of a Virgin of the Sun was executed in the same way as a violator of an Inca's daughter.[5] Permanent continence was necessary for the Thlinket shaman, if he was to maintain his efficiency. In Paraguay and Patagonia we hear respectively of celibate wizards and virgin witches. The guardian of the sacred pipe of the Blackfeet had to be chaste and fast periodically.[6]

Virgin priestesses were in high honour among the Guanches of the Canary Islands, and the ancient Persians, Greeks, and Romans.

The first named, the Magades, or Harimagades, were under the direction of the high priest; others, whose chief duty was the baptism of newborn children, were allowed to resign their office and marry.[7] The virgin priestesses of Persia were devoted to the service of the Sun.[8] Scattered over Greece were shrines ministered at by virgins, such as that to Hera at Ægium; the priestesses who chanted the oracles at Delphi and Argos were virgins; many priests were eunuchs; the hierophant and other ministers of Demeter were celibates, and bathed in hemlock-juice to mortify desire.[9]

Numa was said to have instituted the order of Vestal Virgins. They remained unmarried for thirty years. Burial alive was the penalty for breaking the vow of chastity. Few retired after the thirty years.[10] The Vestal Virgins were distinguished by extraordinary influence and personal dignity; they supply the classical example of womanly merit when separated artificially from her biological function. 'They were treated with marks of respect usually accorded to royalty; thus on the streets they were preceded by a lictor, and the highest magistrates made way for them; they sometimes enjoyed the exceptional privilege of riding in a carriage; at public games a place of honour was assigned to them; and after death they, like the Imperators, were allowed to be buried within the city walls "because they were above the laws." Again, they enjoyed the royal privilege of mercy; for, if they met a criminal on the way to execution, his life was spared.'[11] Yet, after Frazer's investigation, it seems that their virginity is of accidental origin. The chief's daughter among the Damaras who keeps up the 'holy fire' is a savage parallel; that she remained unmarried is not stated. 'The perpetual fire' in an early village 'would be most likely to be maintained in the chief's house, and the persons who would most naturally look after it would be the chief's wife or daughters.'[12] Lafitau speaks of 'vestal virgins' among the Iroquois.[13] In ancient Ireland and Lithuania there seem to have been holy fires tended by virgins.[14] In Yucatan virgin priestesses tended the fire in the temple.[15]

No race has shown such sexual sensibility and knowledge of the science and art of love as the Hindus. Though we hear little or nothing of female virginity, marital chastity on the part of wives has been enjoined and honoured from immemorial times; while both natural chastity and sacerdotal, whether marital or celibate, has been a regular phenomenon. Yet marriage has been continuously upheld and honoured. Social and individual differentiation explains the fact that Hindu religion has no inconsistency between practice and precept, with regard either to the status of women or to the vocation of male celibacy. The commencement of this, as we have seen, may be in the ancient rule of continence during the Brāhman's study of the Veda, and its original explanation is more clear than usual, and doubtless to be found in an extension of natural chastity to appropriate individuals.[1]

Thus Manu says: 'Let not a Brāhman who desires manly strength behold his wife setting off her eyes with collyrium, or anointing herself with oil, or when she is in *deshabille* or bringing forth a child.' And again: 'Let him not see a woman naked.'[2] In the Bower MS we read that, 'counselling with reference to acquisition of health and strength, the blessed Atrêya said: "Caution in diet is of threefold, but abstinence from sexual intercourse is of fourfold value."'[3] The Sannyāsi had and has a rule never to look at a woman.[4]

Monastic celibacy developed in Buddhism. The mother of Buddha was extremely 'pure'; she had no other son; her conception was supernatural.[5] Sensuality is inconsistent with wisdom and holiness; 'a wise man should avoid married life, as if it were a burning pit of live coals.' 'From contact comes sensation, from thirst clinging; by ceasing from that the soul is delivered from all sinful existence.' 'Buddha's Church is a Church of monks and nuns. "Very straitened," it is said, "is life in the home, a state of impurity; freedom is in leaving the home."' There is an eightfold abstinence for the laity, including avoidance of 'unchastity.'[6] The monk is forbidden carnal intercourse. 'The monk who lowers himself to touch a woman's person with corrupt thoughts, while he clasps her hand or clasps her hair or touches one part or another of her body, the Order inflicts on him degradation.'[7] The present ordination vow is to abstain from all sexual intercourse as long as life shall last.[8] The Jains enforced the rule to abstain from all sexual relations 'either with gods, or men, or animals; not to discuss topics relating to women; not to contemplate the forms of women.'[9] There is, however, a compromise in the form of an oath of conjugal fidelity instead of an oath of abstinence.[10] Some lamas may marry, but these are less holy than the celibates. Tibetan nuns are in all cases continent.[11] In Chinese Buddhism and Taoism the celibacy of priests is observed.[12] The Chinese are peculiarly free from conventional restraints upon the sexual life, yet they honour chastity in both sexes. Lust is condemned; 'of the myriad vices, lust is the worst.'[13]

In a race of a very different character, the West Africans, proverbially sensual, the virgin priestess is peculiarly influential, and the celibate priest is not unknown.

In Lower Guinea we are told of a priest-king who was not even allowed to touch a woman.[14] Among the Tshi- and Ewe-peoples there are priestesses who are forbidden to marry. Of the former it is observed that 'a priestess belongs to the god she serves, and therefore cannot become the property of a man, as would be the case if she married one.' The latter are regarded as the wives of the god, but their chief function is religious prostitution. The best-looking girls are selected; they remain novices for three years, 'learning the chants and dances peculiar to the worship of the gods, and prostituting themselves to the priests and the inmates of the male seminaries; and at the termination of their novitiate they become public prostitutes.'[15]

When we come to civilization, we generally find, at least among the Christian peoples of the West, an ambiguous attitude towards chastity. This is chiefly the result of the loss of two primitive complementary habits—a loss which is due to the increase of intelligence on the one hand, and the diffusion of the elements of society, on the other. These habits are, first, the unconscious exercise of control for definite ends. This is very pronounced among savages, and

'the special virtues of savagery—hardness, endurance, and bravery—are intimately connected with the cultivation of

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1 Clavigero, i. 275 f.; Bancroft, iii. 435.
2 Clavigero, i. 274.
3 Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 406; Bancroft, iii. 489.
4 G. de la Vega, *Comm.* i. 291, 305.
5 *Ib.* i. 292, 300.
6 Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 406; Warren, *Minnesota Hist. Soc.* v. 68.
7 St. Vincent, *Les Isles Fortunées*, 1803, p. 96 f.
8 Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 407.
9 Muller, *Das sexuelle Leben der alten Kulturvolker*, 1867, p. 44 ff.; Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* ii. 560; Pausanias, II. xxiv. 1; Strabo, XIV. i. 23; Tert. *op. cit.* 13.
10 Plutarch, *Numa*, x. 7 ff.; Dionys. Halic. *Antiqq. Rom.* ii. 64 ff., 67.
11 Frazer, *JPh* xiv. 155.
12 *Ib.* 162.
13 *Mœurs des sauvages amériquains*, 1724, i. 173.
14 Camden, *Britannia*, 1594, p. 747; Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Gesch.*, 1860, iii. 215.
15 Bancroft, iii. 473.

1 For chastity among the earliest Brāhmans, see Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 271, 411 ff., 417, 429 ff., 468, 588.
2 Manu (ed. Buhler), iv. 44, 53.
3 Hoernle, *The Bower MS*, 1893-97, ii. 142.
4 Dubois (ed. Beauchamp), p. 533.
5 R. Davids, *Buddhism*, 1881, p. 148.
6 Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, 1889, p. 88; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 1882, p. 381 ff.
7 Oldenberg, 373 f.
8 Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 1896, p. 79.
9 Hopkins, *Religions of India*, 1896, p. 294.
10 Buhler, *The Indian Sect of the Jainas*, 1903, p. 16.
11 Wilson, *Abode of Snow*, 1876, p. 213.
12 Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 409.
13 Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, 1888, ii. 193; Smith, *Proverbs of the Chinese*, 1888, p. 256.
14 Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango Kuste*, 1874–75, i. 287 f.
15 A. B. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 121, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, 1890, p. 140 ff.

chastity and asceticism. It is true that savages seldom have any ideal of chastity in the degraded modern sense, as a state of permanent abstinence from sexual relationship having a merit of its own apart from any use. They esteem chastity for its values, magical or real, as a method of self-control which contributes towards the attainment of important ends. The ability to bear pain and restraint is nearly always a main element in the initiation of youths at puberty. The custom of refraining from sexual intercourse before expeditions of war and hunting, and other serious concerns involving great muscular and mental strain, whatever the motives assigned, is a sagacious method of economizing energy. The extremely wide-spread habit of avoiding intercourse during pregnancy and suckling, again, is an admirable precaution in sexual hygiene the observance of which it is extremely difficult to obtain in civilization. Savages, also, are perfectly well aware how valuable sexual continence is in combination with fasting and solitude, to acquire the aptitude for abnormal spiritual powers.'[1]

Such loss, whether temporary or permanent, seems to be an inevitable concomitant of the passage from a more to a less 'natural' mode of existence. The complementary loss is that of the tabus and magical forms which served as a theoretical ground for natural chastity. Ellis quotes from an Auckland newspaper the remarks of an old Maori who stated that the decline of his race was entirely due to the loss of the ancient religious faith in the tabu;

'for in the olden time our *tapu* ramified the whole social system. The head, the hair, spots where apparitions appeared, places which the *tohungas* proclaimed as sacred, we have forgotten and discarded. Who nowadays thinks of the sacredness of the head? See, when the kettle boils, the young man jumps up, whips the cap off his head, and uses it for a kettle-holder. Who nowadays but looks on with indifference when the barber of the village, if he be near the fire, shakes the loose hair off his cloth into it, and the joke and the laughter goes on as if no sacred operation had just been concluded. Food is consumed on places which in bygone days it dared not even be carried over.'[2]

Sexual tabus undoubtedly were the expression of an instinctive biological sense of the sacredness of the sexual impulse. This sense is inevitably lost in the commencement of civilization, and the problem, now just beginning to be realized, is how to reinstate it. Scientific enlightenment is the new ground for this sense; the difficulty, however, is to overcome social inertia. In Christendom, two thousand years have passed in an ambiguous, unreasoned, and in the worst sense superstitious, attitude towards the sexual life. Westermarck finds that 'irregular connexions between the sexes have on the whole exhibited a tendency to increase along with the progress of civilization'; and Gibbon had already noted that, 'although the progress of civilization has undoubtedly contributed to assuage the fiercer passions of human nature, it seems to have been less favourable to the virtue of chastity.' This long process of 'marking time' seems, however, to be sociologically normal. In such periods of transition the form of society is first settled, on lines coincident with industrial and economic necessity, then the religious question comes to be considered, last of all the problem of sex. Men are in no hurry to solve the question which more than any other involves the future prosperity of the race. In the meantime the practical question of sexual life is a hand to mouth affair, when it is not given over to false ideals or degraded values. Westermarck and Havelock Ellis have discussed this transition period in the history of chastity, which commenced with Christianity, and is now showing signs of completion. The latter remarks that

'the main difference in the social function of chastity, as we pass from savagery to higher stages of culture, seems to be that it ceases to exist as a general hygienic measure or a general ceremonial observance, and for the most part becomes confined to special philosophic or religious sects, which cultivate it to an extreme degree in a more or less professional way. This state of things is well illustrated by the Roman Empire during the early centuries of the Christian era. Christianity itself was at first one of these sects enamoured of the ideal of chastity; but by its superior vitality it replaced all the others, and finally imposed its ideals, though by no means its primitive practices, on European society generally.'[3]

[1] H. Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, vi. 145.
[2] *Ib.* 147. [3] *Ib.* 151.

Christianity was, on the one hand, heir of the Hebrew tradition, in which there is a frank recognition of sexual impulses, and a reverence for them, combined with ideas of ceremonial pollution as the result of intercourse—a typically savage attitude. But it rejected this, though accepting the Old Testament, its embodiment. Instead it chose an attitude like that of the Essenes or the Essene attitude itself. On the other hand, it was instinct with a fierce reaction against pagan indulgence. By a very curious irony, its decision to war against sexuality involved it in a perpetual relation with sex; it was, as Ellis puts it, *obsessed* by the idea of sex. This attitude cannot altogether be separated from pruriency, but at its highest moments it was much more than that, and, as Ellis was the first to point out, it forms an entirely new element of progress in the evolution of sexual ideas. Thus,

'chastity manifested itself in primitive Christianity in two different, though not necessarily opposed, ways. On the one hand, it took a stern and practical form in vigorous men and women, who, after being brought up in a society permitting a high degree of sexual indulgence, suddenly found themselves convinced of the sin of such indulgence. The battle with the society they had been born into, and with their own old impulses and habits, became so severe that they often found themselves compelled to retire from the world altogether. Thus it was that the parched solitudes of Egypt were peopled with hermits largely occupied with the problem of subduing their own flesh. Their pre-occupation, and indeed the pre-occupation of much early Christian literature, with sexual matters, may be said to be vastly greater than was the case with the pagan society they had left. . . . This is the aspect of early Christian asceticism most often emphasized. But there is another aspect which may be less familiar, but has been by no means less important. Primitive Christian chastity was on one side a strenuous discipline. On another side it was a romance, and this indeed was its most specially Christian side, for athletic asceticism has been associated with the most various religious and philosophic beliefs. If, indeed, it had not possessed the charm of a new sensation, of a delicious freedom, of an unknown adventure, it would never have conquered the European world.'[1]

This twofold attitude may now be sketched. The main idea on which Christian asceticism rests may be put thus, in Westermarck's words:

'The gratification of every worldly desire is sinful; the flesh should be the abject slave of the spirit intent upon unearthly things. Man was created for a life in spiritual communion with God, but he yielded to the seduction of evil demons, who availed themselves of the sensuous side of his nature to draw him away from the contemplation of the divine and lead him to the earthly. Moral goodness, therefore, consists in renouncing all sensuous pleasures, in separating from the world, in living solely after the spirit, in imitating the perfection and purity of God. The contrast between good and evil is the contrast between God and the world, and the conception of the world includes not only the objects of bodily appetites, but all human institutions, as well as science and art. And still more than any theoretical doctrine, the personal example of Christ led to the glorification of spiritual joy and bodily suffering.'[2]

Again, Christianity, in this perverted view of it, may be described as a religion

'which regarded every gratification of the sexual impulse with suspicion, and incontinence as the gravest sin. In its early days the Church showed little respect for women, but its horror of sensuality was immense.' 'While looking with suspicion even on the life-long union of one man with one woman, the Church pronounced all other forms of sexual intercourse to be mortal sins. In its Penitentials, sins of unchastity were the favourite topic; and its horror of them finds an echo in the secular legislation of the first Christian emperors. Panders were condemned to have molten lead poured down their throats. In the case of forcible seduction, both the man and woman, if she consented to the act, were put to death. Even the innocent offspring of illicit intercourse were punished for their parents' sins, with ignominy and loss of certain rights which belonged to other, more respectable, members of the Church and the State. Persons of different sex who were not united in wedlock were forbidden by the Church to kiss each other; nay, the sexual desire itself, though unaccompanied by any external act, was regarded as sinful in the unmarried. In this standard of purity no difference of sex was recognized, the same obligations being imposed upon man and woman.'[3]

'The theological conception of "lust" or *libido*, as sin, followed logically the early Christian conception of the "flesh," and became inevitable as soon as that conception was firmly established. Not only, indeed, had early Christian ideals a degrading influence on the estimation of sexual desire *per se*, but they tended to depreciate generally the dignity of the

[1] *Ib.* 151.
[2] Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 361 f.
[3] *Ib.* 392, 431 f. (quoting authorities).

sexual relationship. If a man made sexual advances to a woman outside marriage, and thus brought her within the despised circle of "lust," he was injuring her because he was impairing her religious and moral value. (. . . An ambiguous improvement on the view . . . among primitive peoples, that the sexual act involves indignity to a woman or depreciation of her only in so far as she is the property of another person who is the really injured party.) The only way he could repair the damage done was by paying her money, or by entering into a forced, and therefore, probably unfortunate, marriage with her. That is to say, that sexual relationships were, by the ecclesiastical traditions, placed on a pecuniary basis, on the same level as prostitution. By its well-meant intentions to support the theological morality which had developed on an ascetic basis, the Church was thus really undermining even that form of sexual relationship which it sanctified.'[1]

Early Christianity (see CHASTITY [Christian]) censured re-marriage by either sex; it was a species of fornication, or a 'specious adultery.' 'It was looked upon as a manifest sign of incontinence, and also as inconsistent with the doctrine that marriage is an emblem of the union of Christ with the Church.'[2] Again, the severity of the earlier European laws against adultery 'was closely connected with Christianity's abhorrence of all kinds of irregular sexual intercourse.'[3] Yet it made no distinction between husband and wife.[4]

The Essenes rejected 'pleasure as an evil, but esteem continence and the conquest over our passions to be virtue. They neglect wedlock.'[5] St. Paul said: 'He that giveth his virgin in marriage doeth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better.' 'It is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let each man have his own wife, and let each woman have her own husband.' As for the unmarried and widows 'it is better to marry than to burn.'[6] Woman, says Tertullian, is the gate of Hell. 'Inter faeces et urinam nascimur' is Augustine's famous epigram. He had, it is true, no ascetic contempt for sex, and indeed asserts that in Paradise, if sin had not entered, 'sexual conjugation would have been under the control of the will without any sexual desire. There would not have been any words which could be called obscene, but all that might be said of these members would have been as pure as what is said of the other parts of the body.'[7] Yet he held very strongly the theory of original sin. It is the fact that sin is hereditary, and that sin has its special symbol in the organs of generation, that makes sex a shameful thing. It is sin that brings them into connexion with lust. The argument seems to be circular, but Augustine's influence carried his opinion. With more fanaticism, St. Bernard speaks of man as 'nothing else than fetid sperm, a sack of dung, the food of worms. . . . You have never seen a viler dunghill.'[8]

Whatever the influence of the Christian tradition or the Christian environment, the fact remains that not only chastity, but virginity, became the radiant ideal. Jesus, John the Baptist, St. Paul, and others, were virgins. Virginity worked miracles; by it Miriam crossed the sea, and Thecla was spared from the lions. It is a spring flower, exhaling immortality from its petals.[9] Cyprian speaks of those women whose husband is Christ. The Virgin Mary similarly had dedicated herself as a virgin to God.[10] Virgins were known to have committed suicide to prevent the loss of their virginity. Such an act admitted some to canonization. Jerome argued in favour of such suicide; Augustine concludes that these suicides are worthy of compassion, but declares that there was no necessity for the act, since 'chastity is a virtue of the mind which is not lost by the body being in captivity to the will of another.'[11] As for married life, the procreation of children is the only reason for the sexual act; no desire further than what is thereto necessary is allowed.[12]

Here the romantic aspect of Christian chastity, which Ellis has worked out, and of which he has shown the evolutionary importance, has to be considered. The possibility of this romance may even be seen in athletic asceticism. Jerome writes to the virgin Eustochium (*Ep.* xxii. §7) about his struggles for abstinence:

'Oh, how many times when in the desert, in that vast solitude which, burnt up by the heat of the sun, offers but a horrible dwelling to monks, I imagined myself among the delights of Rome! I was alone, for my soul was full of bitterness. My limbs were covered by a wretched sack, and my skin was as black as an Ethiopian's. Every day I wept and groaned, and, if I was unwillingly overcome by sleep, my lean body lay on the bare earth. I say nothing of my food and drink, for in the desert even invalids have no drink but cold water, and cooked food is regarded as a luxury. Well, I, who out of fear of hell had condemned myself to this prison, companion of scorpions and wild beasts, often seemed in imagination among bands of girls. My face was pale with fasting and my mind within my frigid body was burning with desire; the fires of lust would still flare up in a body that already seemed to be dead. Then, deprived of all help, I threw myself at the feet of Jesus, washing them with my tears and drying them with my hair, subjugating my rebellious flesh by long fasts. I remember that more than once I passed the night uttering cries and striking my breast until God sent me peace.'

He also refers in the same letter to the practice in which the main stream of the romance of chastity had its source—that, namely, of Christians who 'share the same room, often even the same bed, and call us suspicious if we draw any conclusions.'[1] Chrysostom discusses it as a normal practice, but, quite rightly, as a new departure.

'Our fathers,' he says, 'only knew two forms of sexual intimacy, marriage and fornication. Now a third form has appeared: men introduce young girls into their houses and keep them there permanently, respecting their virginity. What is the reason? It seems to me that life in common with a woman is sweet, even outside conjugal union and fleshly commerce. That is my feeling; and perhaps it is not my feeling alone; it may also be that of these men. They would not hold their honour so cheap nor give rise to such scandals if this pleasure were not violent and tyrannical. . . . That there should really be a pleasure in this which produces a love more ardent than conjugal union may surprise you at first. But when I give you the proofs you will agree that it is so.' The absence of restraint to desire in marriage, he continues, often leads to speedy disgust, and even, apart from this, sexual intercourse, pregnancy, delivery, lactation, the bringing up of children, and all the pains and anxieties that accompany these things soon destroy youth and dull the point of pleasure. The virgin is free from these burdens. She retains her vigour and youthfulness, and even at the age of forty may rival the young nubile girl. 'A double ardour thus burns in the heart of him who lives with her, and the gratification of desire never extinguishes the bright flame which ever continues to increase in strength.' Chrysostom describes minutely all the little cares and attentions which the modern girls of his time required, and which these men delighted to expend on their virginal sweethearts whether in public or in private. Thus it was that the Christians 'rejected the grosser forms of sexual indulgence, but in doing so they entered with a more delicate ardour into the more refined forms of sexual intimacy. They cultivated a relationship of brothers and sisters to each other; they kissed one another; at one time, in the spiritual orgy of baptism, they were not ashamed to adopt complete nakedness.'[2] 'This new refinement of tender chastity' may truly be said to have come 'as a delicious discovery to the early Christians, who had resolutely thrust away the licentiousness of the pagan world.'[3] No less true, however, is it that the development in itself was as anti-social as, and in its practical negation of parenthood more anti-social than, even the homosexuality of the Greeks.

Again, this new Christian chastity 'flourished exuberantly and unchecked' in one form: 'it conquered literature. The most charming, and, we may be sure, the most popular literature of the early Church lay in the innumerable romances of erotic chastity . . . which are embodied to-day in the *Acta Sanctorum.*' 'Early Christian literature abounds in the stories of lovers who had indeed preserved their chastity, and had yet discovered the most exquisite secrets of love.'[4] Ellis refers particularly to the legend of Thecla, 'The Bride and Bridegroom of Judea,' in *Judas Thomas' Acts*, 'The Virgin of Antioch' of St. Ambrose, the history of 'Achilleus and Nereus,' 'Mydonia and Karish,' and 'Two Lovers of Auvergne,' told by Gregory of Tours. See art. AGAPETAE.

The freshness of this unique form of love waned in the Middle Ages. Chivalry alone preserved something of a similar ideal. '*Aucassin et Nicolette*,' Ellis remarks, 'was the death-knell of the primitive Christian romance of chastity. It was the discovery that the chaste refinements of delicacy and devotion were possible within the strictly normal sphere of sexual love.'[5] He assigns two main causes for this decay.

'The submergence of the old pagan world, with its practice, and, to some extent, ideal of sexual indulgence, removed the

[1] Ellis, *op. cit.* vi. 179 f.
[2] Westermarck, ii. 451, quoting Tertullian and Athenagoras.
[3] *Ib.* 450. [4] *Ib.* 454. [5] Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 2
[6] 1 Co 7[1f. 9. 38]; cf. Rev 14[4], Mt 19[12].
[7] *de Civ. Dei*, xiv. 23. [8] *Medit. Piissimæ*, iii.
[9] Clem. Rom. *Ep.* i. *ad Virgines*, 6; Ambrosius, *Ep.* lxiii. 34; Methodius, *Conviv. decem virginum*, vii. 1.
[10] *de Habitu Virginum*, 4, 22; *Pseudo-Matthew*, 8.
[11] Jerome, *Com. in Jonam*, i. 12; Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, i. 16.
[12] Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis*, 33.

[1] Ellis, *op. cit.* vi. 151 f., 155. [2] *Ib.* 153 f.
[3] *Ib.* 155. [4] *Ib.* 155. [5] *Ib.* 161.

foil which had given grace and delicacy to the tender freedom of the young Christians. In the second place, the austerities which the early Christians had gladly practised for the sake of their soul's health, were robbed of their charm and spontaneity by being made a formal part of codes of punishment for sin, first in the Penitentials and afterwards at the discretion of confessors.'[1]

Here there intervenes the Teutonic element.

'The ideal of Christian chastity was no longer largely the possession of refined people who had been rendered immune to pagan licence by being brought up in its midst, and even themselves steeped in it. It was clearly from the first a serious matter for the violent North Africans to maintain the ideal of chastity; and, when Christianity spread to Northern Europe, it seemed almost a hopeless task to acclimatize its ideals among the wild Germans.'[2]

Henceforward the ideals of the Church were imposed as compulsory celibacy on priests, and 'chastity' fell into a barbarous regression, which the Renaissance and Reformation only tempered by preserving in law the proprietary rights of married men, and fostering a conventional residuum of ideas of chastity for the unmarried. It is to be noted that it is only by an error that the primitive Teutons have been credited with pre-nuptial chastity. They had no prostitution, and observed marital chastity in women, but chastity before marriage was not required.

'The institution of clerical celibacy,' says Westermarck, 'lowered the estimation of virtue by promoting vice. During the Middle Ages unchastity was regarded as an object of ridicule rather than censure, and in the comic literature of that period the clergy are universally represented as the great corrupters of domestic virtue. Whether the tenet of chastity laid down by the code of Chivalry was taken more seriously may be fairly doubted. A knight, it was said, should be abstinent and chaste; he should love only the virtues, talents, and graces of his lady; and love was defined as the "chaste union of two hearts by virtue wrought." . . . We have reason to believe that the amours in which he indulged with her were of a far less delicate kind.'[3] The lady was, as a rule, required to be a married woman.

Here, in a sense, is an attempt, like some we have noted, to divorce love from the biological accompaniments of it. Another form, more like the early Christian and the Greek, was that celebrated by Dante and his congeners—life-long devotion without any intimacy. What remained of these developments up to modern days was male gallantry, and the love interest of the novel and the play.

The attitude of the chief peoples of to-day towards chastity may be now glanced at. It is, and the fact is significant, fairly simple and extraordinarily identical.

In *Islām* 'chastity,' that is, abstinence from intercourse, is the essential duty of woman, married or unmarried. Nothing more is required as an explanation than the position of Muhammadan women. 'For unmarried men, on the other hand, "chastity" is by Muhammadans at most looked upon as an ideal, almost out of reach.'[4] Yet there is more incontinence in Christian countries than in Islām,[5] while the Muhammadan attitude is less ambiguous. As always, they assert the sanctity of sex no less than the sanctity of physical cleanliness. 'They are prepared to carry the functions of sex into the future life.'[6]

In *India*, not only is asceticism practised by certain individuals, but

'sexual love has been sanctified and divinized to a greater extent than in any other part of the world.' 'It seems never to have entered into the heads of the Hindu legislators that anything natural could be offensively obscene, a singularity which pervades all their writings, but is no proof of the depravity of their morals.' 'Love in India, both as regards theory and practice, possesses an importance which it is impossible for us even to conceive.'[7]

The details of generation have for ages found a place in Hindu religious ritual. Yet, and here again owing to the status of women, 'sexual impurity is scarcely considered a sin in the men, but in females nothing is held more execrable or abominable.'[1] Very similar is the attitude of *China* and *Japan*.

In *Modern Western civilization* there is a great variety of minor differences, but the main facts are the same. Property-morality is employed to sanction wifely 'chastity'; the English law of divorce still shows the preponderance in favour of the male sex. Among the unmarried, male incontinence is winked at by the world, but female incontinence is reprobated. Prostitution flourishes, while it is calculated that at least 50 per cent of the sexual intercourse that occurs in Western nations is outside the bonds of wedlock. Economic considerations have much to do with this, but the whole problem is an extensive one, and cannot be more than alluded to here. As for the minor differences, the European has added, whether through the influence of the Christian tradition or because of a psychical character, 'the vice of hypocrisy, which apparently was little known in sexual matters by pagan antiquity,'[2] and is also little known by the other great races of the present day. The Churches do not help to solve the problem by preaching total abstinence and encouraging scientific ignorance; their attitude is part of the conventional sexual morality of the time. They can aid in the scientific rehabilitation of a natural chastity only by joining hands with science. Western science to-day has begun this work by a thorough study of the sexual impulse, and important pioneering has been effected in the education of the intelligent upon these subjects and in the development of eugenic research.

Some consideration of biological reasons for the various phenomena of chastity which have been reviewed may finally be given in connexion with the question how far the psychic nature of the modern type of humanity is likely to be affected by the multiple tradition, or whether this exists merely as an atmosphere which is inert and unused for life-processes, the latter being only such as are adapted to the present environment.

Chastity, as it is now defined, may be said to exist only among savages in a natural state, who allow pre-nuptial intercourse. Its origin is purely biological. Tabu is merely an emotional and legal irradiation from it. The exercise of control at puberty has been noted. During menstruation, pregnancy, and suckling, the savage also observes continence.[3] During the last condition it is possible that the separation is physically beneficial to mother and child; during the first, union is attended, except towards the end of the period, with discomfort to the woman. During the time of suckling, it is a wise provision to prevent another conception too soon for the health of the child at the mother's breast, and there seems to be a connexion between premature weaning and renewal of intercourse. It is significant that certain peoples recognize this application of continence so clearly that at a suitable date after birth the man and wife are re-married.[4] Of equal biological importance is the continence observed by primitive peoples immediately prior to marriage and after engagement, and more particularly for some time after marriage itself.

Thus, among the aborigines of Victoria, the pair were sequestered for two months, sleeping on opposite sides of the fire.[5] Amongst the Narrinyeri it was 'a point of decency for the couple not to sleep close to each other for the first two or three nights; on the third or fourth night the man and his

[1] Ellis, *op. cit.* vi. 161.
[2] Schrader, *Reallexikon*, art. 'Keuschheit.'
[3] Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 432. [4] *Ib.* 428.
[5] 'Viator' in *Fortnightly Review*, Dec. 1908, quoted by Ellis, *op. cit.* vi. 164.
[6] Ellis, vi. 129.
[7] Ellis, *l.c.*, quoting Sir W. Jones, *Works*, ii. 311, and R. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Ind. Erotik*, 1902, p. 2.

[1] Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 428 (quoting authorities).
[2] *Ib.* 434.
[3] See Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, pp. 54, 200; Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.*[3] 483, *Moral Ideas*, i. 399, ii. 388, 391.
[4] Crawley, *op. cit.* 432 f. [5] Featherman, *op. cit.* ii. 142.

wife sleep together under the same rug.'[1] In South Celebes all intimacy is forbidden during the wedding-night.[2] In Achin they do not come together for seven nights.[3] In Endeh and the Babar Islands the same rule is observed.[4] Similarly among the Dayaks, Madurese, and Sundanese.[5] Among the Wufurs consummation takes place on the fifth day; on the first night the couple are set back to back; and this is repeated each night. Each morning when the man departs, it is forbidden them to look at one another, 'a sign of her maiden shame.'[6] Nutkas and Thlinkets may not consummate marriage till after ten days and four weeks respectively.[7] In Egypt it is customary for husbands to deny themselves their conjugal rights during the first week after marriage with a virgin bride.[8] The bride and groom among the Aztecs were continent for four days, the Mazatecs for fifteen, the Otomis for twenty or thirty.[9]

Such customs are undoubtedly to be ultimately explained as Ellis explains them. The long process of irradiation of the complex nervous mechanism, which is necessary for tumescence and for the proper performance of the sexual act, needs delay and many preliminaries. The sexual act is not one to be executed by muscular force alone. Hence the phenomena of courtship itself.

'The need for delay and considerate skill is far greater when, as among ourselves, a woman's marriage is delayed long past the establishment of puberty to a period when it is more difficult to break down the psychic and, perhaps, even physical barriers of personality.'[10]

The need is increased also in proportion to the higher development of the sexual impulse in civilization. One great component of that impulse is female modesty.[11] In seeking for an answer to the question, Why has sexual intercourse between unmarried people, if both parties consent, come to be regarded as wrong? Westermarck refers to the growth of 'affection' and to the instinct for seclusion during the satisfaction of sexual as, in primitive times, of other needs, such as hunger and thirst. Add to these considerations, the nervous tone and control produced by a natural chastity, and there are already grounds for a scientific and religious recognition and regulation of a sexual life which is in relation to biological facts.

Two contingent sources of chastity are good examples of inertia, producing the same result from different directions. The former is biologically real, the second conventional. Continence originates, in the individual, with the instinct of physical isolation which is emphasized at the commencement of adolescence. This instinct amounts to a virginal inertia, which forms a barrier difficult to break down. Hence the first loss of chastity is equivalent to a complete psychic change in the organism. This inertia is encouraged for the sake of physical growth. When such psychic diathesis becomes morbid, it coincides with what W. James terms an 'anti-sexual instinct'—the instinct of personal isolation, the actual repulsiveness to us of the idea of intimate contact with most of the persons we meet, especially those of our own sex, and in illustration of which he instances the unpleasant sensation felt on taking a seat still warm by contact with another.[12] Adolescent inertia is also linked to the desire for self-control, in which the important factor is the feeling of power and the sense of freedom. In the male the psychic result of the sexual act, a depression proportionate to the explosive force of the detumescent process, constitutes the opposite pole to this feeling of power. *Omne animal post coitum triste* proverbializes the phenomenon, and there are clear traces of its action in producing ideals of chastity.

[1] Curr, *The Australian Race*, 1886–7, ii. 245.
[2] Matthes, *Ethnologie Zuid-Selebes*, 1875, p. 35.
[3] Kruijt, *Atjeh en de Atjehers*, Leyden, 1875, p. 193.
[4] *Tijdschr. Ind. Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxiv. 525; Riedel, *op. cit.* 351.
[5] Perelaer, *Ethnog. Besch. der Dajaks*, 1870, p. 53; Veth, *Java*, 1884, i. 365; Ritter, *Java*, 1872, p. 29.
[6] Van Hasselt, *ZE* viii. 181 ff.
[7] Bancroft, i. 193, 111.
[8] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii. 273.
[9] Bancroft, ii. 258, 261, 670.
[10] Ellis, *op. cit.* vi. 547.
[11] See Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 435.
[12] W. James, *Principles of Psychology*, 1891, ii. 347.

Some of these have been cited above. Loss of semen is universally regarded as loss of strength, and the male organs as the seat of strength.[1] These ideas again coincide with the popular notion that woman is physically weak, and that therefore intercourse with her produces weakness in the male. But, when these ideas reach as far as this, they are already becoming conventionalized. Even at an earlier stage they may pass from biological fact to conventional theory, for 'your boasted purity is only immaturity.' In this connexion is to be noted the sense of melancholy which is normally periodic in adolescence, and seems to arise from vascular congestion. It is encouraged by abstinence, and forms the foundation of the sense of sin, as is shown by the phenomena of conversion. If we add the fact that pain and austerity are a stimulant of energy, we practically complete the list of physiological factors which develop rules of chastity in the individual and in the race. On the other hand, the conventional factor which more than others has had an influence in civilization is not essentially physiological. It is rather a detail of degeneration. In their fierce reaction against pagan luxury the early Christians developed a cult of personal uncleanliness. They denounced the bath as the Puritans at a later date denounced the theatre.

Paula used to say: 'The purity of the body and its garments means the impurity of the soul.'[2] 'Since the coming of Christianity,' Ellis remarks, 'the cult of the skin, and even its hygiene, have never again attained the same general and unquestioned exaltation. The Church killed the bath.'[3] 'The tone of the Middle Ages,' says Frederic Harrison (*Meaning of Hist.*, 1906, p. 248), 'in the matter of dirt was a form of mental disease.'

But in this later and more general extension, very similar as it is to the state of things among the masses of Europe to-day, economic considerations overlaid the Christian tradition. The same result was fostered by ideals on the one hand and necessary practice on the other. However that may be, the fact remains that it is only in modern civilization that the juxtaposition of the genital and excretory zones has acted as a general influence in favour of chastity. Primitive 'uncleanness' was a very different thing, though the same term is used. Inertia of this kind is a measure both of scientific ignorance and of physical unrefinement, or rather of hygienic degeneration, as obscenity is of the same results psychically.

The question of the origin of the 'horror' of sexual facts, in so far as it is a *vera causa*, which is not certain, and not a conventional artifact, is difficult. However originating,—and it is possible that it may have nothing to do with any primitive mystic awe or sense of supernatural danger, but rather that it is a morbid psychosis analogous to jealousy on the one hand and disgust on the other,—it seems to be absent from savage psychology, and in civilization to be a mark of neurosis. As a source of chastity, its conventional exploitation is confined to priestly pædagogy.

Certain suggestions that have been made explanatory of this and similar psychic phenomena in chastity call for mention, though, in so far as they have ground in fact, this is but part of the mythology of the subject. For instance, the primitive tabu against menstrual blood cannot legitimately be elevated into a cause either of marriage prohibitions or of continent habits. It may be true that the Zulus believe that 'if a man touch a woman at menstruation his bones become soft, and in future he cannot take part in warfare or any other manly exercise';[4] but, as shown above, the deep-seated reason of such tabu is biological. The suggested instinctive feeling against intercourse between members of the same family or

[1] See Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 188.
[2] Jerome, *Ep.* cviii. § 20.
[3] Ellis, *op. cit.* iv. 81.
[4] Macdonald, *JAI* xx. 119.

household, which Westermarck held to be a possible cause of the idea that sexual matters are 'impure,' does not, if it exists, go deeply enough into the psychology of the individual. It is proved that such phenomena are merely negative.[1]

In the past history of chastity it is evident that, as will always be the case, every factor concerned in the whole system of the sexual impulse has had its place and influence. The two chief factors, proprietary morality and adolescent inertia, have, however, now reached the parting of the ways. That is to say, the former is yielding to the scientific analysis of the sexual life of man, and can no longer be maintained as a ground of natural chastity. In the Middle Ages the knightly husband took with him on his travels the key of his wife's 'girdle of chastity'; in a scientific age 'the real problem of chastity lies not in multiplying laws, but largely in women's knowledge of the dangers of sex and the cultivation of their sense of responsibility.'[2] *Mutatis mutandis*, the statement applies to adolescent chastity. This is one of the educational problems of the future, in which science and religion may well co-operate. Economic considerations are the permanent previous condition to be reckoned with: popular sentiment will follow the lead of social refinement and scientific conclusion.

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CHASTITY (Buddhist).—Buddhist ideas as to the relation of the sexes may best be treated under two heads: according as they apply to the ordinary Buddhist layman, or to a member of the Buddhist Order. The rules for the latter will be found in art. CELIBACY (Buddhist). The rules for the layman are laid down very simply and broadly in several parts of the Canon, with the stress placed on purity in general rather than on any particular detail. For instance, in the *Sigālovāda Suttanta* (a dialogue on elementary ethical precepts to be followed by laymen), Sigāla is seen by the Buddha worshipping the various quarters of the heavens with streaming hair and uplifted hands. The teacher points out to him a better way, in which the six quarters worthy of worship are not the physical quarters of the heavens, but parents, teachers, husband (or wife), friends, dependents, and spiritual masters (Bhikṣus and Brahmans). Under the third head we have the following paragraph:

> 'In five ways should the wife, who is the west quarter, be cherished by her husband—by respect, by courtesy, by being faithful to her, by recognizing her authority, by providing for her wants. And in five ways the wife takes thought for her husband—she orders the household aright, is hospitable to kinsfolk and friends, is a chaste wife, is a thrifty housekeeper, and is diligent in all there is to do.'

The same tractate warns young men against riotous living of all kinds—drunkenness, gambling, and unchastity. There is no older document in Indian religious literature devoted to the inculcation of ethical precepts for laymen. In the *Iti-vuttaka*, Buddha is represented as declaring that 'the life of chastity is not lived for the purpose of deceiving or prating to mankind, nor for the sake of the advantage of a reputation for gain and one's own affairs; but . . . this life of chastity is lived, O monks, for the purpose of Insight and Thorough Knowledge' (§ 36); while 'by mutual reliance, O monks, a life of chastity is lived for the sake of crossing the Flood (of earthly longings), and for the sake of properly making an end of Misery' (§ 107). He who, after taking the vow of chastity, breaks it, and he who thus causes another to fall, suffers 'in the realm of punishment and in perdition' (§ 48); yet the same treatise seems to imply that (undue) craving for chastity is, like all other forms of clinging to conditions of earthly existence, essentially evil (§ 54 f.). There is very little ethics in the previous books of ritual, poetry, or exegesis, or even in the theosophy of the Upaniṣads; and the level of the mythology and ritual is as low in India as elsewhere, in matters of chastity. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that the Buddhist movement introduced any great revolution in this respect. The people, in the 6th cent. B.C., had already built up for themselves, quite independently of religion, a social code regarding sexual relations. All that Buddhism did was to adopt the highest ideal current among the clans, and to give to it additional clearness and emphasis. It was this ideal that it carried with it wherever it was introduced. It thus threw its influence on the side of a strict monogamy in marriage, in favour of chastity for both sexes before and after marriage, and against early marriages. On the whole, it has had a fair success. The percentage of illegitimate births is low in those countries where the influence of early Buddhism has been greatest, and its canonical literature is chaste throughout. Some of the later literature, from the 6th cent. A.D. onwards, especially in Bengal, Nepāl, and Tibet, is very much the reverse. See art. TANTRA.

LITERATURE.—R. C. Childers, 'The Whole Duty of the Buddhist Layman,' in *CR*, 1876; Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*21, 1907, ch. v. p. 209; P. Grimblot, *Sept Suttas pâlis*, Paris, 1876, p. 311 ff.; *Iti-vuttaka, or Sayings of Buddha*, tr. J. H. More (New York, 1908), pp. 49, 62, 67 f., 125.

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CHASTITY (Chinese).—Chastity in females is regarded by the Chinese as a virtue of prime importance; and the national standards, both ideal and actual, would be considered admirable even in Christian countries. A woman is supposed to marry only once, the alliance of a widow with a second husband being considered inadvisable, if not indeed inadmissible. When a married woman refuses to accept a second consort after the death of her husband, or a young virgin who has been robbed of her fiancé by a similar catastrophe decides upon a life of celibacy, a petition is sometimes addressed to the Emperor, asking for permission to erect a *pai-low*, or monumental gateway, with a view to perpetuating the memory of the chaste widow or maiden, as an example to posterity. In some parts of the country veritable 'forests' of these ornamental structures may be found, some of them magnificent specimens of the mason's art. One might be led to conclude from this fact that chastity is a virtue rare among Chinese women, since so high a value is placed upon the exhibition of it in seemingly isolated cases; but it should be borne in mind that the great majority of instances are not commemorated in this special way, on account of the great expense involved. No argument can therefore be advanced on these grounds as to the comparative rarity of this virtue among Chinese women.

The extraordinary care nominally taken to maintain the segregation of the sexes might seem to indicate a low scale of morality in China, as, *e.g.*, the rules laid down in the 'Record of Rites,' which deprecate the hanging of male and female garments on the same rack, and the using of the same face-

[1] Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.*3 155.

[2] Moll, *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, 1899, p. 592.

towel or hair-comb by persons of opposite sex; or which declare it inexpedient that a man should know the personal name of a woman who is not a relation, and that a father should sit in the same room with his daughter, or brothers share a place at table with a sister above the age of 7 years. It is necessary, however, to remember that such precautions may be suggested by the peculiar conditions of the patriarchal system, which still obtains in Chinese families, under the terms of which a large number of people are often congregated together within the walls of a Chinese 'compound,' including children of different generations, different parents, children of the same father but different mothers, children of concubines, etc.—an extraordinary medley of relationships—as well as a numerous retinue of young servants and slave children. And, as the female members of the community seldom venture beyond the high walls of the enclosure, and are strictly limited in the range of their employments, with a temperament which, whatever else may be said, is distinctively Eastern, and with painful recollections of the dark days of feudalism, and its many invasions upon the sanctity of family life, it is little wonder that such methods should be considered advisable.

Chastity finds a place among the 'Four Studies proper to Women,' of which the first is to be chaste and docile; and historical cases are frequent where young girls elected to commit suicide rather than run the risk of outrage, or even the imputation of unchastity. Had Flora Macdonald been a Chinese heroine, she would have drowned herself in a well after her interview with 'Bonnie Prince Charlie,' as the young Ningpo girl did when the Prince Shaok'ang, to whom she had given asylum, made good his escape from the 'Golden Tatars.' In the city of Hangchow is a well into which hundreds of Chinese girls threw themselves when the city was threatened by the T'ai-ping rebels. Instances such as these afford more reliable evidence as to the high standard of chastity which undoubtedly exists among women in China, than any deduction from the methods which seem to reflect upon the female character, and which are intended rather as incentives to virtue than preventives against vice. The extreme modesty of the feminine attire (which, by the way, is the only survival of the Chinese costume, male garments being all based on Manchu models, by command of the present foreign rulers of China), the careful concealment of the lines of the figure, etc., afford further confirmation of the idea, which is borne out by personal knowledge of Chinese homes and family histories. In some parts of the country, the repugnance which is felt by chaste young females against consorting with an utter stranger, as the present marriage customs necessitate, finds expression in the formation of anti-matrimonial leagues, the members of which bind themselves by solemn pledges to refrain from entering the state of marriage; and frequent instances occur where suicide is resorted to rather than break the vows thus assumed.

Whilst chastity in females is rigorously demanded, no similar standard obtains in the case of males. Chastity finds no place among the 'Five Constituents of Worth,' although Propriety in Demeanour comes next in order to Benevolence and Uprightness of Mind, and is followed by Knowledge and Good Faith. It is not numbered among the 'Six Courses of Conduct incumbent upon Man,' or the 'Six Virtues'—Intelligence, Humanity, Wisdom, Uprightness, Moderation, and Benignity. Unchaste conduct does not disqualify for public employment, although 'levity' is indicated as a sufficient cause for dismissal. If the Chinese official is able to maintain the appearances of outward decorum, his private conduct, and especially his sexual relations, are not subjected to very severe inquiry.

Convention permits the Chinese gentleman not only to remarry as often as occasion serves, but also to add a 'secondary wife' to his household in the event of failure to obtain male issue by his proper wife; the maintenance of a harem is, however, regarded as unjustifiable and hardly respectable, though in the case of the Emperor a large liberty is allowed.

Houses of ill-fame exist in the majority of cities, but they are generally unobtrusive in their character, and their existence is known only to habitués. The inmates are recruited by kidnapping or purchase from destitute parents; very few of them are willing votaries. The immorality which is observable at Chinese treaty-ports would not be tolerated in inland cities, though there may be exceptions to this rule, for China is more nearly a continent than a country, and local customs vary considerably in different parts.

Infraction of the marriage bond on the part of the wife is punished with the utmost rigour, the injured husband being at liberty to put to death both the erring wife and her paramour. The legislation which is applied to breaches of chastity in the case of unmarried persons is similar to that of the OT, and that of Eastern nations generally, being compounded for by marriage or fine.

LITERATURE.—Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, Shanghai, 1903.

W. GILBERT WALSHE.

CHASTITY (Christian).—The Incarnation threw a new light on purity; the possibility of a higher and purer life was revealed thereby, and the moral law and practice of Christianity show in consequence a great advance on those of previous ages.

1. Nomenclature.—The word 'chaste' is found in the AV of 2 Co 11^{2}, Tit 2^{5}, 1 P 3^{2}, translating ἁγνός; and 'chastity' in 2 Es 6^{32} (which is not extant in Greek). In the first case virgins are spoken of, in the next two married women, in the last Esdras himself. ἁγνός, ἁγνεία, used in this sense in 1 Ti 4^{12} $5^{2.22}$, are translated 'pure,' 'purity'; but ἁγνός, ἁγνῶς, ἁγνότης, ἁγνίζω, are used in a more general sense of 'holy,' 'blameless,' or 'sincere' (and derivatives), though often including the idea of 'chaste,' in 2 Co 6^{6} 7^{11} 11^{3} (some MSS), Ph 1^{17} (or 1^{16}) 4^{8}, Ja 3^{17} 4^{8}, 1 P 1^{22}, 1 Jn 3^{3}. The Peshitta translates in these passages by *dakhyā* or *nakhpā* (or their cognates), but the latter Syriac word is the rendering of σεμνός in 1 Ti 3^{11}, Tit 2^{2}, etc. The Gr. καθαρός with its cognates, frequently used in a physical or ceremonial sense, also conveys the idea of moral purity, and in Mt 5^{8} appears to have the special idea of 'chastity.' It will thus be seen that the Greek words used all merge into more general senses than that treated in this article, and it is not always easy to detect the exact shade of meaning that was in the mind of the writer.

In the NT the opposite to 'chastity' is expressed in general terms by ἀκαθαρσία and ἀσέλγεια, which are joined together in Gal 5^{19} (see Lightfoot's note there and at Col 3^{5}) and in Eph 4^{19}. But ἀκαθαρσία is a very comprehensive word, including more than πορνεία, μοιχεία, etc. (see Eph 5^{3} ἀκαθ. πᾶσα); while ἀσέλγεια denotes open and shameless immorality defying public decency. It had originally meant any outrageous conduct.

2. Teaching of NT.—We have now to ask what 'chastity' meant in the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles. To ascertain this we must examine not only the records of their teaching, but also its background. (*a*) The Jews' moral standard was much higher than that of the heathen. The great majority of Israelites took marriage almost as a

matter of course, as, indeed, do most Easterns now, except in the case of persons specially devoted to celibacy. Childlessness was deemed a reproach (Gn 30^{23} etc.), and marriage was essentially holy. A Nazirite's vow did not include abstinence from the marriage bond, but had to do with the use of wine and the growth of the hair (Nu 6^{3-5}). The Talmud says that 'any Jew who has not a wife is no man' (*Yebamoth*, 63*a*, quoted by Lightfoot, *Col.*, ed. 1900, p. 377); it teaches that marriage is an imperative duty. On the other hand, even as late as the 2nd cent., the Jews indulged in polygamy; they allowed a man to have four or five wives at a time, alleging the example of the patriarchs (Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 134). And the permission given by the less strict Jewish teachers to a man to divorce his wife 'for any cause,' though it does not seem to have worked as much evil as amongst the heathen, was subversive of true ideas of married chastity. It must be added that the view of marriage here presented, though the general one, was not shared by the Essenes (on whom see below, § 3). But it is clear that, in the case of almost all Jews, chastity and marriage were considered to go hand in hand.

(*b*) Unlike the Jews, the heathen in Apostolic times seem scarcely to have had any idea of chastity at all. They punished adultery severely; yet, by allowing divorce at will both to men and to women, they opened the door to flagrant immorality, practised though it was under the name of marriage. Women used to change their husbands every year, or oftener (Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 224 ff., 'eight husbands in five autumns'). Fornication (especially for men) and abominable sins were a matter of indifference, at any rate unless made a habitual practice. Horace even advises the former, so that intrigues with married women may be minimized (*Sat.* i. 2. 31 ff.). The want of a high public opinion on these questions was one of the greatest difficulties that the Apostles met with in building up Gentile Churches, as we see from the constant warnings in St. Paul's Epistles. And it affected social customs such as eating in idol temples (1 Co $10^{20f.}$). Idol-worship was interwoven with immorality, and this explains why (if the ordinary interpretation be correct) the Apostles joined together 'pollutions of idols' and 'fornication' in Ac $15^{20.29}$, 21^{25}.

Our Lord taught a much higher law of chastity than had yet been known. Yet it is clear that He makes it to be consistent with the use of marriage. He teaches, as the Pharisees did, the sacredness of wedlock, and graces with His presence the marriage feast at Cana (Jn $2^{1ff.}$). He traces its institution to the beginnings of man's existence, and declares that man and wife are no more twain, but one flesh (Mt $19^{4f.}$). He forbids divorce, with, at most, the one exception of πορνεία (v.^{9} and $5^{31f.}$). It is not to our purpose here to consider the difficulties connected with the exceptional case (see Plummer, *Com. on St. Matthew*, 1909, pp. 81, 259), but it is clear that the Christian law has made marriage a far more sacred and binding ordinance than it was even to the Jews. Our Lord did not in so many words forbid polygamy, but the prohibition follows necessarily from the teaching just quoted. The holiness of marriage is also insisted on by St. Paul, who compares it with the union between Christ and His Church (Eph $5^{22ff.}$), and denounces as heretics those who forbid to marry (1 Ti 4^{3}). The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews exhorts his readers that marriage be had in honour among all (He 13^{4} RV). In teaching the holiness of marriage and treating it as the normal condition, our Lord and the NT writers appear to show that for the great majority of men chastity consists in the temperate use of the marriage bond. This comes out clearly if with most moderns we take τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκεῦος in 1 Th 4^{4} to refer to a man's wife.[1]

Yet there is another form of Christian chastity. Our Lord gives a distinct blessing to those who for good motives give up marriage. This is probably the way, at least in most cases, by which the blessing of Lk 18^{29} to those who have 'left house, . . . or wife, or children for the kingdom of God's sake' may be received (the best MSS of ‖ Mt 19^{29} Mk 10^{29} omit 'wife'); for our Lord could not have taught the duty of deserting a wife, though later on it was held by many that it was lawful to do so in order to enter the monastic state. This must also certainly be the real meaning of Mt 19^{12} ('which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake'), a text quoted by Justin Martyr apparently in this sense (*Apol.* i. 15; see below).

It is strange that Conybeare (*Monuments of Early Christianity* ^{2}, 1896, p. 24) should take our Lord's saying literally, as Origen did. To most of the Christians of the first age self-mutilation was as abhorrent as it would be to us; thus Clement of Alexandria, who quotes Dt $23^{1f.}$, calls it an 'impious custom' (*Exhort. to the Heathen*, § 2). From the story in Justin Martyr's first Apology (§ 29) of the young man who desired leave of the Roman governor to carry out the precept literally, so as to refute charges of immorality made by the heathen against the Christians, but was refused permission, it appears that the better sort of Romans had an equally great abhorrence of the custom. Justin relates the story without expressing approval or disapproval; but the impression derived from the passage is that the contemporary Christians approved at least the zeal of the young man, and were unwilling to censure it. That the custom sometimes prevailed among the Christians, at any rate among the heretics, appears from the denunciations of it in the 4th and 5th centuries (Nicæa, can. 1; Second Syn. of Arles, in 5th cent., can. 7; *Apostolic Canons*, 22 f.; Athanasius, *Apol. de fuga sua*, xxvi., *Hist. Arian. ad mon.* xxviii.; Socrates, *HE* ii. 26). Tertullian (*de Monogam.* iii.) appears to explain the saying of our Lord in Mt 19^{12} as applying to the continent as well as to those made eunuchs by men or born so ('ipso Domino spadonibus aperiente regnum coelorum'); 'our Lord was a virgin (*spado*), the Apostle [Paul] himself continent (*et ipse castratus*).' This last expression shows that Tertullian does not mean 'qui semetipsos castraverunt propter regna coelorum' literally; he is referring indirectly to the saying of our Lord and directly to Rev 3^{4} (*de Res. Carn.* 27).

The strongest commendation of unmarried chastity in NT is that given by St. Paul, who, while advising those who have not the gift of continency (οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται) to marry, prefers the unmarried state 'for the present (ἐνεστῶσαν) distress' (1 Co $7^{1.7\text{-}9.26ff.}$). He was fully persuaded of the nearness of the Parousia (1 Th 4^{17} etc.), and this would make it in his eyes unnecessary to continue the human race. The interpretation of Rev. 14^{4} is more doubtful. The passage may be taken literally, as praising virginity; or, as Swete remarks (*Com.* [1907] *in loc.*), in accordance with the symbolical character of the book it may be interpreted metaphorically, of any kind of chastity. We know that in the Apostolic Age some did abstain from marriage for the sake of religion, such as St. Paul himself and Philip's daughters (Ac 21^{9}). Temporary abstinence by consent is commended by St. Paul in 1 Co 7^{5}. But it is to be noticed, as in contrast with later ages, that the NT writers nowhere speak of marriage as an inferior state, incompatible with the highest chastity.

Our Lord insists on purity in thought as well as in deed: 'beati mundo corde' (Mt 5^{8}). And just as the other commandments are to be kept in the spirit as well as in the letter ($5^{21.32}$ etc.), so the prohibition of adultery includes that of evil thoughts. 'Every one that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart' (5^{28}). There is, indeed, more in this verse than the prohibition of evil thoughts. Lyttelton, who has a good chapter on the passage (*Serm. on the Mount*, 1905, p. 157 ff.), explains it of inflaming or exciting desire by looking. It must be noticed that our Lord's warning can hardly

[1] G. Milligan, who adheres to the other view, that σκεῦος means 'body,' successfully shows from the papyri that κτᾶσθαι may mean 'possess' (*Com.* [1908] *in loc.*); but the context seems to point to the usual interpretation.

include the ordinary and natural case of a man 'looking at' a woman with a desire to marry her. It rather speaks of *unlawful* desire, as for a married woman. In his later days, Tertullian maintained that the text includes also the looking at an unmarried woman by one desiring to marry her, and that even first marriages (much more second marriages) are *akin* to adultery (*de Exh. Cast.* ix.).

3. The post-Apostolic Age.—A change of thought appears soon after the death of the Apostles. Marriage was still held to be holy, but gradually it came to be believed that the unmarried state was the only true, or at any rate the better, form of chastity (see art. CELIBACY).

Christian thought seems to have been largely influenced in this matter by the *Essenes*, of whom we read in Philo and Josephus. This sect of the Jews, which is not mentioned by name in the NT, consisted of self-denying men whose motives our Lord seems by His silence to have commended, though their teaching differed diametrically from His own. They were fatalists (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. v. 9), and did not join in the sacrifices of the other Jews (*ib.* XVIII. i. 5); they were communistic in their property, and were scattered over many cities (*ib.*, and *BJ* II. viii. 3); they neglected wedlock without absolutely forbidding it, and adopted other men's children (*BJ*, *loc. cit.*). One sect of them, while otherwise agreeing with the rest, yet did not avoid marriage; but the great majority of them, in strong opposition to the Pharisees, taught that the only true chastity was to be found in the unmarried state. They would not admit converts to their society except after a probation of three years, to see if they could observe continence (*BJ* II. viii. 7).

This teaching greatly influenced both orthodox and heretical Christianity. Even Clement of Rome uses ἁγνός as equivalent to 'celibate,' and Ignatius ἁγνεία as meaning 'celibacy' (Clem. Rom. *Ep.* i. *ad Cor.* 38: 'He who is ἁγνός in the flesh, let him be so and not boast, knowing that it is Another who has bestowed his continence [ἐγκράτειαν] upon him'; Ign. *Polyc.* 5: 'If any one can abide ἐν ἁγνείᾳ for the honour of the Lord's flesh, let him abide without boasting . . . if it be known beyond the bishop, he is polluted'). And, while these two writers do not press the celibate state as being superior, yet the appropriation of ἁγνός and ἁγνεία to it is very significant. In view of the heathen accusations of promiscuous immorality against the Christians, the Apologists deal much with Christian chastity. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 15), after quoting our Lord's teaching on purity (σωφροσύνη) as given above (§ 2), says that many Christians, men and women, who had been disciples from childhood, remained virgins at the age of 60 or 70 years, while a countless number had been reformed from their licentiousness (ἀκολασία). In i. 29 he says that Christians either married or lived continently.

The 2nd cent. saw the rise of various Christian *Encratite* sects, who taught that chastity could be had only by refraining from marriage. Of these Encratites (ἐγκρατεῖς, -τηταί, -ῖται), Tatian, who had been Justin's pupil, became a leader (Irenæus, *Hær.* i. 28). The Marcionites were also Encratite, and condemned marriage altogether (Iren. *loc. cit.*; Tert. *adv. Marc.* i. 29: see, further, art. 'Encratites' in *DCB* ii. 118). From this time forward the orthodox, though not embracing Encratite teaching, and always holding the sacredness of marriage, were imbued, to an increasing and extravagant extent, with the idea that the truest chastity was compatible only with the unmarried state, though there were some exceptions (see below, § 5).

4. Relation of repeated marriage and chastity.—There is no shadow of taint on the re-marriage of a widow in St. Paul's teaching, provided that she marry 'in the Lord,' *i.e.* take a Christian as her second husband (1 Co 7[39]), though the Apostle thinks that a widow who does not marry again will be happier. Hermas (*Mand.* iv. 4) uses similar language with regard to a widower. He says: 'If he marry, he does not sin. Keep therefore purity (τὴν ἁγνείαν) and holiness (τὴν σεμνότητα).' Thus he uses ἁγνεία of married as well as unmarried chastity. But from a very early date 'digamy' was intensely disliked by all the stricter Christians. Tertullian was its great opponent. In his earlier work, *ad Uxorem* (i. 7), he had urged that it was undesirable; in his Montanistic writings he held that it was a violation of strict chastity, and was no other than a species of fornication ('non aliud . . . quam species stupri,' *de Exh. Cast.* ix.; see also *de Monog. passim*). Peter was the only married Apostle, and he was a monogamist (*de Monog.* viii.). Tertullian, indeed, allows marriage, but only once; he says that 'we do not reject marriage, we only refrain from it,' and that marriage is honourable (*adv. Marc.* i. 29; see also *de Monog.* i.). But he regards adultery and fornication as unpardonable sins (*de Pudic., passim*). The supposed incompatibility of re-marriage and chastity is found in the Church Orders of the 4th and 5th centuries; even the less austere of these manuals show a great dislike of digamy, while they hold third or fourth marriages to be abominable. The *Ethiopic Didascalia* (early 5th cent. [?]) grudgingly allows a second marriage, but says: 'A first marriage is pure before the Lord, but they who marry a second time are transgressors of the Law, . . . and they who marry a third time are not to be numbered with the flock of Christ. But as to those who marry a fourth time, their lasciviousness is yet more evident, and they shall find reproach and dishonour,' § xii.). The *Apostolic Constitutions* (iii. 2, *c.* A.D. 375) say much the same thing. St. Basil says that trigamy was no longer described as marriage at all, and that digamists were subject to penance (*Ep. canon. prim.* clxxxviii. 4). The common interpretation in the 4th cent. of the injunction in the Pastoral Epistles that a 'bishop' and 'deacon' were to be 'husbands of one wife' was that the clergy must not have married a second time, after the death of their first wives, as we see from the Church Orders (see, further, Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, 1910, p. 90 ff.).

5. Reaction against over-strictness.—In the 4th cent. there were among the orthodox two tendencies with regard to chastity. That of the majority was in favour of the strict view; yet there was a certain reaction, and the well-balanced argument of the celebrated Paphnutius at the Council of Nicæa (Socrates, *HE* i. 11; Sozomen, *HE* i. 23), defending the intercourse of a man with his lawful wife as *chastity*, and deprecating the proposed canon enforcing separation from their wives of the clergy who had married before ordination, had very great influence. The Council refused to pass the law. The *Canons of Hippolytus* (xxvii. 242) and the *Egyptian Church Order* ('Sahidic Eccles. Canons,' lxii.) protest against the idea that marriage hinders from prayer. Christians who are married, whether to a believing or to a heathen partner, are not to refrain from prayer, for 'marriage does not defile.' The Council held at Gangra, the chief city of Paphlagonia, towards the end of the 4th cent., has several canons directed against the Eustathians, who condemned marriage. It anathematizes those who despise wedlock as unholy (can. 1), or who refuse to attend the public ministrations of a married priest (can. 4), or who live 'unmarried or in continence, avoiding marriage

from contempt, and not because of the beauty and holiness of virginity' (can. 9), or who, themselves unmarried for the Lord's sake, boast themselves over those who are married (can. 10), or women who leave their husbands from an abhorrence of the married state (can. 14), or men who forsake their children for asceticism, and conversely children who forsake their parents (can. 15 f.). The Church Orders are more or less divided in the matter of chastity and marriage in the case of the clergy; the *Apostolic Church Order* and the *Testament of Our Lord*, for example, take the stricter line, while the *Older Didascalia*, the *Apostolic Constitutions* and *Canons*, and the *Ethiopic Didascalia* more or less strongly favour married bishops. It may be noticed that the heretical *Clementine Homilies*, now usually ascribed to the 4th cent., though formerly thought to be earlier, do the same thing.

6. 'Castitas' in later Latin.—It is significant that this word acquired the exclusive sense of 'celibacy.' It was not so in St. Ambrose's day. He says (*de Viduis*, iv. 23) that there is a threefold virtue of *castitas*—of marriage, of widowhood, and of virginity. But before the Middle Ages the word was ordinarily narrowed in its meaning. And by the time of the Council of Trent it is explicitly opposed to 'marriage.' The Council speaks of people contracting matrimony who feel that they have not the gift of 'castitas,' having just before mentioned this as one of the vows of the 'regulares' (Sess. xxiv. can. 9). The three monastic vows are 'obedientia, paupertas, castitas' (Sess. xxv. cap. 1).

7. In conclusion, it may be remarked that it is quite unprofitable to discuss whether married or unmarried chastity is in the abstract the greater virtue, and whether celibacy is a higher life than matrimony. There is no absolute standard in the matter. One who has given up marriage for the kingdom of heaven's sake may be leading a higher life than one who marries; or, especially if he be lifted up with pride, he may be leading, as Ignatius suggests, a lower life. All that we have to determine is whether for a given individual the one state or the other tends to godliness.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given in the course of the article.

A. J. MACLEAN.

CHASTITY (Greek).—That the Greeks held lax ideas about chastity may be inferred from the fact that sins against it were imputed even to their gods. It is true that the conscience of a more enlightened age was shocked at the grosser features in their mythology, but there is little or no evidence to show that, unless in the ascetic teachings of Orphism, moral purity was ever regarded as an essential element either of morality or of religion. 'It is hard,' says W. H. S. Jones (*Greek Morality in relation to Institutions*, 1906, p. 118), 'to find passages in pre-Christian Greek literature where loose intercourse is looked upon as in itself a moral offence.' The marriage bond was, indeed, to some extent protected by religion, which forbade adultery, so that the family stock might be kept pure, and honours duly paid to the spirits of dead ancestors. But beyond this point religion made no effort to safeguard the purity of married life. And lastly, as an influence adverse to chastity, may be noted the conviction which prevailed among the Greeks in historic times, though there were many exceptions to it, of the essential inferiority of women (Jones, *op. cit.* ch. iii.)—a conviction which G. L. Dickinson (*The Greek View of Life*[6], 1907, p. 164) describes as 'a cardinal point in the Greek view of life.' It left no room for the romance, the idealism, the chivalrous devotion which ennoble and protect the marriage bond.

1. Loose sexual relations.—It is difficult to say whether the Homeric age was better or worse as regards sexual morality than those which followed. That great laxity prevailed outside the family circle is clear from the pages of Homer. Indeed, concubinage was also frequent, at least among the chiefs (Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, London, 190[illegible], ii. 201). On the other hand, it is generally agreed that private morals suffered a great and progressive decline in the age following the Persian war. It may have begun in the century before the war. Philemon (comic poet, *c.* 330 B.C.) asserts that Solon made regular provision for vice owing to the difficulty of restraining youth. But this has been seriously doubted (cf. Campbell, *Relig. in Gr. Liter.*, 1898, p. 236). In any case there is good reason to accept the statement of Isocrates (*c.* 380 B.C.), that a corruption of manners unknown in the time of Solon and Cleisthenes prevailed at Athens in his own day (*Areopag.* 48). It is to be ascribed largely to the closer contact with Eastern nations brought about by the Persian war, and to a new speculative tendency to set φύσις over-against νόμος. Not long after the war the worship of the Phœnician Astarte, which directly sanctioned sexual licence, found a home in the Piræus. In the same century some philosophers advocated a community of wives—a theory parodied by Aristophanes in the *Ecclesiazusæ*.

Manners seem to have grown still more corrupt after the Peloponnesian war. In the later period the commerce of married men with *hetæræ*, formerly disapproved, was both common and lightly regarded, as is clear from more than one passage in the *in Neæram* of Demosthenes (or another writer of the same age) (cf. esp. 1352, 1386). The cities abounded in facilities for vice (Xen. *Memor.* II. ii. 4). Socrates and Plato, in spite of their high ideals, exhibit a facile tolerance of the vices of their age. The former does not scruple to visit, along with some of his friends, the celebrated courtesan Theodote, and to discourse with her about her profession (Xen. *Memor.* III. xi.); the latter permits, though reluctantly and with certain qualifications, promiscuous intercourse to men and women of ripe age (*Rep.* 461 B and C). How far the Stoics encouraged impurity is a matter of some doubt. The reader will find it discussed and the original authorities cited by Zeller (*The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, Eng. tr., London, 1892, p. 308 ff.). Even if he rejects the worst imputations against their teaching, he will probably be compelled to admit that the early Stoics, at least, did not regard lax sexual indulgence as in itself immoral. As for the younger Stoics, they condemned 'most explicitly any and every form of unchastity' (*ib.* p. 309).

2. Παιδεραστία.—We have seen that the Greek view of woman did not lend itself to romance. But this did not mean, as G. L. Dickinson has pointed out, that romance was absent from the Greek view of life. Rather it found vent in passionate friendship between men, which in Greece was so common as to amount to an institution. Its ideal was the education of a younger by an older man, the cultivation of virtue and heroism, its ardour, when at the best, 'that white heat of the spirit before which and by which the flesh shrivels into silence' (J. Harrison, *Proleg. to Study of Gr. Rel.*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 638). But there is evidence that from the earliest times the connexion was often one of unnatural vice. In Homer παιδεραστία is hinted at in the legend of Ganymedes (cf. G. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, 1907, p. 116), and is perhaps referred to by Mimnermus (*c.* 630 B.C.). 'There can be no doubt,' says W. H. S. Jones (*op. cit.* p. 120), 'that the vice was continuously present, and that, as far as our evidence goes, it

aroused little, if any, moral disapprobation.' The Spartans and Thebans even encouraged it on the ground that it led to emulation in deeds of valour. In the Xenophontic *Symposium*, Socrates ridicules this idea, and enlarges on the evils of the practice; but the very discussion shows the low standard of purity among the Greeks. On the other hand, he would use such friendships, purged of all base elements, as aids in the acquisition of virtue. Plato's view is very similar. Such passionate friendships, he taught, give wings to the soul in its pursuit of ideal beauty. Like Socrates, he condemns the vice, especially in the *Laws*, but without a due sense of its enormity (*Phædrus*, 256 B, *Rep.* 403 B, *Laws*, 636 C). The subject is less prominent in Aristotle, but he nowhere expressly condemns the vice. The same is true of the early Stoics and the Minor Socrates. Epicurus objects to all sensual indulgence, not, however, because it is evil in itself, but because it hinders *ἀταραξία* (Diog. Laert. x. 118, 131, 142).

3. We have been concerned with some of the darker features of Greek life. But we must beware of taking a one-sided view. We cannot doubt that unnatural vice was at the least comparatively rare. And, as regards personal purity generally, there were probably many, outside as well as within the ranks of the Orphic ascetics, who lived far above the demands of a low national standard. Self-control, moreover, was a typical Greek ideal. Hence the Greek acknowledged as evil, if not impure, at least immoderate indulgence. His view is reflected in the words of the aged Sophocles, who, on being asked if he was still susceptible of love, replied: 'Most gladly have I escaped the thing of which you speak; I feel as if I had escaped from a mad and furious master' (Plato, *Rep.* 329 B).

Lastly, home life, with its protective influence, was dear to the Greeks, never more than when, in the 4th cent., city-life was falling into decay. Mutual affection might not be the usual cause of marriage, but it must have been a very frequent result. *ἀνδρὶ δὲ καὶ γυναικί*, says Aristotle, *φιλία δοκεῖ κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχειν* (*Eth.* 1162*a*).

LITERATURE.—Besides the books mentioned above, the reader may consult **Daremberg-Saglio**, *Dict. des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1891 ff., *s.v.* 'Meretrices'; **Smith**, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, London, 1890, *s.v.* 'Hetæræ'; **Becker**, *Charikles*, ed. Göll, 3 vols., Berlin, 1877-8, *s.v.* 'Hetaren' i. 47, ii. 85, iii. 179; *s.v.* 'Frauen,' iii. 308 ff.; *s.v.* *παιδεραστία*, ii. 252-285 (this last excursus is wanting in the Eng. tr., which is otherwise not nearly so full as the German); **Pauly**, *Real-Encyclopadie*, iii. 1282 and v. 1060 ff., Stuttgart, 1844, 1848; **Schoemann-Lipsius**, *Griech. Alterthümer*, Berlin, 1902, pp. 224, 508, 546 ff.; **Hermann-Blümner**, *Lehrbuch der griech. Privatalt.*, Freiburg and Tubingen, 1882, II. iii. 29; **L. Schmidt**, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, Berlin, 1882, ii. 133 ff.

I. F. BURNS.

CHASTITY (Muslim).—In several verses of the Qur'an, chastity is recommended to followers of Islām as one of the greatest virtues of a Muslim. Happy will be the pure soul. 'Gardens of Eden beneath which rivers flow . . . that is the reward of him who keeps pure' (xx. 78). A Muslim must avoid all that might excite his evil desires; he must therefore cast down his looks (xxiv. 30). 'The eyes, too, fornicate' is a saying attributed to the Prophet in Muslim tradition (cf. Mt 5[28]). Women must behave decorously in presence of men (see Qur. xxiv. 31: 'that they display not their [natural] ornaments except what [usually or necessarily] appeareth thereof, and let them throw their veils over their bosoms and not show their ornaments unless to their husbands or their fathers' . . . and other near relatives).

The Prophet was often annoyed by the indiscretion of his visitors, who also behaved unbecomingly to his wives. 'When ye ask them [viz. the Prophet's wives] for an article, ask them from behind a curtain; that is purer for your hearts and for theirs. It is not right for you to annoy the Prophet of God.' The meaning of this verse of the Qur'ān (xxxiii. 53) is not that Muslim women must veil their faces, as is sometimes supposed (cf. A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, 1861-5, iii. 77); for the Prophet never prescribed that a woman should conceal her face. Even in the later Muslim law-books, in the chapter on prayer, the *'awra* of a woman (that is, her nakedness which may not be uncovered) is defined only as her body, her face and hands being expressly excepted (the *'awra* of a slave-girl and of a man is explained as that part of the body which is between the navel and the knees). But in course of time the veiling of the face became a general custom for women in most Muslim countries,[1] and the majority of Muslim lawyers judge that it is positively forbidden for a man to look at the face or the hands of a woman who is not his wife or one of his nearest relatives (except when it may be absolutely necessary, or when he wishes to marry her). Women must therefore, according to their opinion, conceal these parts of their body. Other lawyers, however, reject this view, and assert that the face and the hands of a woman are those parts of 'her [natural] ornaments' which 'necessarily *appear*,' as said in the verse of the Qur'ān cited above (xxxiii. 53). There has never been complete agreement on this subject amongst Muslim lawyers, and in many countries Muslim women do not veil their faces.

In the Qur'ān the purity of chaste persons is often called *zakāt*, a word which is evidently derived from Aram. *zekōth* ('righteousness'). Similarly *zakī* in the Qur'ān means 'pure,' in the well-known sense in which this word is often used in Aramaic Christian literature (see Qur. xviii. 73: 'a pure soul without [evil] desire'; and xix. 19: 'Mary will have a pure son' [cf. also ii. 232, ix. 104, xxiv. 28, 30]). A chaste person is also called *muḥṣan* in the Qur'ān. This word means properly 'well-guarded' (originally a married woman or a married person in general).

According to Qur. xxiv. 4, those who cast imputations on chaste women (*muḥṣanāt*) are to be scourged with eighty stripes, and in the law-books this punishment is declared applicable also to him who casts imputations on chaste men.

If an unmarried man, who cannot pay the dowry for a free woman, fears that he will not remain chaste, he must, with the permission of her master, marry a slave-girl and give her a dowry; but it is better for him to be patient (see Qur. iv. 29 30, xxiv. 33[a]; cf. 33[b]: 'compel not your slave-girls to prostitution, if they desire to keep continent'). A Muslim may not *marry* his own female slaves, but the law permits him to take them as concubines, if they are Muslims. In this case the children are freeborn, and they are even considered as the legitimate offspring of the master. On the other hand, sexual intercourse between persons who do not stand to one another in the relation of husband and wife, or master and slave, is to be severely punished, with scourging or stoning (see ADULTERY [Muslim]).

LITERATURE.—**C. Snouck Hurgronje**, 'Twee populaire dwalingen verbeterd' (*Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, xxxv. [1886] 365-377); **E. Sachau**, *Muham. Recht nach schafiitischer Lehre*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 5, 24-26, 810, 820-843; **E. W. Lane**, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[5], London, 1860, ch. i. ('Dress'); **L. W. C. van den Berg**, *Fatḥ al-Qarīb*, *La révélation de l'omniprésent*, Leyden, 1894, pp. 121, 447-451, 573-579, also *Minhaj at-ṭālibīn*, *Le guide des zélés croyants*, Batavia, 1882-4, i. 97, ii. 313-315, iii. 211-220.

TH. W. JUYNBOLL.

[1] The veil was used already in early times (see Gn 24[65] 38[14], Is 3[23])

CHASTITY (Roman).—In treating of chastity among the Romans, we must distinguish between the broader use of the word in its general ethical bearings, and its narrower use in specific religious connexions. There may have been a period when these two uses had not been distinguished, but such a period, if it ever existed, lies before the beginning of our literary tradition.

1. **General ethical use.**—In the earliest period the concept of chastity seems to have been the avoidance of improper sexual relations, and implicitly, therefore, the absolute avoidance of all sexual relations if none of them was proper, *e.g.* in the case of a virgin. It is only in the later and artificial period that such a dispute could arise as is mentioned in Seneca's *Controversiæ* (i. 2, 13), 'whether chastity is to be referred only to virginity or to abstinence from all foul and obscene things.' But the most striking characteristic of the general ethical concept of chastity, throughout the whole of Roman history until the influence of Oriental religions made itself felt, is the application of the idea almost exclusively to women. Pliny (*HN* xxiv. 59) expresses a general idea when he speaks of 'matrons, the guardians of chastity'; and he is only echoing the words of Cicero, who says (*de Leg.* ii. 29), in speaking of Vesta: 'and virgins are her priestesses, so that womankind might feel that woman's nature supports all forms of chastity.' With customary consistency the relations existing on earth are transferred to Olympus, and the phrase 'chaste' is applied in the Roman poets to a series of goddesses and heroines—Amphitrite, Antiope, Ceres, Cybele, Diana, Fides, Juno, Minerva, Proserpina, Pudicitia, Sibylla, Venus, Vesta,—and to only three heroes—Æneas, Bellerophontes, and (indirectly) Hippolytus (cf. Roscher's *Lexikon*, Supplement: 'Epitheta Deorum apud poetas Latinos').

The cults of Egypt and of the Orient—Isis and Mithra—and the Christian religion introduced a broader and more imperative ideal; but even here the majority of passages refer exclusively to women. Even Ambrose's famous threefold chastity (*de Viduis*, iv. 23)—that of virginity, marriage, and widowhood—has practical application to women only.

During the classical period the only exceptions to these statements are in connexion with young boys (*e.g.* Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 132; with the classic example of Hippolytus [*e.g.* Seneca, *Phædra*, 923]); and, curiously enough, with eunuchs (*e.g.* Attis [Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 224]). The exceptions, therefore, merely enforce the rule, for they include those who had not yet arrived at man's estate, or one who was endowed with a female modesty, or those who had ceased to be men. All other cases which seem to be exceptions to the general rule are to be explained merely as special religious uses (see below), or else as due to the use of the word in the colourless general sense of 'pure,' generally applied to pure hands in connexion with financial matters. Thus Cicero (*Verr.* II. i. 100) ironically calls Verres 'homo castissimus,' and again in another place (*Flacc.* 68) speaks of a man as 'castissimum' and 'integerrimum.' Thus arose the phrase 'chaste poverty' (*e.g.* Sil. Ital. i. 609), with its implied contrast of 'wanton wealth'; and Vitruvius tells us (i. 1, 7) that an architect should be trustworthy and without avarice, 'for no work can be accomplished truly *sine fide et castitate*.'

2. **Special religious connexion.**—It is in the realm of religion, however, that chastity comes into prominence in ancient Roman life. It is all the more interesting, therefore, that *castitas*, unlike *pudicitia*, was never deified. Possibly this may be explained by the fact that it was thought of as a pre-condition of all participation in worship. One of the old sacral laws, preserved to us in Cicero's *de Legibus* (ii. 19), reads as follows: 'ad divos adeunto caste,' *i.e.* 'approach the gods chastely'; and we scarcely need Nonius's definition *castus=religiosus*. Cicero himself (*de Leg.* ii. 24) expounds the matter as follows:

'The law bids us approach the gods in chastity: that is to say, with a chaste mind, for on the mind depend all things. This does not, of course, preclude the chastity of the body; but we must understand the whole matter thus, that, since the mind is much more important than the body, and yet we take care that the body should be pure, so much the more must we keep our minds pure. For the defilement of the body can be removed by the sprinkling with water or by the passage of time, but the stain of the mind never ceases, and cannot be washed out by any rivers of water.'

Similarly Gellius (iv. 9. 9) tells us that temples and shrines ought not to be approached rashly, but with chastity and formality; and in another passage (ii. 28. 2) he says of Roman religion in general that 'the ancient Romans in establishing religions and worshipping the immortal gods were most chaste and most circumspect.' The exact bearings of this requirement, that the worshipper should be chaste, are not known to us, except for certain Oriental and Egyptian cults (see next col.), unless we are willing to accept at their full value the words of the poet Tibullus (II. i. 11 ff.) in describing the Ambarvalia:

'Let him be far from the altar, him to whom last night Venus brought her joys. For the gods are pleased with chaste things. Come with clean garments, and touch with clean hands the running water.'

It is true that all the elegiac poets are under strong Greek influence, but Tibullus seems almost purely Roman in matters of religion.

As we might expect, however, it is in the priesthood of Vesta that the ideas of chastity are most drastically emphasized; in fact, to the moralists of a later age the chief *raison d'être* of the Vestal Virgins was that they stood as visible ensamples of the chastity of woman. In a certain sense these moralists were correct, for the element of chastity was a characteristic feature of the cult of Vesta from the earliest times. In its primitive phases, however, this idea was instinctive, and belongs to the realm of tabu, out of which it eventually rose into the region of ethics. During the whole history of Roman religion, popular interest in the Vestals was centred in their occasional lapses from the vow of chastity; and, with that morbid injustice which characterizes humanity in all periods, we hear almost nothing of the hundreds of lives lived in faithful devotion to the Virgin Goddess, but only of those who failed, and of the penalties attaching to their misdeeds. The theory upon which these unfaithful virgins were supposed to be discovered was that Vesta, angered, showed signs of her displeasure either by sending some plague among the women of the community, or by abandoning her temple, this latter act being equivalent to the extinction of her fire. Thereupon the investigation began, and, when the guilty priestess was discovered, summary punishment followed. She was first beaten with rods, and then, as though she were dead, carried on a bier, accompanied by her weeping friends and relatives, to the Porta Collina, to a place called the 'Campus Sceleratus,' where she was led into a subterranean vault and buried alive. Our authors are full of these stories (Dionys. ii. 67, viii. 89, ix. 40; Liv. viii. 15, xxii. 57; Plin. *Ep.* iv. 11; Serv. *Æn.* xi. 206; for a list of the known cases of unchastity, cf. R. Brohm, *De iure virginum Vestalium*, Thorn, 1835), varied occasionally by the more cheerful recital of the few cases where the priestess was accused falsely, and Vesta herself rescued her by the performance of a miracle.

Such, for example, is the story of the virgin Æmilia, who was saved from death by the miraculous re-kindling of the sacred

fire on the hem of her linen garment (Val. Max. I. i. 7); of the virgin Claudia Quinta, who proved her chastity by drawing the ship of the Magna Mater up the Tiber, when all human power had failed to move it (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 291-348; Suet. *Tib.* 2; Plin. *HN* vii. 35, 120; Aurel. Victor, *Vir. Ill.* 46; Lactant. ii. 7, 12; and cf., in general, Rapp in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Kybele,' vol. ii. p. 1667); or of the virgin Tuccia, who established her innocence by drawing water from the Tiber in a sieve and carrying it to the temple of Vesta (Val. Max. VIII. i. 5).

In the case of Vesta, the tabu of chastity soon turned into an ethical concept, but in that of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium the primitive idea seems to have been retained into historical times. Once a year a girl was chosen who offered a cake to the temple snake. If the cake was accepted, it proved the virginity of the girl, and augured well for the year; whereas, if the snake refused the cake, the reverse was thought to be true (Prop. IV. viii. 3; Ælian, *An. Nat.* xi. 16).

With the coming into Rome of Egyptian and Oriental worships, chastity, either as a temporary condition or as a permanent state, became an essential pre-requisite of religion. There is a touch of the Orient in the worship of Bacchus (Dionysos) as early as the 2nd cent. B.C., when the worshippers were required to observe chastity for ten days in advance of the three great festivals of the year (Liv. XXXIX. ix. 4). The same sort of abstinence was probably required in the cult of the Magna Mater, and certainly in that of Isis (cf. Apul. *Met.* xi. 19; and the oft-repeated plaints of the lover in elegiac poetry, when a Cynthia or a Delia carried religious devotion to inconvenient lengths). But it was in the religion of Mithra that the requirement of chastity became more than a mere ceremonial prescription, and entered into the spiritual ideal of life. The details are meagre, as in all things that concern Mithra, but of the fact there can be no doubt, and no really more cogent proof can be desired than the almost jealous cry of Tertullian (*de Præscrip. Hær.* 40), speaking of the religion of Mithra: 'habet et virgines, habet et continentes.'

LITERATURE.—There is no authoritative general treatment, but a quantity of raw material may be found in the *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ* under the words 'Caste,' 'Castimonia,' 'Castitas,' 'Castus'; and certain special phases of the subject are treated by R. Brohm, *De iure virginum Vestalium*, Thorn, 1835; by C. Paschal, *Hermes*, xxx. 548 ff. = *Studi di antichità e mitologia* (Milan, 1896), p. 209 ff.; and by Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Castus,' iii. 1780.

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.

CHASTITY (Semit.-Egyptian).—**1.** That with the Egyptians this virtue was more considered than in other countries of the ancient East is testified by Herodotus, who states (ii. 64) that they were the first who made it a point of religion not to lie with women in temples, or to enter temples after being with women, without first bathing. The same writer, speaking of the rape of Helen (ii. 112 ff.), refers to the opinion of the Egyptians that it was 'an unholy deed' on the part of Alexander to deceive the wife of his own host, and to carry off not only the woman, but a large quantity of stolen property. Both the woman and the property were therefore detained until Menelaus should come to Egypt to seek them. Another side of their character, however, is revealed in the story of the robbery of Rhampsinitos' treasury. In order to catch the thief who had escaped, and who had afterwards carried off, by stratagem, his brother's headless body, the Egyptian ruler is stated to have caused his own daughter to sit in a brothel, and, before having intercourse with a man, to compel him to tell her the most cunning and the most unholy thing which he had ever done (Maspero, *Contes pop. de l'Egypte anc.*³, Paris, 1906, pp. 180-185). Whatever may be the opinion concerning the truth of this story, it is clear that the people of Egypt could not have had a very high reputation for chastity, especially when it is taken into consideration that the woman in this case was a king's daughter. The free relations between the sexes must, from time to time, have led to many undesirable and even scandalous events, as is brought home to us by the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Gn $39^{7ff.}$), with its remarkable parallel in the Egyptian story of the Two Brothers (Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, London, 1895, 2nd ser., pp. 36-86).[1]

According to Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 154), the social principles of the Egyptians were almost as low as those of the nations of classical antiquity. No reasonable being, he says, would take offence at the naive characters and emblematic objects found on their monuments (though more than one opinion is possible even as to this), but there are certain obscene pictures drawn and annotated by a caricaturist of the XXth dynasty (Turin Pap. 145) which, it is shocking to think, were found in a tomb. Moreover, an ancient sacred book (Papyrus of Unas, 629) describes the life of the deceased Pharaoh in bliss, and tells him that in heaven he will 'at his pleasure take the wives away from their husbands.' There were plenty of women, moreover, who did not belong to the 'good women' (Turin, 47, 5)—women whose husbands had left them, and who travelled about the country. 'Beware of a woman from strange parts, whose city is not known,' says one of the sages of Egypt (Papyrus of Bulaq, i. 16. 13 ff.). 'When she comes, do not look at her, nor know her. . . . The woman whose husband is far off writes to thee every day. If no witness is near, she stands up and spreads out her net—O! fearful crime to listen to her!' Therefore he who is wise avoids her, and takes to himself a wife in his youth—first, because a man's own house is 'the best thing'; second, 'because she will present thee with a son like thyself.' The moral condition of the labouring classes ('the company of workmen') was, as might well be expected, very low, and it was a common crime to 'assault strange women.' But, amid all this, there must have been at all times some exceedingly worthy people in Egypt—people as chaste as the best of other lands; for to this the life led by the better classes would naturally tend.

2. Though the history of Judah, son of Jacob, is now regarded as being largely or wholly eponymous, the account of his relations with Tamar (Gn $38^{14ff.}$) probably reflects sufficiently well the manners and customs of that early period, not only among the Hebrews, but also among their Palestinian fellow-citizens. By assuming the character of a *ḳĕdēshāh* ('temple-prostitute'), and sitting in the gate of Enaim, Tamar got Judah to approach her. This story makes it clear that chastity in Palestine, at least among the men, was the exception rather than the rule.[2] Looseness in this respect was greatly fostered by the worship of Astarte, whose lascivious rites were performed even within the precincts of her temple. In connexion with the worship of this goddess among the Canaanites (which was a parallel to the worship of Ištar among the Babylonians), ritual prostitutes of both sexes (*ḳĕdēshīm* and *ḳĕdēshōth*) existed. Male prostitutes (the 'dogs' of Dt 23^{18}) were to be found in Israel, but they seem to have been looked upon with extreme disfavour. From Mic 1^7 it would seem that, though the hire of a harlot could not be accepted by the sanctuary, the money gained by ritual prostitutes was intended for the service of Jahweh (*HDB* v. 662ᵃ). It may be supposed, however, that this religiously exercised

[1] D'Orbiney Papyrus. The translation is by Griffith (cf. also Maspero, *op. cit.* pp. 3-20).

[2] The story of Joseph, in the next chapter, is in marked contrast to this narrative.

form of unchastity existed, and was looked upon with favour, by a small section of the population only. Among the Hebrews, bestiality (whether male with male, or man or woman with animals) was regarded not only as an abomination, but also as a mortal offence (Ex 22[19], Lv 18[23] 20[15f.]), and the man or the woman, as well as the beast, was killed, that all memory of the disgrace might be obliterated. It was a crime of the Canaanites, and was probably exceedingly rare or non-existent among the Israelites (see, further, BESTIALITY, vol. ii. p. 535).

The very fact, however, that there were prostitutes among the Jews shows that the people were not so virtuous as they might have been. In later days harlots seem to have been so numerous that they had a market-place all to themselves (*Pesachim*, fol. 113, col. 2). Certain shoemaker Rabbis used to sit there and make shoes for them; but it is said of these worthy men that they would not even raise their eyes to look at them. It is recorded, however, that the education of women, and especially their instruction in the Law, was interdicted by the Rabbis, the result being that the Jewish women of their time were exceedingly ignorant. The absence of restraint which education and religious instruction would have brought about could not fail to react on the male population; hence the shortcomings, in certain cases, with regard to that chastity which one naturally expects in a religious man. The shoemaker Rabbis were worthy of all praise; but, unfortunately, they were not all continent, for it is said that Abba Arika (Rab), whenever he visited Dardeshir, used to ask by proclamation whether any woman was willing to be his wife during his stay there, as did also Rab Nachman whenever he visited Shechanẓib. These temporary marriages doubtless satisfied their conscience, but cannot be regarded as testifying to their desire for chastity; on the contrary, they enabled them to indulge their unchaste tendencies in a manner which they considered legal. At the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, adulterers abounded to such an extent that Rabbi Johanan discontinued the administration of the 'bitter waters.' Regarding the rule of chastity as a hard one to keep, he is stated to have said that a bachelor residing in a city and abstaining from sin was one of the three objects of proclamation by the Holy One,[1] the others being a poor man who restores lost property, and a rich man who tithes his produce unostentatiously.

3. Notwithstanding the bad reputation of the Babylonians in the matter of chastity, there is no need to regard them as having been worse than their Semitic neighbours, and in some things they may even have been better. From the omen-tablets dealing with the approach of men to women, it is clear that the Babylonians attached no great degradation to such connexions on the part of the man. The evil predicted in certain cases, however, must have proved a deterrent, and may therefore have promoted greater purity than would otherwise have existed. Even in these inscriptions (which treat of legal as well as illegal intercourse), the sacredness of marriage is implied.[2] It is in the penalties of the laws of Ḫammurabi, however, that the true spirit of the Babylonians with regard to unchastity is to be seen. Here, as in the contract-tablets of the period, the penalties in the case of adultery on the part of the wife are simply merciless, for it is enacted (§ 129) that she is to be cast, together with her paramour, into the river. The violation of a betrothed virgin was punishable with death (§ 130). In addition to this, the code says that even suspicion with regard to a wife compelled her 'to plunge into the river for her husband('s sake).' This was probably of the nature of trial by ordeal, the river-god being expected to save or to drown the woman, according as she was innocent or guilty. Even desertion did not justify a woman in unfaithfulness to her husband unless he had left her destitute.

Whether the earlier manners of the Babylonians were more chaste than those of later times is uncertain, but probably there was no great change. The contracts of the later period seem to indicate clearly that absolute chastity at the time of the marriage of a maiden, as also absolute fidelity afterwards, was exacted; indeed, the formula used was sufficiently precise: 'So and so, thy virgin daughter (*mârat-ka batultu*), give thou to so and so, my son, in marriage.' One of the tablets containing these words is dated in the reign of Nabonidus (549 B.C.), and seems to prove that, at that time at least, there was no obligation on the part of the women of Babylon to yield themselves as votaries of Mylitta in the neighbourhood of her temple.

There existed in Babylonia, as in all the other Semitic States, the usual order of temple-prostitutes (*qādēsh* and *qĕdēshāh*, Bab. *qadišu* and *qadištu*, the latter being rendered in Sumerian by the expression *nu-gig*, possibly meaning 'the not unholy'). Other words for the fem. were *ištaritu*, 'votary of Ištar,' and *ḫarimtu*, a woman specially attached to the service of the goddess. Chances of marriage for those who had entered this despised state were probably remote, but it seems sometimes to have taken place (see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, *s.v.* '*Qadiltutu*' (=*qadištutu*), 'temple-prostitution').

In view of the tablet—one among many—quoted above, the question arises whether Herodotus' statement (i. 199), that every woman in the country had to sit down within the precincts of Aphrodite once in her life, and have intercourse with a man who was a stranger, is really correct. All classes, he says, had to go there, even the richest, who drove to the temple in covered carriages with pairs of horses, and accompanied by a large number of attendants. These women had a wreath of cord about their heads, and sat in straight lines with passages between, through which the visitors to the temple might pass and make their choice. A silver coin was thrown into the lap of the votary chosen, whereupon she followed the man, who demanded her 'in the name of the goddess Mylitta,' probably Ištar-Zēr-panîtum, the goddess of births (BIRTH [Assyr.-Bab.], vol. ii. p. 643[b]). According to Herodotus, absolute continence on the part of the woman followed this fulfilment of what was regarded as a religious duty, for he adds, 'nor will you be able thenceforth to give any gift so great as to win her.' It was naturally the well-favoured ones who were chosen first, as is indicated in the Epistle of Jeremy (Bar 6[43]), where the women with cords about them, sitting in the ways, and burning bran for incense, are referred to. The breaking of the cord was probably to typify their release from their unchaste obligation. Though there is no reference to the great Babylonian Nature-goddess in this verse, it may be supposed that the same divinity is intended as that mentioned by Herodotus.

With their laws to enforce chastity, there is but little doubt that the Hebrews were first in the

[1] A breach of chastity was regarded not only as a 'great wickedness,' but also as a 'sin against God' (Gn 39[9]); but less so, apparently, if not adulterous (cf. Gn 204[ff.]). Compare the extracts from the Babylonian omen-tablet in next note.

[2] 'If a man has forsaken his wife and another has taken her, he (she) will bear the anger of (the) god.' 'If a man has forsaken his wife, and taken the wife of a living man, by the displeasure of (the) god he will die.' 'If a man has forsaken his wife, and taken the wife of a dead man, his name will not prosper.' (For 'forsaken' and 'taken,' 'divorced' and 'married' may be substituted.)

exercise of that virtue. The Assyro-Babylonians were, perhaps, not far behind them, whilst the Egyptians came next, and the Canaanites last. It is greatly to the credit of the Hebrews and the Assyro-Babylonians that they were able, by their laws, to repress to a certain extent the evils of unchastity in countries where men's lusts were stronger than in more temperate climes. Naturally chastity was more demanded in women than in men, who could always take refuge in purification ceremonies to obtain freedom from the effects of their unchaste acts and desires.[1]

LITERATURE.—A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1894, p. 154; *HDB*, artt. 'Crimes and Punishments' (Adultery, Fornication), 'Marriage,' 'Religion of Israel' (v. 662b); *JE*, art. 'Chastity'; P. I. Hershon, *Genesis with a Talmudic Commentary*, London, 1883; see also ADULTERY (Semitic) in vol. i. p. 135.

T. G. PINCHES.

CHASTITY (Teutonic and Balto-Slavic).—I. *TEUTONIC.*—Tacitus in his *Germania* speaks of the chastity of the Germans in terms of high praise. In the present article an attempt will be made to examine his statements in the light of other information at our disposal, and at the same time to depict the actual condition of sexual morality found among the German tribes in the period terminating approximately with the introduction of Christianity. It will be of advantage for our purpose to draw a distinction between the case of married persons and that of the unmarried.

1. The relations of men and women after marriage.—The references of Tacitus are:

'Quamquam [*i.e.* although the dress of the German women leaves a considerable part of the body bare] severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. . . . Ergo septa pudicitia agunt . . . paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis permissa. abscisis crinibus nudatam coram propinquis expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verbere agit. publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia; non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum [*i.e.* another] invenerit' (*Germ.* 18 f.).

From other sources we learn that in almost all the Germanic tribes the punishment of the adulteress was of the same or of similar character, and in some cases even more severe. Thus, in reference to the Saxons, St. Boniface (*Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Jaffé, 1866, p. 172) writes:

'Nam in antiqua Saxonia si virgo paternam domum cum adulterio maculaverit, vel si mulier maritata, perdito foedere matrimonii, adulterium perpetraverit, aliquando cogunt eam, propria manu per laqueum suspensam, vitam finire; et super bustum illius, incensae et concrematae, corruptorem eius suspendunt. Aliquando, congregato exercitu femineo, flagellatam eam mulieres per pagos circumquaque ducunt, virgis caedentes et vestimenta eius abscidentes circa cingulum; et cultellis suis totum corpus eius secantes et pugnantes, minutis vulneribus cruentatam et laceratam de villa ad villam mittunt, et occurrunt semper novae flagellatrices zelo pudicitiae adductae usque ad eam aut mortuam aut vix vivam derelinquunt; ut ceterae timorem adulterandi et luxuriandi habeant.'

According to Anglo-Saxon law (cf. R. Schmid, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*², 1858, p. 301), the unfaithful wife was condemned to lose nose and ears. The Frisian code empowered the husband to flog the offending wife publicly, or to put her to death by hanging, burning, or with the sword (Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 1883-1900, iv. 309). By the ancient Danish and Norse laws the husband led the adulteress to the threshold, tore off her mantle, cut away the back of her lower garment, and drove her in this condition from the homestead (*ib.* 310). That the killing of a man who was discovered in illicit relations with the wife of another was held to be venial, *i.e.* that the act did not provoke the blood-feud (BLOOD-FEUD in vol. ii. p. 724 ff.), is borne out by the *Lex Visig.* iii. 4, 4: 'Si adulterum cum adultera maritus vel sponsus occiderit, pro homicida non teneatur.' We thus see that among the Germanic tribes generally the married woman who had proved unfaithful became liable to the direst moral and corporal penalties.

Nevertheless the law of strict faithfulness might in certain circumstances be relaxed. That the wife might yield herself to another man in cases where her husband allowed or expressly wished her to do so is shown by extant traces of two curious institutions of primitive society, well known to students of the history of civilization, and represented also in the social life of ancient Germany. These were the customs of 'vicarious procreation' (*Zeugungshilfe*), or giving one's wife temporarily to another man in order to secure offspring, and 'hospitable prostitution' (*gastliche Prostitution*), *i.e.* lending a wife to a guest. It is true that with regard to the first of these, *i.e.* the case where the husband, being sexually impotent, allowed another man, usually a neighbour or a relative, to have access to his wife, so that she might bear a child, we are wholly dependent upon the relatively late testimony of the German *Bauernweistümer* ('Peasant Law'; cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertumer*, 1828, p. 443 ff.). That testimony, however, agrees so largely with what we know of the practice among other races, including those of kindred descent with the Germans, as, for example, Indians, Greeks, and Prussians (cf. O. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, *s.v.* 'Zeugungshelfer'), that even J. Grimm, who takes a pleasure in seeking to remove every reproach of grossness from the history of his people, admits that 'most of what is given in the *Bauernweistumer* is very ancient' (*op. cit.* p. 444).

With regard to the custom of lending a wife (or other female dependant) to a guest—which, not to go beyond Europe, is found also among the Greeks (cf. Hesychius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Λακωνικὸν τρόπον)—Weinhold (*Altnord. Leben*, 1856, p. 447) writes:

'Everything was done to provide the guest with a sleeping-place. In poorer households he shared the couch of his host and hostess, and sometimes the former resigned to him his own place there; or the guest was shown to the daughter's bed. *Such things are the vestiges of very ancient customs.*' And again (*Deutsche Frauen*, ii.², 1882, p. 199 f.): 'In more remote times it was the custom among the lower ranks for the guest to share the bed of his host and hostess. The *Rigsmal* and the Icelandic Sagas yield unmistakable evidences of this practice, and even as late as the beginning of the 16th cent. we find Thomas Murner writing in his *Geuchmat*, Basel, 1519 (Geschworne Artt., Art. 8), that "it is the custom also in the Netherlands that the host who has a cherished guest surrenders his wife to him in good faith."'

To the position of the wife in this respect a marked contrast is offered by that of the husband. As might be anticipated from the absence of all legal regulations applicable to him, he was subject to no restrictions in the matter, save only, of course, where the wives of other men were concerned. If he had sufficient means he might practise polygamy. The language of Tacitus (*Germ.* 18: 'nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur') rather understates the facts. We know from other sources that many of the German chiefs had several wives (Müllenhoff, iv. 302), and in Sweden every chief had at least two. The married man might also possess concubines, selecting them mainly, it may be supposed, from among the slave-girls taken in war.[1]

[1] In the Assyro-Babylonian system of writing, the characters of a sexual nature were so disguised by the wedges which took the place of the original lines, that they must have lost practically all their suggestiveness from an exceedingly early date. Unchaste figures, however, are found on the cylinder-seals (generally with a religious bearing), and terra-cotta statuettes of women holding their breasts are met with—some of them images of Ištar or votaries of Ištar. Really unchaste literature is rare, the most pronounced instance being the temptation of Enki-du (Ea-bani) in the first tablet of the Gilgameš series. This wild man of the fields allows himself to be seduced by the charms of the *ḫarimtu* Šamḫat, and she takes him to live with Gilgameš at 'Erech of the enclosures,' which, besides being the abode of the hero, was also the dwelling of Ištar, goddess of love, and her votaries (Jensen, *KB* vi. 125 ff.). For purification in general, see art. CONFESSION (Assyr.-Bab.).

[1] The primitive term for 'concubine' appears in the O.H.G. *kebisa* and A.-S. *cefes*, 'concubine,' O.N. *kefser*, 'slave' (cf. F. Kluge, *Etym. Worterb. der deutschen Sprache*⁷, Strassburg, 1910, *s.v.* 'Kebse').

The relation of men and women within the state of marriage may therefore be defined as follows: The husband obtains the wife by purchase. It has long been recognized that the form of marriage referred to by Tacitus (*Germ.* 18: 'dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert') was neither more nor less than marriage by purchase (cf. Müllenhoff, iv. 302). The woman thus becomes the property (O.H.G. *daz wîp*) of the husband, who guards against the slightest infringement of his absolute prerogative with jealous ferocity, yet cedes it to others when he thinks proper. He himself lies under no obligations of marital faithfulness. Accordingly, he would regard the adultery of his wife less as a moral defilement of her person than as an encroachment upon his own proprietary rights. Thus the laudatory references of Tacitus to the supposed gifts of the bride to the bridegroom, as also indeed to the Germanic marriage system generally, find but little justification in the actual facts.

2. The relations of men and women before marriage.—With reference to the men, Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 21) writes thus:

'Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit; ab parvulis labori ac duritiae student. Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali vires nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vicesimum feminae notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus; cuius rei nulla est occultatio, quod et promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur et pellibus aut parvis renonum tegimentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda.'

The last sentence strikes us as somewhat strange. We naturally ask how an act of sexual intercourse could subsequently be discovered from the man's person, even were he quite naked, and, as this question permits of no answer, we must assume that Cæsar was thinking here rather of the resultant pregnancy of the young woman, the signs of which would become noticeable at an early stage, not only on the occasions of promiscuous bathing, but also in ordinary life, from the shortness of the skin-capes and *renones* worn, as it thus appears, by females as well as males; such indications, moreover, would lead also to the discovery of the man involved. The statements of Cæsar are otherwise in substantial agreement with those of Tacitus (*Germ.* 20: 'Sera iuvenum venus eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec virgines festinantur; eadem iuventa similis proceritas: pares validaeque miscentur; ac robora parentum liberi referunt'). It will hardly be doubted, therefore, that the Germans—in marked contrast to the Romans—held strong views in favour of long-continued sexual abstinence (*continentia*) on the part of youth. But, on the other hand, it should be clearly understood that this continence was practised on purely material grounds, *i.e.* as a means of becoming physically robust ('hoc ali staturam, ali vires nervosque confirmari putant'). Among this people, in fact, everything was regulated by the desire of building up a race of warriors and hunters; and this accounts also for their abstinence from strong drink: 'vinum ad se omnino importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines atque effeminari arbitrantur' (Cæs. iv. 2).

To some extent the self-restraint of the young men implies that of the young women, but we have little direct evidence on the point. The passage already quoted from Tacitus (*Germ.* 19: 'publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia,' etc.) can apply, as the context shows, only to the case of the married wife. Our sole authority for the assertion that 'the virgin who sullies her father's house with unchastity' was liable to the same frightful penalties as the unfaithful wife is St. Boniface in the passage quoted above. We have seen, on the other hand, that access to the daughter's bed was sometimes granted to an honoured guest. But, on the whole, we may infer that wives and daughters alike were compelled by the ruthless severity of their lords and masters to practise sexual abstinence—an abstinence which, it is true, on grounds already adduced, viz. the customs of vicarious procreation and lending a wife to a guest, we must take care not to identify with chastity (*castitas*) in our sense of the word. Such abstinence, nevertheless, even in the limited sense of *continentia*, offers a strong contrast to the moral practice of other ancient European peoples—notably the Thracians, of whom Herod. (v. 6) writes: *τὰς δὲ παρθένους οὐ φυλάσσουσι, ἀλλ' ἐῶσι τοῖσι αὐταὶ βούλονται ἀνδράσι μίσγεσθαι, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσουσι.*

The social life of the ancient Germans thus exhibits a certain degree of sexual restraint, forced upon the women by the iron-handed rule of their masters, and fostered in the young men by the general belief that premature indulgence saps the qualities that tell in hunting and war. This temperance in sexual matters, as an element in the social life of various tribes, is specially noted also by the Church Father Salvian: 'Gotorum gens perfida sed pudica est . . . Franci mendaces sed hospitales, Saxones crudelitate efferi sed castitate mirandi . . . remota est ab illis [Wandalis] omnibus carnis impuritas' (cf. Müllenhoff, iv. 301). But, as has been said, we must guard against identifying such objective temperance (*continentia*) with the subjective conception of chastity (*castitas*), *i.e.* a purity of life issuing from an inward motive, moral or religious. It is obvious that Roman, pagan, and Christian authorities have fallen into this error. That chastity in the higher sense cannot be attributed to the ancient Germans is shown not only by their customs of vicarious procreation and lending a wife to a guest, but also by features in their social life like the worship of the god Fricco, as described by Adam of Bremen: ('Tertius est Fricco, pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus, cuius etiam simulacra fingunt ingenti priapo; si nuptiae celebrandae sunt, [sacrificia offerunt] Fricconi'), and by other traces of a regular system of phallus-worship among the northern Germanic tribes (Vigfusson, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* 1883, ii. 381 f.). It is, moreover, a fact worthy of note that there is no pan-Teutonic term for 'chastity'; on the contrary, the idea is represented in the various ancient Teutonic dialects by different words, *e.g.* Goth. *swikns*, A.-S. *clænlic*, O.H.G. *chûski*, all of which seem originally to have meant 'clean,' *i.e.* free from the defilement of sexual intercourse (on these words, cf. S. Feist, *Etym. Wörterb. d. gotischen Sprache*, Halle, 1909; and F. Kluge, *op. cit.*). It is quite possible that the development of the idea of 'being clean' to that of 'being chaste' may have proceeded upon the belief that spirits and gods are to be approached only by those who are free from sexual pollution, and may thus go back even to the heathen period, as was certainly the case with the Greeks and the Romans (cf. E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, Naumburg, 1908). In the case of the Germanic religion, however, there is no evidence to support the conjecture. On the other hand, the conception of chastity as a quality exalted by certain individuals, both men and women, to the position of a principle of life well-pleasing to the gods, appears at an early date among the peoples bordering upon the Germans to the south-east and the west, viz. the Thracians and the Celts—in regions, that is to say, otherwise noted for unchastity.[1] Of the Thracians, Strabo (p. 296) writes: *εἶναι δέ τινας τῶν Θρᾳκῶν οἳ χωρὶς γυναικὸς ζῶσιν, οὓς κτίστας* (cf. Old Ch. Slav. *čistŭ*, 'clean'?) *καλεῖσθαι, ἀνιερῶσθαί τε διὰ τιμὴν*

[1] For the Thracians, see Herodotus, *loc. cit.*; for the Celts, H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *La famille celtique* (Paris, 1905).

καὶ μετὰ ἀδείας ζῆν; while, with regard to the Celts, Pomponius Mela (iii. 48) says that upon the island of Sena in the Atlantic Ocean there lived nine priestesses who were pledged to lifelong chastity. The idea of chastity (*castitas*), however, probably first gained a more adequate recognition in the north of Europe, and among the Germans in particular, through the influence of Christianity—that Christianity which, basing itself upon the supposed Pauline doctrine that every act of sexual intercourse, even in married life, is in essence a sin against the Holy Ghost, never flagged in the task of urging upon its converts—by spoken and written word—the conception of chastity as an ethical principle, and the practice of chastity as a rule of life. This side of our subject is further dealt with at the end of the Balto-Slavic section of this article (p. 502[b]).

II. *BALTO-SLAVIC.*—In dealing with the Baltic and Slavic peoples, we lack, unfortunately, the witness of a writer like Tacitus, whose account of the state of sexual morality among the ancient Germans, if somewhat idealizing, yet presents us with a body of coherent data which we have no reason to call in question. With regard to the Balto-Slavic tribes, on the other hand, we have to fall back on an assortment of isolated references, differing greatly in place and date of origin, and quite incapable of furnishing a complete picture of the sexual relations of these peoples, were it not that here and there—especially in the case of the Russians—they can be supplemented by features met with in the common life of to-day, and in many instances reflecting accurately the conditions of ancient times.

We begin by quoting from the Chronicle of Nestor (ed. Miklosich), cap. x., a description of ancient Slavic customs in general:[1]

'They had their customs and the law of their fathers and their traditions; each tribe had its own usages. The Poljans (the Poles of that period, living in the district around Kiev) had the quiet and gentle manners of their fathers, were modest before their daughters-in-law and their sisters, their mothers and parents, and showed great respect for their mothers-in-law and brothers-in-law. They had a marriage (*bracny*) system. The suitor did not go in person to his bride [to fetch, *i.e.* steal her], but they led her to him in the evening, and in the morning brought away what had been given for her. But the Drevljans ('forest-folk') lived in brutish fashion; they lived like wild beasts; they killed one another, ate unclean things, and had no marriages (*brakŭ*), but abducted (*umykachu uvody*) the young women.'

From this account we learn two things: (1) that the 'field-folk' or Poljans (Russ. *pole*, 'field') practised the regular form of marriage, *i.e.* marriage by purchase (Russ. *brakŭ*), while the 'forest-folk' or Drevljans (Russ. *dérevo*, 'tree') obtained their wives by capture; (2) that the 'field-folk' were quiet and gentle in their mode of life, the 'forest-folk' savage and unchaste.[2] The striking dissimilarity between the two groups in their sexual practices, thus emphasized by the ancient chronicler, will repeatedly come under notice in our further dealing with the Slavs.[3]

In proceeding to deal with our subject in detail, we shall adopt the same order as was followed above in treating of the ancient Germans.

1. **The relations of men and women in married life.**—Precisely as among the Germans, so among the peasant classes of Russia, public opinion allowed—and, in fact, still allows—the injured husband to wreak a fearful revenge upon the unfaithful wife, and even to put her to death. In the writings of Maxim Gorki there is a sketch drawn from his own observation, entitled 'Vyvodŭ' ('leading forth'), which reads almost like a paraphrase of the statements quoted above (p. 499[a]) from Tacitus and St. Boniface:[1]

'In the village street,' writes Gorki, 'between the white cabins of the peasants, a strange procession moves on amid wild uproar. A crowd of people surges along—densely packed and slow; it rolls like a huge wave; and in front of it staggers a pony—a grotesquely unkempt pony—with its head sullenly lowered. To the shaft of the cart a little woman, quite naked, and hardly more than a child, is tied by the hands with a string. Her gait is singular and strange—sideways; her head, with its thick, dishevelled, dark-red hair, is directed upwards, and slightly bent back; her eyes are wide open, and look towards some distant point with a dull and vacant stare, in which there is nothing human. . . . Her whole body is covered with blue and red weals, both round and long; her left breast, rounded, virgin-like, is slit open, and blood is dripping from it. . . . But upon the cart sits a stalwart peasant in a white shirt and a black lamb-skin cap, from beneath which hangs a tuft of reddish hair, falling over his brow. In one hand he holds the reins, in the other the knout, with which he lashes in turn the back of the horse and the body of the little woman, now so lacerated as to have lost the semblance of humanity. . . . And behind the cart and the woman tied thereto rolls the crowd in masses—screaming, howling, whistling, laughing, yelling, jeering. . . . In this way do the men punish their wives for adultery; that is a picture from real life—the law of use and wont. I saw it myself on the 15th of July 1891, in the village of Kandybovka, in the government of Kherson [Little Russia].

That so dire a punishment—resulting, it may be, in death—is dictated, not by the husband's indignation over his wife's violation of the law of chastity, but by his resentment at an injury done to his proprietary rights in a purchased chattel,[2] is shown by the fact that, as all the evidence proves, the custom of vicarious procreation—the temporary cession of the wife to another man with a view to offspring—prevailed among the Baltic tribes as among the Teutons.

Cf. Aeneas Silvius, *Script. rer. Pruss.* iv. 237: 'Matronae nobiles publice concubinos habent permittentibus viris, quos matrimonii adintores ("auxiliaries of marriage") vocant'; and again (as quoted by J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, i. 608): 'apud Lituanos more patrio nuptas, quae nobiles quidem essent, unos pluresve concubinos pro viri facultatibus domi alere consuevisse, qui negligente marito onera matrimonii subeant': cf. also Hartknoch, *Altes und neues Preussen oder preussische Historie*, I. ii. (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1684), p. 177.

On the other hand, so far as the present writer is aware, no instance of the practice of lending a wife to a guest has as yet come to light on Balto-Slavic soil.

In contrast to the rigorously guarded position of the married woman, there is evidence to show that here also, as in the Teutonic area, the married man was allowed perfect freedom in his sexual relations. We have the strongest grounds for believing that polygamy was the original practice of the Baltic and Slavic tribes (refs. in Schrader, *Reallex.* p. 634 f., and *Sprachvergl. u. Urgesch.* ii.[3] 342). A custom of peculiarly Oriental character, still very common in the districts to the east of the Carpathians, is the *snochačestvo* (*snochá*, 'daughter-in-law'), *i.e.* the licentious relations of the paterfamilias with the young wives of his sons—a state of matters tolerated in silence by his own elderly wife.[3] That this custom, which may easily be accounted for by the circumstance that the augmented family still lived together and that the father of the house had unlimited authority, is of very ancient standing, is shown by a reference in the work entitled *De Russorum religione, ritibus nuptiarum, funerum, victu, vestitu, etc., et de Tartarorum religione ac moribus epistola ad D. Davidem Chytraeum recens scripta*, Speier, 1582, p. 243: 'Viri autem qui ex conjuge fato functa masculam sobolem susceperunt, persaepe impuberi filio sponsam quaerunt, cum qua tamen illi dormiunt et liberos procreant,' etc.; though it should be noted that the reference applies

[1] Cf. Schlözer, *Russische Annalen*, 1802-9, i. 125 ff.

[2] The distinction between marriage by purchase and marriage by capture is fully discussed in the present writer's *Sprachvergleichung u. Urgeschichte*, ii.[3], 1906-7, p. 322 ff.

[3] Cf. K. Rhamm, 'Der Verkehr d. Geschlechter unter d. Slaven in seinen gegensätzlichen Erscheinungen,' *Globus*, lxxxii. no. 7.

[1] Gorki's narrative will be found, *e.g.*, in E. Bohme's *Russische Literatur* (Sammlung Goschen), i. 88 f.

[2] In reference to marriage by purchase among the Baltic and Slavic peoples, see O. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 109, and *Sprachvergl. u. Urgesch.*, *loc. cit.*

[3] The subject is fully discussed in Schrader, *Sprachvergl. u. Urgesch.* ii.[3] 369.

only to widowers and the wives of sons still under the age of puberty, being based, as it would seem, upon inaccurate information.

In short, the present writer can discover no essential difference among the Baltic, the Slavic, and the Teutonic peoples with respect to their ideas of married life. In sexual matters the husband enjoys absolute liberty, while the wife is restrained from illicit relations with other men by her fear of a savage retribution that may involve death itself, although in certain circumstances—by order or with consent of her husband—she may surrender her person to another.

2. The relations of men and women before marriage.—This aspect of our subject, in contrast with the foregoing, presents unusual difficulties. Amongst the Balto-Slavic peoples there is no trace whatever of any such reasoned objection to premature sexual indulgence as prevailed among the Teutons. As a matter of fact, the contrary would almost seem to be true, if we may judge from a statement of the Arabic writer Mas'ūdī (in Wattenbach, *Widukind*², Leipzig, 1891, p. 145): 'The women are chaste after marriage, but when a young woman becomes enamoured of a man, she goes to him and gratifies her passion. When a man takes a maiden in marriage and finds that she is a virgin, he says to her, "Had there been anything good about you, some one would have taken a fancy to you, and you would have chosen a lover." And he sends her away, and will have no more to do with her.'

This recalls what Herodotus says about the Thracians, as quoted in the Teutonic section of this article; and, if we compare the facts thus indicated with the low state of sexual morality said to prevail to-day in many parts of the Balto-Slavic region, *e.g.* Croatia-Slavonia, as reported by Rhamm (*op. cit.* p. 103 ff.), or certain governments of Russia, where the village baths and spinning-rooms are the scenes of almost incredible profligacy, we might infer that the people of this quarter of the globe have always been absolutely indifferent as to whether a young woman about to marry was a virgin or not. Such an inference, however, is excluded by observances which point unmistakably to a higher appreciation of maidenly continence (cf., on this point, O. Schrader, *Die Indogermanen*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 84 ff.). Nevertheless, even if we grant the presence of such a feature as maidenly continence in a section at least of the Slavic race, yet amid the conditions described, with such practices as the public examination of the bride's chemise, and the performance of the first coitus before witnesses (both customs are found also among the Germans), amid conditions, too, in which, as is reported of the Lithuanians, the young men, on the occasion of their marriage, offer sacrifices to the god Pizius (Lith. *pìsti*, 'coire'; cf. also what is said above (p. 500ᵇ) regarding the Fricco of the Northern Teutons), we can hardly speak of 'chastity' in our sense of the term (*castitas*). It would be altogether wrong, indeed, to characterize such customs simply as obscene. They should be regarded rather as an expression of a certain naive sensuousness — a simple-minded homage to the powers and organs of human procreation. But for chastity in the modern sense —that ethical reserve in word and action which shrouds the sexual aspect of life—we shall seek in vain amongst human beings at this stage of development, whether they be Teutons or Slavs. It was doubtless the Christian Church and its teachings which first introduced the modern conception of chastity to the Slavic, as to the Teutonic, race, and it is in accordance with this view that the ordinary Russian terms for 'chaste' and 'chastity,' viz. *celomúdry*, *celomúdrennostĭ* (properly σωφροσύνη), come from Church Slavic. The present writer is inclined to doubt whether there is in Russian a vernacular term for 'chastity' which would apply to males as well as females. The expression used for 'deflower' is *celku lomátĭ*, *i.e.* 'to break that which is intact.'

When Christianity found its way into the Northern countries of Europe, its teachers sought to bring the entire sexual intercourse—in the married and the unmarried alike—into line with the ideal of absolute chastity ascribed to the Apostle Paul. An indication of the extent to which such endeavours were pressed may be found in certain Anglo-Saxon ordinances, one of which runs thus: 'The layman who would enjoy the grace of God must not come near his wife for sexual intercourse on the nights of Sunday, or of feastdays, or of Wednesday, or of Friday, or during the spring fast, or in any period whatever when fasting is enjoined.'[1]

The same thing is found in Russia, and the thoroughness with which the teachings of the Church had become incorporated with the mind of the people finds expression in a little incident narrated by Gleb Uspensky in his *Vlastĭ Zemli* ('The Might of the Soil'), Moscow, 1882 [a work of great value for the history of civilization].

The wife of the parish priest has given birth to a child on the Feast of the Epiphany, and the women of the village find by calculation that intercourse must have taken place on Maundy Thursday during the Lenten fast. Whereupon a rustic utters his thoughts about the priest in this fashion: 'Aye, in his words he is a real apostle, but in his conduct a mangy dog. Even a drunken peasant would never let himself act so.' And when he goes to greet the new-born child, he cannot keep back the gibe: 'Well, Otce ("father"; Eccl. Slav.), have you and your wife (*matuška*) not made some mistake in the calendar?'

To the influence of the Church may likewise be traced the observance of the 'Three Nights of Tobias,' *i.e.* a period of three days after marriage, during which the young pair abstain from intercourse. This custom obtains in Germany, especially in Swabia; there is no evidence to prove that it ever existed in Russia, or among the Slavs generally, and we may connect its absence there with the fact that the passage of Tobit which suggested it is not found in the Greek text, and as given in the Vulgate ('Tu autem, cum acceperis eam, ingressus cubiculum, per tres dies continens esto ab ea, et nihil aliud nisi orationibus vacabis cum ea' [6¹⁸]) is manifestly an interpolation.[2] We must nevertheless take note of the fact that the observance of periods of abstinence was a wide-spread custom among Aryan and non-Aryan peoples alike, and was perhaps based upon the superstitions and magical ideas of a remote age.[3]

The sexual morality of both the Teutons and the Slavs is a subject upon which much obscurity still remains. As regards the Teutons, for instance, how shall we explain the fact that, when the Christian Church reached them, it did not find everywhere a state of things similar to that recorded by Cæsar and Tacitus? Was the change a result of Roman influence? Or did it arise from the circumstance that, when the struggles arising from the migration of tribes had ended, the chief motive for the sexual temperance of the young men, viz. the need of the qualities useful in war and

[1] Cf. F. Roeder, 'Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen,' in L. Morsbach, *Studien zur engl. Phil.* iv. [1899] 132.
[2] Cf. O. Fritzsche, *Exeg Handb. z. d. Apokr. des A.T.* (Leipzig, 1853) ii. 90 f.
[3] Cf. L. v. Schröder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Esten* (Berlin, 1888), p. 192 ff.; E. Hermann, 'Beiträge z. d. indogerm. Hochzeitsgebräuchen,' *Indogerm. Forsch.* xvii. [1904] 383 ff.; F. von Reitzenstein, 'Keuschheitsnächte,' *ZE* xli. [1909] 656.

hunting, was taken away? And why is that high appreciation of virginity which we must ascribe to the ancient Germans not to be found as a rule among the rural population of Germany to-day, which is marked, according to trustworthy authorities, by frequent surrender of maidenly honour before marriage, reminding us rather of the Thracians spoken of by Herodotus than of the *Germani* of Cæsar and Tacitus. Among the Slavs, again, how are we to explain that contrast in sexual morality already noted by Nestor; or that sexual modesty (*stydlivosti*) which is found side by side with the frankest sensuality, more particularly among the Southern Slavs.[1] A competent history of the sexual morality of Northern Europe would have to deal with all these questions, but, important as the subject is, no such work is as yet available, and the present article offers no more than fragmentary contributions to the undertaking.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given in the course of the article.

O. SCHRADER.

[1] Cf. K. Rhamm, 'Die geschlechtlichen Tahuverbote unter d. Südslaven,' *loc. cit.* p. 156 ff.

CHEMOSH.—See MOABITES.

CHEROKEES.

CHEROKEES.—An important subdivision of the Iroquoian branch of the Amerinds of N. America, formerly dwelling in the mountainous country formed by the southern portion of the Alleghany range, but now resident partly upon their reservation in Indian Territory, and partly on the Qualla reservation in Western North Carolina. They number about 28,000, including many individuals incorporated from other tribes. Their name is a corruption of *Tsálagi*, a term derived from the Choctaw, signifying 'cave-people,' in allusion to the character of the country from which they originally came; but they frequently describe themselves as *Ani-yûñwiya*, 'Real People.' They consist of seven clans—Wolf, Deer, Bird, Paint, Ani-Sahâni, Ani-Ga-tâgewi, and Ani-Gi-lahi (the names of the last three cannot be translated with any degree of certainty). They possess an alphabet of their own, which they use for the composition of sacred formulæ.

1. Type of religion.—The Cherokee religion is a polytheistic form of zoolatry, or animal-worship, which may possibly have had a totemic origin. No great central figure, no creative cause, is evident in this system. To the Cherokee the Land of Spirits is merely a shadowy extension of the world in which he dwells. He recognizes neither a Paradise nor a place of punishment, neither a Supreme Being nor a Spirit of Evil. 'The Cherokees,' remarks Whipple, 'know nothing of the Evil One and his domains, except what they have learned from white men' (*Report on the Indian Tribes*, p. 35 [Pacific Railroad Documents]). The tribal gods are neither good nor evil, and live in *Galûⁿlati*, or the Upper World above the sky.

2. Sources of religious history.—The religious formulæ of the Cherokees have been for the most part preserved in writing by the shamans, or priests, of the tribe. They are written in the characters invented by Sequoyah in 1821, and have been collected with much pains and industry by the officials of the United States Bureau of Ethnology. They consist for the most part of medico-religious formulæ and charms to be used in all departments of daily life, and are invaluable in view of the light they cast upon native rite and semi-religious practice. With the Cherokees, as with the ancient Egyptians, religion enters into every act of existence. Notwithstanding that missionary endeavour among the Cherokees has been strenuous in character, and that the Gospels have been printed in their own language and alphabet, the native religion still retains an exceptionally strong hold upon the people.

3. Decentralization of religious power.—In the majority of N. American Indian tribes the occult knowledge which was the property of the shamans was usually relegated to the keeping of various secret societies, which in their methods of initiation and general practice strongly resembled the popular conception of modern Freemasonry. That such was the custom with the Cherokees there is no reason to doubt. But their early adoption, in the third decade of last century, of a civilized form of government put an end to any such socio-religious organizations, and at the present day the representatives of the native priesthood work quite independently of one another, sometimes even specializing in the cure of certain diseases.

MacGowan states (*American Historical Magazine*, x. 139) that from the most remote times the Cherokees have had one family set apart for the priestly office. This was, when first known to the whites, that of the Nicotani; but its members became so insolent and abused their sacred office so flagrantly that with savage justice they were massacred to a man. The statement that another family was appointed in their stead, who to this day officiate in all religious rites (Brinton, *Myths of the New World*[3], 1896, p. 322), appears to have no foundation in fact, as no such shamanistic caste is mentioned by Mooney in his admirable work (see Lit. at end) on the sacred formulæ of the Cherokees.

4. Gods.—The gods of the Cherokees may be divided into four classes: (1) animal gods, (2) elemental gods, (3) inanimate gods, and (4) anthropomorphic gods.

(1) The *animal gods* are, no doubt, the remnants of a totemic system, and are regarded as the great original types of the classes they represent. Among the most important of these are the *uktena*, a mythical horned serpent of gigantic size, the rattlesnake, terrapin, hawk, rabbit, squirrel, and dog. There are also smaller bird- and insect-deities, of which the spider is one of the more important.

The spider is frequently adjured in the sacred formulæ used for the purpose of destroying life, as it is supposed that he entangles the soul of his victim in the meshes of his web, or tears it from the body of the devoted being, as he might from that of a fly, dragging it away to the Land of Darkness.

Regarding the rattlesnake, the Cherokees relate that a 'prince' of the species once dwelt among the valleys of their original mountain home. Obedient subjects guarded his domains, and he was crowned with a gem of marvellous magical properties. This precious stone was the envy of many warriors and shamans, but those who attempted its capture were destroyed by the poisoned fangs of its defenders. At last one adventurous warrior, more ingenious than the rest, hit upon the idea of donning a suit of leather, and by means of this device walked unharmed through the files of serpent-warders and tore the jewel from the head of the serpent-king. The people of his nation preserved it with jealous care, and related its origin to Captain Timberlake about the middle of the 18th century.[1]

The Creeks, Hurons, and Algonquians have a similar myth regarding a horned or crowned serpent, in which it is not difficult to detect the thunderbolt or the lightning, the horn of the heavenly serpent, for there is a serpent (water) in the heavens as well as a water-serpent on earth. The Iroquois, of whom the Cherokees are a branch, believed in a great horned serpent rising out of a lake and preying upon the people until a hero-god destroyed it with a thunderbolt (Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, Rochester, N.Y., 1854, p. 159). These are, indeed, all allegories, representing the atmospheric changes which accompany the advancing seasons and the ripening harvests. As the emblem of the fertilizing summer showers, the serpent of lightning was the god of fruitfulness.

The rabbit-god also appears frequently in the Cherokee folk-tales, and must be granted another than a totemic origin. In these fables it appears as Manito Wabos, actually overcomes a demi-god, and blows him to fragments, the pieces becoming the bits of flint or chert which were formed in the mountainous Cherokee country. In the traditions of the Algonquians and Iroquois the great hare or rabbit, Manibozho or Michabo, constantly re-appears. He is half-wizard, half-simpleton, in the modernized versions of these tribes; but as the patron and founder of the Algonquian *meda*-worship he is a very different character, being regarded as the creator of all things, the inventor of picture-writing, the father and guardian of the nation, and the ruler of the winds. He is also a mighty hunter and culture-hero. In the autumn he

[1] Henry Timberlake, *Memoirs*, p. 48.

seeks his winter sleep. He resides in the east, and in the formulæ of the *meda* craft, when the winds are invoked to the medicine-lodge, the east is summoned in his name. In all this can be espied more than the myth of a mere rabbit-god. The east is prominent in primitive mythology as the source of the morning. The examination of the Algonquian root *wab*, the groundwork of the name Wabos, proves that, although it has the meaning of 'rabbit,' it also implies 'white,' and that from it is derived the word for the east, the dawn, the light. Wabos, then, is no mere rabbit-god, but the god of light, of dawn, the dispeller of the darkness, as is the Algonquian Michabo. The Iroquois have many Algonquian relationships, and this myth would appear to be one of them.

(2) *Elemental gods.*—The principal elemental deities are fire, water, and the sun, all of which possess symbolical appellations. The sun is called *Une'lanŭhi*, 'the Apportioner,' and is worshipped chiefly by the 'ball-players,' or actors in a rite which will be described later. Hunters worship fire. Water is designated the 'Long Person,' and no ceremony of any description is complete without a prayer being first addressed to this deity. Wind, storms, clouds, and frost are also frequently invoked. The separate worship of the sun and of fire is remarkable, as among the majority of American races what appears on the surface to be sun-worship is usually found, upon closer examination, to be attributable to the worship of fire. That this cannot be the case with the Cherokees is plain, as they differentiate between the two, and this discrimination rather sharply separates their worship from the religious practice of most other N. American tribes.

(3) *Inanimate gods.*—In these we find undoubtedly a close analogy to fetishistic practice. The principal of these inanimate deities is the Stone, a pebble suspended by a string, prayed to by the shamans in the hope of finding lost articles. The Flint is also invoked when the shaman is about to scarify the patient with a flint arrowhead before rubbing on the medicine. The Flint is an object of especial veneration in nearly all American mythologies. Tohil, the god who gave the Kiche of Guatemala fire by shaking his sandals, is represented by a flint-stone, and they also possessed a myth which recounted how in the beginning of things such a stone fell from heaven to earth and broke into 1600 pieces, from each of which sprang a god. These myths describe how the worship of flints and stones arose. They were emblems of the thunderbolts, the cause of fecundating rains.

Plant-gods are not prominent in the Cherokee pantheon, the principal one appearing to be the *ginseng* (*Aralia quinquefolia*, Gr.), the so-called 'man-root,' also held in high estimation by the Ojibwas as of Divine origin (see W. J. Hoffman, 'The Midēwiwin of the Ojibwa,' 7 *RBEW*, 1891, p. 241). In the formulæ of the Cherokee shamans it is addressed as the 'Great Man,' or the 'Little Man,' although its correct designation in the Cherokee language signifies 'mountain-climber.'

(4) *Anthropomorphic gods.*—The Cherokees possess quite a number of anthropomorphic deities of more or less importance. Of these, *Asgaya Gigagei* (Red Man) is perhaps the most frequently invoked. He appears to be connected in some manner with the thunder, and would seem to be androgynous, as in one of the formulæ for rheumatism he is addressed both as 'Red Man' and as 'Red Woman,' his sex name to be applied to him as the sex of the patient varies; that is, if the patient be a male, he must be addressed as 'Red Woman,' whereas, if the sufferer be a woman, it is necessary, to ensure a successful operation, to address him as 'Red Man.' The facts that he is described as being of a red colour, and that the Cherokees were originally a mountain people, seem to point to the conclusion that he was a thunder-god. Other thunder-gods of the American race, the Con of the Peruvians for example, are decribed as red in colour, and as dwelling in clouds upon the mountain tops—their hue, of course, denoting the lightning. The Chac, or rain (cloud) gods of the Mayas were called 'the Red Ones,' owing to their emanating from the clouds. A portion of the feather-shield of Tlaloc, the Mexican god of rain, was also of a red colour. In the Cherokee colour-symbolism red is the colour of the east, whence comes the sun.

Two other thunder-deities are also frequently mentioned in the sacred formulæ. These are the 'Little Men,' or 'Thunder Boys,' whom we shall find occasionally invoked when we treat of the formulæ themselves. The Peruvians believed the thunderbolts to be the children of Apocatequil, a thunder-god; and in Peru twins were always regarded as sacred to the lightning, since they were emblematic of the thunder and lightning twins, Apocatequil and Piguerao. In these 'Thunder Boys,' then, we have probably an analogous mythical pair.

A hunter-god of giant proportions is *Tsul 'Kalû*, or 'Slanting Eyes,' who lives in a great mountain of the Blue Ridge range in N.W. Virginia, and whose private property includes all the game in the district. In this slant-eyed deity we may perhaps descry a deer-god. Such a god was worshipped by the Nicaraguans, who offered to it clotted blood in a napkin.

Many prayers, songs, and excuses are made by the savage hunter to the very animals he intends to kill. But the Cherokee is nothing if not consistent in the choice of the gods he selects to invoke on special occasions. Thus, if illness is believed to be caused by a fish, the heron, fish-hawk, or some bird which lives upon fish is implored to seize the evil-doer and devour it, so that relief may come to the sufferer. Should small birds torment the vitals of the patient or otherwise affect his imagination, the sparrow-hawk is invoked to scatter them; and, when the rabbit is adjudged the author of evil, the rabbit-hawk is requested to slay him. Should even a small portion of the disease remain, the services of the whirlwind are requisitioned by the officiating shaman, who begs it to carry the remnant to the hills, and there scatter it, so that it shall never reappear. The warrior prays to the Red War-club ere setting out on the war-path, and he who expects to court danger in any expedition prays to the cloud to envelop him and screen him from his enemies. The worship of the Cherokees is therefore a pantheism, but it is a pantheism in which the animal-gods are paramount.

5. Spirits and other mythological conceptions.—Numerous spirits, ghosts, and minor gods of all descriptions swell the Cherokee pantheon. Such are Detsata, a Puck-like spirit, and the 'Little People,' analogous to the fairies of Europe. The animal gods or spirits who dwell above are the great prototypes of which the earthly brutes are but the microcosms. They dwell at the four cardinal points, each of which has a special name and colour, which applies to everything in the same connexion. Thus the east is the Sun Land, the north the Cold Land, the west the Darkening Land, and the south the Mountain Wahala, and their respective colours are red, blue, black, and white. The white and red spirits are usually regarded, when combined, as those from whom emanate the blessings of peace and health; the red alone are invoked for success in any venture; the blue, to frustrate inimical persons or bring trouble upon them; and the black, to slay an enemy. The most potent are the white and red, and the final success of any undertaking is supposed to rest with them.

For example, in the formula used in the cure of rheumatism, the shaman invokes the Red Dog in the Sun Land, addressing him as *Adawehi* (one possessed of supernatural power), to whom nothing is impossible, 'whose prey never escapes.' The Red Dog, in response, is supposed to carry away a portion of the disease, and the Blue Dog of the Cold Land is next invoked. When he, too, has removed a part, the Black and White Dogs are subsequently implored to do likewise. Finally, the White Terrapin is requested to bear off the remainder of the disease, after which the shaman declares that a cure has been effected.

6. The shamans, or priests.—The shamans, or priests, as has been said, belong to no central organization, as in the majority of North American tribes, but practise singly. They are extremely jealous of the ability of white physicians, and resent their presence among the various Cherokee tribes, asserting to the people that white man's medicine is harmful to Indians. The belief of the Cherokees and their ritual are in that stage of religious evolution known as *orenda*, or magic in which the medico-religious practice of the shamans takes the place of actual ritual. The chief necessity for religion, in fact, is found in the existence of disease, and the principal office of religion is its eradication. Disease and death the Cherokees believe to be unnatural, and due to the evil influence of animal spirits, ghosts, and witches. The shaman's office is therefore the invocation of the benign influence to avert or to remove disease or misfortune, or to bring down evil upon the heads of any persons whom those who employ them desire to harm.

The pay they receive for their offices is called *ugista'ti*, probably derived from *tsigia*, 'I take,' or 'I eat.' Formerly this took the form of a deerskin or a pair of moccasins, but since the introduction of civilized manufactures it may be a piece of cloth, a garment of any sort, or a handkerchief. They dislike the imputation that these gifts are 'pay,' and assert that their presentation is necessary to the consummation of a perfect cure. So far as their explanation can be understood, the cloth is said by them to be regarded as an offering to the spirit which has brought about the disease, to effect the ransom of the afflicted person, or to protect the hand of the shaman whilst engaged in extracting the disease from the body of the patient. They further assert that the evil influence of the spirit enters into the cloth, which must be sold or given away by the shaman, else, when the amount of cloth he has collected reaches the height of his head, he will die. No evil results, however, are supposed to accrue to the purchaser, but no member of the shaman's family may accept these goods unless he give something in exchange. However, if the reward take the form of comestibles, the shaman may consume them without fear, so long as they are partaken of along with the other members of the family. The reward to the shaman is always freely made, and he is not supposed to make any charge; but, should he be engaged in other than purely medical practice, a fixed rate of remuneration exists for his payment. Should the shaman be called in to a case which he diagnoses as a certain complaint, and after a while traverse his own diagnosis, he expects a separate fee at the commencement of a new course of treatment.

A curious point of shamanistic etiquette is that neither the husband nor the wife of a sick person can send for the priest, but the call must proceed from a blood relation of the patient. A case is recorded where a woman complained that her husband was very sick and required the treatment of a shaman, but said that his family neglected the matter, and that she dare not take the initiative.

7. Medico-religious practice. — As has already been pointed out, the principal part of the Cherokee religion centres in medico-religious practice. The study of this phase of religious magic is exceptionally important, as illustrating very fully a stage in the evolution of religious belief and ritual. Before commenting further upon the exact position of this phase as a link in the chain of religious evolution, it will perhaps be well to examine the native myth which recounts the origin of disease, and the consequent institution of curative medicine:

The myth recounts that in the old days the members of the brute creation were gifted with speech, and dwelt in amity with the human race. The increase of humanity, however, crowded the animals into the forests and desert places of the earth, and, upon the invention of lethal weapons, man commenced the wholesale slaughter of the beasts for the sake of their flesh and skins, and trod upon the lesser animals with contempt. The animals, driven to despair, resolved upon retributive measures. The first to meet were the bears, headed by the old White Bear, their chief. After several speakers had denounced mankind for their bloodthirsty behaviour, war was unanimously decided upon, and the nature of human weapons was discussed. It was discovered that the bow and arrow were the principal human weapons, and it was resolved to fashion a specimen to see if they could not turn man's weapons against himself. A piece of wood suitable for the purpose was procured, and one of the bears sacrificed himself to provide them with gut for a bowstring. After the bow was completed it was discovered that the claws of the bears spoiled their shooting. One of the bears, however, cut his claws, and succeeded in hitting the mark. But the chief, the old White Bear, interposed with the remark that claws were necessary to climb trees with, and that all would have to starve were they to cut them off.

The next council was held by the deer, under their chief, Little Deer. They resolved to inflict rheumatism upon every hunter who should slay one of them unless he asked pardon in a suitable manner. They gave notice of this decision to the nearest settlement of Indians, and instructed them how to make propitiation when forced by necessity to kill one of the deer folk. So, when a deer is slain by the hunter, the Little Deer runs to the spot, and, bending over the bloodstains, asks the spirit of the deer if it has heard the prayer of the hunter for pardon. If the reply be 'yes,' all is well, and the Little Deer departs; but if the answer be in the negative, he tracks the hunter until he enters his cabin and strikes him with rheumatism, so that he becomes a helpless cripple. Sometimes hunters who have not learned the proper formula for pardon attempt to turn aside the Little Deer from his pursuit by building a fire behind them in the trail.

The fishes and reptiles then held a joint council, and arranged to haunt those human beings who tormented them, with hideous dreams of serpents twining around them, and of eating fish which had become decayed. These snake and fish dreams seem to be of common occurrence among the Cherokees, and the services of the shamans to banish them are in constant demand.

Lastly, the birds and insects, with the smaller animals, gathered together for a similar purpose, the grubworm presiding over the meeting. Each in turn expressed an opinion, and the consensus was against mankind. They devised and named various diseases.

When the plants, which were friendly to man, heard what had been arranged by the animals, they determined to frustrate their evil designs. Each tree, shrub, and herb, down even to the grasses and mosses, agreed to furnish a remedy for some one of the diseases named. Thus did medicine come into being, and thus the plants came to furnish the antidote to counteract the evil wrought by the revengeful animals. When the shaman is in doubt as to what treatment to apply for the relief of a patient, the spirit of the plant suggests to him a fitting remedy.

The idea of curing by means of plants probably sprang from fetishistic practice. Some analogy or likeness was traced between the plant and certain of the sacred animals or spirits, according to the process known as the Doctrine of Signatures. It is a recognized principle in magic that things which bear a resemblance to each other have an occult effect upon one another. Thus, the shaman mixes with a draught to expel worms the red fleshy stalks of chickweed, because they resemble worms, and consequently must possess some occult influence upon worms themselves. This resemblance between substances is employed by practitioners of savage magic all the world over, and instances can be multiplied by the score (see Lang, 'Moly and Mandragora,' *Custom and Myth*[2], 1893, p. 143). The fetishistic employment of the chickweed in the above-mentioned example is plain. In biliousness, again, called *dalâni* by the Cherokees, the most apparent symptom is the yellow bile vomited by the patient; and, in order to effect a cure, plants which possess a yellow stem or flower are employed

in treatment. This system also extends to the tabu which is part of the prescription. Thus a patient who suffers from scrofula must not eat the flesh of a turkey, the dewlap of which resembles a scrofulous eruption.

Faith plays an immense part in the practice of savage medicine, and the rites and prayers of the shamans are calculated to inspire confidence in the Indian's breast, the effect thus produced probably conducing to his physical betterment. Many of the plants used by the Cherokee shamans are of absolutely no avail as drugs, and are employed merely because of their 'sympathetic' analogies to the supposed cause of the complaint.

8. The medico-religious tabu.—If the condition of the patient be serious, the shaman almost invariably places him under a tabu. This is nearly always done for the purpose of removing him from direct or indirect contact with any woman in a pregnant condition or suffering from recurrent illness. The presence of such a woman is considered to nullify the shaman's treatment, and all females who do not belong to the family are refused admittance. Men are also forbidden to enter, because they may have come into contact with a tabued woman. In a rheumatic formula the patient is forbidden to touch a squirrel, dog, cat, mountain trout, or a woman. Here we may trace the totemic tabu.

9. Shamanistic medico-religious method.—Baths, bleeding, and rubbing, accompanied by magical formulæ, enter largely into the methods in use among the shamans for the expulsion of evil spirits or of foreign bodies placed in the system at their instigation. Bathing in a running stream, or 'going to water,' as they term it, is one of their most common medico-religious ceremonies, and is performed upon many different occasions, as at the commencement of a new moon, before eating new food at the green-corn dance, before the medicine dance, and before and after the ball-play. It is also frequently brought into requisition in connexion with the invocations for long life, the counteraction of bad dreams or evil spells, and as a part of regular treatment for many different diseases. The details of the ceremony are exceedingly elaborate, and vary with the occasion. The shaman and the person who is to bathe are required to fast from the previous evening, the bath taking place at sunrise. The bather immerses his entire body in the water either four or seven times, but in some cases ritual is satisfied if the water is poured over the head by the hand. Whilst the bather is in the water, the shaman sits on the bank, divining omens from the play of magic beads between his thumb and finger, or from the motions of fishes in the stream. The end of autumn is considered the best period of the year in which to perform this ceremony, as at that time the fallen leaves from the trees float upon the rivers, and are supposed to communicate to them their medicinal virtues.

Bleeding is an operation usually performed before taking part in the ball-play, or in cases of rheumatic origin. In one of its forms it merely consists in scratching the patient's skin and rubbing in the medicine to be applied, but in its most drastic form it is performed with a small cupping-horn, to which suction is applied. The shaman usually pretends to find a small pebble or stick in the blood drawn, which he declares to have been placed in the patient's body by the evil spells of an enemy. Scratching is a severe process, being performed by a flint arrow-head or a rattlesnake's tooth, in accordance with the mythologic theory; and in preparation for the ball-play a huge comb having seven teeth is used, made from the sharpened splinters of a turkey's leg bone. The scratching is performed according to a particular pattern, and is extremely painful.

In rubbing, the palm of the hand is used. In a formula which treats of snake-bite it is recommended to rub in a contrary direction to that in which the snake coils itself, because 'this is just the same as uncoiling it'—a remarkable instance of sympathetic magic.

Blowing upon the body is often practised, this being usually performed so that the shaman may blow the *shopega* cross on the patient.

10. Plant-gathering ceremonies.—The ceremonies used in connexion with gathering the medicinal plants and herbs are legion. The shaman is usually equipped for the search with a quantity of red and white beads. He approaches in a certain direction the plant to be culled, and circles round it either one or four times, reciting certain prayers during these revolutions. He then plucks the plant out of the ground by the roots, and places a bead in the hole, which he fills up with loose earth. These beads are regarded as a compensation to the earth for the plants thus reft from her. In some cases it is considered essential by the shaman to pass by the first three plants met until he comes to the fourth, which he takes; he is then at liberty to return for the others. When a tree is being stripped of its bark, the bark is always taken from the east side of the tree; and, when the roots or branches are used, it is considered necessary to pluck the one which runs out towards the east, the reason being given that the sun's rays have rendered the branch or root bitter and more powerful medicine. The roots, herb, and bark having been gathered, the shaman ties them up in a small bundle, and casts them into a running stream, muttering appropriate invocations the while. If the package floats, he considers it an omen of good for the success of his prescription. But, should it sink, he concludes that he has failed in some part of his ritual, and commences the entire process over again, from the culling of the necessary plants onward. The preparation of the medicine, its proper care and administration, have each a ritual of its own; and so entrenched are the shamans in the esteem of the Indians, because of their exactness in the observance of these rules, that impostors receive short shrift.

11. Colour symbolism.—In the shamanistic system of the Cherokees, colour symbolism plays a most important part. As already indicated, this was connected chiefly with the four cardinal points of the compass. Nearly all American Indian tribes possess elaborate systems of colour symbolism, which is generally expressed with reference to the points of the compass, personal decoration and tatuing, etc.; and in some instances, in addition to the four horizontal points or regions of the universe, three others were sometimes recognized, which may be termed the vertical points or regions, namely, the upper, lower, and middle worlds. In some cases, as among the Navaho, a separate colour scheme is used for their heaven or celestial region, and another for their under-ground world, the region of death, danger, and witchcraft. In some instances the colours of the cardinal points have been used to denote something more than mere ideas of locality, though these ideas may often have some mental connexion with the idea of locality. Thus, the elements as conceived in Indian philosophy—fire, wind, water, and earth—are often symbolized by the colours of the cardinal points. As before explained, the Cherokee deities corresponded in colour to the characteristics imputed to them, and were connected with other spirits of like name but of different colours. Their symbolic system, apart from their cardinal system (Mooney,

'Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees, 7 *RBEW*, p. 342), is as follows:

East = red = success; triumph.
North = blue = defeat; trouble.
West = black = death.
South = white = peace; happiness.
Above = brown = unascertained, but propitious.
,, = yellow = about the same as blue.

Much diversity exists in the colour systems of the various tribes, both as to the exact location and as to the significance of the colours, but black is usually the symbol of death, while white and red signify peace and war respectively. The Cherokees established places of refuge as asylums for criminals, in the manner of the Israelites, which they designated 'white towns'; and for sacrifices, animals of this colour were most highly esteemed by them.

12. Ceremonial dances and games.—The Cherokees possess, in common with other Indian tribes, many ceremonial dances and games, but several of these seem to differentiate their customs sharply from those of other peoples. Thus, the Medicine Dance and the Medicine-boiling Dance were second in importance only to the *Busk*, or Green-Corn Dance. The Medicine Dance is generally performed in connexion with other dances, but the Medicine-boiling Dance, which possessed much solemn ceremonial, has unfortunately been discontinued for nearly twenty years. It took place in the autumn, probably preceded the Green-Corn Dance, and lasted for four days. The principal ceremony in connexion with it was the drinking of a powerful decoction of various herbs, which acted as a strong purgative and emetic. The usual fasting and bathing accompanied this ceremony.

The Green-Corn Dance was an occasion upon which all crimes and faults were solemnly forgiven and forgotten, a season of tribal absolution. The day upon which the ceremony was to commence was determined by the chief in council. In settlements of small importance it lasted for four days only, but in the larger Indian villages it often occupied twice that period.

On the first day the 'square' in the middle of the village is sprinkled with white sand while the 'black drink' is in preparation. The official fire-maker kindles the new fire by friction, the four logs for the fire being laid cross-wise with reference to the cardinal points. A strong emetic is then drunk until the afternoon, and the day is finished with various clan dances. On the second day, dancing recommences in the morning. About midday the men approach the new fire, rub the ashes on their chins, necks, and bellies, jump head-foremost into the nearest river, and then return to the square. The women are meanwhile busy with the preparation of new corn for the feast. Before the feast begins, the men rub some of the maize between their hands, and then on the face and chest. On the third day the men sit in the square all day. On the fourth day the women rise early and procure some of the new fire, with which they kindle a similarly constructed pile of logs upon their own hearths. They then plunge into water, taste some salt, and dance the 'long dance.' On the fifth day the four logs of the fire, which last only four days, having been consumed, four other logs are similarly arranged, and the fire is re-kindled, after which the men drink the 'black drink.' On the sixth and seventh days the men remain in the square, but on the eighth and last day ceremonies of a very impressive nature are held. A herbal mixture is used by the men to drink, to rub over their joints, etc., after the shamans have blown into it through a small reed. Another curious mixture, compounded of old corn-cobs and pine-boughs mixed with water, and stirred by four girls who have not reached puberty, is also used by the men to rub themselves with. Then two men bring tobacco to the chief's house, and every one present receives a portion. Next the chief and his counsellors walk four times round the burning logs, and throw some of the tobacco into the fire each time they face the east, and then stop whilst facing the west. They afterwards take a cane with two white feathers fixed upon it, and cast it into the river, jumping in after it, and emerging with four stones picked from the bottom. With these they cross themselves four times, each time throwing one of the stones back into the water. The ceremony ends with the 'mad dance,' which is performed after nightfall.

The Ball-Play is preceded by ceremonial dancing, fasting, bleeding, anointing, and prayer, under the direction of the shamans. It is played with a small ball of deerskin stuffed with hair or moss, and with one or two netted racquets, the rules being similar to those of lacrosse or football. The game, like the Mexican *tlachtli*, has probably a religio-astronomical significance, as is evidenced by the severe fasting and ritual which precede it.

13. The medico-religious formulæ and their ritual.—The medico-religious formulæ, which are the basis of our knowledge of Cherokee belief and ritual, are some six hundred in number, and were obtained, on the Cherokee Reservation in North Carolina, in 1887 and 1888, by officials of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology. They cover every subject pertaining to the daily life of the Cherokees, including medicine, hunting, fishing, love, war, etc., and embody the entire religious ideas of the nation. Some of the manuscripts are more than fifty years old, and many are probably older, as can be ascertained from the archaic type of the language employed. These formulæ have been handed down from a remote antiquity, until the invention of the alphabet, as stated, enabled the shamans to put them into writing; and this circumstance has given us an exposition of aboriginal religion which could not be obtained from any other tribe in North America, some of them possessing an alphabet of their own, which they use for native religious purposes. The language, the conception, and the execution of these formulæ are all genuinely aboriginal, and show not a trace of white influence. Besides the formulæ obtained from shamans, still or recently existing, there are the *Kanâheta Ani-Tsálagi Eti*, or 'Ancient Cherokee Formulæ,' which are of older origin. In order to furnish the reader with a correct idea of these formulæ, we append a translation of one of the most brief:

To treat the black yellowness.

Listen! In the great lake the intruder reposes. Quickly he has risen up there. Swiftly he has come, and stealthily put himself (under the sick man). Listen! Ha! Now you two have drawn near to hearken, there in the Sun Land you repose, O Little Men, O great *anidawehi*! The intruder has risen up there in the great lake. Quickly you two have lifted up the intruder. His paths have laid themselves down toward the direction whence he came. Let him never look back (towards us). When he stops to rest at the four gaps, you will drive him roughly along. Now he has plunged into the great lake from which he came. There he is compelled to remain, never to look back. Ha! there let him rest.

(Directions.) This is to treat them when their breast swells. Fire (coals) is not put down.

This formula appears to have been in use in cases of acute biliousness. The Cherokee idea is that it is caused by revengeful animals, especially by the terrapin and the turtle, the flesh of which is undoubtedly bilious eating. The song given above is sung whilst the shaman rubs the breast and abdomen of the patient with an infusion of wild cherry bark. The 'intruder' is, of course, the turtle or other animal, the spirit of which has caused the mischief by creeping into the body of the man. The two Little Men of the Sun Land are invoked to drive out the intruder. These are probably the 'Thunder Boys' mentioned above, who come at the bidding of the shaman, drag the intruder from the body of the patient, turn his face towards the sunset, and drive him with many blows to the lake whence he came. On the road there are four mountain passes, where the disease spirit attempts to rest, but he is unmercifully hounded on by the two Little Men, who permit him no breathing space, and finally force him into the lake, from which he is not allowed even to look back. The four gaps or mountain passes negotiated by the disease spirit are symbolical of the stages in the treatment of the patient. The direction that no fire is to be used means that the shaman has warmed the decoction otherwise than by introducing live coals into it.

The most important formulæ are those used in

the treatment of rheumatism. This disease, as before stated, is supposed to be caused by the spirit of the slain deer, or by the measuring-worm (*Catharis*), the movements of which resemble those of a person crippled by rheumatism. To remove rheumatism inflicted by Little Deer, the deer-god, it is thought necessary to employ the agency of some powerful animal spirit which is the natural enemy of the deer—usually the dog or wolf. The shaman thus invokes the Red (War) Dog, who dwells in the Sun Land, in flattering terms, and begs him to come to the assistance of the sick man. This spirit is supposed to arrive, and carry off with him a portion of the disease in his mouth. The Blue, Black, and White Dogs of the other lands situated at the remaining cardinal points are also successively invoked, and, lastly, the White Terrapin of Wahala is prayed to to remove what the dogs have left. He is supposed to do so, and the shaman declares that a cure has been accomplished. The 'Red Man' is also frequently invoked in cases of rheumatism, the formula relating to his assistance varying with the sex of the person who is under treatment. The cat, dog, and squirrel are tabued in rheumatism, as they sometimes assume the cramped attitude of a rheumatic patient. The formulæ usually consist of four paragraphs, four being the sacred number of the Cherokees. Four blowings and four circuits in the rubbing are also laid down as necessary. So many archaic words run through the songs that even the shamans have forgotten their meanings, and appear to regard them as nonsense or merely magical 'patter.' But a careful philological analysis of these terms has proved them to be genuinely archaic Cherokee expressions. In the snake-bite formula it is curious to notice that the same instructions are given as regards ritual as are used in a case of dreaming of snake-bites. Great pains are taken not to offend the rattlesnake in any way, as he is regarded by the Cherokees as one of their principal deities. Thus the shaman, when repeating the formula for snake-bite, never declares that the rattlesnake has bitten the patient, but says that he has been 'scratched by a brier.' In the same way, when an eagle has been shot for a ceremonial dance, it is announced that 'a snowbird has been killed,' the purpose being to deceive the rattlesnake or eagle spirits which might chance to overhear the remark. Likewise, if the shaman has reason to believe that a powerful spirit has caused the indisposition, he is very careful to throw as much contempt as possible on the intruder, and to convince it of his own superior magical power.

Not only do the spirits of the slaughtered game attack men; they also vent their revengeful spleen upon his offspring. Thus the Cherokees believe that worms in young children are caused by the spirits of birds killed by their fathers tracking them home by the blood-drops on the leaves, and casting their shadows upon the children. In the treatment of such cases the child must not be taken out of doors for four days, because, should a bird chance to pass above it so that its shadow would fall upon him, it would 'fan the disease' back into his body. For 'morning pains in the teeth' (neuralgia) the 'Red spider' is invoked, as it is thought that worms lodge in the gums, and they are just what the 'Red spider' eats. The Blue, Black, and White spiders are then adjured; and it is noticeable that the latter spirits dwell above (*Galûⁿlati*), where no point of the compass is assigned to it. The dweller in the overhead *Galûⁿlati* may be red, white, or brown in colour. In the formula it is white, the colour ordinarily assigned to spirits dwelling in the South. In a toothache formula the squirrel is prayed to to take the tormenting worm and put it between the forking limbs of a tree on 'the north side of the mountain.' In the same formula fire is adjured as 'the Ancient White.' The name refers to its antiquity and life-giving properties, and to the fact that when extinguished it is covered with a coating of white ashes. In other formulæ, in which the hunter draws omens from live coals, fire is often addressed as 'the Ancient Red.'

In some of the invocations the spirits of the air are addressed collectively. For example, in a formula for treating chills, the shaman sings to the whirlwind, and 'to those who dwell on high'; that is, to the spirits of mountain, air, forest, and water. The invocation to the whirlwind is accompanied by blowing, in imitation of the spirit adjured. In other diseases, the Black, Red, Blue, and White Ravens are adjured to drag out the seeds of the complaint, which will otherwise evolve into a ghost or spirit within the body of the patient. In fact, the entire process is analogous to that of 'the casting out of devils,' so familiar to students of Eastern lore.

14. Hunting and love formulæ.—Finally, the Cherokees make use of invocations to the gods to assist them in hunting and in love. The great *Kanati*, the 'Great Terrestrial Hunter,' who formerly kept all the game shut up in his underground cavern, but who now dwells above the sky, is the god most frequently adjured by hunters. He appears to be confounded in the formulæ with the raven, and may perhaps have been originally a raven-totem. In all parts of America we find the raven as a symbol of the clouds, associated with the rains and the harvests (Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 249). In this respect we may see a connexion between the raven and Kanati, as rivers are addressed as *Ela-Kanati*, the name referring to the manner in which the tiny mountain rivulets, originated by the great rains, search out, hunt, and bring down the débris of the mountain forests to the main stream. This river the hunter is supposed to feed with blood washed from the game. In like manner he feeds the fire, 'the Ancient Red,' with a piece of meat cut from the tongue of a slaughtered deer. In the morning the bird-hunter recites an invocation to 'the Ancient White' for success during the day. He then shoots an arrow at random—probably an act of placation to one or all of the cardinal points—and utters a hissing sound intended to call up the birds. The love formulæ are usually addressed to 'the White Woman'—probably the moon—and are generally uttered by the lover himself without the assistance of a shaman; and their purport is to protect the newly-married wife from the arts of seducers.

As offering a complete picture of savage life and religious practice, the sacred formulæ of the Cherokees are unparalleled in comprehensiveness and interest, and deserve even fuller examination than has yet been given to them.

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CHERUB, CHERUBIM (Heb. כְּרוּב, pl. כְּרוּבִים, כְּרֻבִים).—**1. Derivation.**—The derivation of the term is uncertain, but several conjectures may be rejected as lacking both evidence and probability. Connexions have been suggested with a Syr. word meaning 'strong' (Gesenius, *s.v.*), and with the Egyp. *χeref* (Renouf, *PSBA* vi. [1884], 193). In the latter case similarities in conception and function may be traced, but the differences also (see below) are almost too wide to admit of a common origin

of the names. Identification with the Assyr. adjective *karûbu*, 'mighty,' is strongly advocated by Delitzsch (*Assyr. HWB*, p. 352), but the conception is too specific to be carried back to so general a term, in the absence of any certified particularizing factor. Lenormant was the first to suggest (*Origines de l'histoire*, 1880, i. 112, Eng. tr. p. 126; see Schrader, *COT* i. 40) identification with the Assyr. *kirûbu*, a word alleged to occur on a talisman as a synonym for *šêdu*, the name for the steer-god or winged bull with a human head, stationed on guard at the gate of Assyr. temples and palaces. But neither has the occurrence of the term been verified (*ZA*, 1886, i. 68), nor is the comparison exact enough to carry conviction. The grouping of the figures and their functions are both distinct; and in the earliest Heb. tradition (Gn 3^{24}) the gateway, an indispensable feature of the Assyr. scenery, disappears, while 'the flame of a sword'—an almost certain reference to lightning—is equally absent from the Assyr. tradition. It is now reported that the reading *kirûbu* rests upon a mistake (*KAT*³, 632, n. 5); and all that is permissible is to regard the two traditions, not as derived the one from the other, but as collateral and perhaps independent developments of a tendency to construct composite figures of various kinds as symbols of natural or imagined processes, and to use them sometimes for purely artistic purposes, and sometimes for the expression of minor religious conceptions. The closest comparison between Assyr. or Bab. and Heb. usage in this matter is to be found at later stages. The date was a valuable article of food in Babylonia, and winged human figures are often represented as fertilizing the palm with pollen (Tylor, in *PSBA* xii. [1889–90] 383 ff., where an Egyp. origin or suggestion is claimed for the practice). Similarly, cherubim and palm-trees are associated in the decorations of Solomon's Temple (1 K $6^{32.35}$) and of Ezekiel's (Ezk $41^{18\text{ff.}}$), and it is more than likely that some religious significance attached to the combination. But imitation, direct or mediated, with community of sentiment, is an adequate explanation of the conditions, apart from any attempt to force an intractable etymological theory in the absence of any materials in the extant documents.

Concerning another theory, at first apparently full of promise, a similar conclusion will stand. On the postulate of a Heb. or Syr. root, not used in its assumed original meaning of 'tearing' like a bird of prey, or in the further sense of 'ploughing' or 'tearing up' the soil, γρύψ is asserted to be a loan-word of kindred derivation with כְּרוּב, and a common origin is sought in the Pers. *giriftan*, 'to seize,' or in the Skr. *grbh*. But, apart from technical objections, this is to overlook radical differences of conception in the presence of similarities of sound, and thus to exaggerate the importance of phonetic values. The griffin and the cherub are equally examples of the imagination, which in almost all early races pictured composite figures for the discharge of certain services in relation to the gods. But under the former any combination was legitimate, and the object was to incite alarm or caution by the representation of power in a threatening form; whereas, until Ezekiel, the human element predominates in the cherub and is rarely absent afterwards, and the representation is meant to be that of an agent, or rather of an attendant, with attractive rather than repellent associations. Even in Gn 3^{24} the alarming feature is mainly 'the flame of a sword,' while the personage wielding it is at least neutral in regard to the power of inspiring terror. Among the neighbours of Israel, instances of the practice may be seen on every hand. Lion-headed goddesses, jackal-headed and hawk-headed gods, and other abortions are familiar in Egyp. mythology; and a Phœn. marble relief in the Louvre (*HDB* i. 378), not satisfied with combining the body of a leopard with the head of a man, adds the equipment of wings springing out of either side of the neck. Winged bulls or lions guarded the approaches to the Assyr. temples, and composite figures occur even in primitive Hittite art (cf. Furtwängler, in Roscher, vol. ii. art. 'Gryps'), which probably served as an example, or at least as an inspiration, to the artists of the other nations. In Greece a many-headed dragon was believed to guard the apples of the Hesperides; mythological fancy ran riot in the wanderings of Io (*e.g.* Æsch. *Prom. Vinct.* 805 ff.); and Herodotus (iii. 116, iv. 23, 27) not only reported on such monsters as one-eyed men, but had heard of four-footed birds that watched over the treasures of the gods. The lion, the goat, and the serpent contributed to the formation of the chimæra, which was killed by Bellerophon (*Il.* vi. 179, xvi. 328); and the idea, once reached, of knitting together parts of known animals into a composite creature to be used for diverse superhuman functions quickly spread, until it became a practically universal intellectual device. Both words, כרוב and γρύψ, are evidences of the practice; but they belong in origin to a stage of thought at which the differentiation of function was on the whole well marked, and the differences are sufficiently great to discredit the theory of a common etymological source. Nor is it likely that the Hebrews would have adopted as a prominent feature of ecclesiastical art a symbol that was interwoven with the mythological speculations of pagan nations. An origin for the conception, as entertained in the religious traditions of Israel, appears to be a necessity, which is not met by the exhibition of a partly similar tendency of thought elsewhere amid relations that would not be congenial even in the groups represented by the Elohistic documents. The word is found in the devotional as well as in the Levitical literature; and such was the exclusive quality of Hebrew religion, especially after the revelation to Abraham, that the general prevalence of a mythological conception outside Israel involves even the improbability of its adoption within.

Several attempts have been made to explain the word by an assumed transposition of letters, but the suggestions are not convincing. If the position of the first two letters is changed, the result is רְכֻב, 'a chariot' (cf. Oehler, *Theol. of OT*, Eng. tr. 1882, i. 385); the idea may have been suggested by Ps 18^{10}, Ezk 10^{9}, but cannot be fitted easily into the earlier, or the majority, of the references. By reversal of the letters, the stem of כרוב has been identified with that of בָּרַךְ, or carried back to the Assyr. *karâbu* (which is held by P. Haupt to be itself a transposition of the Heb. ברך), in the sense of 'to be propitious' or 'to bless' (*SBOT*, 'Numbers,' 1900, p. 46); but the obvious objections are that the process is too artificial, and the deduction of a special meaning from a general and unrelated term is unexplained. Among the Jews of Babylonia there was a disposition to resolve כרוב into the prefix כ and רוב, and to relate the latter to the root of רָבְיָא, 'a youth of a suitable age to apprentice.' Accordingly the term 'cherub' was interpreted as 'equivalent to a growing child'; but the conclusion did not stand after discussion, and the distinction in Ezk 10^{14} between the face of a cherub and the face of a man was taken to mean that, while both faces were those of adults, the one was smaller than the other, the effects of reflexion in a large and in a small mirror being sometimes quoted in illustration (*Chagigah*, 13*b*; cf. Streane's tr., 1891, p. 73 f., and Jastrow, *Dict. of Targumim*, etc., 1886–1903, *s.v.*). The discussion is evidently of

no etymological value, though important as a witness to the strength and generality of the belief that the cherubic face was human.

Still another explanation was current among the early Fathers, who probably derived it from Philo. In his *Vita Mos.* (iii. 8) he takes the word as equivalent to *ἐπίγνωσις καὶ ἐπιστήμη πολλή* (Mangey, ii. 150), with some pretence of an etymological basis for his view, but without the citation of any evidence. Clement of Alexandria considers *αἴσθησις* to be the implication of the term, and appears to be writing with some unexplained theory of derivation in his mind: *ἐθέλει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν χερουβὶμ δηλοῦν αἴσθησιν πολλήν* (*Strom.* v. 240). Didymus of the same city prefers *γνῶσις* and *σοφία*; after stating (*Expos. in Ps.* 79) that the cherubim are so called *ἀπὸ τῆς προσούσης αὐτοῖς σοφίας*, he adds: *πλῆθος γὰρ γνώσεως ἑρμηνεύεται τὰ χερουβίμ.* An alternative explanation among the Greeks is illustrated by Theodoret, who cites (*Quæst. in Gn.* iii.) without demur a view which makes power the fundamental notion in the word: *χερουβὶμ καλεῖ πᾶν τὸ δυνατόν· οὕτως λέγει, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ δυνατῶς βασιλεύων.* The Latins, on the contrary, prefer the more general opinion, and make the term a synonym for knowledge. Thus Jerome writes (*Com. in Is.* lib. iii. cap. vi.), with an interesting, if indefensible, distinction between cherubim and seraphim: 'Qui sedes super cherubim manifestare; qui in nostra lingua interpretantur *scientiae multitudo*. . . . In cherubim ergo ostenditur Dominus; in seraphim ex parte ostenditur, ex parte celatur.' So Augustine (*Enarrat. in Ps.* 79^{2}): 'Cherubim sedes est gloriae Dei, et interpretatur plenitudo scientiae; ibi sedet Deus in plenitudine scientiæ.' These Patristic interpretations profess more or less distinctly to be based on an etymological theory, and are not mere attempts to substitute an easier notion for one more recondite. Yet the assumed derivation is nowhere set forth in detail; and nowhere even are any particulars given that can be tested. All that can be taken as proved is that the cherubim were regarded as symbols of certain Divine attributes, that of omniscience predominating; but the origin of the term and the stages in the growth of the opinion are left unexplained.

2. Cherubim in Scripture.—Cherubim appear in Scripture in both the Prophetical and the Priestly literature in association respectively (*a*) with primitive traditions and early poetry, (*b*) with the equipment and ornamentation of the Temple, and (*c*) with apocalyptic expectations. In the latter cases, details are sometimes supplied which help to fill up the conception of the original belief, and are better understood as its survivals than as accretions made at a later date.

(*a*) The earliest occurrence is in the story of the garden of Eden, Gn 3^{24} (J), where the cherubim form part of the provision 'to keep the way of the tree of life.' Imagination has added many particulars that do not appear in the narrative, such as a gate at which were posted beings of a human form, armed with drawn swords to resist any attempt at entrance. The scenery is, in reality, of a different character altogether. The garden is not conceived as a shut-in enclosure, surrounded by impenetrable fences, but as an open paradise with luxuriant growth thinning off into less fruitful country. There is no gateway at which the guard can be concentrated; and 'the flame of a sword which turned every way' is an evident allusion to lightning, not wielded by the cherubim, but an additional and associated defence. And if in the cherubim a feature must be sought akin to that of the lightning, the picture is one of a bank of heavy thunder-clouds, lining the east of the garden, and assuming threatening shapes to the conscience-smitten onlooker, with flashes of lightning that barred approach, and in their possible incidence anywhere along the eastern border effectually kept the way.

Another identification of the cherubim with cloud-shapes, and possibly with thunder-clouds, is to be found in Ps 18$^{10f.}$ (cf. 2 S 22$^{11f.}$), where 'rode upon a cherub and did fly' is parallel with 'flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind.' The whole scene is that of a tempest followed by a thunderstorm, in which God, Himself hidden in the darkness of thick clouds, manifests His glory with 'lightnings manifold' (Ps 18^{14}), to the discomfiture of the oppressors of His servant. The cherub is the cloud upon which He sits—black, with its ever-changing concave faces driven rapidly forwards, and displacing one another in continual movement, until the spot is reached upon which God's arrows, 'hailstones and coals of fire,' are discharged.

(*b*) From this conception of the cherubim as the bearers or chariot of God, an easy transition, involving little more than the substitution of the idea of rest for that of movement, made them the throne of God, upon which He sits when entering into communication with man. In the Priestly Code, as in the OT generally, the thought is related to the theocracy only, and cherubim are not found in association with God's celestial throne until the time of the Apocrypha; for there is no sufficient reason so to alter the text of Ps 22^{3} as to read an anachronism into the passage (cf. Cheyne, *Book of Psalms*^{2}, 1888, *ad loc.*). At the utmost, a metaphor, 'Thou art enthroned upon the praises of Israel as on earth upon the wings of the cherubim,' is all that is required. In the Tabernacle the cherubim appear in two connexions. Two small figures of solid or 'beaten' gold stood upon the golden slab of the mercy-seat (Ex 25$^{18-20.\ 22}$ 37$^{7-9}$, Nu 7^{89}). The mercy-seat itself was only two cubits and a half, or approximately forty-four inches, long. The figures consequently cannot have been large, and were posed facing one another, with their wings uplifted and meeting together so as to cover the mercy-seat, and to constitute either a basis or throne on which the glory of God appeared (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, *s.v.*), or more probably a canopy over the Sacred Presence (cf. Nu 7^{89}, where the Voice comes 'from between the two cherubim,' and the repeated RVm 'dwelleth between the cherubim' for 'sitteth upon the cherubim,' as in 1 S 4^{4} *et al.*), the cherubim being viewed accordingly as the guard or retinue rather than as the bearers of Jahweh. Similarly, 2 S 6^{2} = 1 Ch 13^{6}, 2 K 19^{15} = Is 37^{16}, Ps 80^{1} 99^{1} are best interpreted as reminiscences of the cherubim of the ark of the covenant. As to their form, beyond the references to faces and wings, no precise information is given; but the general impression conveyed by the narratives is certainly that of a winged human figure, with eyes cast down reverently towards the mercy-seat, not out of curiosity or eagerness to understand, but as the sacred spot where Jahweh appeared, and whence He manifested His grace to the worshipper. Everything is arranged to make that spot central and to mark its sanctity; and hence 'cherubim of glory' is rightly interpreted as cherubim ministering at the glorious revelation of God (cf. Westcott on He 9^{5}) on the propitiatory or mercy-seat.

The second use of cherubim in the Tabernacle was to supply the model of figures that were woven into the texture of the curtains (Ex 26^{1} 36^{8}), and of the veil or hanging screen (Ex 26^{31} 36^{35}) that separated 'between the holy place and the most holy.' The object is not likely to have been protective, as in the case of the tree of life, for the figures were not confined to the place of entry into the innermost sanctuary, but were rather a help to worship,

reminding the people alike of the majesty of God and of the mingled awe and expectation with which He might be approached at the mercy-seat or the altar. Hence again the figures, though not of necessity exactly like those upon the mercy-seat, must have been free from any features of grotesqueness or horror; and the angelic or winged human form best meets the conditions.

In Solomon's Temple similar uses of the figures occur, but all on a larger scale. Two colossal cherubim, carved out of olive wood and plated with gold, stood in the *adytum*, or innermost sanctuary, facing the door. Each was ten cubits (approximately 14 ft. 6 in.) high, and the extended wings reached from side to side of the building, which was a cube of twenty cubits, and met in the centre (1 K 6^{23-28} $8^{6f.}$, 2 Ch 3^{10-13} $5^{7f.}$, 1 Ch 28^{18}). Between the figures and beneath the overspreading wings was placed the ark of the covenant; but whether the smaller figures from the Tabernacle were retained is not stated. There was room for them; and, if they had been still available, religious sentiment might have outweighed artistic considerations and secured their admission. But the ark had undergone such a variety of fortunes that not only were some of its sacred contents lost (1 K 8^{9}), but the golden ornaments had probably disappeared long before. The same figures, again, were adopted as the principal feature in the decoration of the Temple. Along with palm-trees and open flowers, they were carved on the cedar panelling that lined the inner walls, and on the doors of olive and cypress wood (1 K $6^{29.\ 32.\ 35}$, 2 Ch 3^{7}). Interchangeably with lions and oxen, each apparently enclosed in a wreath, they were carved on the bases of the portable lavers (1 K $7^{29.\ 36}$); and they were woven into the veil of the *adytum* (2 Ch 3^{14}). The significance of the selection of this design is not evident. Against the suggestion that the cherubim were regarded as the guardians of the Temple and its contents, lies the association with them of the discordant figures of oxen and palm-trees. They are rather to be viewed as attendants upon God in His communications with men, as part of the actual means by which He comes into contact with man for judgment or blessing beyond the gracious provision of food, and hence as signs and symbols of His presence, silently appealing to the worshippers for the befitting awe, and inciting them to reverent expectation.

(*c*) With Ezekiel the imagery becomes increasingly complicated and difficult. Four cherubim support the 'firmament,' on which the prophet sees 'the appearance of the likeness of a throne' (Ezk 10^{1}). Progress is effected by an obscure arrangement of wheels, but the tempest and thunderstorm ($1^{4.\ 13}$ 11^{22}) are still part of the machinery. As to the shape and appearance of the cherubim, the prophet allows himself considerable licence. Each had four wings—two stretched upwards to support the platform of the throne, and two stretched downwards, covering the creatures themselves when at rest, and yet useful aids in mounting (10^{19}), though not apparently in altering the direction of flight. Each also had four faces; but the traditions do not agree. In Ezk 10^{22} the cherubim are identified with the living creatures of 1^{10}. In the one passage the four faces are those of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle; yet in 10^{14}, which is possibly a gloss, the faces are those of the cherub, a man, a lion, and an eagle, where the distinction between the cherubic and the human face appears for the first time, and is best regarded as an invention of the glossator. Hottinger, however (*de Incestu, in loc.*), cites the passage in favour of the view that כְּרוּב means an ox, being derived from a root כרב, 'to plough,' in which case the difficulty disappears. An early tradition (*Chag.* 13*b*) reports that Ezekiel implored God to substitute the face of a cherub for that of an ox, that He might not be continually reminded of Israel's idolatry and defection in the wilderness. But the only satisfactory inference from that tradition is that the compilers of the Talmud had noticed an inconsistency between the two passages in Ezekiel. A further confusion is introduced by the representation of $41^{18f.}$, where only two faces are allowed. On the whole, the form of the cherub must be taken as human (1^{5}); and, whether the faces are several or one, that of a man is never absent. In other respects the prophet appears to have allowed himself much freedom of fancy; and his symbolism, where it is neither traditional nor peculiar to himself and artificial, is not without traces of Babylonian influence. It will be seen that from his time, even if he had not himself inherited an already existent tendency, different ways arose of conceiving the cherubim, both as to enhanced complexity of form and as to function. Hitherto they had been thought of mainly as agents by whom Jahweh communicated or carried out His will upon earth; before long they were transferred to heaven, where their functions merged into those of the higher ranks of the angels, while the earlier differentiation was lost. The seraphim of Is $6^{2f.}$ are differently employed, but are not without resemblance to the cherubim of Ezekiel, and the qualities of both are combined in the 'living creatures' of Rev 4^{6-8} $5^{6.\ 11.\ 14}$ 6^{1-7} 7^{11} 14^{3} 15^{7} 19^{4}.

This combination of functions is probably the key to the interpretation of the obscure allusion in Ezk $28^{14.\ 16}$. There can be no question that the text is corrupt, since it yields, as it stands, no intelligible meaning. Hommel and others interpret the 'cherub that covereth' as equivalent to 'the cherub of the Tabernacle,' on account of the presence of that figure on the screens and curtains; but it is clear from the context that the prophet's allusions are based upon the traditions of Eden, and not upon the Priestly description of the Tabernacle. Keil acknowledges a primary reference to Paradise, but proceeds to explain the passage on the assumption that the place of the cherub in the sanctuary was in the prophet's thought. And the explanation is itself hopeless, involving such confusions as that 'the prince of Tyre is called an anointed cherub, because he was a king even though he had not been anointed,' and that he is addressed as a cherub, 'because as an anointed king he covered or overshadowed a sanctuary, like the cherubim upon the ark of the covenant.' The best course is to fall back upon the LXX, and with its aid to render the opening phrases of 28^{14} 'Thou wast with the cherub, I set thee in the holy mountain of God,' and the closing phrases of 28^{16} 'The cherub cast thee out of the midst of the stones of fire,' *i.e.* the flashing gems. Thus the statement becomes that the prince of Tyre had been greatly privileged, so much so that he may be said to have been admitted under cherubic protection into the garden of God, and to have dwelt amidst its splendours in all the bravery of jewel-besprinkled robes, but that all this high estate had been forfeited through his pride; he would be cast out by the guardian cherub, and become a wonder and a warning to men (28^{19}). The entire lesson rests upon the story of Eden, into which a number of particulars are introduced, such as the possibility of admission into the garden and the magnificence of its contents, which are not referred to in Genesis, and are not even in complete agreement with the implications of the Biblical narrative. It has been suggested that, with a view to representing pictorially the fall of the king of Tyre, the prophet availed himself of these ampler details, which were current among the people in a variety of versions of the original story (cf. Driver, *Gen.*[3] p. 61). Or it may be that, in his own delight in symbolism, he felt at liberty to add to the story—of which there are few signs of instability within OT times, or even of the interest that would encourage accretion—features of an entirely independent origin. Precious stones and gold were used in abundance in the decoration of temples in Tyre (cf. Herod. ii. 44) and in Babylon (Sayce, *RP* iii. 104 ff.); and, what is a still closer parallel, the mythic tree of Gilgameš glittered with them (cf. A. Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 30). There would be plenty of material with which Ezekiel's luxuriant fancy could play, without postulating the existence of a number of different versions of a story which has left but slight traces upon early Jewish literature.

A third use is made by Ezekiel of the figure, in a connexion in which a contrast between his Temple and that of Solomon appears. He finds place for no statue of a cherub, possibly because the ark had disappeared long before, and was not reproduced in the symbolism; but he represents the inner walls and the doors as carved with alternating palm-trees and cherubim (Ezk $41^{18-20.\ 25}$). Each cherub had

two faces, looking opposite ways—that of a man and that of a young lion. In all probability no special significance attached to the design, which was merely an imitation of what had become the conventional decoration of a Jewish sanctuary, with complications suggested by the more ornate imagery of the prophet's own time. Similarly, in the Temple of Herod there appear to have been no cherubic statues, but, according to one authority (*Yoma*, 54*a*), figures of cherubim were painted upon the inner walls of some of the courts.

3. Cherubim in later literature.—In the Apocr. proper the only allusion by name to cherubim is in Sir 49[8], from which nothing more can be inferred than that the author had been impressed by the description in Ezekiel. But the Pseudepigrapha, particularly the Books of Enoch, mark a distinct advance or change in the conception. Thus the Ethiopic Enoch alters their character from the media of God's revelation of Himself on earth to that of a group of angels of the highest rank in heaven, where they guard the celestial throne. In the earliest section, of which the latest date is 170 B.C., three references occur. The ceiling of the palace of God is described as 'like the path of the stars and lightnings, with fiery cherubim between in a transparent heaven' (14[11], ed. Charles); and the appearance of the throne was 'as hoar-frost, its circuit was as a shining sun and the voices of cherubim' (14[18]). In 20[7] Gabriel is represented as 'over Paradise and the serpents [*δράκοντες*: here probably the seraphim, see below] and the cherubim.' In the Similitudes (61[10]), amongst the host of God, continually praising Him, are enumerated 'the cherubim, seraphim, and 'ophannim' (or 'wheels': cf. Ezk 1[15]; Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*[2], 1897, pp. 168, 205, 269). A later addition to this section (71[7]) places the same three groups round about the Divine palace, and adds: 'These are they who sleep not and guard the throne of His glory.' The Slavonic Enoch, in its present form, is not earlier than the beginning of the Christian era, and is almost certainly Egypto-Judæan in its place of origin, just as the Ethiopic Enoch is Palestinian. It singles out the cherubim for some of the highest angelic honours, but, with a little ambiguity, locates them in both the sixth and the seventh heaven. In the midst of the archangels 'are seven phœnixes and seven cherubim and seven six-winged creatures, being as one voice and singing with one voice; and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice before the Lord at His footstool' (*Slav. Enoch*, 19[6], ed. Morfill). That is the condition of things in the sixth heaven. Enoch meets them also in the seventh, where, he says, 'I saw a very great light and all the fiery hosts of great archangels, and incorporeal powers and lordships, and principalities, and powers; cherubim and seraphim, thrones, and the watchfulness of many eyes' (*ib.* 20[1]). Hence they are no longer conceived as supplying the means by which God visits the earth and carries out His purposes of grace or judgment amongst men, but as in immediate attendance upon Himself in heaven. The development takes places similarly in the areas of Jewish and of Christian thought. The 'living creatures' of the Apocalypse, representing, according to Swete (on Rev 4[6]), the Divine immanence in Nature, are paralleled in the almost contemporaneous Apoc. of Baruch, where one of the visions described (51[11], ed. Charles) is that of 'the beauty of the majesty of the living creatures which are beneath the throne.' As resident in the sixth heaven, they are probably to be classed among 'the angels of the presence' (Is 63[9]; cf. *Test. Levi*, 3; *Bk. of Jubilees*, 1[29] 2[2], ed. Charles), and as resident in the seventh, among the 'angels of sanctification,' whose main function is praise, or the ceaseless ascription to God of holiness and glory. They are no longer the servants of God for certain special purposes in regard to earth, but are part of His permanent retinue within the celestial court.

Jewish traditional exegesis adds little concerning which there is general agreement, but preserves the opinions of several exegetical authorities or groups of authorities. There was a view, based probably on Job 38[7], that the angels, including the cherubim, were created on the first day, and were indeed the first things created; but the view never became general, through fear of the inference that the cherubim assisted God at the work of creation. A variety of opinions competed with it—that the creation of the angels took place on the second, the fifth, or even the seventh day. In regard to rank, the cherubim, under their leader Kerubiel, are placed in the third class of angels in some of the Kabbalistic literature (cf. Jellinek, *Auswahl Kabb. Mystik*, 1854, p. 3), though Maimonides puts them in the ninth of the classes arranged in ascending order. A midrash reports that, when Pharaoh pursued Israel to the Red Sea, Jahweh took a cherub from the wheels of His throne and flew to the spot, the action being explained by the further statement that Jahweh inspects the worlds while sitting on a cherub (*Midr. Teh.* xviii. 15). Another midrash is significant, as indicating a different conception of function as well as a view of ordered gradation. According to *Lev. R.* 22, 'when a man sleeps, the body tells the soul what has been done during the day; the soul then reports to the spirit, the spirit to the angel, the angel to the cherub, and the cherub to the seraph, who finally brings the record to Jahweh.' The Rabbinical sources yield many other references to the cherubim, mainly in relation to their conjectured form and pose; but the change from the primitive tradition in regard to both function and localization is generally maintained.

Although Philo derives from the cherubim the title of one of his treatises, and elsewhere recurs to the subject, the allegorical possibilities of the conception are of surpassing interest to him, and on its other phases he is comparatively silent. In *de Cherub.* vii., he quotes with approval a curious view that the figures upon the ark represented the two hemispheres; yet it is evident that his opinion was unstable, for in *Vita Mos.* iii. 8 he expresses confidence in the interpretation of the figures as symbols of the creative and the royal authority of God: *ἐγὼ δὲ ἂν εἴποιμι δηλοῦσθαι δι' ὑπονοιῶν τὰς πρεσβυτάτας καὶ ἀνωτάτω δύο τοῦ Ὄντος δυνάμεις τήν τε ποιητικὴν καὶ βασιλικήν. Ὀνομάζεται δὲ ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ θεός, καθ' ἣν ἔθηκε καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ διεκόσμησε τόδε τὸ πᾶν· ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, ᾗ τῶν γενομένων ἄρχει καὶ σὺν δικῇ βεβαίως ἐπικρατεῖ* (Mang. ii. 150). By the time of Josephus, speculation as to the form or function of the cherubim appears to have almost entirely ceased, and they were regarded as merely superhuman beings, incapable of exact differentiation from other angels: *τὰς δὲ χερουβεῖς οὐδεὶς ὁποῖαί τινες ἦσαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ εἰκάσαι δύναται* (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 3).

The probable origin and course of growth of the conception, within at least the area of Jewish thought, are evident. At the beginning may be seen the tendency, inherent in Nature-worship, to personify moving objects, and to invest them with qualities implying hostility to man. The rounded forms of a rolling bank of thunder-cloud were almost certain thus to attract the attention and to excite the fears of observers, and in the outlines of the broken masses imagination would discern a variety of changeful shapes and countenances. A place being found in this way for 'celestial genii' (de Saulcy, *Histoire de l'art jud.*, Paris, 1858, p. 24) in the superhuman mechanism of the uni-

verse, folk-lore and mythology would proceed to develop the conception on various lines. Through the pre-Christian era the cherubim are always imagined in close association with Jahweh, at first as the chief agents by whose service He comes into contact with man, or secures the accomplishment of His will in the crises of theocratic rule, and afterwards as among the members of His retinue nearest the throne. The distinctions gradually weakened, and almost disappeared, until in popular fancy the cherubim were nearly merged in the larger group of angels. But it is doubtful whether this process was ever entirely completed; and, if it was for a time, no long period intervened before traces of another distinction appeared, and the cherubim were conceived as immediate attendants upon God, while the angels proper were His messengers for the fulfilment of any service, however remote.

4. Cherubim in art, hymnology, and worship.—These conclusions are on the whole confirmed by later ideas, which both illustrate some of the earlier beliefs, and in certain directions mark an advance. The cherubim were still included among angels, though the order set forth in the Pseudepigrapha is not maintained. In the work, for instance, attributed wrongly to Dionysius the Areopagite, the cherubim are placed second in the first of three hierarchies, and are supposed to excel especially in knowledge and the faculty of contemplation, just as the seraphim excel in love. The two groups are often associated in Christian art. In primitive times a different tint was sometimes used to indicate a difference which was not distinguishable in figure, the cherubim being coloured blue and the seraphim red. In modern art the seraphim generally appear as adults, the cherubim as beautiful winged children, or as the winged heads of children without body. The idea of special excellence in knowledge has been lost in favour of that of praise, guileless and unrestrained.

Similarly, in the hymnology and ritual of both the Western and the Eastern Churches, the cherubim appear as an example of praise, undiluted by any dubious emotion. The *Te Deum* was composed, according to an old story (cf. Hincmar, *On Predestination*), by Ambrose and Augustine conjointly on the day of the latter's baptism—more probably by Nicetas of Remesiana (cf. Burn, *Introd. to Creeds*, 1899, p. 259 ff.); and one of the phrases in the original may be restored, 'Tibi cherubim et seraphim incessabili uoce proclamant.' The chief Eastern Churches also possess the so-called 'Cherubic hymn,' which Justinian is said to have first ordered to be sung, and which in the arrangement of the service immediately followed the dismissal of the catechumens, and was intended to prepare the minds of the worshippers for the sacramental mysteries that were celebrated next. It ran thus: *οἱ τὰ χερουβὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες, καὶ τῷ ζωοποιῷ Τριάδι τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντες, πᾶσαν τὴν βιωτικὴν ἀποθώμεθα μέριμναν, ὡς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑποδεξάμενοι ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφερόμενον τάξεσιν. Ἀλληλουία.* The seraphim are not mentioned by name, but the allusion to the Trisagion implies their identification in current thought with the cherubim, and the recognition of the rendering of praise as the characteristic function of the latter. In the 21st Homily of Narsai, the founder of the great Nestorian school of Nisibis, an apparent distinction is drawn again: 'Holy is the seraph, and beauteous the cherub, and swift the watcher' (cf. Connolly's version in *TS* VIII. i. 48). But the first and second adjectives are so general in sense as to be changeable, and are nothing more than literary embellishments of a theme of which the transcendent dignity of the officiating priest is the centre. He is alleged to be superior to the cherubim and all the angels, whose praises, like the ministry of the deacons, are a fit prelude and a fit sequel to his mediation. Evidently the idea of the cherub has lost the whole of its original and specific sense and connexions, and has become a term for any superhuman being who is conceived as occupied with the praising of God.

LITERATURE.—The standard Lexicons, Encyclopædias (esp. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, *HDB*, *EBi*, *JE*), and works on OT Theology (esp. Smend, Schultz, and Dillmann) and on Bibl. Arch. etc. See, in addition to works cited, C. F. Keil, *Man. of Bibl. Arch.*, Eng. tr. 1887, i. 110-120; Riehm[2], 1893, i. 267 ff.; Benzinger, *Archaol.*, 1894, p. 267 f. *et al.*; Nowack, 1894, i. 38 f., 60 f. There is no monograph of the first importance on the subject; but articles in the technical periodicals, such as Teloni in *ZA* vi. [1891] 124 ff., and excursuses, as in Cheyne, *Isaiah*[2], 1881, ii., or Driver, *Genesis*[3], 1909, p. 60 f., are valuable.

R. W. MOSS.

CHEYENNE.—The Cheyenne are a North American Indian tribe of the Algonquian family, consisting of two divisions: the Northern Cheyenne, numbering about 1400, dwelling upon the U.S. reservation set apart for them in Montana; and the Southern Cheyenne, comprising about 1900, resident upon their ancient lands in Western Oklahoma, which have been allotted in severalty by the Government, so that the Indians are now United States subjects. The Cheyenne have for generations been a nomadic tribe, living in skin-covered lodges, and relying upon the products of the chase for a livelihood, although originally they appear to have been a semi-agricultural people. They practised both tree- and scaffold-burial, but occasionally interred their dead. Of a haughty and quarrelsome disposition, they were brave and chivalrous in their attitude towards their women, but practised polygamy. The entire tribe was subservient to a council of 44 elective chiefs, 4 of whom sat as a court of appeal with the right to elect one of themselves as chief of the tribe.

The worship of the tribe centres in a set of four 'medicine' arrows which the Cheyenne claim to have possessed from the creation of the world. These are of different colours, and are exposed to the general view on two occasions only: (1) upon the occasion of their annual exhibition—a function which is accompanied by many rites; and (2) when a Cheyenne Indian has been slain by a member of his own tribe, this ceremony being held for the purpose of cleansing and purifying the slayer from the stain of his tribesman's blood. This set of arrows is still carefully preserved by the Southern Cheyenne, the last recorded ceremony in connexion with it taking place in 1904. At these functions a delegation from the Northern section of the tribe is invariably present. Those priests or medicine-men whose duty it is to guard the sacred arrows practise a further rite known as 'fixing' the arrows, which concerns themselves alone. That they are jealously guarded is proved by the fact that women, white men, and half-breeds are strictly forbidden to approach them.

These arrows are almost certainly relics of a period when the Cheyenne worshipped a thunder-god, or god of the wind. In American mythology we find Quetzalcoatl, the Mexican god of wind, armed with the flint arrow-head, representing the thunderbolt; and Mixcoatl, the thunder god of the Chichimecs of Mexico, was represented as carrying a bundle of arrows in his hand to signify his possession of the thunderbolts. Among the Zuñi Indians, arrows are frequently attached to fetishes, and certain Hopi priestly fraternities fasten them to bandoliers as sacred ornaments. In many tribes the ritual of worship to the four winds, the rain-bringers, begins with the shooting of four arrows to the four cardinal points.

The great tribal ceremony of the Cheyenne is the Sun-dance, which they profess to have received from the Sutaio, a small and cognate tribe incor

porated with them. This they have practised for generations. It is a tribal recognition of the sun—common to many Indian tribes of the plains—as their elder brother. The performers move sunwise. This ceremony is not, however, a mere development of the dance, but rather the dance has become only a part of its ritual. From the Sutaio they also received the Buffalo-head ceremony, which was connected with the Sun-dance, but which has been obsolete for a long time.

These rites, however, have been practically cast into the shade, from a popular point of view, though not superseded, by the modern Ghost-dance religion, which was adopted by the tribe in 1890. This dance is connected with the Messiah doctrine, which originated among the Paviotso Indians of Nevada in or about 1888, and gained a rapid hold upon the various tribes from the Missouri river to the Rocky Mountains. Its first apologist was a young Paiúte Indian called Wovoka, known to the whites as Jack Wilson, who had made for himself some reputation as a medicine-man, and professed to have received a personal revelation from the 'Great Spirit.' This, he stated, consisted of an assurance that a new phase of things was at hand, wherein the Indian tribes would regain their territories and be reunited to their dead friends. The preparation necessary for such an event was to be found in the assiduous practice of certain song and dance ceremonies given to them by the 'prophet.' The men and women of the tribe assembled, and, joining hands, moved slowly round in a circle, facing towards the centre, keeping time to a monotonous chant. Many afterwards subjected themselves to hypnotic treatment, in which they declared themselves to have been *en rapport* with their deceased tribesmen. Among the Cheyenne the rite is designated the 'Crow-dance'; and, whereas the other tribes render it without instrumental music, they make use of the drum as an accompaniment to the vocal music. It has now, however, degenerated into a function of a semi-social character, despite its great popularity.

On the occasion of the Sun-dance, for which ceremony the whole tribe was assembled, a circle was formed by the various tribal divisions, formerly seven, now probably eleven, in number; but, as it is more than seventy years since the entire tribe camped together, the importance of the ceremony has dwindled very considerably.

LITERATURE.—J. Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, Philad. 1885; Cuthbertson, in *Smithsonian Report*, 1850, 1851; Dorsey, *Field Columbian Mus. Publ.*, Anthrop. Ser. ix., nos. 1 and 2, 1905; Grinnell, 'Social Origin of the Cheyenne,' in *Proc. Internat. Cong. Americanists*, 1902, 1905; Lewis and Clarke, *Travels*, London, 1842; Mooney, 'Ghost-Dance Religion,' *14 RBEW*, pt. ii., 1896, and 'Cheyenne,' in Hodge, *Handbook of Amer. Indians*, i. (=*BE* 30, Washington, 1907) 250-257.

LEWIS SPENCE.

CHIBCHAS (properly **Muyscas** or **Mozcas**).—One of the cultured peoples of South America, whose domain comprised the Cundinamarca plateau in the present State of Colombia, with the Eastern Cordillera as far as the Sierra de Merida, and whose now extinct stock language was widely diffused amongst the surrounding populations. *Muysca*, with its variant *Mozca*, is the national name, and means 'twenty,' or, by extension, 'man,' having reference to their vigesimal system of counting by all the fingers and toes, which make 20 = the complete man. *Chibcha* was the name applied to them by their neighbours in scornful allusion to the frequency of the palatal *ch* (as in *church*) in their language; and the recurrence of this sound was itself largely due to the masc. and fem. suffixes *chha* and *fhecha*, which were added to all nouns where needed to mark gender.

On the advent of the whites (1538) there were two factions contending for the supremacy, headed respectively by the *zippa* and the *zaque*, that is, rulers of the 'South' and 'North,' the former with his capital at Tunja, the latter at Bacata or Bogota, the present name of Santa Fé de Bogotá, still the capital of Colombia. It was mainly owing to these feuds that the *Conquistadores* obtained such an easy triumph, and found that the *zaque* was the veritable *El Dorado*, of whom, even after this discovery, the treasure-seekers still continued to go in quest over half the continent.

The Chibchas, who have long been merged in the general Hispano-American population of Spanish speech, had made considerable progress in civilization, as witnessed by their political organization, by their social and religious institutions, and by their skill in such arts as weaving, dyeing, pottery, road- and bridge-making, mining, building, and other crafts. They were even credited with a gold currency, and in any case excelled in working the precious metal, which was both cast and wrought into a great variety of fantastic ornaments, chiefly frogs, snakes, and other animal forms displaying much imagination and technical skill. Their knowledge of astronomy rivalled that of the Mayas, but was independently acquired, as shown by the marked differences between the Central American and the Colombian calendric systems. Thus the Chibchas had three distinct calendars—the *rural* of 12 to 13 moons, the *ecclesiastic* of 37 moons, and the *civil* of 20 moons, with a week of only three days—the shortest on record (see CALENDAR [Mexican and Mayan]).

All the aboriginal tribes had been fused in a common social and political system, so that no tribal groups of Muyscan stock are known, although the empire was everywhere surrounded by savage and even cannibal populations, which were, and still are, broken into endless tribal fragments (Balbi, *Atlas ethnographique du globe*, Paris, 1826, Table xxix.). Several of these rude groups are classed with the Muyscas, by some authorities, in a widespread 'Chibcha family,' extending from the Ecuador frontier through Colombia and Panama into Costa Rica. Such are the *Nutibaras*, *Tatabas*, *Guacas*, and *Timebos* of the Cauca Valley; the *Paucuras*, *Petacays*, *Timbas*, and *Pastus* about the headwaters of the Rio Magdalena; the *Artuacos* (*Köggoba*, *Guamáka*, and *Bintukua*) of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta; and the Costa Rican *Borucas*, *Terrabas*, *Guatusos*, *Bribris*, *Cabécars*, *Estrellas*, *Chinpòs*, *Tucurriques*, and *Orosi*.

Muyscan society was divided into a number of exclusive castes, which presented striking analogies to those of the Aryan Hindus. Thus, to the Brāhmans corresponded the *jeques*, or priests, who were at once magicians, medicine-men, judges, and executioners. In accordance with the prevailing matriarchal customs, they succeeded to their office by inheritance through the female line, while the Pontifex Maximus at the head of the hierarchy was elected from two princely families, and lived aloof from the public in a mysterious recess near Suamoz (the present Sagamoso), in the district of Iraca (Sogundomuho), which was set apart for his exclusive use and maintenance. Before entering on their functions, the *jeques* had to pass through a severe novitiate of twelve years in a *cuca* ('seminary') under an aged priest, and on a frugal diet which has been described as a continual fast.

To the Hindu *Kṣatriyas* answered the warriors, who in peaceful times performed the duties of police and tax-gatherers. The *Vaiśyas* and *Śūdras* were represented by the traders, craftsmen, and peasantry, while a fifth class was formed by the conquered wild tribes differing in speech and other respects from the Muyscas, and thus answering to the *pariahs* and other outcasts of the Hindu con-

querors. But all alike were subject to a rigid system of civil and penal legislation, in which the almost autocratic power of the *zaque*, *zippa*, and *uzaque* ('sub-chiefs') was upheld by close alliance with the priestly class. The king himself had, as in Peru, gradually acquired a semi-divine character, as seen in his solemn processions from palace to temple, which took three days to traverse a distance of a few hundred yards. The title of *El Dorado* applied to the *zaque* of Bogotá arose from his custom on certain festivals of powdering himself all over with gold dust and plunging into the neighbouring Lake Guatavita, thus offering some of his wealth to the national deity, Bochica.

Like the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl, Bochica was traditionally a sage of white or fair complexion, who arrived from the east and became the great civilizer of the nation. After his death he received divine honours, and came to be regarded, if not as the supreme god of the universe, at least as the recognized head of the Muyscan pantheon, in which were included not only the heavenly bodies, but also the personified forces of Nature and all conspicuous natural objects. Trees, rocks, mountains, streams, and rapids were endowed with indwelling spirits to which altars were raised; and to these shrines were brought offerings of gold, gems, rich fabrics, and at times even human victims. When danger threatened, a child captured from the enemy was sacrificed on a lofty summit, where the rocks smeared with its blood were lit up by the first rays of the rising sun. Each returning cycle of fifteen years was also solemnized with a human victim, always a youth from the eastern plains whence Bochica had arrived on the plateau. We even read that the Chibchas thought these sanguinary rites the most pleasing to their gods. In all cases the sacrifices were made by the *jeques*, who must therefore be regarded as true priests, though sometimes they officiated disguised as divinities, demons, or animals.

While, as already noted, Bochica, the deity of the nobility, was later regarded as the Chibcha culture-hero, our oldest sources distinguish between him and Chibchacum, as well as between Bochica and Chimizapagua (also called Nemterequeteva and Xue), the latter being the original culture-deity from the east. Mankind was estranged from obedience to Chimizapagua by a beautiful woman named Chia, Huytaca, Xubchasgagua, or Yubecayguaya, whom the culture-god punished by transformation into either an owl or the moon. It was Chimizapagua, moreover, who, when Chibchacum in anger sent a flood upon the earth, appeared in a rainbow and stopped the waters by a stroke of his golden staff, while he banished Chibchacum to earth, which he sustains, thus occasioning earthquakes (cf. Ehrenreich, *Mythen und Legenden der südamerikanischen Urvölker*, Berlin, 1905, p. 51 ff.). For some twenty years Chimizapagua ruled in Sagamoso (his footprint may still be seen on a rock in the province of Ubaque), and then ascended to heaven. He would seem to be identical with the culture hero Sadigua-Sonoda, or Idacanzas, to whom Sagamoso owed all its greatness. According to Chibcha mythology, light was originally hidden in Chiminigagua ('Sun Holder'), who is also termed 'the creator of the world'; from Chiminigagua flew great black birds, which bore the rays of the sun throughout the world; and from the mountain lake of Iguaque, four leagues north of Tunja, rose a lovely woman, named Bachue, Turachogue, or Fuzachogua, with a boy three years old, these being the parents of the human race. Later they changed themselves into serpents and returned to their lake. Other accounts make the sun (who may have been identical with Bochica) and the moon (the divinity of which was Bochica's wife, the Chia mentioned above) the creators of all things. In addition to the deities already noted, there were Nencatacoa, the god of weavers and painters; a god of the drunken; Chaquen, who guarded the boundaries of the fields; Bachue, who made the seed grow; and Cuchavira, the rainbow, who helped the sick, especially women in childbirth.

From these and other recorded details it is clear that the original animism of the Muyscas had been raised to a higher plane, its main features being an almost unlimited polytheism, combined with sacrifice and a well-developed priestly order, with a general absence of ancestor-worship. Hence this 'State Religion,' as it may be called, with its polytheism evolved from pure animism, and not from ancestral shades, lends no support to Herbert Spencer's declaration that the 'hypothesis that religions in general are derived from ancestor-worship finds proof among all races and in every country,' and that 'nature-worship is but an aberrant form of ghost-worship' (*Eccles. Inst.*, 1885, pp. 675, 687). On the other hand, it so far bears out Huxley's view that 'among a large portion of mankind ancestor-worship is more or less thrown into the background either by cosmic deities or by tribal gods of uncertain origin' (*Coll. Essays*, 1894, iv. 348). The Chibcha system may also be taken as a further illustration of Rhys Davids' inference that 'the beliefs of the remote ancestors of the Buddhists may be summed up as having resulted from . . . Animism' (*Origin and Growth of Religion*, London, 1882, p. 113).

In some respects the moral standard stood at a fairly high level. Thus the rights of private property were thoroughly understood and protected by severe enactments against both robbery and fraudulent debtors. A keen sense of honour distinguished the upper classes, who feared degradation and disgrace more than corporal punishment. Although marriage was by purchase, the women, as under most matriarchal systems, enjoyed great freedom, and in certain cases were even empowered to chastise their husbands. Adultery was severely punished, but the virginity of a bride was held to imply that her powers of attraction were slight. The birth of twins was regarded as a proof of grave infidelity, and one of them was killed; and, if a woman died in childbed, her husband, as partly responsible for her death, was obliged to give half his property to her kinsfolk, who brought up his child at his expense. Polygamy was widely practised, though only the first wife seems to have been regarded as the legitimate spouse. Much care and sympathy were bestowed upon the sick and aged, while the dead were honoured with costly funeral rites which varied with the different castes and districts. In some places the bodies were embalmed with resins, and even filled with valuable objects; in others they were sun-dried or exposed on platforms around the temples, or else stowed away in caves, in some of which hundreds of bodies have been found seated in circles, with their hands joined. Their souls were believed to migrate to the centre of the earth, which was reached by crossing a wide stream in boats made of the gossamer threads of the spider, which was accordingly regarded as a sacred insect. In this shadow-land they ceased to hold intercourse with the living, although departed kings were honoured with human sacrifices, women and slaves being despatched with messages to their underground abode. But the number of victims was limited; nor were these 'customs' renewed, as among the African Ashantis and Dahomeys, on each recurrent anniversary. All this is in full accordance with the feeble development of ancestor-worship in Muyscaland, as generally throughout the New World.

LITERATURE.—G. F. de Oviedo (de Valdés), *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, new ed., Madrid, 1851; F. Perez, *Geografia . . . de Colombia*, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1862–63); W. Bollaert, *Antiquarian Researches in New Granada*, etc. (London, 1860); Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, iv. 352–373 (Leipzig, 1864; a most valuable summary of the material); E. J. Payne, *Hist. of New World*, vol. ii. (Oxford, 1888–89); P. Ehrenreich, *Anthrop. Studien* (Brunswick, 1897).

A. H. KEANE.

CHIDAMBARAM (Tamil Shithambaram; Skr. Chitāmbara, 'atmosphere of wisdom').—A town in the S. Arcot district of the Madras Presidency (lat. 11° 25′ N., long. 79° 42′ E.) famous for its Śaiva temple, which contains the celebrated Ākāśa, or 'air' *liṅgam*. Fergusson describes the place under the name of Chillambaram, and gives a plan and views of the great temple. The celebrated *liṅgam* exists only in the imagination of its votaries, for whose benefit a curtain hung before a wall is raised; but the *liṅgam*, of course, is invisible. The building of the temple is ascribed to the 10th cent. A.D.; and the shrine of the goddess Pārvatī, spouse of Śiva, and the great gates (*gopura*) are assigned by Fergusson to the 14th or 15th century.

'The temple is held in the highest reverence throughout Southern India and Ceylon, and one of the annual festivals is largely attended by pilgrims from all parts of India. As an architectural edifice it is a wonderful structure, for it stands in the middle of an alluvial plain between two rivers, where there is no building stone within forty miles; and yet the outer walls are faced with dressed granite, the whole of the great area enclosed by the inner walls is paved with stone, the temple contains a hall which stands on more than 1000 monolithic pillars, into the gateways are built blocks of stone 30 feet high and more than 3 feet square, and the reservoir, which is 150 feet long and 100 feet broad and very deep, has long flights of stone steps leading down to the water on all four sides. The labour expended in bringing all this and other material 40 miles through a country without roads and across the Vellār river must have been enormous' (*Imperial Gazetteer*, 1908, x. 219).

LITERATURE.—The account in the *Imperial Gazetteer* quoted above; J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ed. J. Burgess (1910), i. 373 ff.; W. H. Workman, *Through Town and Jungle* (1904), 201.

W. CROOKE.

CHIEF GOOD.—See SUMMUM BONUM.

CHILAN BALAM.—The so-called books of Chilan Balam are native compilations of events occurring in Mayapan previous to the Spanish Conquest, and written by Maya Indian scribes in the characters invented and taught by the Spanish monks as suitable to the Mayan tongue. They embody the old traditions lingering in the memory of individuals concerning the doings of the Maya people before the coming of the Spaniards, and were probably written shortly after the Conquest, though some belong to the end of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries. They exist in various transcripts in Yucatan, and were first copied by Dr. Hermann Behrendt, whose transcriptions were purchased by Dr. Brinton. They may be regarded as offshoots of the Mayan MSS, and treat in general of matters given in portions of these; they contain also a substratum of historic information which has been preserved by tradition. They are primarily brief chronicles, recounting the divisions of time, the periods known to the Mayas as *katuns*, which had elapsed since their coming to Mayapan.

1. Spanish notices of the prophecies.—Spanish notices of what are known to the old historians as the prophecies of Chilan Balam are rare. The fullest is that of Villagutierre (*Hist. de el Itza, y de el Lacandon*, Madrid, 1701, p. 38). The prophecies purport to be those of the priest who bore the title—not name—of Chilan Balam, and whose offices were those of divination and astrology. Villagutierre's statement is to the effect that Chilan Balam, high priest of Tixcacayon Cabick, in Mani, prophesied the coming of the Spaniards as follows:

'At the end of the thirteenth age, when Itza is at the height of its power, as also the city called Tancob, which is between Yacman and Tichaquillo, the signal of God will appear on the heights; and the Cross, with which the world was enlightened, will be manifested. There will be variance of men's will in future times, when the signal shall be brought. Ye priests, before coming even a quarter of a league, ye shall see the Cross, which will appear and lighten up the sky from pole to pole. The worship of vain gods shall cease. Your father comes, O Itzalanos! Your brother comes, O Tantunites! Receive your barbarous bearded guests from the East, who bring the signal of the God who comes to us in mercy and in pity. The time of our life is coming. You have nothing to fear from the world. Thou art the living God, who created us in mercy. The words of God are good: let us lift up His signal to see it and adore it: we must raise the Cross in opposition to the falsehood we now see. Before the first tree of the world now is a manifestation made to the world: this is the signal of a God on high: adore this, ye people of Itza! Let us adore it with uprightness of heart. Let us adore Him who is our God, the true God: receive the word of the true God, for he who speaks to you comes from heaven. Ponder this well, and be the men of Itza. They who believe shall have light in the age which is to come. I, your teacher and master, Balam, warn and charge you to look at the importance of my words. Thus have I finished what the true God commanded me to say, that the world might hear it.'

It is not difficult to see in this account of the prophecy certain signs which at once mark it as spurious. The chief of these are the Scriptural character of the language employed, and the much too definite terms in which the prophecy is couched.

2. Genuine character of the books.—These considerations lead us first to an examination of the books, with a view to discovering whether or not they are genuinely aboriginal in character. There can be no doubt that, as in the case of the Kiche *Popol Vuh*, a genuine substratum of native tradition has been overlaid and coloured by the Christian influence of the early Spanish missionaries. The genuine aboriginal character of this substratum is clear from internal evidence, matters being dealt with in a manner which betrays an aboriginal cast of thought, and knowledge of Mayan manners being revealed in a way that no Spaniard of the period was capable of achieving. At the same time, the evidence of priestly editing is by no means far to seek, and must be patent to the most superficial reader. The evidence of language also points to the authenticity of these productions. Such an idiomatic use of the ancient Mayan tongue as they betray could have been employed by none but persons who had used it habitually from infancy. The trend of thought, as displayed in American languages, differs so radically from that shown in European tongues as to afford almost no analogy whatever; and this is well exemplified in these curious books. Their authenticity has been called in question by several superficial students of the American languages, whose studies have been made at second hand; but no authority of the first class has doubted their genuine aboriginal character. As regards the authenticity of the prophecies, it is known that, at the close of the divisions of time known as *katuns*, a *chilan*, or prophet, was wont to utter publicly a prediction forecasting the nature of the similar period to come; and there is no reason to doubt that some distant rumours of the coming of the white man had reached the ears of several of the seers. So far as the reference to the Cross is concerned, it may be observed that the Maya word rendered 'cross' by the missionaries simply signifies 'a piece of wood set upright'; but cruciform shapes were well known to the Mayas (see CROSS [American]).

3. Multiplicity of books.—The natives were greatly disturbed at the destruction of their sacred records by the Spanish monks (Landa, *Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan*, Paris ed. 1864, p. 316), and, as many of them had acquired the European alphabet, and as the missionaries had added to it several signs to express Mayan sounds foreign to Spanish ears, a number of native scribes set to work to write out in the new alphabet the contents of their ancient records. In this they were, doubtless, aided by the wonderful mnemonic

powers which were so assiduously cultivated by the American races, and they probably further relied upon such secretly preserved archives as they could obtain. They added much new European lore, and omitted a considerable body of native tradition. The result of their labours was a number of books, varying in merit and contents, but known collectively as 'the Books of Chilan Balam,' these being severally distinguished by the name of the village where each was composed or discovered. It is probable that in the 17th cent. every village contained a copy of the native records; but various causes have combined to destroy the majority of them. There still remain portions or descriptions of at least sixteen of these records, designated by the names of the several places where they were written: *e.g.* the Book of Chilan Balam of Chumayel, of Nabula, of Káua, of Mani, of Oxkutzcab, of Ixil, of Tihosuco, of Tixcocob, etc.

'*Chilan*,' says Landa, second Bishop of Yucatan, 'was the name of their priests, whose duty it was to teach the sciences, to appoint holy days, to treat the sick, to offer sacrifices, and especially to utter the oracles of the gods. They were so highly honoured by the people that they were carried on litters on the shoulders of the devotees' (*op. cit.* 160). The derivation of the name is from *chij*, 'the mouth,' and signifies 'interpreter.' The word *balam* means 'tiger,' and was used in connexion with a priestly caste, being still employed by the Maya Indians as a name for those spirits who are supposed to protect fields and towns.

It is seldom that the names of the writers of these books are given, as in all probability the compilations, as we have them, are but copies of still older manuscripts, with additions of more recent events by the copyist.

4. Contents of the books.—The contents of the various books of Chilan Balam may be classified under: (1) astrology and prophecy; (2) chronology and history; (3) medico-religious practice; (4) later history and Christian teachings.

(1) The *astrology* is an admixture of Maya stellar divination and that borrowed from European almanacs of the century between 1550 and 1650, which are no less superstitious in their leanings than the native products. *Prophecies*, such as that quoted at length above, abound.

(2) *Chronological and historical matter.*—The books of Chilan Balam are, however, chiefly valuable for the light they throw upon the chronological system and ancient history of the Mayas. The periods of events in which they deal are designated *katuns*, and are of considerable length, but their actual extent has not been agreed upon. The older Spanish authors make their duration 20 years (the length of time alluded to in the text of the books), but marginal notes imply that they consisted of 24 years. As, however, these notes have been added by a later hand, the original computation is possibly the correct one. But it is still more likely that the length of the *katun* was neither 20 nor 24 years, but 20 × 360 days—a period of time actually used by the Mayas in reckoning, as appears from the numerical characters in the Dresden MS.

Most of the chronology of the books of Chilan Balam is of doubtful value. The list of traditional events is exceedingly meagre, and few dates can be relied upon with any degree of confidence. In the majority of in. tances the arrangement of the statement proves that the figures given do not represent actual dates, but were chosen according to a fixed scheme. The events which appear to have been recorded with the greatest degree of accuracy are the final establishment of the Spaniards and the foundation of Merida, their first appearance in Yucatan, and the death of Ahpula, 'a dreaded and powerful magician.

(3) *Medico-religious practice.*—The cure of various diseases is exhaustively treated by the authors of the books. Landa relates that 'the *chilanes* were sorcerers and doctors' (*op. cit.* 160), and we shall probably not be far wrong if we compare them with the medicine-men of other American tribes. The MSS abound in descriptions of symptoms and hints for diagnosis, and suggest many remedies. The preparation of native plants and bleeding are the chief among these, but several appear to have been borrowed from a physic book of European origin. Brinton states (*Books of Chilan Balam*, p. 18) that Behrendt, who first copied these books, and who was himself a physician, left a large manuscript on the subject, entitled 'Recetarios de Indios,' in which he states that the scientific value of these remedies is next to nothing, and that the language in which they are recorded is distinctly inferior to the remainder of the books. He held that this portion of these records was supplanted some time in the last century by medical knowledge introduced from Europe. This, indeed, is admitted by the copyists of the books, who probably took them from a mediæval work on Spanish medicine known as *El Libro del Judio*, 'the Book of the Jew.'

(4) The *Christian teachings* consist of translations of the 'Doctrine,' Bible stories, narratives of events subsequent to the Conquest, and other matters of minor interest.

5. Hieroglyphic mythology of the books.—The day and month hieroglyphics depicted in several of the Books of Chilan Balam appear to differ materially from those given by Landa (*op. cit.*) and those illustrating the various Mayan codices, and it will be well to examine them with a view to discovering whether these variants disclose any mythological or other information hitherto unnoticed. Taking as a basis for our considerations the Book of Chilan Balam of Káua, we observe that, although a similarity exists between its day-signs and those of the Codex Troano, many apparently radical differences are present. In the Book of Káua the signs are resolved into squares instead of into the usual 'calculiform' pattern. In the Kan sign, for example,—that of the day of Schellhas's 'God E' (the maize-god),—we find a germ of similarity, but also some considerable modification. In the sign of Cimi 2, we observe, by comparison with the Codex Troano, a highly conventionalized form of the head of the death-god (A). The closed eyes with the heavy pendant lashes on the cheek and the row of exposed and grinning teeth, which make this deity such a familiar figure in the codices, have in the Book of Káua been conventionalized into a square, in the upper portion of which have been drawn three perpendicular strokes flanked by two similar strokes at a sharp angle to them—the whole doubtless representing the eyelashes and end of the eyelids. The lower portion, probably intended to represent the under jaw, is filled in with two smaller squares. We thus see that in the books of Chilan Balam such Mayan writing as is depicted threatens to become so conventional as to depart almost entirely from the original form of the hieroglyphs. In the Chicchan sign (that of 'God H') we almost fail to recognize the skin spot or scale of the serpent, which in the Book of Káua appears to be symbolized by a serpent's tail. But it is well known that the representations of 'God H' vary exceedingly, so that it is not improbable that his hieroglyph or day sign may also vary. Indeed, as Schellhas says (*Representations of Deities of the Maya Manuscripts*, 1904, p. 29)

'The Chicchan work in the sign of the day Chicchan also differs very much from that on the bodies of the serpents pictured in the manuscripts, so that variations of this kind by no means

make it necessary to assume that the hieroglyphs actually denote different things.'

In the Codex Tro-Cortesianus, for example (27[a]), we observe that the Chicchan-spots on the body of the serpent there represented much resemble the serpent-tails in the Chicchan sign of the Book of Káua in their scallop-shaped sequence. In the Chicchan sign we have a portion of the body of a serpent covered with veritable spots, whereas in the other Chicchan signs in the same book scales are most distinctly represented. We have here, in all probability, the day-sign or hieroglyph of Kukulcan, a Mayan deity analogous to, or identical with, the Mexican Quetzalcoatl and the Guatemalan Gucumatz. The day Muluc is that usually attributed to 'God K,' and the sign of Muluc represented in the Book of Chilan Balam of Káua would appear to strengthen the belief that that deity possesses an astronomic and architectural significance. In Muluc 5 we have a square divided into four equal parts around a small circle placed in the middle, each square containing a still smaller circle. This would appear in some manner to symbolize orientation, or may perhaps have a stellar significance. Of 'God K' Schellhas says (*op. cit.* 34):

'The significance of God K is unknown in his architectural relation. Some connection with his character as the deity of a star and with his astronomic qualities may, however, be assumed, since, as we know, the temple structures of Central America are always placed with reference to the cardinal points.'

Another striking degeneration into conventionality is noticeable in the sign Esnab, in which the type has evolved from that given in the Codex Tro-Cortesianus (something similar to a St. Andrew's cross) to one closely resembling the Arabic numeral 2. Of course, it is difficult to say how much of this trend towards conventionality in the day-sign was due to direct European influence, and how much to natural evolution. We are here dealing with symbols and not with hieroglyphs, but the Maya symbols and day-signs are all evolved from or possess a hieroglyphic significance. The hieroglyphs for the months, on the other hand, bear but little resemblance to those of Landa. If his representations be compared with those in the Book of Chilan Balam of Chumayel, the difference is at once apparent. The rude drawing of these signs is scarcely a sufficient excuse for the fundamental difference displayed by the various examples. Hence Brinton's vindication of the correctness and authenticity of Landa's examples appears hardly well founded (*op. cit.* 14).

LITERATURE.—D. G. Brinton, *The Books of Chilan Balam, and The Maya Chronicles*, Philadelphia, 1882; Carillo y Ancona, *Disertaçion sobre la Hist. de la Lengua Maya o Yucateca*, Merida, 1870; Felipe Valentini, *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.*, 1880; Eligio Ancona, *Hist. de Yucatan*, Merida, 1878; E. Seler, *Bull. 28 BE*, 1904, p. 329 ff.; *ZE* xxiii. (1891) 112.

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CHILDHOOD.—Usage has not yet rendered this term either precise or consistent. In the broadest sense, childhood is the period that precedes maturity; more properly, it is the period between birth and the beginning of the acquisition of reproductive capacity (see ADOLESCENCE). This is the sense in which the term will be used in the present article. It should be borne in mind, however, that there is a tendency to distinguish the terms 'infancy,' 'childhood,' and 'adolescence' as follows: infancy extends to the 'school age' of about six years; childhood occupies approximately the next six years; and adolescence the next ten or a dozen years. The 'childhood of the race,' originally a metaphor, has become an almost technical term, through the establishment of the law of recapitulation (see below, § 5). We have here to ask what special significance childhood has for religion and ethics. (Inasmuch as a subsequent article [GROWTH, Moral and Religious, Periods of] presents a systematic view of the development of character, the present discussion will be limited to certain fundamental considerations or prolegomena.)

1. **Mental differences between childhood and later life.**—Concerning these differences three successive types of theory have appeared:

(1) The first represents the child as a miniature man. Only a little observation is required, however, to discover that neither in physical proportions, organs, and functions, nor in mental process and personality, can the difference be expressed in quantitative terms.

(2) The second type of thought, taking the contrast between childhood and adolescence in respect of sex organs and functions as representative of the method of development, seeks to discover a serial order in which faculties or mental functions are supposed to arise. Just as the sexual instinct appears only after several years of a child's growth, so other instincts ripen at different periods, and they are more or less transitory (see W. James, *Principles of Psychology*, New York, 1908, vol. ii. ch. xxiv.). The observation is in some sense as true as it is commonplace, that impulse comes before reflexion, imitation before social purpose, imagination before reason, and consciousness before self-consciousness. Even the senses do not develop *pari passu* with one another, and hence arise various attempts to determine the day, month, or year of the child's life in which one or other function first appears. This type of description, however, partly fails of its purpose. For it takes its categories (perception, curiosity, fear, imagination, etc.) from the adult mind, whereas what we need is to understand what each function means to the child who exercises it. Again, mental life is not made up of functions or processes added to one another; the life of the child is in a sense an individual life from the start. Finally, there is needed a genetic principle that shall illuminate the various differentiations as they occur in the child mind.

(3) A third type of theory, which may be called 'functional child psychology,' meets these difficulties by exhibiting the changes of the growing mind as responses to specific strains that arise in the general process of active adjustment. The child is fundamentally active, and his action is always implicitly purposive. Differentiation of consciousness occurs at the points where unco-ordinated impulsive movements (as distinguished from reflex and instinctive) require to be adjusted, that is, where an impulse has to be adjusted to an end. Consequently, the standpoint from which to understand the child mind is its developing interests, and its interests are to be known by activities. Thus, in his earlier years the child is interested in his own spontaneous action in response to the objects in his environment, and these objects have for him little intrinsic meaning. Later, interest shifts from the act itself to results, as in construction, competitive games, etc., with corresponding realization of objects as contrasted with the self. This opens the way for a great broadening of both the self and its world, with action for more and more distant, or comprehensive, or specialized, ends. (On this latest, most thorough view of the child mind, see I. King, *Psychology of Child Development*, whose main positions have here been summarized.)

The chief mental difference between children and adults, therefore, consists in a contrast between vague and clear, undifferentiated and differentiated, consciousness in every direction (knowledge, feelings, volition); between a narrower and a wider range of objects attended to; between immediate and remote ends, with a corresponding difference

in the degree to which conduct is organized; and between the immediate values of self-activity and the relatively remote values of social action.

2. Method of the child's moral development.—Character develops in accordance with the above analysis of child mentality.

(1) Conscience, considered either as moral emotion or as moral discrimination, is not to be thought of as present from birth, or as having a definite beginning at any assignable period of growth. The distinct manifestations of moral appreciation at five or six years of age no more mark moral beginnings than the first distinct realization of the mother as an object marks the beginning of cognition. The most that we can determine is certain transition points in a general movement out of vagueness into clear discrimination.

(2) Distinctly ethical attitudes emerge out of unpurposed activities which may be called, if we please, non-ethical. This does not mean, however, that morality first arises within a consciousness that is already definitely organized in other respects. The child does start life on a non-ethical plane, but just as truly he begins at a non-intelligent level. In no direction is he equipped with anything like innate truths or standards. What he brings into the world is a psycho-physical organism, which, in addition to making approximately definite reflex and instinctive reactions to certain stimuli, also makes impulsive, unco-ordinated reactions to other stimuli, with consequent strain or discomfort, which stimulates to a conscious striving towards a satisfactory organization of all activities (see King, *op. cit.* p. 73 f.). How this desirable unity is to be attained, there is nothing in the earliest consciousness to show. From its standpoint, success depends upon the use of a trial-and-error method. After a satisfactory organization of the self has thus been attained, we look back and generalize the process as a law of self-realization which we also designate as the 'moral nature' of the child. In the sense that in the given social environment we can attain adequate self-expression only by moral modes of conduct, children may be said to have a moral nature from the start; but the rules of morality could not be arrived at by any conceivable analysis of the actual consciousness of infants.

(3) That conscience appears at all is because the child's world contains persons. There is no reason to suppose that a sense of right and wrong would be felt by a human being reared entirely apart from human society. More specifically, the budding points of moral feeling and discrimination are impulsive activities that have still to be co-ordinated with existing social regulations. When a child, being a member of a group, and desiring to act with it, nevertheless has a strong impulse to act contrary to the group standard, reflexion awakens; he endeavours to adjust himself to the social situation; he begins to know moral law. The individual is brought to moral self-control only by such pressure of a formed society upon him. Without this pressure, any generation would be in the position of primitive men who are just beginning to climb the ladder of social progress. The moral status to which society has attained through many centuries of experience is not transmitted by physical generation, but by social training through imitation, instruction, initiations, public opinion, laws and penalties, social interaction in commerce and industry, and group action of many kinds.

(4) The notion that children are necessarily egoists until the blossoming of adolescent social sentiment is partly true, but mostly misleading. The roseate lights of adolescence can radiate from their centre in sex interest so as to give new meaning to all social relations. Yet genuine social adjustment does not begin here. The child's whole life is spent in a social environment. In the family, in plays with other children, in the school, in team games, in 'gangs,' and in the community life, social activities develop as naturally as muscular strength; and social activities, in accordance with the general relation of emotion to muscular contraction, are a sign of social feeling. The supposition of Herbert Spencer that altruism somehow develops out of pure egoism, ignores the fact that children grow up from the first within society, imitating and otherwise conforming to it, and thereby acquiring social sentiments. The popular declaration that children are 'little savages' reveals narrow observation of child conduct, unless, indeed, one stops to reflect that even savages have social organization, with much willing devotion of individuals to the common weal.

(5) More fundamental still, according to various writers, is the social factor in the development of the individual. J. M. Baldwin, for example (*Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development*), maintains that the ego-consciousness itself arises through a social process, and expresses a necessarily social point of view. *Ego* and *alter*, according to him, are strictly reciprocal in the child's consciousness, each acquiring meaning by reference to the other. The process by which this is done is, in a broad sense, imitation. For our present purpose, it is needless to inquire whether the experience of things as distinguished from persons does not also play a direct part in the rise of the sense of self. It is sufficient to know that the moral life depends upon the stimulus of an already existing society. Just as intelligence requires for its development such social treasures as language and accumulated learning, so moral action is a reaction to the institutions, customs, and ideals of the various persons and groups in the child's environment.

3. The actual morals of children.—Insight into the actual moral life of children has been much hindered by the custom of condemning them for every deviation from adult standards. The young are blamed, even punished, for what they cannot understand the wrong of, as they, in turn, misunderstand some of the virtues and some of the faults of their seniors. What is needed, but difficult, is to see what a given act of a child means to the child himself. He has his own moral ideas and standards, which must differ from those of adults, because his experience is so different from theirs. It is vain to suppose that one can appreciate a moral principle before one has experienced the kind of issue that the principle is supposed to settle. Because child experience is different from adult experience, children form moral codes of their own, in which the customs and commands of their elders are only one factor. Not seldom the same individual has contradictory codes, and the type of code changes from period to period of growth. With very young children, morality seems to be almost identical with observance of custom, 'the way we always do it' being 'the way it ought to be done.' Then comes the crude adjustment of a few rights as between the child and the persons who are most with him, such as the right of property, and the authority of parent or nurse as contrasted with other persons. The plays of children with one another give rise to codes, occasionally elaborate ones, that are sometimes enforced with rigour. Standards of fair play belong here, also standards of courage (as in 'daring' one another), of endurance (not whimpering), and of keeping secrets. Strange codes, which sometimes include a caste system, spring up in schools.

Perhaps the most thoroughly enforced of all child codes is that of the 'gang,' the central principle of which—loyalty—finds application in giving and sharing, in exclusiveness towards outsiders, in mutual endurance of hardships and taking of risks, and in not revealing the secrets of the group or the misdeeds of its members.

Child morality of this type grows up, largely without adult control, as the rules of child society. Meanwhile the children are also in constant contact with adults, and here morality of another type is likely to appear—or rather types, for family government, school government, and community conditions vary much. There are also temperamental variations among children that affect conduct profoundly. Hence we shall find children of all ages after infancy who from the heart conform to the demands of adult society upon them; others who conform only grudgingly and of compulsion; still others who pretend to conform, but clandestinely disobey; and always, of course, obedience tends during childhood to attach to specific external acts or rules rather than to what adults know as principles, with the consequence of much naive inconsistency.

The modern effort to understand children—that is, to see how a child's experience appears to the child himself—has produced certain definite results. Children's so-called 'lies,' for example, are seen to arise, first of all, from actual inability to grasp and hold the distinction between real and fancied objects. It takes some years to learn how to discriminate between the world of experience and the world of dream and imagination. Again, even after this distinction has been made, a child, because he has no clear notion of the social effects of deception, may employ it for self-protection in a spontaneous, practically non-moral way. Similarly, the 'cruelty' of children is often not cruelty at all; one cannot be cruel before one has sufficient imagination and knowledge of causes to understand how another feels in a given situation. It is doubtful whether children ever delight in the suffering of victims; rather, the child experiments, desiring to see something happen, and desiring also to exert his own power upon something else. The quarrels and fights of children, likewise, have by no means the same significance as similar conduct in adult life. They rarely express hatred or malice, but rather the irritation of the moment, or a new-found sense of self, or group pride (as in 'gangs'), or desire to enforce the standards of child-society. (For a careful appreciation of child morals, see J. Sully, *Studies of Childhood*. On untruthfulness in children, see G. Stanley Hall, 'Children's Lies,' *Pedagogical Seminary*, i. [1891] 211–218; and N. Oppenheim, 'Why Children Lie,' *Popular Science Monthly*, xlvii. [1895] 382–387.)

4. Children and religion.—As a general rule, the religions of the world show slight recognition, or none at all, of childhood capacity for religion; but the supposed attainment of such capacity at puberty has been signalized the world over by initiations, which are commonly both religious and civic (see G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, ch. xiii.). Christianity, however, has shown a tendency to push backward towards infancy the date, not so much of initiation (or confirmation, reception into Church membership, etc.), as of recognized religiousness. The belief in the Fatherhood of God; the tenderness and sympathy that Christianity has always cultivated; Jesus' declaration that adults can enter the Kingdom only by becoming as little children, and His recognition of children as members of the Kingdom—these are among the causes why the Christian consciousness somewhat generally includes children within the Christian fellowship. By baptismal regeneration in infancy, or by virtue of a Divine 'covenant,' or by reason of the 'unconditioned benefits of the Atonement,' or because of the mere atmosphere of the gospel, most of the Churches count children as members, and by few, if any, Churches are they treated as mere outsiders. Within the evangelical movement, which has emphasized personal religious experience, however, the position of children has been ambiguous. On the one hand, they are obviously not ripe for the evangelical type of experience; on the other hand, the evangelical love of souls could not leave children out. Here and there an evangelist has sought to convert even little children, but for the most part these Churches have been content to teach (mainly in Sunday schools), in the hope that the pupils would sometime attain to the Christian experience. This ambiguity was in 1847 sharply attacked by the Congregational theologian Horace Bushnell (*Christian Nurture*, New York, 1847), and in 1866 by the Methodist theologian F. G. Hibbard (*The Religion of Childhood*, Cincinnati, 1864), who was followed by a considerable succession of Methodist writers (R. J. Cooke, *Christianity and Childhood*, New York, 1891; C. W. Rishell, *The Child as God's Child*, New York, 1904; J. T. McFarland, *Preservation versus the Rescue of the Child*, New York, Eaton & Mains, pamphlet, no date). These writers maintain on grounds of Scripture and dogma that little children have spiritual 'life' which they need never lose, so that the primary purpose of Christian instruction and training is to develop a life already present.

Starting from an entirely different standpoint, the recent child-study movement and the movement for a psychology of religion have investigated the actual religious life of children. The ideas of children concerning God, heaven, hell, etc., have been ascertained, with the result of showing how crude is the reaction to religious teaching and environment ('Children's Attitude toward Theology,' in *Earl Barnes' Studies in Education*, ii. [1902] 283, 'Theological Life of a California Child,' *Pedagogical Seminary*, ii. [1892] 442–448; E. D. Starbuck, *The Psychology of Religion*, London, 1899, ch. xv.; Starbuck declares [p. 194] that one of the most pronounced characteristics of the religion of childhood is that 'religion is distinctively external to the child rather than something which possesses inner significance'). Effort has been made, also, to discover the genesis and growth of the religious consciousness in the individual (J. M. Baldwin, *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development*, New York, 1897, pp. 327–357; J. B. Pratt, *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, New York, 1907, ch. vii.; E. D. Starbuck, *op. cit.* ch. xxx.; G. E. Dawson, *The Child and his Religion*, Chicago, 1909). As it is practically impossible to rear a child apart from all contact with the religion of his elders, we cannot accurately determine how much of one's religious growth is due to social influences and how much to one's own spontaneous impulses. It is safe to say, however, that the individual is as dependent upon others for his religious as for his moral attitudes (see above, § 2 (3)), and that imitation, suggestion, and social pains and pleasures play much the same rôle. The real problem concerning the genesis of individual religion is therefore this: what is it in the social environment that calls out the first genuinely religious responses? Baldwin, who makes the whole consciousness of self a social product, finds the genesis of religion in the idealization of both the *ego* and the *alter*—in the words of William James, the permanent root of our religiousness is the need of an adequate *socius* (*Principles of Psychology*, i. 316). Dawson and Pratt, on the other hand, make much of the interest of little children in the causes of things, and of credulity

rather than social sentiment as the atmosphere of the earliest religious response. In view of the historically accomplished differentiation of science, with its causal categories, from religion, with its value categories, we are justified in saying that in the child's as yet undifferentiated response the specifically religious phase is the social one, the scientific phase, the interest in causes. Accordingly, the growth of religious appreciation follows the line of the deepening social experience. Religious growth is inextricably one with moral growth. The intimate relation between religious experience and the new birth of social feeling in adolescence is of itself almost sufficient to establish this point of view. A social colour can be given to the child's interest in causes, however, by indulging his spontaneous tendency to think of them as personal. As a matter of fact, this is what commonly occurs in religious instruction concerning creation, the Divine power in Nature, etc. Christianity, which derives its chief symbolism and its chief virtues from the life of the family, has a consequent advantage in religious education. For the child's earliest experience of family affection and of the laws of family unity provide him with ideals for interpreting and judging all subsequent social experience, and for completing and unifying his social ideals, in the notion of a universal Divine family.

5. **The child and the race.**—The preceding discussion shows what an overwhelming part social environment, or education in its broadest sense, plays in making the child what he is at any stage of growth. Children grow up amongst us as civilized beings because they live in a civilized environment: there is no other way whatever to obtain the result. We have seen, nevertheless, that the actual life of children never fully reproduces the social life of adults, even on a small scale. The social ways of the young express constitutional limitations and necessities which cannot be displaced by mature laws and standards. When the pressure of adult society upon children prevents the expression of child nature, then occurs arrest or perversion of development, as in some families of the very rich, where children are kept in the society of nurses and away from normal child activities, and likewise in some families of the very poor, where economic pressure places the child in stunting occupations. Is it possible, now, to generalize the limitations of children at their various periods of growth as compared with adults? What is the law of the individual's own contribution to his development?

The only empirically founded answer to this question is the theory of recapitulation, which attempts to bring under a single principle the mental and the physical, the post-natal and the embryologic development, and to connect the developmental order in the individual with the evolution of the race. As the human embryo assumes successive forms which represent the physical evolution of the human species, though with variations, short-cuts, etc., so after birth the individual follows in a rough schematic way the line of mental and social evolution in the human race. Thus, in point of action and inhibition, there is in both a change from instinct and impulse, through custom, to individual deliberation; in point of social grouping, from connexions determined by immediate biological necessity (as in the family), through stages of group-loyalty like that of clan and tribe, to some recognition of the larger humanity; in point of interests, from discontinuity to system, from immediate activities, connected with the primary aspects of things, to simple construction, and then to the larger and larger control of causes. G. Stanley Hall maintains, in addition, that such facts of bodily growth as periods of relative stability, followed by periods of disequilibration, represent corresponding stages of race history. In the ascertained facts of individual development he believes that we have clues even to otherwise unknown crises in the life of the race (see his *Adolescence*, i. 40–50).

Though the fact of recapitulation is unquestioned, the interpretation of it is not easy. A hasty inference, which many have drawn, is that, in a fairly literal sense, the individual is first a savage, then a barbarian, then a civilized being. Not only does observation of children not justify any such view, but the whole conception of recapitulation on which it relies is mistaken. There is no *vis a tergo* that pushes the individual through a given course of development regardless of environment. As every mechanical force has a full mechanical resultant, so the mental and moral environment determines the growth of the child's character as inevitably as does the constitutional factor that we call recapitulation. This law enables us to foretell what type of interest will prevail in each period of growth, and therefore in what general order the child will assimilate the standards of adult society. But these predetermined types of interest are broadly generic, not specific. What education can do is to select, within each generic type, specific objects and situations that will awaken permanently worthy responses. By such selection, *e.g.*, a little child's generic interest in 'seeing the wheels go round' can be made a specific interest in some mechanical principle; interest in 'blood and thunder' tales can be attached to naval heroes or missionary adventure as well as to thieves and pirates. The law of recapitulation, then, points to the limitations of spontaneous interest at different periods rather than to any rigid line that development must follow. Yet the natural interests of each period should be abundantly fed, and appropriate activities encouraged, not only for the general enrichment of experience and memory, but also because full self-expression is the best preparation for the next stage of interest. Lack of self-expression at any stage is likely to result in a permanent maiming of the mind.[1]

LITERATURE.—A *Bibliography of Child-Study*, revised annually, is issued by Louis N. Wilson, Worcester, Mass. A. F. Chamberlain, *The Child: A Study in the Evolution of Man*, London, 1900, summarizes many researches, and gives a bibliography of nearly 700 titles. A. E. Tanner, *The Child: His Thinking, Feeling, and Doing*, New York, 1904, gives a simple statement of the various results of the child-study movement, together with a bibliography on each topic. G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, 2 vols., New York, 1904, makes constant reference to childhood, especially in the first volume. Among educational periodicals, the *Pedagogical Seminary* (quarterly), Worcester, Mass., and *Earl Barnes' Studies in Education* (occasional), Leland Stanford University, California, are especially significant for researches on children. The following works discuss fundamental facts and principles that concern the moral or religious significance of childhood: J. M. Baldwin, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race*, New York, 1895, and *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development*, New York, 1897; G. Compayré, *L'Evolution intellectuelle et morale de l'enfant*[2], Paris, 1896 [Eng. tr., 2 vols., New York, 1896–1902]; I. King, *Psychology of Child Development*, Chicago, 1903; M. V. O'Shea, *Social Development and Education*, Boston, 1909; J. Sully, *Studies of Childhood*, London, 1895. On childhood religion, in addition to the references above under § 4, see *The Child and Religion*, ed. T. Stephens, London and New York, 1905.

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CHILD MARRIAGE (in India).—Among the peculiar customs connected with marriage in India,

[1] On the biological phase of recapitulation, see A. M. Marshall, *Biological Lectures and Addresses*, London, 1894. On the psychological phase, see J. M. Baldwin, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race*, ch. i., and *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development*, pp. 188–195; I. King, *Psychology of Child Development*, pp. 156–171; E. A. Kirkpatrick, *Genetic Psychology*, New York, 1909, ch. xi. On the educational phase, see the first and second *Year Book of the Herbart Society*, University of Chicago Press. On the religious phase, see G. A. Coe, *Education in Religion and Morals*, New York, 1904, pp. 201–225.

child marriage, along with the practice of widow-burning, has always astonished the observer of Indian native life. From the days of Alexander the Great (whose historians relate that Indian females marry at the age of seven)[1] until the present time, travellers, oriental and occidental, have reported this striking phenomenon, which, at least in such wide occurrence, is without parallel in the whole world, and have usually expressed sympathy for the lot of the child-wives.

The statistics of the last Census exhibit clearly the wide extent of the practice of child marriage in India even at the present time. While the usage which prohibits the marriage of widows is confined to a comparatively limited sphere, and is in reality restricted to the higher castes, the practice of child marriage has taken firm hold of the lower classes of the people as well. Throughout India about $\frac{3}{7}$ of the total number of Hindu females between the ages of ten and fifteen years are unmarried; that is to say, more than half of the Indian girls marry before they have reached their fifteenth year—the time at which they are capable of matrimonial life—however unfit for it they may be physically.[2] We find child marriage least prevalent among the tribes that, almost uninfluenced by Hindu civilization, have preserved their own native characteristics; thus the Dravidian tribes of Chotā Nāgpur, the Central Provinces, and the Madras Hills, and the Mongolian tribes of the Himālaya region, of Assam and Burma, are acquainted with courtship and marriage only between full-grown youths and girls. But as soon as we come to tribes among whom the social life, as among the Jāts and Rājputs, derives its character entirely or mainly from the caste system of the Hindus, we find either child marriage in undisputed sway or a mixed system prevalent. The rule is, at least in the western Provinces, that, after the wedding has taken place, the bride and bridegroom do not live together until after a second ceremony, named *gauna* or *muklawa*,—which corresponds to the old *garbhādhāna* (see MARRIAGE [Hindu])—has been performed; till then the girl lives as a virgin in her parents' house. This second ceremony is separated from the first—the wedding in childhood—by an interval of three, five, seven, nine, or eleven years, the period being fixed by the girl's parents. Thus the Jāts in general marry at from five to seven years of age, but the parents retain the girl at home, where she is useful to them in the household, often until after her sixteenth year, and do not hand her over to the husband until pressed to do so. Among the Rājputs, on the other hand, marriage is customary only when the girl is fifteen or sixteen, or later still; but sexual union takes place directly after the marriage ceremony. The farther one descends the valley of the Ganges eastwards, the more does child marriage form the rule. In Bengal the canonical rites of the Hindu marriage have degenerated into the monstrous perversion which compels girls of the higher castes to commence their married life at the age of nine, and the consequence of this is that they become mothers at the earliest age at which it is physically possible for them. Marriage in childhood is regarded in Bengal as so absolutely necessary for happiness, that even the unfortunate children who are brought up for prostitution are, with all solemnity, married to a plantain-tree before they reach the age at which it is considered a disgrace to be unmarried.

In the districts of India where consummation directly follows the early marriage, the effects of the unhappy custom are clearly seen: premature puberty, feeble constitution of the offspring, and early decline of the mother; and a gradual degeneration of the population appears inevitable. In the year 1891 the British Government, rightly apprehending the dangers that threaten the people of India from the abuse of child marriage, issued a law—admittedly without much result—which prescribes the raising of the age of marriage;[1] and intelligent and well-informed Hindus have also endeavoured to enlighten and influence their countrymen on this point. But, apart from the difficulty of inducing the lower grades to abandon a firmly established usage, the educated classes also hold tenaciously to the prejudice that the custom of child marriage is ancient and unconditionally prescribed in their Law-books.

An examination of the earliest literature and of the Law-books of India, however, leads to the conclusion that neither the assertion of great age, nor that of unconditional legal prescription, is well founded. In the Rigveda we do not find any definite statement regarding the age of marriage.

As evidence for the occurrence of child marriage as early as the time of the Rigveda, one might perhaps adduce the *itihāsa* which is related on the obscene verses Rigv. i. 126. 6–7. Bhāvayavya, invited to the enjoyment of love, laughs at his spouse Romaśā, believing that she is still immature;[2] whereupon she invites him to convince himself of the contrary, adding that she knew that intercourse before puberty was forbidden by the Law.[3] But, apart from the fact that these passages favour the general prevalence of marriage with a mature girl, the *itihāsa* conveys too much the impression of being a late invention occasioned by an etymological play upon the name Romaśā.

It is of decisive significance that the Vedic marriage maxims ean refer only to mature brides.[4] The *vivāha* was not yet, as at a later time, a mere arrangement between the parents, but rather the actual marriage, which was preceded by the *varaṇam* as betrothal. On the conclusion of the marriage festivities the bride betook herself to the house of her husband, which she henceforth ruled and managed as mistress.[5]

The first indications of infant marriage occur in the *Gṛhya*-literature: here already we find the rule, almost universally valid in the *Smṛtis*, according to which the *nagnikā*, i.e. a girl going naked and yet immature, is the best (wife).[6] Still, in general, according to the *Gṛhyasūtras*, the marriage of mature girls was the prevailing custom; and this follows as a consequence from the nature of the marriage ceremonies described, and from the silence of Āśvalāyana and other authors of the *Gṛhyasūtras* regarding the age of the bride. The instructions regarding the period of continence after the removal to the husband's house has taken place,[7] as also regarding the necessity of consummating marriage upon the expiration of this time and directly after the appearance of the menses, can refer only to an *anagnikā*.[8] Child marriages became customary at the time of Hiraṇyakeśin, without, however, being universally established; but, on the contrary, apparently encountering opposition, for Hiraṇyakeśin recom-

[1] Ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, ἵνα ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ἑπτὰ ἔτεα ἐούσας ἐς ὥρην γάμου ἰέναι (Arrian, *Ind.* ix. 1).

[2] R. Burn, *Census of India*, 1901, 'N.W. Provinces and Oudh,' pt. i. p. 116.

[1] That the 'age of consent' should be twelve years.

[2] *apraudhetibuddhyā* (Sāyaṇa on Rigv. i. 126. 6 f.).

[3] *Durga* (ed. Satyavrata Sámaśramī, *Bibl. Ind.*, 1885, ii. 348. 12 ff.) on *Nirukta*, iii. 20: '*jāne 'ham etat, yathā alomikāyā upagamaḥ pratiṣiddhaḥ smṛtau.*' Cf. *Nītimañjarī*, 2, 3 (see F. Kielhorn, 'Die Nītimañjarī des Dyā Dviveda,' *Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Göttingen, 1891, pp. 183–5); further (under slightly different circumstances), *Bṛhaddevatā*, iii. 155–iv. 3.

[4] Cf. *Ind. Stud.* v. 177 ff.

[5] '*gṛhān gaccha gṛhapatnī yathā'so vaśinī tvaṁ vidatham ā vadāsi*' (Rigv. x. 85. 26).

[6] Gobhila, *Gṛhyasūtra*, iii. 4, 6: '*nagnikā tu śreṣṭhā*'; *Mānavagṛ.* i. 7, 7: '*bandhumatīṁ kanyām aspṛṣṭamaithunām upayachchhet, samānavarṇām asamānapravarāṁ yavīyasīṁ nagnikāṁ śreṣṭhām.*'

[7] Aśvalāyana, *Gṛ.* i. 8. 10–11; Pāraskara, *Gṛ.* i. 8. 1.

[8] Apastamba, *Gṛ.* iii. 8. 10; Śāṅkhāyana, *Gṛ.* i. 19. 1; Pāraskara, *Gṛ.* i. 11. 7.

mends an *anagnikā* as the best, saying, 'Let him take a wife from an equal caste, one who is mature, chaste.'[1] And when Gobhila and the author of the *Mānavagṛhya* take the opposite point of view in regard to child marriage, and declare a *nagnikā* to be the best, it follows that at their time late marriages, though still customary, had fallen into discredit.

Different stages in the evolution of the custom can also be observed in the *Smṛti*-literature, just as in the *Gṛhyasūtras* mentioned above. Only if we suppose a gradual transition from the Vedic custom of late marriage to an increasing extension of child marriage, can we account for the fact that in one and the same Law-book we find passages which recommend child marriage, and others which see no offence in marriage between adults. In the much-discussed passage in Manu (ix. 88 ff.) the chief importance attaches far less to the question whether a girl at marriage must be mature or not, than to this, that a father must give his daughter at all events to a suitor of an equal caste.

'Let (the father) give the girl, even if she be not yet marriageable[2] to a suitor who is high-born, handsome, and belonging to an equal caste, according to the regulation. Let a girl, even when she has reached maturity, remain till death in the house (of her father), rather than that one should ever give her to a husband lacking the (specified) high qualifications.[3] Manu then proceeds: 'Let a girl wait (for an appropriate suitor) for three years after the commencement of the first menses; from then onwards let her seek a husband for herself from an equal caste.'[4]

But, although in these verses the emphasis is laid on the choice of a suitor from an equal caste, yet also, on the one hand, marriage before puberty is represented in '*aprāptām api*' as the exception, and, on the other hand, the words '*trīṇi varṣāṇy udīkṣeta kumāry ṛtumatī satī*' expressly admit that, if an appropriate suitor be not found, marriage may be postponed until after the commencement of puberty, and may even take place a long time thereafter. And, when Manu shortly afterwards (ix. 94) lays down that a man of thirty years shall marry a girl of twelve, and a man of twenty-four a girl of eight years, and quickly too, if the Law should be in danger, he means thereby, at least according to Medhatithi's elucidation, not to prescribe a fixed age for marriage, but rather to give examples of the fitting difference in the ages of lawful spouses.[5] Perhaps this verse is to be regarded as advocating hastened marriage, even with a girl who is under age, when there is danger that an unworthy (*i.e.* lower caste) man desires to marry the girl. One thing is certain from it, however, that in Manu's time, along with late marriages, those with girls eight years of age occurred and were recommended.

As with Manu, so also with Baudhayana[6] and Vasiṣṭha,[7] the rule is that a girl shall be subject to her father's injunctions for three years[8] after the commencement of puberty, and in the fourth year shall herself select a suitable husband. But in opposition to this conniving at late marriages these lawgivers provide regulations which unconditionally require child marriage; thus in Baudhayana[1] it is stated: 'To a virtuous, pure husband the girl should be given while she is still immature; even from an unworthy man she should not be withheld if she has attained womanhood.' The strict injunction regarding marriage before the commencement of puberty gains additional force from the fact that disregard of it is represented as accompanied by evil consequences for the father. While Manu is content to characterize the father as blameworthy[2] who does not give his daughter in marriage at the proper time, it is stated in Vāsiṣtha: 'For fear of the commencement of puberty, let the father give his daughter in marriage while she is still going about naked. For if she remains at home after the marriageable age, sin falls upon the father.'[3]

But although these legal regulations obtained ever wider acceptation in the course of time, until finally their observance, at least among the Brahmans, became essential and fundamental for orthodox Hinduism, marriage at an advanced age, along with child marriage, must have been customary for centuries till nearly the end of the Middle Ages; and in large districts there would certainly be variations in regard to the custom, just as at the present day. Otherwise it would be almost inexplicable that neither in the dramatic nor in the epic literature of the Indians does child marriage play any noteworthy part. All the familiar female characters of Indian legend, Śakuntalā, Mālavikā, Sāvitrī, Damayantī, etc., are full-grown girls, thoroughly conscious of their womanhood.[4] The facts that the *nagnikā*-rule ('a man of thirty shall take to wife a girl of ten, one who is immature') occurs in a passage of the *Mahābhārata*,[5] and that in the *Rāmāyaṇasāra* Sītā on her marriage with the fifteen-year-old Rama is six years of age, are of comparatively little importance.

The legendary literature of the Buddhists, likewise, knows nothing of child marriage. In the *Jātakas* both the youths and maidens are grown up when they enter the married state.[6] That boys who have attained their sixteenth year count as adults is a view which is common to the *Jatakas* and the epics;[7] but in the case of the female sex also the sixteenth year was apparently regarded as the time of full development and the marriageable age:

'At the age of sixteen,' it is stated in the *Anusochiyajataka*,[8] 'she (Sammillabhasini) was exceedingly beautiful and charming, resembling an Apsaras, endowed with all the characteristics of

[1] Hiraṇyakeśin, i. 17. 2: '*bhāryām upayachchhet sajātaṁnagnikaṁ brahmachāriṇīm.*' So most of the MSS read; but if we adopt the reading of other MSS (*sajātām nagnikam*), then we should have the *anagnikā* rule in Hiraṇyakeśin as well.

[2] '*aprāptam api.*' The commentator Kulluka adds, quoting from the *Dakṣasmṛti* (ed. in *Dharmaśāstrasaṁgraha*, Calcutta, 1876, ii. 383–402): '*aṣṭavarṣāṁ l aṣṭavarṣam, evaṁ dharmo na hīyate*' ('let him give her in marriage at the age of eight years, then the law is not infringed').

[3] ix. 89: '*kamam a maraṇāt tiṣṭhed gṛhe kanyartumaty api, na chaivainaṁ prayachchhet tu guṇahīnaya karhichit.*' On this Medhātithi notes: '*prag ṛtoḥ kanyayā na dānam, ṛtudarśane pi na dadyad, yavad guṇavan vara na prāptaḥ*' ('one must not give a girl in marriage before puberty, even after the commencement of puberty she shall not be given away so long as a suitor with the needful qualifications is not available').

[4] ix. 90:

'*trīṇi varṣāṇy udīkṣeta kumāry ṛtumatī satī
ūrdhvaṁ tu kalad etasmad vindeta sadṛśaṁ patim.*'

[5] '*iyata kalena yamyasi kanya vodharum, na punar etavad vayasa eva vivaha ity upadesarthaḥ*' (*Manavadharmaśastra*, ed. Mandlik, vol. ii. p. 1163).

[6] iv. 1. 14. [7] xvii. 67 f.

[8] According to Gautama, xviii. 20, only three menses need be waited for.

[1] iv. 1. 11: '*dadyād guṇavate kanyāṁ nagnikaṁ brahmachāriṇe, api va guṇahināya noparundhyad rajasvalam.*'

[2] ix. 4: '*kāle 'dātā pitā vācyo.*'

[3] Vās. xvii. 70; Gaut. xviii. 22.

[4] Hopkins, *JAOS* xiii. 341. It should also be noted that a precisely similar state of affairs is presented by the Sanskrit romances, especially the *Kadambari* of Baṇa and the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu. In the latter novel the heroine is represented as unmarried at the age of sixteen, and as being averse to wedlock. Her father, 'filled with alarm at the sin of her passing youth,' holds for her a *svayaṁvara*, or 'self-choice' of a husband; but, having fallen in love with the hero of the romance in a dream, she refuses to accept any of the suitors who present themselves. Thereupon her father determines to marry her to a prince whether she will or no; and she escapes from her predicament only by elopement with the hero, who opportunely arrives.

[5] [illegible] 44. 14: '*triṁśadvarṣo daśavarṣāṁ [illegible] vindeta nagnikām.*' Moreover, the text of the passage is doubtful, as it is more than once quoted with the reading *ṣoḍaśābdam* ('sixteen years of age').

[6] *Jat.*, ed. Fausböll, London, 1877–97, i. [illegible]: '*tassa vayappattassa samajatike kule pajapatim ahariṁsu*'; ii. 116, [illegible], 139, [illegible], 229: '*Sa vayappatta samanajatikaṁ kulam agamasi.*'

[7] Cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 110 note.

[8] *Jat.*, ed. Fausboll, iii. 93.

womanly beauty. . . . The persons (sent out as deputy-suitors) chose her (as bride). . . . Contrary to the wishes of both (bride and bridegroom), they (the parents) prepared the wedding-feast.'

The early medical authors among the Hindus had also rightly recognized that a girl does not reach the full development of her physical capabilities, even in India, until she is sixteen.[1] Suśruta teaches:[2]

'A man in his twenty-fifth year, but a girl in her sixteenth, both of these have reached the summit of their vigour; an experienced doctor ought to know that.' And in another passage[3] he confirms this view with these details: 'When a man who has not yet reached his twenty-fifth year has intercourse with a girl who is less than sixteen years of age, the embryo dies in the womb. Or if it (the child) is born, it cannot live long, or lives with little vigour; therefore one must not permit any man to have intercourse with a woman who is too young.'

If, in accordance with what has been stated, the present-day champions of child marriage among the Hindus can find no unqualified support for the custom in their own ancient literature, yet it must be admitted that only one consideration commonly adduced on behalf of child marriage has thereby been disposed of. There still remains a whole series of arguments which—if we judge them from the Indian standpoint—cannot always be similarly shown to be invalid. Without doubt the ceaselessly operating influence of climate, and the physical constitution of the Indian natives, render necessary a different judgment from the current European one. It must also be clearly understood that the suppression of child marriage would profoundly affect the law and custom of Indian family life; the adult wife accommodates herself with difficulty to the joint family [see FAMILY (Hindu)] with its community not merely of all domestic, but also of intellectual, interests; while the child-wife—if we may credit the assurances of educated Hindus—is received by all members of the family with genuine liking and regard. Further, we must not forget that the question of child marriage is intimately connected with the Indian conception of paternal authority and the legal injunctions regarding tutelage and the protection of minors. If we take all this into account, and, further, take into consideration the conservative disposition of the Hindus and their aversion to the interference of Europeans in everything that concerns their domestic affairs, we will not be in too great a hurry to advocate the complete abolition of child marriage, but will restrict ourselves to encouraging the Indians of their own accord to revive the old-time custom which sanctioned the postponement of the actual consummation of marriage for some years even after the commencement of puberty.

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R. FICK.

CHILDREN.

American (A. F. CHAMBERLAIN), p. 524.
Bab.-Assyr. (T. G. PINCHES), p. 527.
Celtic (E. ANWYL), p. 529.
Chinese.—See BIRTH (Chinese), EDUCATION (Chinese).
Christian.—See EDUCATION.
Egyptian (G. FOUCART), p. 532.
Greek (W. H. S. JONES), p. 539.
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Iranian (L. H. GRAY), p. 544.
Japanese.—See EDUCATION (Japanese).
Jewish. — See BIRTH (Jewish), EDUCATION (Jewish).
Muhammadan.—See BIRTH (Muh.), EDUCATION (Muh.).
Parsi (J. J. MODI), p. 544.
Roman (W. WARDE FOWLER), p. 545.
Teutonic.—See BIRTH (Teut.).

CHILDREN (American).—The ethnological investigations of the last twenty-five years have thrown much light upon the question of the treatment of children among the American aborigines and their relation to the social and religious life of the primitive New World. We now know much concerning parental and filial affection, the environment of childhood and youth, the activities of the young of both sexes, their participation in tribal and religious rites, ceremonies, etc., their influence upon the customs and practices of adult life, and other matters of great interest here.

1. Affection for children.—As the present writer pointed out in his monograph on *The Child in Folk-Thought* (pp. 104–129), the bright side of child-life among primitive peoples has been much under-estimated. This statement is eminently true of the American Indians, as he can testify from personal experiences among several different native tribes (*e.g.* the Kutenai of south-eastern British Columbia), where the 'human side' of these uncivilized peoples finds an expression in tenderness towards, and real affection for, children on the part of both parents. Thus, a Kutenai father was seen playing in genial fashion with several little children, who were amusing themselves with him in all sorts of ways, pulling his hair, crawling all over him, etc. He even let one of them put its toes into his mouth. Among other tribes for which there is undoubted evidence of the existence of great affection for children, are the Patwin and certain other tribes of California (Powers); Zuñis of the Pueblo region of the south-western United States (Cushing); Pawnee Indians, a southern plains people (Fletcher); Blackfeet, an Algonquian tribe of the great North-West (Maclean); Omaha Indians of the Siouan stock (Fletcher); Iroquois of New York and Canada (Hale, Beauchamp); Eskimos of the Arctic regions (Boas, Stefánsson); certain Indians of Guiana (Im Thurn); Indian tribes of north-western Brazil (Koch); Indians of the Xingú country (von den Steinen), etc.

Powers says of some of the Californian peoples with whom he was well acquainted (*Contrib. N. Amer. Ethn.* iii. 23): 'Many is the Indian I have seen tending the baby with far more patience and good-nature than a civilized father would display.' Im Thurn (*Among the Inds. of Guiana*, Lond. 1883, p. 219) specifically notes the affection of both parents for their child, and remarks that the father, 'when he returns from hunting, brings it strange seeds to play with, fondles it, and makes it necklaces and other ornaments.' Koch, who has recently visited some of

[1] See, further, Jolly, *Medicin*, Strassburg, 1901 (=*GIAP* iii. 10), 49.

[2] 35. 8: '*pañchaviṃśe tato varṣe pumān narī tu ṣoḍaśe samatvāgatavīryau tau, jānīyāt kuśalo bhiṣak.*'

[3] 10. 13:

'*ūnaṣoḍaśavarṣāyām aprāptaḥ pañchaviṃśatim*
yadādhatte pumān garbhaṁ kukṣiṣṭhaḥ sa vipadyate
jāto vā na chiraṃ jīvej jīved vā durbalendriyaḥ
tasmād atyantabālāyāṃ garbhādhānaṃ na kārayet';

similarly Vāgbhata in the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha*.

the 'wild' tribes of north-western Brazil that have scarcely as yet seen a white man, finds them to possess marked affection for their children. Dr. Barbara Renz, in a paper read at the Sixteenth International Congress of Americanists (Vienna, 1908), discusses briefly the general subject of parental love among the American Indians.

It is thus certain that love of children and affection for them are to be found commonly among the aborigines of the New World, and often developed to a degree as high as that characteristic of the civilized peoples of the Old World; also that, in primitive America, contrary to a prevalent general opinion, affection for children on the part of the father and other males of the community is often notably present and given full expression. Among the American aborigines, affection for children is very frequently exhibited in the customs of adoption, natal ceremonies, and other rites of early childhood, as well as in the practices connected with the death and burial of infants, mourning, etc. Instances of cruel treatment of children are, of course, not unknown among the American Indians, especially where anything like the *patria potestas* of the Romans happened to grow up and become socially effective. The Fuegian incident, reported by Byron and commented upon by Darwin, of the Indian who dashed down on the rocks his little child who had just let fall a basket of sea-eggs, has been wrongly interpreted by many writers, it being rather an example of sudden and uncontrollable anger, such as even the white race often furnishes, than a proof of the absence of all affection and regard for children. Affection and cruelty do not absolutely exclude each other here, any more than with us. The magnifying of the importance of acts of cruelty on record has sometimes led unjustifiably to the denial of affection to whole communities or even tribes and peoples of the New World and elsewhere. In primitive America, as in primitive Europe and Asia, and in these lands when they had largely left the limits of savagery and barbarism and entered upon the paths of culture-progress, the cruelties committed in the name of religion towards children and youth by no means imply the entire absence of an older human affection for them. Over most of primitive America corporal punishment and the severe castigation of children did not prevail, and 'spoiled children' were as common as they have ever been with any race that has inhabited the globe. This topic will be discussed further under art. EDUCATION (American).

2. Divine protection.—The idea that children enjoy a sort of Divine or superhuman protection not vouchsafed to adults, and are released from many of the tabus imposed upon the latter, is not uncommon among the American aborigines. The Iroquois Indians, according to Mrs. E. A. Smith (*2 RBEW*, 1883, p. 69), believe that 'a child still continues to hold intercourse with the spirit-world whence it so recently came,' and so, 'when a living nursing child is taken out at night, the mother takes a pinch of white ashes and rubs it on the face of the child so that the spirits will not trouble it.' This conception of the spirituality of the child probably underlies also the reason given by some of the Iroquois against the practice of corporal punishment, viz. that it would 'hurt the child's soul.' Among the Omaha Indians, Miss Fletcher tells us (*JAFL*, 1888, i. 120), 'there is a superstition which prevents the telling of stories in the summer season, as the snakes may hear and do mischief'; but for the children this tabu is lifted, and 'they carry the songs out among the summer blossoms, and the snakes do them no harm.' Among certain Brazilian tribes, children are allowed to touch, or even to play with, the masks and other more or less sacred objects used by adults in religious and tribal ceremonies, etc. Among various tribes, both in North and in South America, children are admitted to view many if not all such ceremonies, although certain others exclude them from them altogether; sometimes men, women, and children dance together, the little ones bringing up the rear in a line closely following their mothers. Often, as among the Zuñis and elsewhere, there are 'children's societies' of divers sorts, both religious and secular. In many cases the children closely imitate the rites and ceremonies of their elders, or sometimes mock them, with no fear of the wrath of the gods, who, in other parts of the world, might punish them severely.

3. The child as hero and as hero-god.—As the subject of heroes and hero-gods will be dealt with in a separate article, it will suffice to mention here the fact that the appearance of the child as hero and as hero-god is common in the mythology and the folklore of the Indians of North, Central, and South America. A frequently occurring incident in the life of American Indian heroes and 'wonder-children' is their growth, almost instantly or in a short time, from babyhood to strong and active youth, or even manhood, as in the case of the Siouan 'Young Rabbit,' the Blackfoot (Algonquin) 'Blood-Clot Boy,' etc. The child-heroes and child-gods are sometimes represented as talking and planning in the womb of their mother before birth, as, *e.g.*, the Iroquoian twins, Good Mind and Evil Mind. Among the more notable child-heroes, child-gods, child-adventurers, wonder-children, etc., of the American aborigines may be cited the Kwakiutl Ank'oalagylis and other figures in the mythology of the Indians of the North-west Pacific Coast region described by Boas; the 'Young Rabbit' type of peoples of the Siouan stock; the 'Blood-Clot Boy' type of the Blackfeet; the Noojekesigunda>it type of the Micmac; the 'Bear Boy' of the Iroquoian tribes; the 'Wild Boy' of the Cherokees; the 'Antelope Boy' of the Pueblo Indians of Isleta; the 'Good and Bad Twins' of Iroquoian cosmology; the 'Divine Twins' of the Zuñis and other Pueblo Indians; the Pawnee child-heroes and other similar figures in the legends of other Plains Indians, etc. Many of the culture-heroes treated of by Brinton, in his *American Hero-Myths* (the Algonquian Michabo, Manabozho; Aztec Quetzalcoatl; Tupian Monan, etc.), were 'wonder-children.' Indeed, primitive America is particularly rich in this type of the hero, human or Divine.

The rôle of the child as discoverer of food-plants, etc., is recognized in the myths and legends of a number of Indian tribes.

Among the Paressi, an Arawakan tribe of the Matto Grosso region in Brazil (Ehrenreich, p. 57), Uazale, the first human being, as a child, finds the *maniec*-root; and, later on, various other cultivated plants originate from the different parts of the bodies of his children, who have met their death in a conflagration. Certain curious forms and shapes in these roots, fruits, etc., are explained by their origin from this or that member or organ of the body. In a legend of the Brazilian Indians reported by Thevet in the 16th cent., a woman and her children, in a time of great famine, set out to hunt for edible roots, when they are met by an unknown child, whom they seek to drive away as a competitor. But *yatic*-roots fall down from the sky, for the child was no other than Maire Monen, the culture-hero, who had descended to earth to help mankind. Legends of this sort are found among a number of Arawakan and Tupian tribes, and, as Ehrenreich points out (p. 57), testify to the fact that among such primitive races women and children have been the discoverers of many food-plants, etc.

4. Metamorphosis of children into animals, etc.
All over primitive America are to be found tales and legends of the transformation and metamorphosis of human children into other creatures, etc. The Eskimos of the Ungava region appear to have a considerable number of such tales, to judge from the account of Turner (*11 RBEW*, 1894). The wolves are the gaunt and hungry children of a mother whose family was too large for her to feed it properly. The loon and the raven are children

whom their father tried to paint, as may be seen to-day from the spots on the former, etc. The sea-pigeons are children who were changed into those birds for having scared away the seals. The hare is really a little child that ran away because of ill-treatment on the part of its elders. The swallows are children who were changed into birds while building toy-houses. The Eskimos of Ungava say: 'The hare has no tail, because, as a child, he had none; and he lays back his ears when he hears a shout, because he thinks people are talking about him.' Of the swallows we are told: one day some wonderfully wise children were playing at building toy-houses on a cliff near the village, when they were changed into birds. They did not forget their child-occupations, as we know to-day when we see the swallows building their house of mud in the cliff. And they are quite safe, for 'even the raven does not molest them, and the Eskimo children love to watch them.' An Indian tribe of Vancouver Island (*JAFL* ix. 49) have a legend that the striped squirrel of the West was a child whom the gods saved from the merciless grasp of a fierce old woman monster, by changing it into this merry lively little creature—the squirrel's stripes are the marks of the ogre's claws as the child slipped through them. The tale of the transformation of children into swallows occurs also among the Indian tribes of the Siouan stock, where runaway children, found playing at making mud huts on the banks of the river, are changed by the *wakanda*, or superhuman powers, into swallows, who perpetually make their houses of mud (Young, *Algonquin Indian Tales*, 1903, p. 68). Tales of this or of similar types occur all over the continent.

5. **Twins and their treatment.**—Multiple births are not looked on with favour by many American Indian peoples. Hrdlička (*Bull. 30 BE*, p. 58) reports that, when the women of the San Carlos Apaches were asked about triplets, 'they usually answered with a laugh, saying that they were not dogs to have so many.' Among the Algonquian Blackfeet, according to Maclean (*Canad. Sav. Folk*, 1896, p. 54), 'twins are believed to be an omen of evil,' and twin girls are looked upon as 'a thousandfold worse than twin boys' (p. 191). The Songish Indians of Vancouver Island, according to Boas (*6th Rep. on N.W. Tribes of Canada*, 1890, p. 22), believe that 'twins, immediately after their birth, possess supernatural powers,' and they are, therefore, 'at once taken to the woods and washed in a pond in order to become ordinary men'; and, in the opinion of the Shushwap Indians, this supernatural power remains with them all through life (p. 92). If the twins are boys, the Songish believe that they will be good warriors; if girls, that fish will be plentiful. Among the Nutka, Boas informs us (*op. cit.* 39):

'Numerous regulations refer to the birth of twins. The parents of twins must build a small hut in the woods far from the village. There they have to stay two years. The father must continue to clean himself by bathing in ponds for a whole year, and must keep his face painted red. While bathing, he sings certain songs that are only used on this occasion. Both parents must keep away from the people. They must not eat, or even touch, fresh food, particularly salmon. Wooden images and masks, representing birds and fish, are placed around the hut, and others, representing fish, near the river, on the bank of which the hut stands. The object of these masks is to invite all birds and fish to come and see the twins, and to be friendly to them. They are in constant danger of being carried away by spirits, and the masks and images—or rather the animals which they represent—will avert this danger. The twins are believed to be in some way related to salmon, although they are not considered identical with them, as is the case among the Kwakiutl. The father's song, which he sings when cleaning himself, is an invitation for the salmon to come, and is sung in their praise. On hearing this song, and seeing the images and masks, the salmon are believed to come in great numbers to see the twins. Therefore, the birth of twins is believed to indicate a good salmon year. If the salmon should fail to come in large numbers, it is considered proof that the children will soon die. Twins are forbidden to catch salmon, nor must they eat or handle fresh salmon. They must not go sealing, as the seals would attack them. They have the power to make good and bad weather. They produce rain by painting their faces with black colour and then washing them, or by merely shaking their heads.'

Among the Kwakiutl it is believed that 'twins, if of the same sex, were salmon before they were born'; and among the Nak'omgyilisila, 'the father dances for four days, after the children have been born, with a large square rattle.' These Indians also believe that 'the children, by swinging this rattle, can cure disease and procure favourable winds and weather' (p. 62). Many wonderful stories are told of the supernatural power of twins even in extreme old age. Among the Shushwap, Boas reports the following beliefs regarding twins (p. 92):

'When twins are born, the mother must build a hut on the slope of the mountains, on the bank of a creek, and must live there with her children until they begin to walk. They may be visited by their family, or any other who wishes to see them, but they must not go into the village, else her other children would die. Twins are called *skumkumpqsisilt*, i.e., young grizzly bears. It is believed that throughout their lives they are endowed with supernatural powers. They can make good and bad weather. In order to produce rain, they take a small basket filled with water, which they spill into the air. For making clear weather, they use a small stick, to the end of which a string is tied. A small flat piece of wood is attached to the end of the string, and this implement is shaken. Storm is produced by strewing down on the ends of spruce branches. While they are children, their mother can see by their plays whether her husband, when he is out hunting, is successful or not. When the twins play about and feign to bite each other, he will be successful; if they keep quiet, he will return home empty-handed. If one of a couple of twins should die, the other must clean himself in the sweathouse in order to remove the blood of the deceased out of his body.'

Quite in contrast with this ominous character of twins and the complicated ceremonials connected with them, is their reception among certain other tribes, as for example the Pima of Arizona, with whom, according to Frank Russell (*26 RBEW*, 1908, p. 185), 'twins are received with general rejoicing' and 'every inhabitant of the village brings gifts, and the mother feels assured that she will henceforth be a fortunate woman.' The idea that the birth of twins indicates marital infidelity on the part of the mother is not unknown in primitive America. In case of twin-births one of the infants is sometimes killed.

6. **Infanticide.**—Among some American aboriginal peoples infanticide is or was as common as it was rare (or unknown) among others. Infanticide seems to have been practised to a considerable extent among the Eskimos of various regions, many Athapascan, Algonquian, and Iroquoian peoples, numerous tribes of the Pacific Coast region from Alaska to California, many of the barbarous and semi-civilized tribes of Mexico, Central America, and Northern South America, and a large number of South American uncivilized tribes, such as the Patagonians, certain Chaco peoples, the Salivas, Campas, etc. Among the peoples with whom infanticide is reported as rare or as not practised at all, are such primitive tribes as the Fuegian Yahgans, the Brazilian Botocudos, certain Californian Indians, the Algonquian Blackfeet and Pottawattomis, the Siouan Omahas, the Eskimoan Aleuts, etc. Most of these peoples regard infanticide with horror, the Aleuts being of opinion that such a crime 'would bring misfortune on the whole village,' and the Blackfeet (according to Richardson) believing that 'women who have been guilty of this crime will never reach the happy mountain after death, but are compelled to hover round the seats of their crimes, with branches of trees tied to their legs' (Westermarck, *MI* i. 403). Where infanticide does prevail, several distinct and unconnected reasons are adduced in support of the practice, such as the following: lack of food and fear of famine (a very common reason), inability of mother to nurse child, death of mother in child-birth, birth of infant while mother is still caring for

another young child, etc. With some tribes, female infants alone or chiefly seem to have been thus put away; among others only those that were abnormally constituted in some way, or whose birth was ill-omened, etc. Ritual infanticide was practised among some of the 'civilized' and semi-civilized peoples of Mexico and Central America; sacrifice of the first born among the Pawnees and some other tribes.

7. Burial of children.—The burial of children often differs remarkably from that of adults. Concerning the Canadian Indians of Salishan stock, C. Hill-Tout (*Salish and Déné*, 1907, p. 205) says that a young child was always buried some distance away from old graves, because of the belief that, 'if a young child were buried close to some old grave, its mother would have no more children.' With these Indians, deaths of children did not entail the burning of the hut in which they took place, as was the case with adult deaths. Among the Shushwap, according to Boas (*6th Rep. on N.W. Tribes of Canada*, p. 89), 'if a child should die, the next child is never put into the same cradle which was used for the dead child.' In South America a remarkable instance of difference between the burial of children and that of adults occurs among the Calchaquis, a prehistoric people of the northern Argentine, who interred their children in urns, adults being buried otherwise.

8. Soul of the child.—As to the soul of the child, its origin, nature, etc., a great variety of opinions prevailed in primitive America, some of which denied possession of such an attribute in early infancy, while others maintained the doctrine of an hereditary soul, etc. Such of these theories as are related to primitive ideas of education are discussed in the article EDUCATION (American), in which are considered other matters concerning the child among the American Indians.

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ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

CHILDREN (Bab.-Assyr.).—After the birth of a child (cf. art. BIRTH [Assyr.-Bab.]) it was either suckled by the mother or put out to nurse for a period which might extend to three years (*WAI* ii. pl. 9, 45-50 *c*, *d*). The text containing this statement being bilingual, it is probable that wet-nursing was common among both the Sumerians and the Semites of Babylonia from exceedingly early times. Incantations exist (*ib.* pl. 17, 11, 35-39) showing that ceremonies then took place with a view to avoiding risk from the employment of a woman with defective breasts of milk (*mušêniqtu ša tulu-ša ṭâbu, marru, mahṣu, ša ina mihiṣ tule imut*, 'a nurse whose breasts are sweet [Sumer. "honeyed"], bitter, affected, or by the affection of whose breasts [a child] has died'). The nurse seems generally to have received food, oil, and clothing as long as she fulfilled her duties, thus assuring as far as possible the health of the child whom she tended during a very critical period of its existence.[1]

The infancy of a child was naturally hedged about with all kinds of precautions. In addition to the incantations referred to, omens were derived from the actions and cries of children, as well as from their general condition, in order to diagnose their complaints and decide upon the remedy. Judging from the wording of one of these inscriptions, the maladies from which children suffered were under the control of the gods and goddesses whom the Babylonians worshipped. It was said to be 'the hand of the daughter of Anu' (*i.e.* Istar) which caused constant weeping, etc. She it was also who caused the child to speak unconsciously in its bed, whilst it was the hand of Azaga which caused it to speak in its bed and tell all it had seen (B.M. tablet 82-9-18, 4354). Gula, goddess of healing, also seems to have caused maladies—it was her hand if the child was grey and yellow, or white and black; if it opened its *libbu* and its hand was clenched. It was the hand of the moon-god Sin if the child stared (?) and its body and feet worked, and there was no fever—a statement suggesting the belief that the effect of the moon then, as in the opinion of many even now, was to cause madness.

In all probability education among the poorer classes was unknown, but it was evidently the custom to teach trades from exceedingly early times, and the contract-tablets of the later Babylonian period record many examples of apprenticeship (*MU-utu*, generally tr. 'baker; *ušbarûtu*, 'weaver'; *IR-utu*, unknown, and others). These apprenticeships lasted for a term of years, sometimes five, sometimes the orthodox seven, during which a certain amount of produce (grain) was given, probably for the keep of the apprentice, and as payment to the master for the instruction imparted. In some cases there is a penalty if the apprentice runs away, and nearly always if the master fails to teach his profession to the youth entrusted to his care. In many cases the apprentices were slaves belonging to women—either ladies of property or temple-devotees, who thus provided against utter destitution should loss of income befall them; for a slave, a servant, or a child with a handicraft was always a valuable asset.

In the case of the higher classes, however, it may be supposed that the youth was fitted for the position he was to occupy in after life by being taught to read and write (*nam-dupšarra minibzuzu*, 'he shall teach him writing' [*WAI* v. pl. 25, col. iii. l. 19, Sumerian column; the Semitic tr. is defective, only one word, *tupšarru*, 'writing,' being preserved]). Of course, it does not follow from this reference to the teaching of writing that the child of every person of means knew how to read and write; in all probability it was merely recommended as a desirable thing, and the advice must often have been acted upon. The nature of the Babylonian script, moreover, was such that a really practical knowledge of it was difficult to obtain except in the case of professional scribes, for whom these bilingual tablets, containing specimen-phrases and extracts from legal documents, were especially drawn up. Examples of what are evidently students' exercises exist in the British Museum, in the collection of tablets from Niffer at Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, and show that the students

[1] For examples of this in the form of contracts, see Ungnad in *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, iii. (Leipzig, 1909) p. 131.

were taught the various methods of writing names of men, women, places, verbal forms, phrases connected with trade, and all that was necessary for commercial life, whether they were professional scribes or not.[1]

Section 188 of Ḫammurabi's Code refers to the taking of a child by an artisan to bring up, probably for the purpose of enabling him to learn his trade. If the artisan fulfilled his contract, and duly instructed him, the child could not be claimed back. If, on the other hand, he had not fulfilled his duty by teaching him, the child, it was enacted, was to return to his father's house (§ 189). This, it may be supposed, was for the purpose of apprenticing him to some more suitable, and therefore, possibly, more successful, teacher. These enactments, to all appearance, imply that a child, when apprenticed, was delivered so completely into the hands of the handicraftsman that the latter stood henceforth to him *in loco parentis*, and the real father had no longer any power over his offspring. How such a system as this worked the inscriptions do not inform us, but there is every probability that (in spite of the Babylonian liking for children) it led to all kinds of abuse; and many a child, having fallen into bad hands, must have suffered untold misery, and have been subjected to every form of cruelty, so long as this system remained in force.

The position of foster-father, whether by apprenticeship or otherwise, was not, however, to be undertaken lightly; for it carried with it the right, on the part of the foster-child, to a portion of the foster-parents' property, sometimes just as though the foster-child had been their own. Should there have been no contract to give a share of the property to the foster-child, he returned, if he would, to the house of his own father. If the foster-father, having children of his own, decided to cut off a youth from the position of foster-son in his house, the child took a third of his property (excluding house and land property) and returned to his original home.

Punishments in the case of adopted children seem to have been especially severe; though, if we knew all the circumstances connected with the institution, which was quite a common one in Babylonia, we should probably not find it so very unjust. The children of prostitutes were, naturally, best out of the way of the life of their parents, and it probably seemed to the Babylonians the height of ingratitude for them to deny their foster-parents. The law therefore enacted that, if one of them did so, his tongue was to be cut out. Still more cruel, if anything, was the punishment of the child of such a person who might come to know his father's house, and, puffed up with pride as the child of some person of rank (as one might suppose), 'despised his foster-father and his foster-mother.' The punishment in this case was loss of an eye. But the Babylonians were strict in the extreme for breaches of filial piety. . . . 'If a son smite his father, they shall cut off his hands' (§ 195).

Naturally the institution of slavery must have been in many cases a horror when children were the victims, even more than for adults. At what age a girl might be sold to become the concubine or second wife of a man, and at the same time to be the servant or slave of the first wife,[2] does not appear; but this may have happened, and probably often did happen, during the period which we should regard as being that of late childhood. The sale of a mere child as a slave is referred to in *Cun. Texts*, vol. viii. pl. 22 (Ungnad's No. 126), where a slave child is sold, along with its mother, for 18(?)½ shekels of silver (reign of Ḫammurabi). Other examples are Ungnad's Nos. 433 and 435, which refer to young girls born in Kar-Duniaš (Babylonia). The age is not stated, but was regarded as being sufficiently indicated by the height —half an ell in the case of the second tablet. The child was sold by her brother Kuru, her mother Apparitu, and a woman named Lalutu, for various articles of clothing and some oil, the whole being valued at 9 shekels of silver. The name of the girl herself was Lamassûa, 'my (good) genius,' the meaning of which is in itself instructive, as showing the Babylonian attitude in the matter of child-slavery; for it is unlikely that a girl so named would be ill-treated by her owner, who would naturally look upon her as a kind of luck-bringer. Slavery was the lot of a (free-born) child who denied his foster-father; but, in view of the Babylonian liking for children, it is doubtful whether a mere childish expression of anger containing the words of the denial would cause the foster-father to decide to get rid of his adopted son, except in very extreme cases, long-continued, or provokingly repeated.

Childhood, in the families of the higher classes, must have had all the pleasure and charm which we are accustomed to associate with it in our own land. Ashurbanipal, who is identified with 'the great and noble Asnapper' of Ezr 4[10] (AV), speaks of the palace of Sennacherib, wherein Esarhaddon, his father, was born, grew up, and ruled the kingdom of Assyria. It was in this palace that he himself 'received the wisdom of Nebo, the whole of the literature, as much as existed.' Here, too, he learned 'to shoot the bow, to ride a horse, to harness a chariot.'

There is no indication as to the age when sons were initiated into any order of priesthood for which they may have been intended; but, in view of the early maturity of children in the East, this was probably done at what we should regard as being an unreasonably low age. Mannu-dik-bêli-âlak, one of Ashurbanipal's captains, dedicated his son Nabû-nadî-napišti to the god Nin-ip for the preservation of the king's life; but the age of the son in question is not stated. It is not by any means improbable, however, that he was a mere child. In connexion with this, it is perhaps worthy of note that Ashurbanipal speaks of having appointed his eldest brother to the kingdom of Kar-Duniaš (Babylonia), his second brother to the high-priesthood of (Šamaš?), and his youngest brother to the same office in the service of Sin, the moon-god. If these three appointments were made at the same time, *i.e.* when he came to the throne himself, the two priestly members of the family had probably only just reached man's estate; and initiation into the lower grades of the priesthood may have preceded induction into the high-priesthood itself by several years.[1]

In war, when the passions were let loose, the Assyrians, especially in early days, were no respecters of persons. Even the innocence of children did not appeal to them, and maidens and youths were deflowered or put to death. In all probability the Babylonians were not so ruthless, and it is probable that, with time, the Assyrians also improved. On the sculptures of the time of Sennacherib and later, children are sometimes shown,

[1] *PSBA*, Dec. 1896, pp. 250–258 and plates i.–iv. See also *ib.*, May 1901, p. 188 ff. and plates i. ii.: Pinches, *Outline of Assyr. Gram.*, 1910, pp. 48, 64.

[2] Ungnad, in *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, iii. 121; Pinches, *The OT in the Light of the Records of Assyr. and Bab.*[3], 1908, p. 185.

[1] The plaques representing king Ur-Nina (Louvre) as basket-bearer, and also seated, show him in company with his eight sons, who, standing before him, fold their hands in token of respect. With the exception of the first, all have their heads shaven, and it is possible that the hair of the eldest has some kind of tonsure. The shaving of the head is regarded as the sign of priestly rank, and these plaques would seem to prove that mere children were initiated (see Léon Heuzey, in *RAssyr.*, 1892, p. 14 ff. and pl. 1). The date of this is c. 4000 B.C.

and always in a sympathetic way. The Assyrian soldier gently leading a captive child (Layard, *Monuments*, 1849–53, 1st ser., pl. 67 A); the captive children with their mothers (2nd series, pl. 22)—in one case riding astride on her shoulders, and in the other clinging to her skirts; the mother nursing her child (pl. 33); the woman giving a child water from a skin bottle (pl. 35); the Elamite children following the harpers in the procession welcoming Ummanigaš (pl. 49), and clapping their hands to the music—these and others all testify to the feelings of the Assyrians and Babylonians towards children in general.[1]

To all appearance, it sometimes happened that a mother was obliged to quit her children to become a member of one of the religious institutions attached to a temple, and in that case she was forced to renounce all hope of ever being able efficiently to attend to them again. This, naturally, was often a cruel separation, and one can easily enter into the feelings of Ummu-ṭâbat, who, in the 6th year of Cambyses, appealed to the authorities of the temple of the sun at Sippar to be released from the obligation of entering the *bît zikri* until her three young sons were grown up. She brought with her a gift, and her request was duly granted, seemingly on the condition that she should again give something to the temple when the time for entering the order came.

The word 'child' (*mâru*, masc.) in the expression *mâr îli-šu*, 'son of his god,' seems to indicate and express the idea of 'a just man,' 'a son of God,' one who is a child of his Heavenly Father. Corresponding expressions are *mâr šarri*, 'prince' (lit. 'king's son'), *mâr rubê*, 'child of a prince,' 'young prince,' etc. A 'child of Babylon' (*mâr Bâbili*) stood for 'a Babylonian,' in accordance with Semitic usage (cf. the familiar *b'nê Yisrā'ēl* 'children of Israel' = Israelites). In all these expressions, however, it is easy to see how faithful men were classed as 'children of God,' in the same way as the natives of a place were regarded as the 'children' of the country where they were born and dwelt.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

T. G. PINCHES.

CHILDREN (Celtic).—1. In Celtic countries the birth of children, whether they be boys or girls, is generally welcomed; and large families are not infrequent. The large size of Irish families is proverbial, and the typically Welsh parts of Wales, to a greater extent perhaps in South than in North Wales, are characterized by families that would rival in size even those of Ireland. Breton families, too, are larger than those of any other part of France. At the same time, it has to be admitted that there is an old Welsh proverb, given by Dr. Davies of Mallwyd in a list of proverbs appended to his Welsh-Latin Dictionary of 1632, which says: '*A fo aml ei feibion bid wag ei galuddion*' ('He who has many sons must needs have his entrails empty'). The information which is obtainable as to the treatment of children in Celtic countries is, unfortunately, meagre and scattered, and there are many points upon which more light would be welcome. The earliest classical reference to Celtic children is found in Aristotle (*Politics*, vii. 17, p. 1336a, 15–18), who says that it was the custom of some of the barbarians to dip their children at birth into the cold water of a stream, while others, such as the Celts, put on them only a light covering. Cæsar also (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 18) tells us that the Gauls would not allow their sons to come into their presence openly, until they had arrived at the age of military service; and that they thought it a shameful thing for a son, during the years of boyhood, to be present before his father's eyes in public. This statement has possibly some connexion with the practice of 'fosterage' (see below), the origins of which may perhaps be associated with one of the earlier stages in the development of Celtic matrimony. It is not improbable that there were among the Celts other customs and ceremonies of similar origin, of which we have an echo (see BIRTH [Celtic]) in the curious statement made by the Emperor Julian (*Ep.* 16, p. 383 D–384 A, and *Orat.* ii.), that the river Rhine would drown any adulterine child that might be placed in a shield upon it, but would restore to its mother a child whose birth was lawful. Nor is it unlikely that the naming of a Celtic child was accompanied by some lustration (see BAPTISM [Ethnic] in vol. ii. p. 371 f.).

2. The stories which occur in Celtic legend and folklore as to the carrying away of children soon after birth suggest that the fear of this occurrence (with or without the substitution of a changeling [*q.v.*]) was one of the pre-occupations of the parents and guardians of Celtic children, and that certain ceremonies may have been practised for the child's protection (cf. the story of the loss of Pryderi in the *Mabinogi* of Pwyll; and of Mabon, son of Modron, in the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*). References to changelings frequently occur in Celtic fairy-tales, as may be seen from Rhys's *Celtic Folk-lore, Welsh and Manx*. The practice of carrying fire around the mother and child in the direction of the sun's course (see BAPTISM [Ethnic]) would seem to have been instituted as a protection against spirits, fairies, and the like.

3. The general collective term for 'children' is in Irish *cland* (whence the English 'clan') and in Welsh *plant*, which are cognate with Skr. *kula*, 'race,' 'lineage,' O. Ch. Slav. *celyadi*, 'family,' and it may be noted that in mediæval Welsh the word *plant* was used as a singular in the sense of 'offspring.' It is noticeable, too, that in Welsh the term *mab* may mean either 'a boy' or 'a son,' and the Irish cognate word *mac* has also this double sense, in accordance with a usage of speech which probably goes back to a remote stage in the evolution of the Celtic family.

4. That the ancient Celts were not mentally indifferent to child life and child growth is in some degree suggested by the existence of Celtic stories referring to childhood, as, for instance, those stories in the *Mabinogion* which refer to the preternatural development and growth of certain fabulous children, such as Gwri Wallt Euryn, Dylan, and Llew Llawgyffes. An interest in children is reflected also in certain of the Welsh proverbs, such as '*Gwag ty heb fab*' ('Empty is a house without a boy'), '*Chwareuid mab noeth, ni chwery mab newynog*' ('An unclad boy will play, a hungry boy will not play'), '*Da yw cof mab*' ('Excellent is a boy's memory'). The contrast between a mother's care for her child and that of a stepmother is implied in the Welsh proverb: '*Ni charo ei fam, cared ei lysfam*' ('Let him that loves not his mother love his stepmother'), and in such stories as that given in the *Mabinogion* of the concealment of the child Kulhwch by his father from his second wife. At the same time, the Welsh proverbs recognize that relatives other than the mother may care for a child; as, for example, the proverb: '*Eilfam modryb dda*' ('A good aunt is a second mother').

5. One of the most remarkable features connected with the treatment of children among the

[1] Some of these reliefs are now to be seen in the British Museum (Nineveh Gallery and Assyrian Saloon). The following representations of children on Assyrian reliefs of the time of Aššur-bani-apli in the Louvre may also be noted: (1) A man holding a water-skin apparently introducing a child to a seated man and woman—the child places his right hand on his head (in salutation?). (2) A woman giving a child water from a skin, whilst a man behind apparently protests. (3) An Elamite child, quite naked, as prisoner. (4) A woman bending down as if to kiss a child, who holds up his hands to clasp her chin or face.

Celts, both Goidelic and Brythonic, is the place taken in their nurture by the system of 'fosterage' (Ir. and Scot. Gaelic, *altrum*; Welsh, *maeth*). In Wales, in historic times, the references to this practice are not as numerous as in the case of Scotland and Ireland, but they are clear enough to place the existence of the practice in certain ranks, at any rate, beyond all doubt. It is significant that, both in Irish and in Welsh, the usual term for a friend (Ir. *comalta*; Welsh, *cyfaill*) is a compound word derived from the roots *com-* and *al-* (Lat. *alo*), meaning 'one brought up with another,' in other words, 'a foster-brother.'

It is not impossible that there was occasionally some truth in the statement of Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topog. Hibern.*, dist. iii. cap. xxiii.) that the Irish in his day were fonder of their foster-brethren than of their own brethren ('Vae autem fratribus in populo barbaro! Vae et cognatis! Vivos eoin ad mortem persequuntur: mortuos et [ab aliis] interemptos ulciscuntur. Solum vero alumnis et collactaneis, si quid habent vel amoris vel fidei, illud habent'). Giraldus also criticizes this system of fosterage in its effects upon Welsh social life, owing to the tendency of an ambitious foster-father to advance without scruple the cause of that prince who happened to be his own foster-son (*Descriptio Kambriæ*, lib. ii. cc. iv. ix.: 'Accessit et aliud incommodum grave, quod principes filios suos generosis de terra sua viris diversis diversos alendos tradunt: quorum quilibet alumnum suum post patris obitum extollere, aliisque praeferre, toto conamine nititur et machinatur. . . . Unde et inter fratres collactaneos quam naturales longe veriores invenies amicitias').

6. Status of children.—(*a*) The ancient Laws, both of Wales and of Ireland, contain references to the status of children in the Celtic tribal communities. The unborn child was protected in Wales from deliberate harm (see *Welsh Medieval Law*, ed. by Wade-Evans, p. 272).

'The legal worth of the fœtus of a woman: the first is, blood before formation, if it perish through cruelty, of the value of forty-eight (pence). The second is, before life (*eneit*) enters into it, if it perish through cruelty, the third of its *galanas* ("blood-fee") is to be paid for it. The third is, after that life has entered into it, if it perish through cruelty, then the whole of the *galanas* is to be paid for it' (cf. *Senchus Mór*, i. 181).

Again, the Welsh Laws contemplate the occurrence of cases of uncertain fatherhood, and provision is contained in them for the affiliation of a son to a father, with a view to his inclusion in a 'kindred,' as in *Welsh Med. Law*, p. 272:

'Three ways whereby a son is to be affiliated to a father: one is, when a woman of thicket and bush (*i.e.* an unchaste woman), being with child, shall be at her full time, let her priest visit her, and let her swear by him—"May I be delivered of a snake by this pregnancy, if a father has begotten it on a mother other than the man to whom I affiliate it," and naming him; and so she affiliates lawfully. The second is, a chief of kindred, with the hands of seven of the kindred with him, is to affiliate him. The third is, if there be no chief of kindred, the oaths of fifty men of the kindred affiliate him, and the son himself first swears, because the mother's oath is not legal except in the above affiliation.'

It will thus be seen that the essential nature of the ceremony in each of these cases is the incorporation of the male child in question into a tribal group of kinsmen. The Welsh Laws also provide for the converse process of disowning a child by a 'kindred' (*op. cit.* p. 273):

'Three ways whereby a son is disowned by a kindred: the man whose son he is said to be takes the son and places him between himself and the altar, and places his left hand on the head of the son and the right hand on the altar and the relics: and let him swear that he has not begotten him, and that there is no drop of his blood in him. The second is, if the father is not alive, the chief of kindred is to deny him, and with him the hands of seven of the kindred. The third is, if he has no chief of kindred, the oaths of fifty men of the kindred deny him, and the eldest son of the man to whom the son was affined is to swear first.'

(*b*) The Welsh Laws (*op. cit.* p. 233) provide that no one is to receive a son as surety without consent of his father whilst the boy is under the father's authority. On the other hand (*op. cit.* p. 234), it is said:

'If a surety of a person dies, and there remains a son to him, the son is to stand in place of the father in his suretyship.'

The Welsh Laws also contain a provision that, in the case of the separation of husband and wife, two-thirds of the children have to go to the husband. Of a family of three children it is expressly stated that it is the middle child that should go to the mother.

(*c*) From the age of baptism up to seven (*Ancient Laws of Wales*, Rolls Series, i. 201) the boy's father is to swear and pay for him,

'except the payment of a *dirwy* or *camlwrw* ("fine") for him to the King; because the King is not to have any *dirwy* or *camlwrw* for an error, nor for the act of an idiot, and he is not endowed with reason: he must indemnify the sufferer for his property' (*op. cit.* p. 203).

At the age of seven he himself is to swear for his acts, and his father is to pay, 'for then he shall come under the hand of his confessor, and shall take duties upon himself.'

(*d*) The Welsh Laws further provide that, until a boy is fourteen years of age,

'he is to be at his father's platter, and his father shall lord over him; and he is to receive no punishment but that of his father; and he is not to possess one penny of his property during that time, only in common with his father.' At the end of the fourteen years, 'the father is to bring his son to the lord and commend him to his charge; and then the youth is to become his man, and be on the privilege of his lord—thenceforward his father is not to correct him any more than a stranger; and, if he should correct him, upon complaint made by his son against him, he is subject to *dirwy* ("a fine"), and is to do him right for the *sarhad* ("insult").'

The ceremony of the acceptance of a boy by his lord consisted in the cutting of the boy's hair, and the presentation to him, by the lord, of a gift called *cyfarws*.

(*e*) In the case of a daughter, the conditions were analogous, except that she was to be at her father's platter only until twelve. At the age of twelve she might be given to a husband. The Laws also say:

'From that time forward, if she have not a husband, she is to possess her own property, and is not to remain at her father's platter, unless he shall will it.'

The age for child-bearing, according to the Laws, is from fourteen to forty.

7. Fosterage.—(*a*) The above provisions seem to imply that the child is to live at home and in the society of its parents. It would thus appear that the practice of fosterage must have been greatly restricted in Wales after the 10th cent., and it may well be that it had come to be limited to certain princely and noble families. The state of society described in the *Mabinogion* appears to be characterized by fosterage, as in the case of Pryderi (in the story of *Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed*), and in that of Kulhwch (in the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*), but in both of these cases, as in that of Gwern, son of Matholwch (in the story of *Branwen, daughter of Llyr*), the families concerned are of the highest rank in their respective communities. It would be interesting to know how far the system of fosterage prevailed in Cornwall and Brittany; but, owing to the scantiness of early Breton and Cornish literature, it is difficult to obtain precise data on the subject. The Welsh word *alltraw* (used, according to Davies in his Welsh-Latin Dictionary of 1632, for a 'godfather') comes from the Celtic root *al-* (cognate with Lat. *alo*), and doubtless meant originally 'a foster-father.' In the Cornish Glossary (*c.* 1000 A.D.) we have the equivalent form *altrou* given as a gloss on the Lat. *vitricus* ('a stepfather'). In Breton the corresponding form is *aotrou*, which now means 'a lord,' though the corresponding mediæval fem. form *eltroguen* meant 'a stepmother.' The probability, therefore, is that in Cornwall and Brittany the system of fosterage had once prevailed, but had sunk into desuetude by mediæval times.

(*b*) When we turn to the Celtic countries of Goidelic speech, we find that, even in mediæval times, in both Celtic Scotland and Celtic Ireland the system of fosterage had a firm hold upon the communities where it prevailed. According to O'Curry (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 1873, ii. 375), the Irish law of fosterage was adopted by the Anglo-Normans, and continued to prevail in some of its features even as late as the 16th and

17th centuries. The Highland system was essentially the same as that of Ireland, and Skene (*Celt. Scot.*[2] iii. 321 f.) quotes written contracts of fosterage made in 1510, 1580, 1612, and 1665. Possibly we have, even in Wales, an echo of an earlier state of things in a book called *Gemmeu Doethineb* ('Gems of Wisdom'), written and published by a Carmarthenshire minister called Rhys Prydderch in 1714, who inveighs, among other things, against giving children to others to nurse. The Irish system is described at length in the Brehon Laws (*Senchus Mor*, Rolls Series, vol. ii.) under the heading *Cáin Iarraith* ('The Law of Fosterage'). According to this treatise, fosterage was of two kinds—(1) fosterage for affection, when no remuneration was taken for the up-bringing of the child; and (2) fosterage for payment, the terms being regulated by the rank of the child's father.

The most ancient scale of prices for fosterage in Ireland was as follows: 5 *seds* for the son of an *Og-aire* or of a *Bo-aire* chief, 10 *seds* for the son of an *Aire-desa* or of an *Aire-tuisi* chief, and 30 *seds* for the son of a king. A *sed* is explained (*op. cit.* iii. 463) as follows: 'A common, easily divisible *sed* means two live chattels or dead chattels, or one dead chattel, the value of which is not lessened by its being divided. A common chattel not easily divisible means one live chattel, or one dead chattel, the value of which would be lessened by its being divided.' In *op. cit.* iv. 29 we are told: 'The best among *seds*—a milch cow.' In the commentary to the *Senchus Mór* the scale is modified, the price of fosterage being the same (viz. three cows) for all ranks up to that of the *Bo-aire* chief, while the remainder of the scale is as follows: for an *Aire-desa* chief, 4 cows; for an *Aire-echta* chief, 6 cows; for an *Aire-árd* chief, 9 cows; for an *Aire-forgaill* chief, 12 cows; while for a king the price was 18 cows. For poets the price of fosterage varied according to the grade of the father, there being seven grades of poets.

(*c*) The *Senchus Mór* lays down various regulations as to the clothing, food, and general treatment of foster-children. In *op. cit.* ii. 161 we read: 'The nursing clothes—that is, the clothes that are given to keep them clean, *i.e.* a black coverlet and a black tunic, which are given to the nurse when the son is given to be fostered, *i.e.* the coverlet without being threadbare, and the tunic without being broken.' The clothing which the foster-child was to wear was (according to the *Senchus Mór*) regulated according to his father's rank. The son of the King of Erin was to have satin clothing, and his clothes were to be of a scarlet colour; he was to have silver in his scabbard, and a golden brooch with a crystal inserted in it. The son of a chieftain was to have only a tin scabbard, and the brooch of the son of a territorial king was to be only of silver. The commentary says (*op. cit.* ii. 147):

'In worn clothes and new ones he is to have two coverlets, so that his person may not be seen; these should be washed every day successively—one to be used while the other is being washed. Blay-coloured and yellow and black and white clothes are to be worn by the sons of inferior grades; red and green and brown clothes by the sons of chieftains; purple and blue clothes by the sons of kings' (see also Skene, *Celt. Scot.*[2] iii. 190).

(*d*) The nature of the child's food is described in the same treatise as follows:

'What are their victuals? Porridge (Ir. *lite* or *leite*) is given to them all, but the flavouring which goes into it is different, *i.e.* salt butter for the sons of the inferior grades, fresh butter for the sons of chieftains, honey for the sons of kings. The food of them all is alike, until the end of a year or three years, viz. salt butter, and afterwards fresh butter, *i.e.* for the sons of chieftains, and honey for the sons of kings. Porridge made of oatmeal and buttermilk or water is given to the sons of the *féine*-grades, and a bare sufficiency of it merely, and salt butter for flavouring. Porridge made on new milk is given to the sons of chieftain grades, and fresh butter for flavouring, and a full sufficiency of it is given them, and barley meal upon it (*i.e.* is put on new milk to make it). Porridge on new milk is given to the sons of kings, and wheaten meal upon it, and honey for flavouring.'

(*e*) The Brehon Laws, both under the head of Fosterage and elsewhere, show fair consideration for children. In the *Law of Distress* (*op. cit.* pp. 123, 125), provision is made, under the tribal system, for ensuring the care

'of a son after a death, of a son from a mad woman, from a diseased woman, from a deaf woman, from a lepress, from a near sighted woman, from an emaciated woman, from a lame-handed woman, and from a lunatic.'

The reason given in the commentary to the *Senchus Mor* why a child was to be taken from the care of a lame-handed woman was that she was unable to protect it from the fire. In *op. cit.* i. 137, provision is made for ensuring that children shall not fail to receive due maintenance.

1. The Brehon Laws also provide (*op. cit.* i. 167) that a notice might be issued under a penalty, prohibiting persons from feeding a refractory son or daughter.

2. In another passage (*op. cit.* i. 175), a person was liable to a penalty, if, when he carried a child on his back into a house, the child was hurt. The commentary to the *Senchus Mór* (ii. 179) points out that the danger arose from the construction of the house, or from projecting spikes or spears.

3. When the child came to the age of seven, his foster-father had to supply him with a horse (*op. cit.* ii. 155); and it is explicitly provided that the sons of kings were to have horses at the time of races.

4. If the sons of kings were struck or libelled, they were to be paid *éric* (fine) for the striking or the libelling; but the sons of the *féine*-grades or of the chieftain grades might be struck or libelled freely, provided that no blemish or nickname was given them, or a wound inflicted on the body; a wound was any incision that caused bleeding or a cut (*op. cit.* ii. 157). In *op. cit.* ii. 159 it is said that no nickname could be given with impunity.

5. It was customary for a riding-horse to be given to the foster-father along with the son of a king or a chieftain.

(*f*) Irish law deals with various legal cases which arose out of the practice of fosterage, such as the situation arising from a premature termination, for various causes, of the period of fosterage.

(*g*) The normal cessation of fosterage came about in Ireland at the age of seventeen for a boy, and fourteen for a girl; this being regarded as the marriageable age, for which the technical name was 'the age of selection.' Irish law also deals minutely with the liability of foster-fathers for the wrongs committed by their foster-children, and also with the duties, both during fosterage and after it, of foster-children to their foster-parents. When a foster-father parted with a child, he presented it with a parting gift, and his own claim for maintenance in old age (a claim which could be exercised only if his own children had died) depended on the value of this gift.

(*h*) The Irish system of fosterage was doubtless closely connected with the Irish tribal relationship of the *geil-fine* tribe. The direct form of this relationship was that of the father, son, grandson, great-grandson, and grandsons to the fifth generation, and in what was named the reverse line, *i.e.* the brother of the father and his sons to the fifth generation. It was apparently the relations within these degrees who received a child in fosterage.

(*i*) In the case of a girl, a father was obliged to put his daughter to fosterage, to pay the price of her fosterage to her foster-father until she was of age to marry, and then to find for her a husband of equal family. A mother, whose husband was dead, was under a similar obligation to foster her son.

8. According to another legal treatise, the *Corus Bescna* (*op. cit.* iii. 39), firstlings, including first-born children, were due to the Church, and one important aspect of fosterage came to be the ecclesiastical.

9. Glimpses of child life are rare in Celtic literature until modern times, but there is in a poem by the Welsh bard Lewys Glyn Cothi (1450-1486) a singularly beautiful and pathetic picture of that life. The poem in question is an elegy by the poet upon the death of his young child, and gives a faithful and vivid description of the child's play and varying moods. Among the playthings are mentioned a toy bow and a toy sword. Such a poem as this, though rare, is thoroughly in keeping with the fondness of the Welsh muse for dwelling on the varying fortunes of human existence, with its central themes of life and death.

10. In their attitude towards children the in-

habitants of Celtic countries are, in the main, by nature inclined to be lenient and sympathetic; and, wherever there is any tendency to resort habitually to corporal punishment, it may, as a rule, be safely assigned to some external influence. In some instances, too, in those religious families where the parental mind is pre-occupied with the idea of sin, and the risks which the child of undisciplined character may run of committing heinous sins or crimes in adult life, the training of the Celtic child has sometimes acquired a tone of marked gravity and austerity. In Wales, for example, as well as in other countries that have been subjected to similar religious influences, the deep sense of human error and sin, which characterized the Methodist revival, and the use of the Book of Proverbs as a manual of training, have left an indelible impress on the moral up-bringing of many Welsh children to-day, and the atmosphere in which Welsh children of respectable parentage are brought up is one which is often more conducive to thoughtfulness and seriousness than to gaiety. Nor is this atmosphere of strictness, in which emphasis is laid on the graver aspects of life, confined to the Calvinistic Methodist body, whose services in the elevation of the moral tone of Welsh life are indisputable, but it may be said to be characteristic of the more Puritan spirits of all the denominations of Wales, the Church of England included. It is the growth in Wales (more especially in the North) of this tendency to train children in habits of earnestness, and to the firm suppression of undue gaiety and frivolity, that has made the Celt of Wales in some ways more like the Presbyterian Celt of Scotland than the typical Celt of Ireland, though racially it is not impossible that the Welshman and the Irishman are more akin. Occasionally there are signs of revolt in Wales against the more austere ideals to which reference has been made, but it is interesting to note that it is the graver tradition, whose natural guardians are now more determined than ever to maintain it, that generally prevails. The Calvinistic Methodist tradition in question, in its hostility to dancing, the violin, cards, billiards, the drama, novels, sports, hunting, racing, and to all forms of unproductive muscular exertion, has produced strong characters, and many of the leaders of Wales to-day owe much of their success to the tenacity and concentration of purpose fostered in them as children by this spirit.

LITERATURE.—J. Rhys, *Celtic Folk-lore, Welsh and Manx* (Oxford, Univ. Press, 1901); Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People* (London, 1900); *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, ed. Aneurin Owen (Rolls Series, London, 1841); Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law* (Oxford, Univ. Press, 1909); *The Ancient Laws of Ireland* (Rolls Series, London, 1869–1873); W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*² (Edinburgh, 1890).

E. ANWYL.

CHILDREN (Egyptian).—**1. Documentary information.**—The sources from which we can, directly or indirectly, derive an idea of children and childhood in Egypt are as varied as they are numerous. We may mention: (1) painted or sculptured scenes representing births (of gods or royal princes), dress, games, everyday life (of princes and princesses, or of the children of the common people), the children's part in the ceremonies of worship and disposal of the dead (whether as mere onlookers or as active participants), and, lastly, episodes in which the children of foreign races, tributary or captive, play a part; (2) statues of single children, of children in family groups, or of princes with their tutors; (3) playthings, and the remains of the materials used in education; (4) tombs of children, with the relics of funerary furniture, and even mummies (princes and children of influential priestly families); (5) the papyri relating to morals, education, magic, and medicine, in the chapters on childhood; (6) the evidence of ancient authors; (7) the allusions to, and information on, childhood in Egyptian literature, especially in the popular tales (see Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'Egypte ancienne*⁴, 1908); and (8) a great number of sporadic details in the corpus of religious and historical texts (*e.g.* biographical inscriptions).

Although these different classes of evidence comment on and explain each other, the total synthetic idea that they yield is not so complete as one might desire. In a general way, we know—and with quite a luxuriant amount of details (more, probably, than we have for any other ancient civilization)—all that concerns the *material* aspect of childhood. We can get a precise idea of the dress of children, their amulets and talismans, their amusements, their playthings, and their food; we know to a certain extent their occupations, their work (especially for the lower classes), their first lessons, their illnesses, as well as several of the dictums and proverbs relating to children, various children's songs, and a great part of the popular superstitions. As regards instruction properly so called, we know the practical results, or we have specimens of the subjects taught, but we have only a very meagre knowledge of the methods of education. Their moral education is better known, thanks to the papyri, and the inscriptions furnish us with the means of forming an idea of the sentiments of the Egyptian towards his children—his tender love for them, his desire to see them happy, and his opinion of their importance in social life. It is necessary, nevertheless, in pursuing this study, to exercise much patience, and to search sometimes through very long texts, in order to find one line or even a single word that sheds a lightning flash on the subject. Finally, we are practically devoid of information on the important topic of family life, considered from the point of view of its successive phases: anniversaries, children's feasts, periods of the child's life, and what ethnography calls the 'transition rites.' All we know in this connexion are the customs relating to birth, name-giving, and the period of early childhood. We may hope, however, to have the necessary information some day. Though it does not look as if new representations would be found in temples or tombs, it would suffice if a papyrus were discovered devoted to the subject. This hypothesis is certainly tenable when we recall that the text published by Erman (*Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, 1901) suddenly added a whole chapter to our knowledge of Egyptian childhood—a chapter of which we had previously not the slightest idea. On the whole, then, and notwithstanding these reservations, Egypt can at present yield a valuable contribution to our information on the position of children in antiquity and their place in society.

2. First days.—The fecundity of Egyptian women was proverbial in the classical world. It had even given rise to exaggerations (cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 1878, i. 320, quoting Aulus Gellius, x. 2, Pliny, and Strabo, who follows Columella), or even to ridiculous stories, like the one composed (or adapted) by Trogus, then reproduced by Pliny (vii. 3), which attributed to the mothers of this race the incredible power of bringing seven children into the world at one birth. Children, says Maspero (*Hist.*, 1894, i. 263), swarmed in the houses of every class of society, and most of all in the houses of the great, owing to polygamy and the possession of slaves. The number of the sons and daughters of a great lord or a Pharaoh could reach a figure absolutely extraordinary in our eyes.

It ought to be observed, however, that, especially in the case of the sons of kings, many of them might be *adopted* sons, or a number of high dignitaries might receive the title of honour 'king's son' (*Suten Sa*). Thus it is certain that a number of the so-called 'children' of Ramses II.—he had more than a hundred and fifty known to us—must be included in one or the other of these categories.

Apart from what has already been said (see BIRTH [Egyptian]) about pregnancy and the means of determining the sex of the child to be born (cf. art. DIVINATION), the first notions relating to childhood are connected with the rite that constitutes the child a personal being, viz. conferring a name on him, or rather several names—the great name, the little name, the secret name known only to the mother, etc. This subject is connected with a general theory which will be explained elsewhere (see art. NAMES [Egyptian]). Suffice it to say here that a child was given these names with most circumstantial detail, on a specified day, the *name*-day (cf. Budge, *A Guide to the Collections of the Brit. Mus.*, 1908, p. 78; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr. p. 158). This day was passed in feasting and rejoicing, and was probably chosen on the ground of indications of a religious or horoscopic order. As to the rest of the rites and ceremonies of the first days, compared with the ritual of uncivilized peoples, the ritual of Egypt relating to the newly-born (at least as far as we know) appears somewhat scanty. There is no trace of the visit of friends to the mother, the acknowledgment by the father, or the admission by the members of the community, in the texts or scenes of Egyptian civilization that have come down to us. There are a few very obscure allusions to be met with, referring to magic spells against the dangers that lie in wait for the entrance of the child into the world of living beings, and the first few hours after its arrival.

This poverty of ritual, coupled with the lack of rites and spells relating to the birth (the absence of tabu of the pregnant woman, absence of any rite regarding the umbilical cord, etc.), may at first seem a characteristic worth noting for the problem of the origins of the race, as it would seem to prove that, however far back we go in the history of Egypt, we are still far from discovering traces of a social state resembling that which we suppose to have prevailed among the common ancestry of primitive societies. We must notice, however, that these *lacunæ* are being gradually filled up by the papyri, and a hasty conclusion at the present time would be very premature. Thus we know from a magic document (Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, p. 222) that there was a charm whose recitation aided delivery. There may then have been other rites of this kind, still unknown to us, and resembling those of the modern uncivilized tribes of Africa. Similarly, certain fixed rules for the use of names (cf. NAMES [Egyptian], and G. Foucart, 'Stèles protothébaines,' in *Sphinx*, 1910, p. 215 ff.) lead us to suspect that certain souls of ancestors could be thought of as re-incarnated in the bodies of children. The presence of tatuings and scars on the mummies also implies specific rites and seasons for their material execution; but here again the necessary texts are silent. We infer also from the texts, but with no assurance, the assigning of a genius, or protective spirit, to a new-born infant. Often it is simply a passing remark in a popular tale that enables us to fix a detail or confirm a custom; that, *e.g.*, the mother had to undergo a purification of fourteen days after delivery; but we get no more details (cf. Maspero, *Contes populaires*[4], p. 39). Wilkinson speaks of thanksgivings offered to the temple through the medium of the priests on the occasion of a birth (iii. 422), but does not give sufficiently precise references. Finally, we guess, rather than are able to state, how the first days after birth and before the name-giving were spent in determining and putting in order the new-born child's horoscope. Besides the predictions made by Fate (*Meskhonit*) or by the 'Seven Hathors,' or goddesses, at the moment of birth, and besides the 'length of life' inscribed by Thoth on the mother's brick bed, certain treatises fixed the future fortune of the child and its probable dangers, according to the day on which it was born, or according to the calculation of 'influences.' In the former category, the *Papyrus of lucky and unlucky days* (cf. CALENDAR [Egyptian], VII. 2) is a good example. It gives a complete series of dates with the fate of a child born on them: he will die of infection on his birthday (14 Paophi), by accident (17 Paophi), or simply of old age (19 Paophi), or he will be devoured some day by a crocodile (23 Paophi), or stung by a serpent (27 Paophi), or he will reach 'the end of his life surrounded by the honours of his city' (29 Paophi). These examples, taken from one month only, are repeated with similar predictions for the other months, with a deplorable series of horoscopes of wounds, blindness, and other coming misfortunes weighing against the one single chance of 'dying the oldest of all his family' (12 Tybi). We may place in the same order of ideas the belief that the first cry of an infant indicated its future lot (Ebers Papyrus, 97, 13); that if it cried *ny* it would certainly live, but if it cried *mbê* it would be sure to die soon. We cannot tell how far these presages were accepted or rejected by all Egyptians, but it is *a priori* a mistake to discard them as only a part of popular superstition; for there was no actually popular literature in ancient Egypt, and all writings, belonging in their nature to the domain of all classes of society, included also the highest classes.

3. **Infancy.**—Infancy seems to have meant a period usually fixed at four years (cf. the inscription on the statue of Bakhni-khonsu in Munich), but there is no indication that there was a period of fixed length from a social or religious point of view. The infant is a *nazasu* (cf. Deveria, 'Œuvres,' *Bibliothèque Égyptol.*, 1893 ff., i. 285), and the usual expression used of a child, 'a cubit long,' in inscriptions means this period of life, just as it is also applied to a new-born infant (*e.g.* the inscriptions of Tefabi and Khiti II. at Syut; cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Chicago, 1906, i. 395). The events and circumstances of this happy age are naturally very trivial. Objects in museums, texts, and scenes, however, restore them as completely as we could wish. The first give us the material of the first toys of very young children (cf. § 5 below); and the others describe or show us their nursing and their illnesses, and how they passed the time. Suckling continued for three years (cf. the 'moral' papyrus of Bulaq), and the fact may be noted and compared with the similar custom among numerous modern African societies. The scenes on Theban tombs show that swaddling was unknown (cf. Pierret, *Dict. archéol.*, 1875, p. 207). The mother took her child everywhere with her, and discharged her duties or attended ceremonies, carrying it on her side or, more usually, on her back. Bands of cloth were bound round the body of both mother and child. A certain scene (cf. Wilkinson, ii. 334) shows Theban women with their babies following a funeral procession. In another place (an unpublished scene on the tomb of Monna in Thebes, copied by the present writer in 1907), a peasant woman is seen gathering the fruit of a tree while her mischievous baby is teasing her and pulling her hair. There is no sign of any dress at all for the little creatures, but we can easily see that their hair was carefully dressed

even at this early age; and the texts and statues, as well as the figures on tombstones, picture them as already (and very probably from birth) provided with amulets and talismans. These usually consist of necklaces, bracelets, and rings of glass or enamelled paste, little leather thongs (probably with magic writing sewn inside), and, most of all, little protective figures, chiefly images of the hippopotamus-goddess Thueris, the special protector of children. Protection was equally guaranteed by 'a cord with seven knots, and seven stone rings, and seven gold rings on seven flaxen threads knotted seven times' (Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, pp. 41, 52, 30); or by 'a small purse containing the bones of a mouse' (*ib.*).

The questions of good suckling and protection against children's diseases were of lively interest to the Egyptians. The Ebers medical papyrus (93, 17; 94–9) gives the method of diagnosing the quality of the mother's milk. Constipation was cured by ingenious remedies, such as the application of a poultice 'made of a piece of an old papyrus register, soaked in oil and placed round the body' (Ebers Papyrus, 48, 22; 49, 15). Medicine had even discovered the wonderful secret, now forgotten, of 'how to keep a child from continually crying,' and Egyptologists suspect that this truly marvellous remedy was an infusion of poppies (Ebers Papyrus, 93, 3; Erman, *Life*, p. 362, rightly remarks that this remedy is still employed in modern Upper Egypt). Internal complaints and diseases of the eyes, etc., were not forgotten (they will be treated along with adult complaints in art. DISEASE [Egyp.]; we may notice here the care taken in regard to doses of medicine, according to the varying age of the child [Ebers Papyrus, 49, 22]). As a matter of fact, in Egypt, as among all nations of antiquity and among modern uncivilized nations, illness was regarded as an affair of magic and ghosts quite as often as it was viewed as a natural affliction; and magic charms played as large a part in the protection of childhood as did real remedies. A papyrus has bequeathed to us a whole phase of this curious aspect of child life in Egypt (Erman, *Zaubersprüche*). Illnesses are usually caused especially by evil ghosts, and (a point to note for comparative folklore) by the ghosts of women dying in child-birth. We can see the poor mother repelling the wicked ghosts by declaring that no single part of the body of her child can belong to them —each part is protected by magic; or she holds out to these evil spirits the threat that she will go and destroy their tomb; or else, by talking pleasantly to them, she tries to send them elsewhere—to the harem, for example. A long conjuration, and one of the most curious, is intended to protect the child during sleep from the ghosts who prowl about in the darkness and try to gain entrance. These powerful formulæ, repeated four times, and accompanied by cabalistic words—'protection for the nape of the neck, protection which comes, protection'—are of irresistible efficacy. In this way the Egyptian child, like the children of all other races, passed the first phase of his life, with his humble toys, his little sorrows, his bad dreams, his childish songs, and his ever-watchful devoted mother's love.

This picture, left by the Egyptians, lacks some details which we should like to know. Perhaps we may learn them some day with the aid of the papyri. Thus, we know nothing about the possible existence of ceremonies or rites in connexion with the appearance of the first tooth, the first hair-cutting, the first step, etc.; and we have no mention of an anniversary feast, a birthday, or dates of that kind. There is no notice at any time of any priestly intervention (presentation in the temple, child-purification, first prayer, or first participation in public or family worship, etc. [for the question of circumcision, see 'Egyptian' section of art. under that title]). In regard to this group of questions the study of Egypt is very different from that of modern uncivilized peoples, which furnishes an abundance of information.

4. **Boyhood.**—After infancy, which lasted till the end of the fourth year, ordinary boyhood, with its employments and its first work, brought the little Egyptian to his twelfth year. No special text has been devoted to the study of children of the lower classes. With regard to the little peasants, it is very probable, as Budge has suggested (*Guide*, p. 78), that their life was very similar to that of the young *fellahîn* of the present day, that their education was *nil*, and that they helped their parents, as much as they could, in the agricultural or farm work, chiefly by tending the cattle, protecting the crops from the birds, and helping with the irrigation. Their dress (or rather their want of dress) was what it had been from their birth. They must have required an ordinary amount of food; and it is probably of children of the common people that Diodorus (i. 80) is speaking when he expresses surprise at the incredibly low cost of their upkeep: their staple food, he says, was composed of papyrus, roots and berries of water-plants, and boiled or roasted radishes; they had no shoes or clothing—their whole cost of living amounting annually to twenty drachmas. They continued to have their heads shaved; but under the Memphite empire it seems probable that they had the characteristic lock of hair (see, on this disputed question, § 7, at the end).

Our written information is very scanty for the popular classes, but we get great help in this respect from painted and sculptured scenes on certain of the Egyptian monuments. As a matter of fact, in a great number of scenes, we find the child to be an essential and traditional accessory to the episode— the finishing touch to the complete representation of the family occupations or fortune; hence his presence in the representations of numerous trades and in professional or so-called historical episodes. These scenes may, as far as the children are concerned, be roughly divided into four chief classes: peasants, tradespeople, domestics or slaves, and foreigners. The pictures on the tombs of Qurneh are the best source for the first class. The children are usually represented in the act of gleaning the corn ears at harvest-time (*e.g.* 'Tomb of Rezeserkasonbu,' in *Mémoires mission Caire*, vol. v. *s.v.* pl. iv.), romping or fighting among the corn (*e.g.* 'Tomb of Monna,' in Petrie, *Arts and Crafts*, London, 1910, fig. 69), frightening off with slings the birds that try to rob the heaps of grain (*e.g.* 'Tomb of Apui,' in *Mém. miss. Caire*, vol. v. *s.v.* pl. ii.), or helping the shepherds to drive or tend their flocks (*passim*). In the tradesmen's class we find, from the Memphite empire downwards (*e.g.* the *mastaba* of Ptahhetep), the children of fishermen helping to cut the papyrus, to transport fish, and to make boats. The children of bargemen stand on shore and help the people from the barge, or unload great sheaves (*e.g.* 'Tomb of Apui,' *loc. cit.* pl. ii.). Those of joiners, shoemakers, goldsmiths, and cabinetmakers serve as apprentices in innumerable ways, help their masters in the workshop, or in funeral processions carry the light articles of tomb furniture on their back or in their arms (*e.g.* 'Tomb of the Engravers, in *Mém. miss. Caire*, *s.v.* pl. vi.). Thus we can easily reconstruct their chief employments, and say that in all these classes the child from an early age served as an apprentice, and took part in the work of his family or of the people of his profession.

In aristocratic and plebeian houses alike there were, as there are in the East to-day, crowds of young slaves or little servants mixed with the children of the house. The tomb scenes at Thebes and Amarna show them crowding round their masters when they come home, escorting guests, or (in so-called 'banquet'-scenes) helping to serve the banqueters (pouring wine for them, washing, perfuming, crowning them with flowers, etc.). An interesting ebony statuette (University Museum, London, published by Petrie, *Arts and Crafts*, fig. 40) gives an exact picture of a little Sudanese slave of ten years old, naked, and with the characteristic three tufts of hair, exactly like those which the little black children of the modern Egyptian Sudan wear to-day. Lastly, troops of female dancers and singers show naked little girls, already efficient in their profession, taking part in dancing exercises in the festal scenes.

In obedience to the law of decoration mentioned above, children, even the very youngest, are an essential accessory to scenes in which the artist wishes to show a vanquished, conquered, captive, or simply tributary, race. This enables us to picture, by certain details, the children of the neighbouring peoples of Egypt, for the artist has observed their special characteristics. Thus, in the ancient Empire, the incident of the cruel sacking of Asiatic towns is portrayed with women prisoners carrying their children on their shoulders or dragging them by the hand (cf. Petrie, *Deshasheh*, 1898, pl. iv.), and this scene is repeated for all the Asiatic wars down to the time of the Ramessids. The wars of the Sudan give occasion to exhibit village children beside their mothers (Temple of Bet-Wali) or, more particularly, led into captivity, held by the hand, or, in the case of very young children, put into baskets which the mothers carry on their backs, or else riding pick-a-back on their mothers' shoulders (cf. 'Tomb of Harmhabi,' in *Mem. miss. Caire*, vol. v. *s.v.* pl. iv.; the scene is very common in Theban hypogea generally). The statuette 32,504 in the British Museum shows an interesting specimen of a Nubian doll carrying a baby in a basket. Bedawi infants (cf. esp. Griffith, *Beni Hasan*, 1893, vol. i. tomb 3, pl. xxx. and tomb 5, pl. xlv.) are carried in a kind of basket placed on asses' backs, or in various kinds of conical baskets borne by the mother on her back.

The children of the upper classes offer an interest of a superior kind. The scenes on family tombs (especially among the Thebans) and the papyri supplement each other on this point. The former do not show us the games or the daily life of the little boys and girls of these social classes, but they let us see them in certain family ceremonies in which their presence was a necessary element of the representation, if it was to have its full religious value. Thus, of course, they attended funeral ceremonies, they followed the cortège to the grave (*e.g.* the series of Theban tombs cited above), or they took part in family worship, and we can see them holding the bread, birds, or flowers of sacrifice, while the paterfamilias or the *sam* officiates (cf. 'Tomb of the Engravers,' *loc. cit.* pl. v.; 'Tomb of Monna,' etc.). In banquet-scenes, they share the repast, but modestly seated at their parents' feet on a little stool (cf. the same works), and this enables us to imagine how they ate in ordinary life with their parents (see the same peculiarity in the case of princes, below). The absolute equality of treatment existing among children born of different mothers, and of different position, impressed Diodorus (ii. 65). We derive a knowledge of their mental and moral education from short literary works and specimens of school exercises. The former must be considered as traditional compositions, of very great antiquity, which had been read and commented on from age to age, not for any definite class of children, but for the whole of Egyptian childhood in general. Without entering into the details of their literary composition here, we may notice, as the most famous, the 'moral' papyrus of Bulaq. On the other hand, Herodotus (ii. 80) had already made known the respect instilled for old age, and Plato (*Laws*, ii.) had told how strictly the young Egyptians were trained to be careful about their gestures, gait, and movements, which had to be modest and circumspect. All this is in wonderful agreement with the modern Oriental conception of good education. The Bulaq and the Prisse papyri (cf. the good synopsis in Erman, *Life*, pp. 155-165) confirm the importance attached to the teaching of ethics and good manners by the father. The power and influence of the mother, the obligation due to her throughout her whole life for her trouble and her admirable care, the punishment, in this world or in the next, of the ungrateful child, complete the evidence of the classics from this point of view (cf. Herodotus, ii. 65). Several passages in these works are of a very elevated kind, far excelling the usual low tone in this branch of Egyptian literature. The importance of the moral education of the child, and of the gratitude which it owes to its parents in their old age, is also confirmed by the allusions of the inscriptions or papyri regarding arrangement of income, or by wills and legacies, in which it is a question of being a 'staff of old age' for the father or the mother.

Education was based on a very different concept from ours—a concept whose mechanism has often been misunderstood. To put it briefly: there were no general schools open to all children, or to all of a certain class, and having a programme of theoretic instruction. But in every temple and public building there was a room where the child was professionally taught with a view to preparing him for a certain priestly or administrative office. Thus, the young son of Khufu (cf. Lepsius, *Denkmaler*, 1849-60, ii. 23), when four years of age, went to the 'house of books' of the palace (and went there quite naked, his only article of dress being a girdle); just as Uni, in the same dress, went to receive his education in the 'house of agriculture'; or as Senusiris, the son of Prince Satni, was sent to school in the 'house of life of the temple of Ptah' (cf. Maspero, *Contes populaires*[4], p. 133). The biographical inscriptions of various Egyptian personages agree on this point whenever they contain any information as to the habits of early childhood. The sons of priests and scribes formed the majority of these pupils, but, on account of the gentleness and goodness of the Egyptian manners, sons of simple peasants or slaves were often allowed to associate with them if they showed special aptitude in their early years (cf. Anastasi Papyrus, v. 22. 6). The sons of the nobility, and even those of the royal house, also went to this 'house of instruction' or 'house of books,' at least for the time and amount of education necessary to teach them what they had to know in order to fulfil the religious duties of their offices, or afterwards to direct the services of which they would have charge. There does not seem to have been any cycle of studies with a definitely fixed programme. As throughout the whole of the East, the teachers grouped the children of different ages round them, and followed them in their progress year by year, until they were 13 or 14 years of age—the time at which they were regarded as men and entered upon their duties. The instruction was mainly didactic, oral, and of a practical nature. To the common stock of essential ideas, each service and administration of the temple or of the royal crown added a technical apprenticeship, such as the editing of letters, arithmetic, ritual, etc. The collection of the Sallier and Anastasi Papyri and the so-called 'moral' papyri (Bulaq, Prisse, etc.) are excellent sources of information and of curious details on this whole subject. As a general rule, the child began to frequent the 'houses of instruction' at the age of four or five. He got up early in the morning, and 'took his coat and his sandals' to go to his class (Sallier Papyrus, ii. 10. 5). The instruction from the teacher (who evidently was not a professional,

but an old priest or functionary, as was the case until a few years ago with the Musulmān schools of modern Egypt) lasted from morning to midday (Sallier Papyrus, ii. 10. 6); then the children 'went out shouting with joy.' The rest of the day was probably occupied in preparing tasks or learning lessons for the next day. Reading, writing, penmanship, and spelling were the chief subjects.

They began with the exercise of copying in hieroglyphics or hieratics. Then, judging from the papyri that have come down to us, dictation was the customary method of the teacher. The passage was usually taken from a religious, magical, or poetical text. Erman (*op. cit.* p. 332) makes mention of the fact that the task for the day was on an average three pages of this kind of exercise. We still have this before our eyes in the papyri of our museums, with the notes, sketches, annotations, or corrections, of the teacher. There was also the reading of edifying information; and the master's favourite method, in order to train the future administrator for his profession, was to imagine a series of fictitious letters, a pretended correspondence between the pupil and an imaginary manager of State affairs. This is the subject of half the papyri of this kind that have survived. There were added to the above course, according to individual needs, a little arithmetic, geometry, formularies, protocols, etc. The materials for these exercises, as throughout the whole of the East, were white boards which could be cleaned afterwards like our slates, chips of stone, pieces of broken earthenware, or old papyrus rolls. They wrote on them all with a reed (cf. on this point Budge, *Guide*, p. 79).

Corporal punishment was approved of. The phrase 'the child has his understanding on his back' elliptically but forcibly expresses how floggings contributed to make him listen quietly (Anastasi Papyrus, v. 8. 6). 'The youth has a back; he attends when it is beaten,' says the same papyrus, and the pupil harboured no bad remembrance of it. 'You beat me on the back and the instruction entered my ear,' the pupil afterwards reminds his old master (*ib.* iv. 8. 7). The teacher's salary was probably moderate, like that of the schoolmasters of the Musalmān *qubbas* under the ancient Egyptian régime: three rolls of bread and two jugs of beer per day from each pupil, if we may believe the Bulaq Papyrus (correctly interpreted by Budge, *Guide*, p. 78; Erman, *Life*, p. 330, thinks it refers to the daily rations of the pupil).

We know that this phase of life lasted until the boy had completed his twelfth or thirteenth year. But, as in the case of the remainder of the life of the infant, there are no certain traces of rites or ceremonies marking the end of childhood and the entrance on puberty (real or social), and the access to public functions or to the life of a man (on this whole subject see art. CIRCUMCISION [Egyp.]).

During the whole of this period, and consequently until the age when the young Egyptian became adolescent and a man from the social point of view, the rôle and power of the mother remained as important as in infancy. Egyptologists agree in drawing attention to the greatness of the maternal influence on the education of the child (cf. Budge, *Guide*, p. 77; Erman, *Life*, p. 155), and her care during the time when he is attending the 'house of books,' etc.

This fact has been compared with others, such as the presence of the mother beside her son in the groups of statues at tombs, and in the scenes of funeral feasts represented on the stelæ, in order to draw far too general and hasty conclusions as to the existence of a primitive mother-right in early Egypt. More complete knowledge of feudal law and of wills must be acquired before we can state such facts with the necessary authority.

With regard to young nobles or princes of a feudal family, the above applies as a general rule both to the family life and to their education or instruction. The scenes portrayed show them clothed like grown-up persons (cf. Wilkinson, ii. 334), and wearing the amulets or talismans customary for all children, but of richer material, and frequently having round their neck the pearl necklace, the protective figures of Ririt, the *āb* in the shape of a heart, which confers wisdom and wards off diseases, or a papyrus covered with cloth. Many were sent (and often by order, somewhat like hostages) to the court of Pharaoh, where they received instruction for the military or administrative service of the crown. Just as ordinary girls were associated with royal princesses, these young men shared in the life, games, and exercises of the royal princes (cf., on this whole subject, the inscriptions of Beni Hasan, Syut, and Abydos). The nobleman Tefabi recalls with pride that he learned to swim with the royal children (cf. Mariette, *Mon. divers*, Paris, 1872–77, pl. 68*d*). Ptahshopsisu (cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, i. 256) shows, by his example, that this custom of bringing up some children of common people along with princes was current under the Memphites.

The supposed participation of the children of noblemen in the great sports of fishing and hunting has arisen from a probably incorrect interpretation of the heraldic scenes on the tombs. It is, in fact, the regular custom to represent the children of the feudal lord or the high noble functionary helping their fathers to hunt the birds of the marsh in boats, or striking the crocodile or hippopotamus, or throwing the harpoon at large fish. The scene has passed from there to the tombs of functionaries in general, and has become a conventional theme *de rigueur*. As a matter of fact, the present writer thinks that in the painting of these scenes the aim is to associate children with their fathers, to show that they enjoyed along with them the noble prerogative of directing these sports, and that one day they would succeed their fathers in their responsibilities and dignities. It is probable that this is also the explanation of the presence of little girls in the hunting and fishing boats with their mothers. It is a way of showing the association of the feudal rights of the women and of their transmission to the daughters, but not the representation of a real participation in these sports, at least during the historical period.

5. Games, toys, and amusements.—Certainly no other dead civilization has bequeathed such a large number of materials connected with the amusements of children. We have not only the representation of a long series of games and sports for children, but the actual evidence of these amusements in the shape of hundreds of toys, found in the houses or the tombs; and some museums, like those of London and Berlin (the latter valuable for the comparison between the objects in the cases and the corresponding methodical series of the bas-reliefs of games), in a few minutes' examination of their cases teach an excellent and substantial lesson on this point. Moreover, the pictures of games do not contain the same kind of evidence as the playthings which really were in existence in ancient Egypt; so that the two combined form a very complete repertoire. We cannot give the entire inventory here. We shall mention only the chief types of playthings and then of games.

As the most noteworthy toys we naturally find dolls in the majority—made of all kinds of material (wood, earth, limestone, ivory), and from the coarsest, for poor children, to carefully made dolls with clothing (Berlin, no. 10,024). Some of them are jointed (Cairo, no. 869; London, no. 37,162), and were moved by means of strings. A large number, for very small babies, are, like ours, simply bodies without legs, but with a head and rudimentary arms. Others, on the contrary, are carefully painted, and wear amulets or prophylactic magic figures, Thueris, etc. (London), or even have artificial wigs (London, Room iv. Standard Case C, Shelf i.). Some of them are nursing a baby doll (London, no. 23,424) or carrying it (*ib.* 30,725). A picturesque and local touch is given by the presence of negress dolls, and by the curious details of head-dress (London, no. 32,120—a doll with a wig of long tresses made of clay). Animal-figures bear witness to the tastes of the young Egyptians: wooden birds (London), pigeons on two castors (London, Berlin, Oxford [Ashmolean], Cairo), a cat with inlaid eyes and a movable jaw (London), a calf of painted wood (London), a jointed frog (Cairo, no. 871), and—the Egyptian toy *par excellence*—the crocodiles with movable jaws (in the museums of Berlin, the Louvre, and Leyden). Some of these animals give evidence of a veritable art of amusing very small children; for example, the monkey driving a chariot, the dwarf with a cat's head, and the negro pursued by a panther (London, nos. 21,984, 22,883; cf. Budge, *Guide to the 3rd and 4th Rooms*, pl. v.). The linen-washer of the Leyden museum is a toy almost similar to those of our own time; and the cavalier (Berlin, no. 12,654), and the elephant with the driver (London, no. 29,712), if they do not belong to an early period, are no less curious.[1] Whips, marbles

[1] It should be remarked, however, that in Egypt the archæologist must be careful not to confound with children's playthings certain figures of dolls and boats which in reality were very rough representations of slaves and funerary barques

(Cairo), rattles (Berlin), boats (Cairo), and, above all, a huge collection of balls (made of leather filled with straw, or of plaited papyrus covered with leather), show that the taste of the young Egyptians in their first games was practically similar to that of modern children. Like the Arab children of the present day, they went to play among the ruins that existed in their time. 'And then the children played among the ruins of the temple,' says the inscription of the restoration of the temple of Cusæ (Speos Arthemidos, line 16).

The series of games and sports represented in the frescoes and bas-reliefs of the tombs show that games of ball, running, and jumping were much in favour. Vaulting, the throwing of pointed sticks, and wrestling were indulged in by older children. Swimming was certainly a regular sport, for the texts mention those who 'learned to swim with the royal princes.' Certain scenes show us more especially Egyptian games, *e.g.* the scene in which one of the players has his hands tied behind his back (cf. Erman, *Verzeichnis*, p. 281), but, on account of the absence of texts, it cannot be explained; or, again, there is the scene showing, but with rather indistinct details (cf. Wilkinson, ii. 69), the throwing of a dagger into a circle drawn on a plank of wood; and, lastly, the Memphite *mastabas* and the paintings of Beni Hasan reveal to us an infinite series of feats of strength and dexterity. Several writers, *e.g.* Wilkinson, have made extensive use of these in their re-constructions of the amusements of the ancient Egyptians.

But there is a reservation to be made here. It should be noted that those curious scenes (the tombs of Ptahhetep, Merruka, etc., for the Memphites; the tombs of the lords of Beni Hasan for the proto-Theban Empire, etc.) represent not ordinary but professional children (buffoons, acrobats, young dancers, etc.), and often even professional adults. The present writer, however, thinks that these documents may be regarded scientifically, in most cases, as giving *indirect* information on the games of children, except where the scenes clearly represent the feats of acrobats. As a matter of fact, it is probable that certain feats of professionals are simply the improved form of the ordinary games of children (wrestling, jumping, etc.); or, as in our own time, children in their games imitated the actions which they saw professionals perform. We must not, therefore, make the very strict distinction that is sometimes made; and the system of Wilkinson's ancient manuals of including all in the same rubric is a good one to retain, though with the reservation which we have just stated.

6. Death.—In spite of all the medical knowledge attested by the papyri, infantile diseases exacted a heavy tribute from the population (see art. DISEASE [Egyptian]). They occurred continuously from birth to puberty. If there were a great many children in Egyptian houses of any rank, infant mortality reached a very high rate there, as throughout the whole of the ancient East. If there were no other evidence, we should find conclusive proof (1) in the number of royal heirs who died (*e.g.* in the XVIIIth dynasty the reigning king is often the third or fourth son); and (2) in the surprising proportion of children's coffins in the series of sarcophagi of the priestly families of the god Amon. The children of the lower and middle classes were often buried in the houses, being summarily placed in an old tool- or linen-box with some toys or amulets (cf. Budge, *Guide*, p. 78, for the toys from the tombs in the British Museum). Often two or three babies were buried together (cf., for details, Petrie, *Illahun*, p. 24, and Maspero, *Hist.* i. 318, with the bibliography on the subject). Children of the upper classes received the same funerary pomp in the family tomb as adults (good examples at Thebes; Petrie's recent work, *Gurneh*, London, 1909, p. 10, gives an excellent specimen of the burials of the infants of the middle class; see pl. xxiii.–xxv.): sarcophagi, statuettes, funerary furniture, etc. Theban examples are mentioned

placed in the tombs for the use of the souls of the dead. A certain number of these have been wrongly classed among the toys in the museums. Thus the toys imitating fruits, cited in Wilkinson, ii. 66, seem rather to be funerary offerings, and it is more than doubtful if we must reckon the small ivory image of a woman carrying an infant, cited among the toys in Budge, *Guide*, etc., p. 47, and (Room iii.), p. 178, as a *pre-historic* doll.

of a family having gone to really extraordinary expense for the funerary cult of a child prematurely removed by death. Lastly, the series of sarcophagi of the great priests (find. of Maspero and Grébault at Deir el-Bahari) show that children's coffins of this class were similar to those of the adult members of the family, and that their funerary destinies were conceived as the same in the life of the other world—an important fact to note in connexion with the beliefs regarding dead children.

7. Royal princes.—If we except the scenes in the harem and in the public life of the princesses of Amarna, and a few details of funerary archæology, information concerning royal childhood has made little progress since the time of the collections of the earliest Egyptology (*e.g.* Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*). Neither the temples nor the tombs have furnished any fresh instructive scenes on the matter, and papyri and inscriptions are practically dumb. Especially with regard to education or instruction, we are almost entirely ignorant of the early years of the royal children (the so-called moral teaching of Amenemhait I. to his son is merely a literary process); in a word, it is practically only the material aspect of this childhood that can be re-constructed.

Little is known about the early years of the royal princes. Most of the scenes and texts concerning them represent them chiefly as adults, beside the Pharaohs, in ceremonies or military operations. It is from some temple bas-reliefs, specially engraved to establish their claims to Divine origin, and to emphasize the fact that they were legitimate heirs to the kingdom, that we know the rites of their birth, in which the gods and goddesses played the part which was in reality played at court by the courtiers and the famous midwives of Egypt mentioned in Scripture (Ex 1[15]); *e.g.* at Deir el-Bahari for Hathepsitu, at Luxor for Amenhotep III., at Erment for Cæsarion. These details (cf. art. BIRTH [Egyptian], vol. ii. p. 646) find a valuable commentary in the popular tale of *Khufu and the Magicians*, in which, at the moment of birth, 'Isis placed herself before the pregnant woman, and Nephthys behind, while Hikit received the child' (cf., for the real commentary, a good detailed account in Maspero, *Contes populaires*[4], p. 38), and the massage performed by Khnumu ensured the strength of the little one.

The early infancy was passed in the harem (*khoniti*), as represented on the frescoes in the palace of Amarna, and it was probably when they were about four or five years old that the young princes went to live with their teachers in the special part of the palace called the *shapi*. From popular stories we know that the newly-born prince had nurses (*monait*), cradle-rockers, and coaxers (*khomu*), to bring him up. Paintings and statues of the Theban period show that these titles were afterwards court dignities, which were given to men also, and most frequently to very high officials. The stelæ of Abydos and the Qurneh frescoes have given us the picture of several dignitaries, men and women, fulfilling these functions, but without very exact details about their occupations. The usual theme—apart from the texts, or the enumeration of duties in the texts—includes care and education, representing the young prince on the knee of his governess or tutor. This is the conventional attitude by which the statues in the temples express the fact that the goddesses have brought up (in the mystic sense of the word) on their knees the young heir to the Egyptian crown (*e.g.* the bas-reliefs of Seti I. at Abydos). In a more real and also more poetic way the three statues of the royal tutor Sonmaut (Berlin and Cairo museums) represent him tenderly lulling the little princess Nofriurya, at the age of two or three years, on his knee, or

holding her wrapped up in the folds of his cloak. Owing to special circumstances, the little Amarna princesses, in the painted scenes of the necropolis, have the importance of, and the part elsewhere assigned to, the princes, and they also have a special place in the care of the owners of the various tombs; so that we find in their hypogea a series of about fifty scenes in which we see the king's daughters. With these representations we may also consider those of the palace, in which we see the games of the young princesses and the life of the royal harem (cf. Petrie, *Amarna*, 1894, pl. v. and vi.), and thus get a better idea than can be obtained anywhere else of what a royal child was in Egypt—in dress, life, and in its share in the official life.

Among the most characteristic representations we may mention: the princesses (1) accompanying their parents on a visit to the temple (cf. N. de Garris Davies, *Rock Tombs, Amarna*, London, 1902–09, i. pl. 22, iv. pl. 5, iii. pl. 8, vi. pl. 3); (2) present at the sacrifice (*ib.* ii. pl. 12) and at the court (*ib.* vi. pl. 17); (3) taking part in it, shaking the sistrum—an interesting proof of their sacerdotal office in early childhood (*ib.* ii. pl. 5, 7, 8, iv. pl. 23, 28, 31, 35, v. pl. 3, 16, vi. pl. 3, 26); (4) helping the king and queen to present the insignia of reward to the deserving functionaries (*ib.* ii. pl. 10, 33, iii. pl. 16, 17, vi. pl. 2, 7); (5) present at the 'triumph' of the king (*ib.* i. pl. 38); (6) taking part in official banquets, but, according to custom, sitting at their parents' feet on small stools (*ib.* iii. pl. 4, 6). The statues of the Boundary Stelæ (*ib.* v. pl. 23, 26) show that all these details are officially authentic; and from the whole we may assert the regular participation of the young princesses in the chief religious and civic functions of the public life of the king and queen.

Outside of Amarna we know very little about the childhood of princesses, though we sometimes find them represented in the tombs of royal nurses, or participating in the temple festivals (*e.g.* at Deir el-Bahari), or tenderly carried by the noble 'tutors of the royal children' (see above).

The dress of royal children is sufficiently well known from all the bas-reliefs, and has no special interest apart from the question of pure archæology. One part of it only deserves attention here, on account of its religious importance and the question of its origin, viz. the thick lock of hair which is left on the shaved head, and hangs down by the temple and the ear to the nape of the neck. Much discussion has taken place as to whether this custom was common to all young Egyptians, or only to certain social classes, or reserved for those of royal blood. The last view seems most correct, as far as the Ramses period is concerned; but the representations and hieroglyphic signs seem to indicate that the sons of feudal lords also had the lock of hair under the first Theban Empire, and children of lowly people (*e.g.* fisher folk, in the tomb of Ptahhetep) certainly wear a tress of this kind in some scenes. The fact that the children in a number of Memphite monuments (statues and bas-reliefs) are represented with the side-lock is not decisive, because these figures are meant to show that the dead man had a son for his worship who would accomplish the rites of the *sam* priest for him (see below), and these images may be copies of the royal cult (on this disputed point cf. Wilkinson, i. 49 f., ii. 325, and Erman, *Life*, p. 163). In any case, for royal children, the mummy of a young prince, discovered at Thebes by Loret, shows on the shaved head a magnificent tress of glossy plaited hair, exactly the same as the side-lock so often represented on the bas-reliefs and frescoes. What is most evident is that from the historical period the thick plait of hair assumed a religious value, and became a symbolical attribute distinctive of certain religious or civic functions. In the religious order it became the canonical part of the dress of the *sam* priest, and, with the panther's skin and the artificial beard, formed the costume of every officiant who took the part of the son, praying or sacrificing for his father. The same side-lock expresses the idea of childhood in sculpture—either by itself or represented on the shaved head of a child sucking his finger. In the figures of the gods, the lock is the necessary adjunct of all the deities who are considered by theology as son-gods, even when they are represented as adults with beards, *e.g.* all the figures of Horus-Pa-Khrodu (Harpocrates) or 'the child Horus,' those of Khonsu, Ahi, etc.

Lastly, in the official costume, the lock on the temple (natural or artificial) denotes in the ceremonies princes by blood or adopted royal sons. In the latter case, the tress of hair is often enclosed in a sort of case attached to the round cap, hanging on the side of the head, and ending in golden fringes. In a word, the lock or the case containing it (or taking its place) has become the equivalent of the idea of childhood, of descent with all its social consequences, exactly (as Wilkinson very happily remarks [ii. 326]) as the Spaniards still speak of a prince as an 'infant,' whatever his age may be.

8. **Conclusions.**—If we try to obtain from all these various details a general conception of the part and importance of the child in Egyptian society, we at once see the essential characteristic predominating: the child along with his parents forms one of the momentary 'aspects' of the collective soul—the family—and, when the time comes, must take it in charge and perpetuate it with his moral, material, and religious heritage. It is this idea that is so nobly expressed not only by the figures of single children, but by those of whole generations of the past, in the scenes of stelæ and the so-called 'banquets' of the Theban tombs (cf. *e.g.* the tomb of Pahiri at el-Kab), or the 'procession of the generations to the temple of Osiris'. This explains why children are 'the blessing of the family by the gods,' and why the want of heirs (as Chabas remarked at the very beginning of Egyptology) is the greatest calamity, as the popular tales show, for instance, in the story of the 'Predestined Prince' (Maspero, *Contes populaires*[4], p. 170), and better still in the 'True History of Satni' (*ib.* p. 132). The intervention of the gods warded off this misfortune by dreams, prayers, and oracles (*qq.v.*), chiefly in certain sanctuaries famous for this rôle, like those of Imhotep, or those of certain deified queens.

'O ye living beings,' says Amenaitis (in her temple at Medinet-Habu—inscriptions above the middle part), 'you who love your children, and who will pass in front of this chapel, you will transmit to your descendants your dignities, your houses . . . if you perform the festivals of the great god in this sanctuary. . . . Hathor will bring it to pass that your wives will bear you sons and daughters. And you will not suffer because of them, you will not be troubled on their account, for they will have neither sorrow nor sickness, if you recite the prayer: "Suton-hatpu-du, etc."'

It was a universally repeated wish that the child might some day 'sit on the seat' of his father as magistrate or functionary. 'To leave his offices and his dignities to his children' is the constant prayer on thousands of inscriptions, the supreme reward asked by officials, the perpetual theme of hymns, tomb-scenes, and didactic papyri. The love and watchful tenderness of parents in the papyri and representations do not arise solely from the kind-heartedness of the race, which put in the list of the worst sins before Osiris, 'taking away the mouth of the suckling from its mother's breast.' Nor, on the other hand, does it come, as has been too often asserted, from the selfish motive of ensuring the continuance of the funerary cult. A more noble philosophy results from the esoteric study of so many texts and scenes. Religiously speaking, the child is a continuation, one of the 'becomings' (*khopiru*) who, after his father, will incarnate something of the souls of his ancestors. The living are merely the temporary store of that collectivity which consists of the series of past and

future generations. Souls, dignities, property—the head of the house receives everything on the death of his father, whether he be a feudal prince or a simple agricultural tenant. He is the *résumé*, the passing aspect of this entity; and he is the usufructuary of their goods. His aim in this present existence is by his children to ensure, after he has left this world, the continuation of the double charge which has been entrusted to him. Love for his progeny, his participation, from the very earliest age, in the social and religious life of his family, and the affirmation of this participation by all possible means, are strongly marked on all the known monuments as the essential characteristics concerning the Egyptian child.

LITERATURE.—There is no special work dealing with the subject. What is known in written form about Egyptian childhood is to be found scattered throughout the classical writers, from whom we have given the chief references, and in the extracts from papyri, also cited throughout the article. The only two modern works which contain a sort of synthetic abridgment (but spread throughout several chapters—birth, dress, diseases, upbringing, education, etc.) of what concerns the child and childhood in Egypt are: (1) J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, London, 1878, i. 320–326, ii. 63, 325 f., 334, and iii. 422 (the work is ignorant of what has since been learned from the reading of papyri, but, although old, is valuable for the references to ancient authors, and for the studies of games and amusements like the Beni Hasan scenes); and (2) the excellent work of A. Erman, *Aegypten und aegypt. Leben im Altertum*, Tubingen, 1887 (Eng. tr. by H. M. Tirard, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1891), pp. 155–158, 163–166, 329–332, 359–362, etc. From the special point of view of magic for the use of children, we may also cite as of premier importance the monograph of Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, Berlin, 1901. The other references are scattered throughout the whole of modern Egyptological bibliography in the form of fragmentary citations. The chief of these have been given in the article. Some well-grouped information will be found in E. A. W. Budge, *A Guide to the Collections of the British Museum*, London, 1908, pp. 78–101, 178; and in G. Maspero, *Histoire*, vol. i., Paris, 1894, pp. 273 and 318.

The rest of the information must be culled from Egyptian monuments themselves, reproduced, translated, or annotated: statues, bas-reliefs, frescoes, papyri (see above, 'Documents'). As regards the games and toys of children specially, a good idea may be obtained from the description in the following museographic notices—(*a*) Berlin: Erman, *Verzeichnis*, etc., Berlin, 1900, pp. 221, 262, 281, 290, 376, 389, 459 (without illustrations); (*b*) London: Budge, *A Guide to the 3rd and 4th Rooms*, etc., London, 1905, Room iv. p. 180 (with plate); (*c*) Leyden: C. Leemans, *Description raisonnée*, etc., Leyden, 1840, p. 125 (without illustrations); (*d*) Cairo; Maspero, *Guide Cairo Museum*, Cairo, 1908, p. 235 (without illustrations); (*e*) Louvre: a brief reference in P. Pierret, *Dict. d'archéol. égyptienne*, Paris, 1875, p. 282, and some insufficient notes in E. de Rougé, *Notice sommaire*, etc., Paris, 1855 (Salle civile, armoire K). Cf. also good information in W. M. F. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, London, 1891, p. 24. GEORGE FOUCART.

CHILDREN (Greek).—Mutual affection between parent and child was always to be found among the Greeks; it is as manifest in Homer as in the latest epigrams of the *Anthology*. There is no need, therefore, to insist upon it; to the historical inquirer the chief interest in the Greek attitude towards children lies in the peculiarities which were due, partly perhaps to the inherited characteristics of the two main stocks from which the Greeks sprang; mainly, without doubt, to the influence of a changing environment.

It has often been stated that in many respects there was a moral decline after the Homeric period. There is no trace, for example, of either exposure or paederastia in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. If Professor Ridgeway is right, and Homer gives us the Achæan civilization which was imposed upon the Pelasgian civilization, it is easy to see how, as the Achæans died out (probably through the action of climate, as Hippocrates tells us that the inhabitants of malarious regions were dark-haired; *i.e.* malaria killed off the fair-haired Achæans) and the Pelasgians re-emerged, Pelasgian characteristics gradually became more and more prominent. Although paederastia in historic times was very common, if not universal, it is interesting to note that the one place in Greece where exposure of children was forbidden by law (Thebes [Ælian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 7]) is proved by Ridgeway (*Early Age of Greece*, 1901, i. 629) to have preserved an Achæan population until quite a late period. But at present our information is too scanty to justify any definite conclusion.

1. Continuity of the family.—The Greek desired to have children to help him in his old age (γηροτροφεῖν), and to secure that after his death all customary religious rites should be paid. The departed were supposed to become spirits, whose happiness depended upon the service of living descendants, and these in turn received a reward for their attention (Eur. *Alc.* 995 ff.). However inconspicuous this aspect of Greek life may be in literature, it was a reality which survived the decay of the State religion, being, in fact, quite independent of the worship of the Olympians. Isaeus (*Or.* ii. 10; cf. vii. 30) tells us that childless men on their death-bed took care to adopt children so that all customary rites might be duly performed. It was accordingly a disaster if the family died out (Æsch. *Choeph.* 500–509). Aristotle assumed as a matter of course that the best kind of happiness was impossible without εὐτεκνία (*Eth.* 1099*b*), which meant the possession of children, healthy and strong in body and endowed with intellectual and moral virtues. The Greeks were also quite conscious of the importance of rearing children to serve the State; and this duty is forcibly urged by philosophers, particularly by Plato and Aristotle.

2. Children regarded as a curse.—Occasionally in Greek literature is found the lament that the rearing of children is so uncertain in its issue that the wise man will refrain from having children of his own. The thought is common in the plays of Euripides and in the fragments of Democritus (Stobaeus, *Flor.* lxxvi.), while it reappears about a century later in the fragments of Menander and in the *dicta* of Epicurus. It is probable that the disturbances and disasters which troubled the Athenians at the close of the 5th cent. B.C., and again at the close of the 4th, were partly responsible for these outbursts of pessimism; in times of distress children are of course an additional anxiety. But instinct makes itself heard in spite of environment; in other places Menander (Stob. lxxv. 6, 8, 9) calls children a blessing, and Euripides (fr. 318) has written some of the most beautiful lines ever penned on the subject.

3. Duties of children.—That children should respect their parents is an elementary duty which the Greeks emphasized as strongly as any other people. It was one of the great 'unwritten laws' (Æsch. *Suppl.* 707–709, *Eumen.* 545; Xenoph. *Mem.* iv. 4. 20). Stobaeus devotes a whole chapter (lxxix.) of the *Florilegium* to the subject, quoting, among many other passages, a fragment of Alexis to the effect that the claims of religion are not superior to those of a mother, and one of Menander in which honour to parents is put on an equality with honour to the gods. Euripides (fr. 360) bids children love their mother, 'for there is no sweeter love than this.' The word he uses is a strong one (ἔρως), denoting passionate and even sentimental attachment. Xenophon, in his vindication of Socrates to the Athenians, makes this philosopher rebuke his son Lamprocles for ingratitude to his mother (*Mem.* ii. 2). Plato insists upon duty to parents in language of great solemnity (*Laws*, 717 D, 931 A); and at Athens at least there was a law which punished children who failed to look after their parents, or allowed them to suffer want (Isaeus, *Or.* viii. 32; Xenoph. *Mem.* ii. 2. 13).

4. Duties of parents.—Parents, on their side, were considered bound to care for their children's future, and the Greeks appear to have been extremely anxious to do their duty in this respect; so much so, in fact, that children were sometimes exposed in order that those who were brought up might be properly educated and started in life. Plato, accordingly, in his last work, the *Laws*, recommends parents to leave their children a legacy of the spirit of reverence (αἰδώς), rather than a store of gold (729 B).

5. Exposure.—It cannot be doubted that chil-

dren often suffered the fate of exposure. As has already been stated, Homer does not mention it, and it was illegal at Thebes, though elsewhere in Greece it appears to have been universal. The antiquity of the custom is proved by the Œdipus legend, and it may well have been a feature of Pelasgian civilization. This would account for the silence of the Homeric poems and for the Theban law, but further investigation will be necessary before the point is decided. In historical times the chief reason for exposing children was to avoid impoverishing the family, although in many cases (Eurip. *Ion, passim*) illegitimate children were abandoned in this way by their mothers. Greece is not rich in natural resources, and the economic distress that manifested itself in most places at the beginning of the historical period must have encouraged a practice which public opinion condoned or even sanctioned. Later on, when large numbers of slaves were imported to work as artisans or labourers, the difficulty of rearing large families increased. An innate dislike for manual labour prevented the rise of a free working-class, and the Greeks preferred to lessen the number of their children rather than the number of their slaves. The decline of Greece must, without doubt, be attributed partly to this cause. One passage of Plato (*Theæt.* 151 C), if it refers to exposure (as it almost certainly does), is a plain indication of the frequency of the practice. Socrates, comparing his method of cross-examination with the art of a midwife, says that many are angry when their pet ideas are taken from them, like a mother when her first-born is put out of the way. That is to say, in the case of children born later, the pain was less acute. The mother would get used to it!

At Sparta it was usual to expose sickly children, who were unlikely to grow up to be sturdy citizens; at other places, besides illegitimates, daughters were the chief sufferers. Stobæus (*Flor.* lxxvii. 7) has preserved a fragment of Posidippus to the effect that everybody, even if he is poor, rears a son, but exposes a daughter, even if he is rich. Daughters, of course, had to be provided with a dowry, while through sons alone could the family succession be maintained.

Exposure (*ἐκτιθέναι* or, in popular speech, *ἐγχυτρίζειν*) permitted the father to keep himself free from the stain of blood-guilt, even if the child died. So long as a man did not kill the infant with his own hands, he had no serious scruples about leaving it to perish of starvation. But often, perhaps usually, another fate awaited the 'encumbrance' which had thus been disposed of. Childless wives would sometimes impose a supposititious heir upon their husbands, or slave-dealers would bring up foundlings with a view to selling them later at a profit. Indeed there are indications that a parent often wished his child to be found, and exposed it in a place where discovery was certain. The legend of Œdipus, however, and the passage of Ælian which states that the Thebans 'might neither expose their children nor cast them forth in a deserted place' (*Var. Hist.* ii. 7), prove that lonely spots were sometimes deliberately chosen; in other words, it was desired that the child should die.

So far from condemning artificial restrictions of the population, the philosophers positively encouraged it. Plato, in his ideal commonwealth, would have all sickly children exposed (*Rep.* 460 C), and forbids parents to rear offspring from unions which are not within the age-limits fixed by the State (*ib.* 461 C). Aristotle (*Pol.* 1335*b*), while condemning exposure, recommends abortion to prevent overcrowding. He assigns an interesting reason for his preference. The act, he says, is moral or immoral according as sensation and life are not, or are, present. Aristotle thus differs from Plato in that he regards all developed human life as sacred. Both philosophers, however, deal with the matter from the point of view of the State, and are therefore strongly utilitarian.

6. General attitude.—It must be confessed that the Greeks were, on the whole, selfish in their attitude towards their children. In rearing children they thought more of themselves than of posterity. Even when they did look to the future, it was with the hope that coming generations would be like themselves. The notions of improvement and development were applied only to past history; the Greek (philosophers were sometimes exceptions) rarely imagined that the future might be better than the time in which he himself lived, and the thought, if it came, never influenced his conduct. 'My son,' says Ajax, 'mayest thou become luckier than thy father, but *like in all else*, and then thou wouldst be noble' (Soph. *Ajax*, 550). Greek aspiration seldom reached a higher level than this, and equally seldom fell below it.

But the Greeks, in spite of their selfishness, were not unsympathetic towards the young, and the parental instinct manifested itself not only in love of offspring, but also in sympathy with children generally. In the Homeric poems this feeling is expressed in many beautiful similes, although at the same time it is clear that orphans were treated with injustice and cruelty (*Il.* xxii. 482 ff.). The anecdotes of Herodotus are often inspired by a genuine love of children (v. 92, vi. 27, 61), and Thucydides (vii. 29) mentions the massacre of young scholars at Mycalessus as one of the most horrible incidents in the Peloponnesian War. Euripides sometimes heightens the pathos of his dramas by bringing children on the stage, while premature death is the theme of some of the most beautiful epigrams in the *Anthology*. In the Athenian courts the children of a defendant were sometimes introduced to arouse the pity of the jury.

7. Unnatural vice.—The vice of pæderastia was prevalent throughout the Greek world, and rarely met with moral condemnation. See CHASTITY (Greek).

LITERATURE.—L. Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, Berlin, 1882; G. Glotz, art. 'Expositio' in Daremberg-Saglio; J. P. Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece*, London (1898 ed.); K. Hartmann, *Der Grieche und das Kind*, Augsburg, 1905; K. J. Freeman, *Schools of Hellas*, London, 1907; C. A. Savage, *The Athenian Family*, Baltimore, 1907.

W. H. S. JONES.

CHILDREN (Hindu).—Just as the Hindus believe that human life in general is acted upon by supernatural forces, and that man is at every step in his course attended by good and evil spirits, so they recognize a very special operation of demonic power in all that befalls the child in its tender years. The helplessness of the infant—the suddenness with which it may pass from a state of perfect health to one of serious illness—tends to foster such a belief amongst a people naturally superstitious. Even in the mother's womb, they think, the influence of demons is already at work in the development of the embryo.

1. The child in the womb.—During the period of gestation every precaution must be taken to protect both mother and child against the machinations of evil spirits. Thus we find Suśruta, in his *Āyurveda*,[1] warning the pregnant woman against walking in the open air, or visiting such spots as are specially frequented by demons, viz. deserted houses, tombstones, and trees in places of burial. At the present day, as in ancient times, she must not sit or walk in the open compound, where the

[1] iii. 10. 1: *bahirniṣkramaṇaṁ śūnyagārachaityaśmaśānavṛkṣān pariharet*; cf. *Petavatthu*, i. 5: *Tiro kuḍḍesu tiṭṭhanti sandhisiṅghāṭakesu cha dvārabāhāsu tiṭṭhanti āgantvā na sakaṁ gharaṁ.*

evil spirits might injure her; and, as a safeguard against their malice, she constantly wears a slender reed five inches long in her top-knot.[1] Suśruta and other Hindu physicians of early date furnish lists of possible injuries to the unborn child (*garbhopaghātakara*), and with these they also give a warning against coming into contact with what is unclean or deformed. It was believed that miscarriage could be prevented by the performance of certain ceremonies. The so-called *garbharakṣaṇa*, or 'fruit-guarding,' according to Śāṅkhāyana,[2] took place in the fourth month after conception, and the same purpose was served, on the interpretation of Nārāyaṇa, by the ceremony which Āśvalāyana[3] calls *anavalobhana*.

While the Hindu physicians enumerate the physical causes of abortion, popular belief attributes the untoward event to the agency of demons. In the *Petavatthu*[4] a female demon says: 'A pregnant woman cursed me; I designed evil against her. Of wicked purpose I brought about the miscarriage. Her two-months' fœtus came forth as blood.' A child that dies because the prescribed ceremonies have been omitted is sometimes spoken of as a *preta*, 'spirit.'[5] There is probably some connexion between this and a certain custom found in Malabar, viz. that of opening the body of a woman who dies during pregnancy, so that the fœtus may be taken out and buried at her side.[6] In the third month[7] of gestation, according to the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, the *puṁsavana* used to be performed, the ceremony designed to secure male offspring. The observance of this rite in the Epic period is well attested, as, *e.g.*, by several passages of the *Mahābhārata*,[8] and by *Raghuvaṁśa*, iii. 10, where king Dilīpa is said to have performed in due order the various ceremonies, *puṁsavana*, etc., according to the joy (over the prospective birth of a son).[9] See also BIRTH (Hindu), vol. ii. p. 650b.

2. Infanticide.—The predilection for male offspring finds expression everywhere in the literature of India. 'In no case are girls a benefit'—thus the *Mahābhārata*[10]—'but a daughter is an infliction' (see also SEX). Even in ancient times the birth of a girl was an unwelcome event; and, in fact, the practice of killing female infants, which prevailed throughout India until the beginning of the 19th cent., and is still occasionally met with, can be traced back to the Vedic age: '. . . expose a new-born female child, but not a male.'[11] The passages in Sanskrit literature which refer to infanticide are, however, not very numerous. In Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*[12] it is told that a certain king, who was unhappy because he had but one son, desired to be informed of some means by which he might obtain many more. The Brahmans recommended him to kill his only son, and burn the flesh as a sacrifice. The idea that the first-born should be devoted to the deity as a thank-offering or propitiation[13] was, doubtless, an important factor in establishing the custom of infanticide. Until the beginning of the 19th cent. the sacrifice of the first-born to the Ganges was a universal practice.[1] But infanticide in India is not to be explained wholly by the desire to get rid of a female child as a useless and burdensome thing, or by the notion of making an expiation to the deity; it rests in part also upon the belief in evil omens, and the superstitious dread of the mischiefs attendant upon birth. Before British influence began to assert itself in opposition to the cruel custom, the fate of the new-born child lay entirely in the hands of the astrologer. If the latter declared that the day of birth was unpropitious, or that the child had been born under sinister auspices, it was made away with at once. Even in the 19th cent., in spite of every check imposed by the British Government, the practice was to some extent still persisted in. With reference to the Kandhs, a tribe in Southern Bengal, Dalton,[2] on the evidence of a report from the year 1857, writes as follows:

> 'When a child is born, an astrologer called a Jani or Desauri is summoned and consulted by the parents. If from this test it be predicted that the child is not likely to prove a blessing to its parents, but rather that misfortune may befall them if they attempt to rear it, the living infant is placed in a new earthen pot and removed in the direction of the point of the compass from which, if the child were spared, evil might be expected, and buried. A foal is sacrificed over the grave.'

The belief that the sacrifice of a child averted disaster and appeased the resentment of demons, and, in particular, the custom of entombing girls, or first-born children generally, in walls to prevent their collapsing, find frequent mention in reports of the last century.[3] At the present day the practice, though it can hardly be said to be finally eradicated, is at all events carried on with such secrecy as in great measure to evade public notice, and seems to be confined to the killing of new-born female children. In Baroda, according to the superintendent of the census, indubitable indications of the sacrifice of female infants are found among the Lewa Patidars of certain Kulin villages, and the tables which he furnishes certainly show a remarkably small percentage of girls.[4]

3. Children of good or evil omen.—Everywhere in India the first-born of a family is regarded as peculiarly sacred. It was at one time the universal practice for married couples who had long remained childless to sacrifice the child that at length was born to them.[5] The Nairs used to offer up their first-born son to Mātā, the goddess of smallpox.[6] According to *PNQ*,[7] the first-born were forbidden to marry. The natives of Telingana believe that the first-born attracts the lightning.

Other superstitions, again, cluster around the child who comes after a certain number of children of the opposite sex. The conception that takes place after two births is called *trikhal*, and is regarded as unlucky, especially among the inhabitants of Jampur. Efforts are made in this case to induce miscarriage, which accordingly is of frequent occurrence; and there is, indeed, ground for suspecting that, when the steps taken have not been successful, the child eventually born is killed.[8] In the Panjab, *trikhal* denotes a child born after a succession of three children of the opposite sex. The birth of such a child involves the parents in such calamities as death, loss of property, fires, and the like. Evil consequences also attend the birth that follows that of a *trikhal*. The child itself is predestined to early death, and recourse must be

1 Bose, *The Hindoos*², 1883, p. 293.
2 *Śāṅkh. Gṛhya Sūtra*, i. 21: *chaturthe māsi garbharakṣaṇam.*
3 *Āśv. Gṛh. Sūtr.* i. 13; on this Gargya Nārāyaṇa observes: *yena nāvalupyate tad anavalobhanam.*
4 i. 6. 6, 7: *Sapati me gabbhinī āsi tassa pāpaṁ achetayiṁ sāhaṁ paduṭṭhamanasā akariṁ gabbhapātanaṁ. Tassa dvemāsiko gabbho lohitañ fleva paggharī.* Similarly in i. 7, 8.
5 *PR* i. 245.
6 Ploss, *Das Kind*², i. 109.
7 So Gobhila, ii. 6. 1; Khādira, ii. 2. 17; Hiraṇyakeśin, ii. 2. 2. Pāraskara (i. 14. 1, 2) gives the 2nd or 3rd month, and Āpastamba the time when pregnancy becomes outwardly apparent (vi. 14. 9). For the particular forms of this ceremony, cf. Bloomfield, *SBE* xlii. (1897) 356 f., 460 f.
8 i. 31. 24 ff.; 62, 26; [illegible], 10; 120, 40; iii. 115, 35.
9 *Yathakramaṁ puṁsavanadikaḥ kriyā dhṛteś cha dhiraḥ sadṛśir vyadhatta saḥ.*
10 i. 159. 11 f. (ed. Tawney, 1880).
11 *Kaṭh.* xxvii. 9; cf. Yāska, *Nir.* 3, 4, *Taitt. Saṁh.* vi. 5. 10. 3.
12 xiii. 57 ff.
13 Cf. the legend of Śunaḥśepa, whom Hariśchandra intends to offer up instead of his own son, Rohita (*Ait. Br.* vii. 14 ff.; *Śāṅkh. Gr. S.* xv. 18 ff.).

1 *PR* ii. 160.
2 *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 289.
3 *PR* ii. 174.
4 *Census of India*, 1901, i. 116.
5 H. A. Rose in *FL* xiii. [illegible]
6 Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Calcutta, 1872-81, iii. 66.
7 iii. 1[illegible].
8 Rose, *loc. cit.*

had to various expedients in order to avert the misfortunes foreboded by its very birth.[1]

The birth of twins was another object of superstitious dread. In ancient India such an event was regarded as unclean and fraught with evil.[2] According to *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii. 9. 8, if the wife of one who is engaged in a sacrificial ceremony bears twins, or if his cow gives birth to twin calves, an expiation is necessary, while the *Kauś. Sūtr.* (109) also prescribes an expiation for the birth of twins.[3] The *Atharvaveda pariśiṣṭa*[4] speak of the occurrence as a calamity.

4. The influence of demons.—By reason of the uncleanness inevitably associated with birth, the new-born children themselves were frequently regarded as demons (*bhūta*), until their hair was cut for the first time. Some of the jungle tribes deem it unnecessary to guard an infant against wicked spirits before it takes solid food, as until that time it is simply a *bhūt* itself.[5]

The idea that children are exposed to the malevolence of demons is already found in the Veda. As a means of protection against Jambha, a demon who snatches children, the mother gives her child the breast.[6] To Vedic times likewise belongs Nejameṣa (otherwise Naigameya or Naigameṣa), to whose agency the Hindu physicians attribute various diseases of children, though in the Veda itself[7] he is invoked as the deity who helps men to obtain offspring.[8] Suśruta mentions nine demons (*graha*)—four male and five female (*pūtanā*). Chakradatta[9] enumerates twelve female demons, called *mātṛkā*, who from the 1st to the 12th day of the month or year, may pounce upon a child and taint it with disease.

At the present day, many tribes regard the fifth night after birth as a time of peculiar peril. The Marāthās of Nāsik believe that the evil spirit called Sathī, accompanied by Burmiya, a male demon, invades the lying-in room about midnight, and, casting the mother into a stupor, kills or deforms the child. The Vadāls of Thāna have the idea that Sathī, as the god of birth, may during the fifth night come in the form of a cat, hen, or dog, and devour the child's heart and skull.[10] In Bihār, mothers are very careful never to call their children by name at night, as the Jaileya, who then assumes the form of a night-bird, has the power of sucking the blood of any one whose name he hears.[11] In the higher ranks of N. India it is believed that demons may obtain power over the new-born child through the father, and consequently the latter does not even look at the infant until such time as the astrologer declares to be favourable.

5. The evil eye.—See Evil Eye (Hindu).

6. Protection against the power of demons.—The wearing of talismans as a means of defence against the evil eye, and, indeed, against every form of demonic agency, is universal among Hindu children. Among the Badagas of the Nīlgiri Hills, nearly every child carries, suspended from the neck, a small disk-shaped amulet of clay taken from under the funeral piles of burned corpses.[12] On the other hand, the ashes gathered from such a pile are considered to be noxious to children; and it is believed that, in cases of consumption, the disease is due to a demon who has thrown ashes over the victims. The demon who afflicts children in this way is called Masān (Skr. *śmaśāna*, 'place of burial'), and is very generally regarded as the spirit of a child.[1] As the evil spirits have a great liking for milk, the Panjābi mother is careful to keep her child within doors just after he has drunk new milk. But, if she cannot prevent him from going out, she puts a little salt or ashes in his mouth, thinking thereby to ward off the *bhūt*.[2]

For the purpose of dislodging demons, the manuals of Hindu physicians not only prescribe ointments, medicines, sprinklings, fumigations, and the like, but also recommend that special sacrifices, accompanied by invocations, be made to a particular *graha*. To Naigameṣa, for instance, a libation is offered, with the invocation that the 'god of high renown with the goat's face, who assumes any shape at will,' may protect the child.[3] As the diseases of children were frequently attributed to demonic agency even in cases where the physical causes of the malady were quite unmistakable, magical expedients were in ancient times sometimes sought after in order to avert evil results. Thus in *Atharvaveda*, v. 23, we have a spell for exterminating worms in children. According to *Kauś. Sūtr.* xxix. 20 ff., the practitioner, reciting the spell, placed the sick child upon the lap of its mother to the west of the fire, and warmed its palate by stroking it three times to and fro with the bottom of a pestle heated at the fire.[4]

The cutting of the first teeth, which was believed by Hindu physicians to be a prolific source of the diseases incidental to childhood,[5] is referred to in *Atharvaveda*, vi. 140. The appearance of the upper teeth before the lower betokens that the parents are in danger of death.[5] By way of averting the danger, the hymn referred to is recited, in combination with a ceremony consisting of a distribution or offering of rice, barley, or sesamum, of which both the child and the parents partake (cf. also Charms and Amulets [Indian]).

7. Ceremonies belonging to the period of infancy.—No special rite was associated with the child's first teething as such. The leading functions of the period of infancy were the *birth ceremony*, the *naming*, the *feeding with rice*, and the *hair-cutting*. To these are sometimes added the *ceremonial washing*, the child's *first outing*, and the *ear-boring*.

The ceremony called *jātakarman* took place immediately after birth, and, in the case of a male child, it was performed before the umbilical cord was severed.[7] It consisted in feeding the child with honey and butter, *mantras* being recited the while (see Birth [Hindu], vol. ii. p. 651).[6] A ceremony, connected with the washing of the child eight days after birth, can possibly be traced even in Vedic times. That the object of the rite was to repel the assault of demons seems a probable inference from *Atharvaveda*, viii. 6. 1: 'The two spouse-finders which thy mother washed for thee when born,—for them let not be greedy [the demon] Durṇāman, the Aliṁśa, nor the Vatsapa.[9] Nowadays in Northern India the rite of *nahāwan*

[1] Rose, *loc. cit.* p. 64.
[2] Cf. J. v. Negelein, *ARW* v. 271 ff.
[3] For other references, see Weber, *Indische Studien*, 1868, xvii. 296 ff., and Bloomfield, *op. cit.* 360; cf. art. Twins.
[4] ed. Bolling and v. Negelein (Leipzig, 1909 ff.), i. 433; cf. Weber, 'Zwei ved. Texte uber Omina u. Portenta,' *ABAW* (1859), p. 322 f.
[5] *PR* i. 245.
[6] *Atharvaveda*, vii. 10; cf. *Kauś. Sūtr.* xxxii. 1.
[7] *Khila*, xxx. 1, in Max Müller, *Rigveda*², iv. 540; Scheftelowitz, *Apokryphen d. Rigveda* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 130.
[8] Winternitz, *JRAS*, 1895, pp. 149-155.
[9] 406-412; similarly *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* (ed. Tarte, Bombay, 1888) and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (ed. Kunte², Bombay, 1891).
[10] *PR* i. 265.
[11] G. A. Grierson, *Bihār Peasant Life* (Calcutta, 1885), p. 408.
[12] Jagor, in *Bericht d. Berliner anthrop. Gesellsch.* (1870).

[1] *PR* i. 259.
[2] *PR* i. 237.
[3] Suśruta, vi. 36. 8; cf. Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 70.
[4] Bloomfield, *op. cit.* 452 f.
[5] Cf. also Jolly, *op. cit.* p. 68.
[6] Keśava on *Kauś. Sūtr.* xlvi. 43-46; cf. Bloomfield, p. 540.
[7] Manu, ii. 29: *prāṅ nābhi vardhanāt puṁso jātakarma vidhīyate.*
[8] *Āśv. Gṛhya Sūtra*, i. 15. 1; *Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra*, i. 17. 1; *Pārask. Gṛhya Sūtra*, i. 16. 4.
[9] *Atharvaveda*, ed. Whitney-Lanman (Harvard Or. Ser.), p. 494; cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* v. 252. The reference to the ceremonial washing of the young child, conjectured by Weber, is doubtful. According to *Kauś. Sūtr.* xxxv. 20, the hymn is ritually employed in connexion with the *sīmantonnayana*, a ceremony performed in the 8th month of a woman's pregnancy.

(Skr. *snapana*), or ceremonial washing, which is intended to safeguard both mother and child, is performed on an auspicious day at least two days after birth.[1]

From ancient times the ceremony of 'naming' (*nāmakaraṇa, nāmadheyakaraṇa*) took place on the tenth or twelfth day after birth—likewise the day on which the mother rises from bed (see NAMES [Hindu]). The legendary literature of Buddhism shows that the naming ceremony was an important function in the social life of ancient India. In the *Jātakas* the day of naming (*nāmagahaṇadivasa*) is repeatedly mentioned;[2] the *Mūgapakkhajātaka*[3] speaks of a great feast given on that day to the Brahmans who were called in to forecast the child's future from the auspicious marks (*lakkhaṇa*). At the present day, likewise, the festival of naming ranks as the most important of all the ceremonies connected with birth, as may be gathered from the graphic sketch of Cornelia Sorabji, *Sun-babies*, p. 93:

'The naming ceremony outrivalled the birth ceremony. It was a thrilling social function, and all the great ladies of the neighbourhood were bidden to it. According to Dubois (*Hindu Manners*, p. 158), the father of the child, holding it in his arms, seats himself on the little raised platform of earth and performs the *saṁkalpa*. By his side is a copper dish full of rice. With the first finger of his right hand, in which he holds a gold ring, he writes on this rice the day of the moon, the name of the day, that of the constellation under which the child was born, and finally the name that he wishes to give him. He then calls three times by this name in a loud voice.

This ceremony ended, he gives a present to the presiding *purohita*, distributes betel to all the Brahmins present; and then all take their place at the feast which has been prepared. As soon as it is finished, the master of the house again offers betel to his guests, and also presents, if he is rich enough.'

The duty of giving the name, however, which in the above sketch is discharged by the father, devolves in some tribes upon other relatives, more particularly a maternal uncle or the grandfather. Among the Badagas of the Nilgiri Hills the mother's brothers are summoned to the festival, and the oldest of them, taking the child in his arms, gives it a name approved of by the parents. Likewise among the Nairs, in Malabar, it is the maternal uncle who holds the child and decides what its name shall be.[4] As regards the date of the naming ceremony, however, the practice of non-Aryan tribes shows a divergence from the Brāhmanic ritual, which, as above stated, fixes the festival for the tenth or twelfth day after birth. The Badagas choose a date between the twentieth and thirtieth. On the twenty-eighth day, the Nairs, in the presence of invited witnesses, let the child have its first taste of cow's milk, and give it a provisional name, while the permanent name is not bestowed till six months or more have elapsed, when the child also partakes of rice for the first time. Similarly, the Vedans, a slave caste of Southern India, associate the naming ceremony with the child's first meal of rice, the double function taking place eight or nine months after birth.[5]

Among the Brāhmans the child is weaned and receives solid food for the first time in the sixth month after birth.[6] This forms the occasion for a special ceremony called *annaprāśana*, of which Dubois[7] writes as follows:

'For this occasion they choose a month, a week, a day, and a star, which all combine to give favourable auguries. A *pandal* is erected, which is ornamented all round with *toranams*, or wreaths of mango leaves, some of which are also hung over the entrance door of the house, the inside of which has been carefully purified by the women. . . . The mother, holding the child in her arms, and accompanied by her husband, seats herself beside him on the little platform of earth which has been set up in the centre. The *purohita* advances towards them, performs the *saṁkalpa*, offers, firstly, *homam* in honour of the nine planets, then a sacrifice to fire, to which he presents clarified butter and betel for *neiveddya* (Skr. *naivedya*). When he has finished, the women sing verses expressing their good wishes for the future happiness of the child, and perform *aratti* over him.'

The *annaprāśana*, according to the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, is preceded, in the fourth month after birth, by the ceremony of *niṣkramaṇa*, the child's first outing.[1] This ceremony is also designated *ādityadarśana* ('the seeing of the sun').

The ceremony of hair-cutting (*chūḍākaraṇa*, *chaula*) is performed three years after birth. This solemn function, according to *Āśv. Gṛh. Sutr.* i. 4, must take place at a propitious time and under a constellation of beneficent aspect.[2] As observed to-day in families of standing, it is described by Dubois[3] as follows:

'The Brahmins who are invited assemble under the *pandal* after having performed their ablutions. The child is brought in by his father and mother, who seat him between them on the little earthen platform. . . . The *purohita* then draws near the child . . . and performs the *saṁkalpa*, and also offers *homam* to the nine planets. He next traces on the floor in front of the child a square patch with red earth, which they cover with rice that has the husk on. . . . The child is made to sit near the square patch, and the barber, after offering worship to his razor, proceeds to shave the child's head, leaving one lock at the top, which is never cut. . . . The entertainment generally ends with a feast and the distribution of presents to the Brahmins.'

The rite of cutting the hair, as is stated also in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, iii. 28, marks the time for beginning the education of the young Hindu. At about the same age the children of both sexes have their ears bored—the ceremony of *karṇavedha*,[4] which, according to Dubois, is observed with a ceremonial similar to that of the hair-cutting. In some tribes, however, as, *e.g.*, the Nairs and Badagas already referred to, the rite of piercing the ears takes place on the day of naming, and among the last-mentioned people is performed by the maternal uncle.[5]

8. Premature close of the period of childhood.—In the case of boys and girls alike, the period of childhood is shorter in India than in Western lands. So far, indeed, as the term 'childhood' connotes the qualities of innocence and inexperience, the thing cannot really be said to exist among the Hindus. Almost from infancy the children share the family life of their parents, and are accustomed to look at the events belonging thereto as something quite natural, and to discuss them in the manner of their elders—with the result that the most pronounced feature in the character of Hindu children is precocity. With this, again, they combine a marvellously fertile imagination, which is moulded and fostered by the superstitious ideas of their environment. The ideal products of this faculty stamp themselves upon the mind of the young Hindu with such force as to become practically ineffaceable, and assert a lifelong ascendancy over him.[6]

In Hindu families belonging to the higher castes, that which the young must learn, first of all, is the precise observance of the various sacred rites; and this also makes it natural for them to copy the grave deportment of their elders. In the ranks of the common people, where occupation is determined by heredity, the son of the artisan, even in childhood, handles his father's tools, and the son of the peasant learns to hold the plough from his earliest years. The Hindu girl, on her part, must of necessity be trained in all departments of house-

1 *PR* ii. 25; cf. G. A. Grierson, *op. cit.* 388 f.
2 e.g. *Jat.*, ed. Fausböll, ii. 2, iii. 122, iv. 7.
3 vi. 3.
4 Ploss, i. 105.
5 Jagor, *loc. cit.* p. 199.
6 Manu, ii. 34; Yājñ. i. 12.
7 *Op. cit.* p. 157.

1 *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra* i. 17; Manu, ii. 34.
2 For details of the ritual, see Hillebrandt, 'Ritualliteratur' (*GIAP* iii. 2), p. 49 f.
3 *Op. cit.* p. 158 f.
4 For references in Skr. literature, see R[illegible]kantadeva, *Śabdakal[illegible]adru[illegible]a* (Calcutta, [illegible]), s.v. 'Kar[illegible]vedha.'
5 Ploss, i. 297.
6 Cf. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*, p. 175 f.: 'The atmosphere is full of the supernatural—evil-minded ghosts and bogies, the kindly spirits of the ancestral dead which sit round the hearth, the ogre and vampire which haunt the burial-ground or the old village trees: with all of which the child, even in infancy, becomes acquainted.'

work before entering, while but a child herself, upon her own married life.

LITERATURE.—H. Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch u. Sitte d. Völker*[2], 2 vols., Leipzig, 1884; J. Jolly, *Recht u. Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896 (*GIAP* ii. 8), also *Medicin*, 1901 (*ib.* iii. 10); A. Hillebrandt, *Rituallitteratur*, Strassburg, 1897 (*GIAP* iii. 2); W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, new ed., 2 vols., London, 1896, also *Natives of Northern India*, London, 1907, pp. 173–183: 'Child-life'; Dalpatrām Dayā, *Bhut Nibandh*, tr. A. K. Forbes, Bombay, n.d.; J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], tr. H. K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906; Cornelia Sorabji, *Sun-babies: Studies in the Child-life of India*, London, 1904; *Petavatthu*, ed. Minayeff, London, 1888 (*PTS*); *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, together with extracts from the ritual books and the comm., tr. Maurice Bloomfield, Oxford, 1897 (*SBE* xlii.).

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CHILDREN (Iranian).—**1.** A desire for children in themselves, as distinguished from a general affection for them after they are born, may be said to be a mark of a settled community and of an advancing civilization. We find this, for instance, among the Hebrews at the very dawn of their existence, and ancient Persia furnishes a second conspicuous exemplification of the principle. While exposure was occasionally practised (see ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE [Persian]), and while deformed or idiotic children were regarded as a curse (cf. *Yasna* xi. 6), offspring are explicitly said to be a blessing. Thus a special object of longing was 'sturdy, proficient offspring, enacting the community-laws for the assembly, growing up in harmony, working weal, delivering from anguish, of good understanding, who may advance both my house, and my village, and my tribe, and my country, and the glory of my country' (*Yasna* lxii. 5, cf. lx. 7, lxv. 11; *Yašt* xiii. 134, xxiv. 3; *Vendīdād* xxi. 6–7). In conformity with this desire, prayers and sacrifices were offered in the hope of obtaining children (*Yasna* ix. 22, lxv. 11, lxviii. 5, 11; *Yašt* xiii. 134, xv. 40). Ormazd himself formed and protected the unborn infant (*Yašt* xiii. 11), and abortion was, accordingly, a sin (*Yašt* xvii. 57), and was punished as a heinous crime of 'malice prepense and aforethought' (*baōðō-varšta* [*Vendīdād* xv. 9–19; cf. *Artā-Vīrāf*, ed. Haug and West, xliv., lxiv., lxxviii.]). Not only is the married man better than the celibate, and the man with children preferable to one without offspring (*Vendīdād* iv. 47), but childlessness is in itself a curse (*Yasna* xi. 1; *Yašt* x. 110), and that land rejoices where children abound (*Vendīdād* iii. 2–3). Children were given not only by Ormazd (*Yašt* xiii. 11), but by Mithra (*Yašt* x. 65, 108), Haoma (*Yasna* ix. 22), Ashi Vanuhi (*Yašt* xviii. 5), Vayu (*Yašt* xv. 40), the Waters (*Yasna* lxv. 11), the Fire (*Yasna* lxii. 5; *Vendīdād* xviii. 27), and the Fravashis (*Yašt* x. 3, xiii. 11, 15, 22). The Avesta enjoins, moreover, that infants be treated tenderly (*Yasna* x. 8), and be protected until the age of seven years, when they are able to defend and nourish themselves (*Vendīdād* xv. 44–45; cf. *Dīnkart*, ed. Sanjana, iv. 263, Bombay, 1883). Cruelty to a child is a crime (*Vendīdād* xiii. 23), punished with grievous torments in the next world (*Artā-Vīrāf* xlii., xliii., lix., lxxxvii., xciv., xcv.).

2. It has been noted above that one of the Avesta epithets applied to a child is 'delivering from anguish' (*azō-būji* [*Yasna* lxii. 5; *Yašt* xiii. 134, xix. 75]). This term receives its elucidation in the Pahlavi *Shāyast lā-Shāyast*, dating perhaps from the 7th cent. A.D., which states (xii. 15; cf. x. 22 [West, *SBE* v. 345, 325]):

> 'The rule is this, that one is to persevere much in the begetting of offspring, since it is for the acquisition of many good works at once; because in the Spend and Nihāṭūm Nasks [parts of the Avesta no longer extant] the high-priests have taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dāmdāṭ Nask [another lost book of the Avesta] it is revealed thus: "Likewise, too, the good works, in like manner, which come to the father as his own."'

The Persian *Sad-dar*, based on a Pahlavi original, repeats this statement of the *Shāyast lā-Shāyast*, and adds the fanciful etymology that *pūr*, 'son' (Avesta *puθra*), is identical with *pūl*, 'bridge' (*pūr* and *pūl* being written with the same characters in Pahlavi script), 'for by this bridge they arrive at that other world' (*Sad-dar* xviii. [West, *SBE* xxiv. 278–281]). This etymology of 'son' as the 'bridge' by which the parent is enabled to cross the Chinvat bridge to heaven is curiously, although probably accidentally, analogous to the Sanskrit interpretation of *putra*, 'son,' as the one who 'saves' (*trāyate*) his father from the hell *put* (cf. Scherman, *Material. zur Gesch. der ind. Visionslitteratur*, Leipzig, 1892, p. 39 f., and the references in Böhtlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, *s.v.* 'Put').

3. Classical allusions to infants in Persia are few (Rapp, *ZDMG* xx. 108–109). Herodotus (i. 136) states that, next to bravery in war, abundance of offspring was reckoned the highest honour, and that the king sent annual gifts to the fathers of the largest families. He also adds that, until the age of five, the infant was not admitted to its father's presence, but was brought up with women, lest, if it should chance to die, it might cause its father distress. Strabo (xv. 3. 17) repeats the gist of this statement, adding that the Persians had numerous wives and concubines for the sake of offspring. He restricts the period of exclusion of children from their father's presence to the age of four, whereas Valerius Maximus (ii. 6) raises it to seven. Finally, it may be noted that Procopius (*de Bell. Pers.* i. 23) states that infants were frequently placed in other families for their training. While this may have been done, and, if the *Shāh-Nāmah* may be believed, was done, at least in sporadic cases among noble families, there is no evidence that the practice was general in the period of the Avesta itself.

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LOUIS H. GRAY.

CHILDREN (Parsi).—From a strictly religious point of view there is nothing special to be remarked about the childhood of a Parsi child. It is held to be innocent, and not liable or subject to the performance of any religious duties or rites. If it dies before the *Naojot*, or the investiture of the sacred shirt and thread (cf. vol. ii. p. 408, and art. INITIATION [Parsi]), its funeral ceremonies are on a lesser scale. In the case of an adult, whether male or female, belonging to the lay class, the appellation *behdin* is prefixed to the name in the recital of ceremonies. When a man belongs to the priestly class, the appellation is *ervad*, if he has passed through the initiatory ceremony of priesthood (*Nāvar*); it is *oshtā* (Avesta *hāvishta*, i.e. 'a disciple'), if he has not passed through the ceremony. In the case of a female of the priestly class, the appellation is *oshti* (fem. of *oshtā*); but in the case of a child, whether belonging to the priestly or layman class, it is *khurd*, i.e. 'small' or 'young.' This appellation signifies that the deceased person was too young, and that it had no responsibility, for duties or rites as a Zoroastrian.

At or about the age of six, the child has to begin to learn by heart a few religious prayers—especially those falling under the head of, and attached to, the *Nirang-i-Kusti*, i.e. the recital for putting on the sacred thread. These must be learnt for the coming occasion of the *Naojot*, when the child is to be invested with the sacred shirt and thread. After this investiture the child's name ceases to be recited as *khurd* in the prayers at religious ceremonies, but is recited as *behdin* or *oshtā*, as the case may be, *i.e.* as it belongs to the lay or to the priestly class.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

CHILDREN (Roman).—In a society based on the agnatic principle and the *patria potestas*, the maintenance of the family and its *sacra* was a matter of the most vital interest and importance; and for this reason the children born in lawful wedlock, and especially the boys, were objects of the utmost care and solicitude. For this reason, too, the paterfamilias had the power of declining to accept a new-born child if he were deformed, or, in the father's judgment, unsuited to be a member of the family and the State; the children must be of good omen, and fit to come in contact with the *sacra*. If not *susceptus* by the father, the child was exposed, and might or might not survive to find some unhappy lot in life (Lactantius, vi. 20, 23). The early pontifical law does, indeed, seem to have enjoined the rearing of every male child and the eldest of the female ones, and to have subjected the right of exposure to the sanction of five neighbours (Dionys. ii. 15); but of this we hear nothing in historical times. In the degenerate days of the late Republic and early Empire, the duty of rearing children was neglected; and Augustus found it necessary to have recourse to legislation, and to rewards and penalties, in order to recruit the citizen population. The *lex Julia et Papia Poppæa* was intended to compel men and women of full age to marry and have children, by subjecting the recalcitrant to certain disabilities, and to reward fruitful marriages by relieving women who had borne a certain number of children (three in Rome, and four in Italy) from the tutory of their parents or agnates, and conceding various privileges to parents of children born in lawful wedlock (see Muirhead, *Hist. Introd. to the Private Law of Rome*², London, 1899, p. 304). Augustus also gave specific money rewards to plebeian families well furnished with children (Suetonius, *Aug.* xlvi.).

If a child was accepted by the father, there was still an interval of nine days for a boy, and eight for a girl, before it received its name and was admitted into the family; and in this period it was liable, as the old Romans believed, to be vexed by evil or mischievous spirits (see the curious bit of folklore quoted from Varro by St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 9). But such spiritual dangers were at an end when the religious rites of the *dies lustricus* had been successfully performed. What exactly these rites were, we do not know; but the word *lustricus* implies a religious 'purification' akin to that of other examples of *lustratio*, and a sacrifice is mentioned by Tertullian (*de Idol.* xvi.). At the same time the infant received its name, was admitted into the family, and thereby also into the *gens* to which the family belonged, and was potentially a member of the State. The danger from evil influences was now averted by hanging on its neck the amulet known as the *bulla*, which was worn until the age of puberty.

In the simple home life of the more primitive Romans there is little doubt that the mother suckled her own children; but the only definite evidence of this is in Plutarch's *Life of Cato the Elder* (ch. xx.), whose wife is said to have adhered to the old custom. The practice of employing a *nutrix* for this purpose must have come in early; in a fragment of Varro's book, *de Liberis Educandis* (*Nonius*, 494, *s.v.* 'Annis'), we find him advising that the nurse should be young: 'annis enim, ut sanguis deterior, sic lac.' Tacitus (*Dial.* xxviii.), contrasting the usage of his day with that of the olden time, writes of children being reared in the cottage of a slave-nurse. Nevertheless, the fondness of Roman mothers for their babies is well attested in literature, and inspired both Catullus and Virgil with some of the most beautiful lines they ever wrote. Those in Catullus (lxi. 213 f.: 'Torquatus volo parvulus Matris e gremio suae,' etc.) were in Virgil's mind when he wrote the last four lines of his fourth *Eclogue*, where, after the birth of the babe, it is called on to recognize its mother with a smile (see Mayor, Fowler, and Conway, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, 1907, p. 70 ff.). In *Æn.* vii. 518 we have in six words a picture of the mother pressing her baby to her breast as she hears the sound of the war-trumpet ('Et trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos'); and in *Georg.* ii. 523 another picture of the little ones, in the happy life of the farm, clinging to their mother: 'Interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati.' Under the Empire the affection of parents is abundantly attested in the many sepulchral inscriptions which express the bitterness of the loss of children. The epithets which continually recur are 'dulcissimus,' 'carissimus,' 'pientissimus,' 'suavissimus,' 'innocentissimus.' Many of these may be conveniently referred to by using the index to Wilmanns' *Exempla Inscriptionum Lat.*, Berlin, 1873, vol. ii. p. 683, *s.v.* 'Filiae, filio.' A single specimen may be given here (no. 247): 'Memoriae aeternae M. Ameli infantis dulcissimi et incomparabilis qui vixit annis viiii m. ii. d. xiii., qui sibi ante mortem rogavit quam parentibus suis.' Some of Martial's epigrams bear witness to the same tender feeling, especially the beautiful one on the infant son of Bassus (vii. 96).

Roman children had, of course, their troubles and their joys, like all others. Lucretius twice mentions their fears in the darkness (ii. 55, iii. 87):

> 'Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia caecis
> In tenebris metuunt, sic nos in luce timemus
> Interdum, nilo quae sunt metuenda magis quam
> Quae pueri in tenebris pavitant finguntque futura.'

He also turns to his own account the sweetening of the lip of the bitter medicine-cup by the mother, in order to deceive the little patient (i. 936). On the other hand, they had plenty of games; they built houses, rode hobby-horses, played with dolls, whipped tops (see Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 814). As they grew bigger, the favourite games were 'nuts,' of which Ovid mentions several kinds in his poem entitled *Nux*, and at which Augustus liked to play with small children (Suet. *Aug.* 83); and 'king,' to which Horace alludes in *Epist.* i. 1, 59 (cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 15). Games with balls were also played freely by both young and old.

But children had also certain duties to perform in the family, and chiefly religious ones. As soon as they were old enough, they learnt—no doubt from the mother—the code of family *pietas*. We may perhaps take a passage of Prudentius (*c. Symmachum*, i. 197 f.), too long to be quoted here, as representing this training, for, even in the late Empire, family religion survived with little change. Children alone, if we may trust Columella (*de Re Rust.* xii. 4), were allowed access to the *penus* (the store-closet of the old Roman household), as being pure and undefiled, for that closet was the seat of the Penates, and, in some mysterious way, holy. After the libation at each family meal, it was a boy who announced that the deities were propitious (Serv. *ad Æn.* i. 730). These religious duties, with others of which we are not told, were probably the original reason for the dress of children up to the age of puberty, viz. the purple-striped toga (*praetexta*), which was also worn by priests and curule magistrates, *i.e.* by all who had a right to perform religious acts (see *Classical Review*, x. [1896] 317 ff.), and which seems to have been associated with the idea of the sanctity of childhood. Children were also freely employed in religious duties outside the family, as *camilli* and *camillæ* (acolytes) in acts of the State religion, and as such are constantly represented on the

monuments (see, *e.g.*, Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, ed. Anderson, 1895, plate xix. 1–3, from the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus). In Henzen's *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (Berlin, 1874, Exordium, p. vii), we find boys attending as *ministri* on the Brethren, after the manner of the old Roman family, and taking their own meals sitting on stools; these were sons of senators with both parents living. At the *Ludi sæculares* in 17 B.C. the 'Carmen saeculare' of Horace was sung by two choirs of 27 boys and 27 girls, also children of living parents (*patrimi et matrimi*), *i.e.* of entirely good omen for religious purposes, trained by the poet himself (*Od.* IV. vi. 29 f.). The presence of children, too, as spectators at this famous celebration is specially mentioned, with the provision that in the nightly part of the proceedings they are to be in the charge of their parents (Suet. *Aug.* xxxi.).

The discipline of the family properly belongs to art. EDUCATION (*q.v.*), but a few facts may be mentioned here. In the best and strictest Roman families, at all periods, the young children were in the care of the mother, for which the common expression was 'in gremio (*or* in sinu) matris' (Cic. *Brutus*, ccxi.). Plutarch tells us of Sertorius, a Sabine of the old type, that he was admirably brought up by a widowed mother, whom he always continued to love. Of the young Agricola we hear much the same (Tac. *Agric.* iv.: 'in huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus'). Pliny the Younger, in two letters (iii. 3. 3 and iv. 19. 6), uses the word *contubernium* of this relation of the child to its mother, adapting it from its use for the relation of a youth to a general in the field. In the second of these passages he says that, in the care of the mother to whom he writes, the child has never seen anything but what is 'sanctum honestumque': and this *pudor* or *verecundia* was one of the best features of the true Roman home life. It is well illustrated in the account given by Plutarch of the upbringing of his son by the elder Cato (*Life*, ch. xx.): 'He was as careful not to utter an indecent word before his son, as he would have been in the presence of the Vestal virgins.' As a boy grew older, he naturally came into closer relation to his father, who would take him out to dinner with him, or to hear funeral orations on great men (Marquardt, *op. cit.* 89, and notes). So in *Æn.* v. 74, the boy Ascanius accompanies his father to the rites (*parentalia*) in honour of the dead Anchises; and the relation of father and son throughout the *Æneid* is plainly that to be found in the Roman family. With the father, too, if living in the country, he might work on the farm, and the rough, simple, and homely life of boys under such conditions is often alluded to in literature; see especially Cato in *Festus*, p. 281, where the words used to describe it are 'parsimonia,' 'duritia,' and 'industria.'

No doubt, there was much degeneracy in later times. Possibly Tacitus, in *Dial.* xxviii. f., gives an exaggerated account of it; but the passage is an extremely valuable one in any case. The children, he says, are now put in charge of a Greek nursemaid, with a couple of slaves of low type to help, whose tales are attractive but coarse. No one in the household thinks for a moment what he should or should not do or say before a child of the family; the parents themselves accustom the children by indulgence to *lascivia* and *dicacitas*, pertness and sauciness. The result is the loss of the old *pudor*, and want of respect both for self and for others: 'The children's minds are full of acting, gladiators, chariot-racing; for what else does one now hear talked about in a household?'

Another feature of Imperial times, which was not altogether a happy one, was the *alimentationes*, or system of public support for children, which was begun by Nerva, organized by Trajan, and continued by Hadrian. Augustus had admitted children to his largesses ('congiaria' [Suet. *Aug.* xli.]), and it seems probable that many private persons left legacies for the support of young children in the *municipia* in which they were interested, for we know of at least two cases of such benevolence (*CIL* x. 5056, and v. 5262; the donor in the latter case was Pliny himself, see his *Letters*, vii. 18). No doubt the circumstances were urgent, and it was necessary to do all that was possible to secure the growth of a healthy population, if only for the defence of the Empire; but, in all probability, the results in the long run were unfortunate. The hardy, independent character of the old Roman, so largely the result of the sensible treatment of the children, gradually disappeared under the socialistic nurture of well-meaning emperors. (On the whole subject of the alimentations and the provision made for them, see art. 'Alimentaria,' in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. i.)

LITERATURE.—This is given sufficiently in the article.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

CHILE.—I. *ETHNOLOGY*, etc.—The native populations of Chile are not racially homogeneous. To the extreme north of the country the inhabitants are of the Aymara race—a Peruvian people of Bolivian origin, who, with the Quichua (a cognate race), composed the population of Incan Peru at the period of the Spanish Conquest. The mythology of this people will be dealt with in art. PERU. South of the River Cobija, however, is found a stock celebrated in Chilian history as the most dreaded foes encountered by the Spaniards in any South American country, namely, the Araucanians. Still farther south, the Patagonians and Fuegians may be regarded as of the same ethnological group as the Araucanians, having been driven to the inhospitable lands which they now inhabit by the pressure of their more powerful neighbours.

The Araucanians, who are akin to various tribes living in the western regions of the Argentine Republic, are divided into several sub-families. They call themselves Alapuche, or 'Children of the Soil,' and the various *gentes* into which they are subdivided are (1) the Picunche, or 'Men of the North,' whose northern boundaries are formed by the River Maule; (2) the Pehuenche, the most numerous, the actual descendants of the original Araucanian tribes, dwelling in the Pehuen or Araucania country; (3) the Huilliche, or 'Men of the South,' occupying the country between the coast and the Pehuenche; and (4) the Puelche, or 'Men of the East,' living in Argentine territory. To the south of these are the Tehuelche, or Patagonians proper, and the Ona, Yahgan, and Alakalouf of Tierra del Fuega, who are principally of Araucanian stock.

The Araucanians are of average height, of a pale yellow colour, very vigorous and muscular, and of a shapely and graceful appearance. They number at the present time probably between 30,000 and 40,000 persons, many of whom are semi-civilized, but, like most other indigenous American races, they are gradually disappearing, chiefly through the agency of epidemics, insobriety, and the marriage system, which permits polygamy in the case of the elderly and wealthy members of the tribe, but dooms the younger and more vigorous male members to celibacy, with results disastrous to the continuance of the race. They are of a freedom-loving and warlike disposition, are fearless horsemen, and treat their women and children with more consideration than do the majority of Indian tribesmen. They subsist in some districts by the chase, but the majority are

not ignorant of agriculture, and are expert cattle-raisers and herdsmen.

II. *RELIGION.*—1. **Totemic origin of Araucanian mythology.**—The testimony of the post-Conquest Spanish historians would appear to show that the Araucanians formerly possessed a totemic system, upon which their mythology was probably based. Each family or division of the tribe was distinguished by the name of an animal—guanaco, ostrich, tiger, lion, etc.; and these were regarded as the eponymous ancestors of the tribe or family named after them, who believed that after death they would rejoin them in a sacred cave set apart for their worship, and with them eternally wallow in blissful drunkenness.

2. **Idea of a Supreme Being.**—Whether these ideas of their origin were common to all the Araucanian tribes or to a portion only is not clear, but it would seem that they were confined more to the southern divisions of the race. Early accounts of Araucanian mythology credit them with a much more exalted theogony. They were held to acknowledge a Supreme Being, the author of all things, whom they called *Pillan*—a name derived from *pulli* or *pilli*, 'the soul,' and signifying the Supreme Essence. *Pillan* is, according to the Austrian missionary Dobrizhoffer (*Abipones*, London, 1822, ii. 101), their word for 'thunder.' They also called him *Guenu-pillan*, 'the Spirit of Heaven'; *Buta-gen*, 'the Great Being'; *Thalcove*, 'the Thunderer'; *Vilvemvoe*, 'the Creator of all'; *Vilpepilvoe*, 'the Omnipotent'; *Mallgelu*, 'the Eternal'; and *Annolu*, 'the Infinite,' besides many other lesser names. The Araucanian idea of Pillan proves that the native tribal life was but a microcosm of his celestial existence. All was modelled upon the heavenly polity of Pillan, who was called, in his aspect of Supreme Ruler, *Toquichen*, or 'the Great Chief' of the invisible world. As such he had his *apo-ulmenes* and his *ulmenes*, or greater and lesser sub-chiefs, as might the headman of any prairie confederacy; and to these he was supposed to entrust the administration of his affairs of lesser importance.

3. **Origin and mythological affinities of Pillan.**—In this figure it is easy to trace resemblances to a mythological conception widely prevalent among the indigenous American peoples. Pillan is unquestionably a thunder-god, and in this respect is similar to such deities as the *Hurakan* of the Kiche of Guatemala, the *Tlaloc* of the Mexicans, and *Con* or *Cun*, the thunder-god of the Collao of Peru. The gathering of clouds round great mountain-peaks like those of the Andes, and the resultant phenomena of thunder and lightning, kindle in the savage mind the idea that the summits of these mountains are the dwelling-place of some powerful supernatural being, who manifests his presence by the agencies of fire and terrifying sound. Supernatural beings of this kind are usually described by the Indians as being red in colour, having neither arms nor legs, but moving with incredible swiftness, difficult of approach because of their irascibility, but generous to those who succeed in gaining their favour. They are in general placated by libations of native spirit, poured into the pools below the snow-line, and in case of drought are roused from inactivity by the sympathetic magic of 'rain-making,' in which the magician or priest sprinkles water from a gourd over the thirsty soil.

4. **Inferior deities.**—The *ulmenes*, or deities subservient to Pillan, are several in number. The chief of these is *Epunamun*, or god of war, whose name is apparently of Peruvian origin. He may have been a type adopted from the Incan sun-idol Punchau Inca, or the 'Sun-Inca,' depicted as a warrior armed with darts. There can be little doubt that the mythology of the Araucanians, as opposed to their mere demon-worship, was highly coloured by, if not altogether adopted from, that of their Peruvian neighbours, the Aymara. And when we find that this Peruvian sun-idol was originally brought to the Incan court by a chief of the Collao who worshipped Cun (adored by the Araucanians under the name of Pillan), it would seem as though Epunamun, with his Peruvian name and probable likeness to Punchau, was also of northern origin, or had been semi-consciously adopted by the Araucanians from the Aymara. Others of these inferior deities were *Meulen*, a benevolent protector of the human race; and the *Guecubu*, a malignant being, who is the author of all evil. He is also known as *Algue* or *Aka-Kanet*, or at least the similarity between him and the deities or demons bearing these names is so strong as to lead to the supposition that they are one and the same, although Aka-Kanet is the power appealed to by the priests, who is throned in the Pleiades, who sends fruits and flowers to the earth, and is alluded to by the name of 'grandfather.' But, as Müller remarks, 'dualism is not very striking among these tribes'; and, again, 'the good gods do more evil than good' (*Amer. Urreligionen*, Basel, 1855, pp. 265, 272). Molina, however, who lived among the Araucanians for many years, says, speaking of the *Guecubu*:

> 'From hence it appears that the doctrine of two adverse principles, improperly called Manicheism, is very extensive, or, in other words, is found to be established amongst almost all the barbarous natives of both continents' (*Hist. of Chili*, 1809, vol. ii. ch. v. p. 85).

He goes on to compare the *Guecubu* with 'the Aherman (Ahriman) of the Persians,' and says that, according to the general opinion of the Araucanians, he is the cause of all the misfortunes that occur. If a horse tires, it is because the *Guecubu* has ridden him. If the earth trembles, it is because the *Guecubu* has given it a shock; nor does any one die who is not suffocated by the *Guecubu*. The name is spelt 'Huecuvu' by Falkner in his *Description of Patagonia*, and is translated as 'the wanderer without,' an evil demon, hostile to humanity, who lurks outside the encampment or on the outskirts of any human habitation for the express purpose of working malignant mischief upon the unwary tribesmen—a very familiar figure to the student of anthropology and folklore.

5. **Cosmogony.**—It is not clear to which of their gods the Araucanians gave the credit for the creation of all things, and it is probable that, as mentioned above, they imagined that one or other of the totemic beings from whom they were supposed to be descended had fashioned the universe. They had, however, a very clear tradition of a deluge, from which they were saved by a great hill called *Theg-Theg*, 'the thunderer,' which had three peaks, and possessed the property of moving upon the waters. Whenever an earthquake threatens, they fly to any hill shaped like the traditional *Theg-Theg*, believing that it will save them in this cataclysm as it did in the last, and that its only inconvenience is that it approaches too near the sun. To avoid being scorched, says Molina, they always kept ready wooden bowls to act as parasols (*op. cit.* ii. 82).

6. **The Gen, or beneficent spirits.**—The *ulmenes*, or lesser spirits, of the celestial hierarchy of the Araucanians are the *gen* ('lords'), who have the charge of created things, and who, with the benevolent *Meulen*, attempt in some measure to stem the power of the *Guecubu*. They are of both sexes, the females being designated *amei-malghen*, or spiritual nymphs, who are pure and lead an existence of chastity, propagation being unknown in the Araucanian spiritual world. These beings,

especially the females, perform for men the offices of familiar spirits, and all Araucanians believe that they have one of these minor deities or angels in their service. 'Nien cai gni Amchi-Malghen' ('I still keep my guardian spirit') is a common expression when they succeed in any undertaking. These minor deities remind us forcibly of the totemic familiars of many N. American Indian tribes, who are adopted by them at puberty, and appear to them in dreams and hypnotic trances to warn them concerning future events; and it is probable that the *gen* and *amei-malghen* are the remnants of a totemic system.

7. Worship and ritual.—The likeness between things spiritual and things material is carried still further by the Araucanians; for, as their *ulmenes*, or sub-chiefs, have not the right to impose any contribution or service upon the common people, so they deny to supernatural beings any need for worship or gifts. Thus no outward homage is ordinarily paid to them. There is probably no parallel to this lack of worship in the case of a people possessing clearly defined religious ideas and conceptions of supernatural beings. 'They possess neither temples nor idols, nor are they in the habit of offering any sacrifice except in some severe calamity, or on concluding a peace' (Molina, *op. cit.* ii. 87). Upon such occasions the offerings usually consisted of animals and tobacco, the latter being burned as incense, and supposed to be peculiarly agreeable to their gods. This custom is reminiscent of that of the N. American Indian peoples, with whom the Araucanians exhibit some points of resemblance in the ceremonial use of tobacco, such as blowing the smoke to the four cardinal points, as a sacrifice to the god of the elements, probably Pillan. On urgent occasions only were these sacrificial rites employed, when Pillan and Meulen chiefly were adored and implored to assist their people. The absolute indifference of the Araucanians to mere ritual was well exemplified by the manner in which they ignored the elaborate ritualistic practices of the early Roman Catholic missionaries, although they displayed no hostility to the new creed, but tolerated its institution throughout their territories.

8. Priesthood.—Although the Araucanians did not practise any rites, they were not behind other American aboriginal peoples in their observance of numerous superstitions. They were firm believers in divination, and paid marked attention to favourable or unfavourable omens. Appearances in dreams, the songs and flight of birds, and all the usual machinery of augury were pressed into the service of their priests and diviners; and the savage who dreaded naught on the field of battle would tremble violently at the mere sight of an owl (Molina, *op. cit.* ii. 87). The owl was regarded by the Araucanians (as by the Mexicans, Kiche, Mayas, Peruvians, and Algonquins) as sacred to the lord of the dead. 'The Owl' was one of the names of Mictlantecutli, the Mexican Pluto, whose realm of the dead was supposed to be situated in the cold and dreary north; and the wind from that quarter was imagined by the Chippewas to be made by the owl, as the south wind by the butterfly. In fact, among nearly all American tribes the owl was a symbol of esoteric wisdom, and from such facts as this we gain confirmation of the original unity of the religious conceptions of the American race. In the *Popol Vuh*, owls are mentioned as the emissaries of the lords of Xibalba, the realm of the departed; the Creek priests carried with them the stuffed skin of one of these birds; the Arikara placed one above the 'medicine stone' in their council lodge; and the culture-hero of the Monqui Indians of California had, like Pallas Athene, an owl for a retainer.

The priests, or rather diviners, were called by the Araucanians *gligua* or *dugol*, and were subdivided into *guenguenu*, *genpugnu*, and *genpiru*, meaning respectively 'masters of the heavens,' 'of epidemics,' and 'of insects *or* worms.' There was also a sect called *calcu*, or 'sorcerers,' who dwelt in caves, and who were served by *ivunches*, or 'man-animals,' to whom they taught their terrible arts. The Araucanians believed that these wizards had the power to transform themselves at night into nocturnal birds, to fly through the air, and to shoot invisible arrows at their enemies, besides indulging in the malicious mischief with which folklore credits the wizards of all countries. Their priests proper they believed to possess numerous familiars who were attached to them after death—the belief of the 'magicians' of the Middle Ages. These priests or diviners were celibate, and led an existence apart from the tribe, in some communities being garbed as women. Many tales are told of their magical prowess, which lead us to believe that they were either natural epileptics or ecstatics, or that disturbing mental influences were brought about in their case by the aid of drugs. The Araucanians also held that to mention their real personal names gave magic power over them, which might be turned to evil ends.

9. Ideas of immortality.—The Araucanians firmly believed in the immortality of the soul. They held that the composition of man was twofold—the *anca*, or corruptible body, and the *am* or *pulli*, the soul, which they believed to be *ancanolu* ('incorporeal'), and *mugcalu* ('eternal *or* existing for ever'). So thoroughly a matter of everyday allusion had these distinctions become, that they frequently made use of the word *anca* in a metaphorical sense, to denote a part, the half, or the subject of anything. As regards the state of the soul after its separation from the body, they differed from one another in their beliefs. All the Araucanians held that after death they would go towards the west, beyond the sea—a conception of the soul's flight which they held in common with many other American tribes. The west, as the 'grave' of the sun, was supposed also to be the goal of man, when the evening of his days had come—a place where the tired soul might find rest.

'The old notion among us,' said an old chief, 'is that, when we die, the spirit goes the way the sun goes, to the west, and there joins its family and friends who went before it' (Hawkins, *Sketch of the Creek Country*, Savannah, 1848, p. 80).

The country to which the Araucanians believed their dead to go was called *Gulcheman*, 'the dwelling of the men beyond the mountains.' The general conception of this Other-world was that it was divided into two parts, one pleasant, and filled with everything that is delightful, the abode of the good; and the other desolate and in want of everything, the habitation of the wicked. Some of the Araucanians held, however, that all indiscriminately enjoyed eternal pleasures, saying that earthly behaviour had no effect upon the immortal state. The hazy nature of their belief concerning the spirituality of the soul was strongly evinced by their funerary practice.

The relatives of the deceased person seated themselves around his body and wept for a long time, afterwards exposing it for a space upon a raised bier, called *pilluay*, where it remained during the night. During this time they watched over and 'waked' it, eating and drinking with those who came to console them. This meeting was called *curicahuin*, or the 'black entertainment,' as black was the symbolical colour of mourning with them. About the second or third day the body was laid to rest in the *eltum*, or family burying-ground. The *eltum* was usually situated in a wood or on a hill, and the procession to it was preceded by two young men on horseback riding full speed. The bier was carried by the nearest relatives of the deceased, and surrounded by women who mourned and wept during the entire ceremony. On arrival at the *eltum*, the corpse was laid on the ground, and surrounded by arms in the case of a man, or by feminine implements in that of a woman. Provisions, *chica*

(native spirit), wine, and sometimes even a dead horse, were placed beside the deceased to serve him in the Other-world. The Pehuenches believed that the Other-world was cold, and so sought to warm the corpse with fire, after which they bound it to a horse, placed the bridle in its hand, killed the steed, and buried both together in the grave. The relatives and friends of the dead man then wished him a prosperous journey, and covered the body with a pyramid or cairn of stones, over which they poured large quantities of *chica* spirit.

After they had departed, an old woman called *Tempuleague* was thought to come to the grave in the shape of a whale, and transport the soul of the deceased to the Other-world. Probably the Araucanians of the Chilian coast were acquainted with the spermaceti, or southern variety of whale, and regarded it as the only method of locomotion by which a spirit could be conveyed across the great waters, or it is probable that they borrowed the conception from the Peruvians of the coast, who regarded the sea as the most powerful among the gods, and called it *Mamacocha*, or 'mother sea.' The whale was also a general object of worship all along the Peruvian coast, whilst each of the Peruvian coastal districts worshipped the particular species of fish that was taken there in the greatest abundance. This fish-worship did not in any way partake of the nature of mere superstition, but was defined with great exactness, the fish-ancestor of each 'tribe' or variety of fish being given a special place in the heavens in the form of a constellation. The Collao tribes to the south also worshipped a fish-god on the shores of Lake Titicaca, some fifty miles or so from the Chilian frontier; so that in all likelihood this fish-goddess of the Araucanians was originally borrowed in its general conception from the Collao, who were probably ethnologically akin to the Araucanian tribes. This theory becomes almost certainty when we take into consideration the nature of the fish-deity worshipped by the Collao, the name of which was *Copacahuana*, 'valuable stone to be looked upon,' from the circumstance that the idol was carved from a bluish-green stone, having the body of a fish surmounted by a rude human head. This deity, like *Tempuleague*, was female.

The deceased, however, must pay a toll to another old woman, of malicious character, for permission to pass a narrow strait on the road; upon failure to make this payment, it was supposed that she would deprive him of an eye.

The life after death was regarded as very similar to the earthly existence, but was without fatigue or satiety. Husbands had the same wives, but the latter had no children, as the Other-world was held to be inhabited by the spirits of the dead alone.

Certain vestiges of sun- and moon-worship were also visible among some tribes, who designated the sun *Anti*, and the moon *Kayan*. The recognition of these luminaries as deities, however, was desultory and probably seasonal only.

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CHILIASM.—See MILLENNIUM.

CHINS.—See BURMA.

CHINA.—The question whether China possesses any indigenous system which may properly be described as 'religious' is one which has occasioned much controversy, the opinions elicited being generally determined by the definition of 'Confucianism,' expressed or implied by the several parties, whether as including the preconceptions which date from pre-historic times in China, or as limited to the comparatively modern school of philosophy based upon the canonical books which were edited and transmitted by Confucius (551–479 B.C.), and interpreted by Chucius (A.D. 1130–1200). If the latter, and obviously more correct, definition of Confucianism be accepted, it may be admitted that there is little in this system which fulfils the popular characterization of 'religion'; but it is important to bear in mind that the politico-moral philosophy which is designated as 'Confucianism' is based upon a much more ancient system, in which religion, properly so-called, occupies a paramount position.

It must not, therefore, be assumed, because Confucius never professed to be a religious teacher, in the popular sense, though claiming to fulfil a Heaven-sent mission, that the Chinese are devoid of religious ideas and an established cult, for there are many unequivocal evidences in Chinese literature of the existence of religious beliefs and practices, both before and after Confucius's time, and these are reflected in the Imperial sacrifices at the Altar of Heaven in Peking at the present day, as described in art. CONFUCIAN RELIGION.

Why the obligations of religion are not more clearly enunciated in the teaching of Confucius is partly explained by the fact that the avowed object of his mission was the tranquillizing of the various States, which, in his days, pretended to acknowledge the suzerainty of the 'Central State,' or 'Middle Kingdom.' Under the feudal conditions which had been introduced during the Chow dynasty some 500 years earlier, these States had become so hopelessly disunited that the country was ravaged by incessant war, leading to the neglect of agriculture; and the slaughter of a vast number of able-bodied citizens had produced such confusion and distress that immediate legislation was required. To this end, Confucius, and many another contemporary teacher whose profession was seriously affected by the prevailing conditions, travelled from State to State, endeavouring to recall men not so much to religion as to peace, by emphasizing the ancient maxims, and by reinforcing the theory of 'Divine right' by which the lord paramount ruled, and from which the principles of subordination and the duties pertaining to the several classes derived their supreme importance.

From this point of view it may be seen that Confucius was not a religious teacher, although the system from which his own teaching was derived, and which has in a measure survived him, was eminently religious. To him it seemed that the men of his day, like the Athenians to whom St. Paul preached, were 'too superstitious'; and, when the history of those days is studied, and the perversions of religion which were commonly exhibited are noted, it is easy to understand why he should have adopted an attitude of strict reticence towards the popular observances, seeking to restrain rather than encourage the superstitions which were then so prevalent, while he devoted his best efforts to the revival of that practical morality which he considered to be of transcendent importance, and which, when traced to its ultimate source, would be found to spring from religious motives.

It is not necessary to dwell on Confucius and his message in this connexion (see art. CONFUCIUS), but it may be well to examine somewhat more closely the materials from which he developed his own peculiar system, and from which are derived the religious ideas which have continued in China, more or less independently of Confucianism, until the present day. The sources of information which are available for this purpose are: (*a*) the primitive characters or 'pictograms,' which afford unmistakable evidence as to the ideas which existed long anterior to the time of Confucius; and (*b*) the ancient writings which he edited, and which exist, in a somewhat mutilated condition, in our own day.

(*a*) *The witness of the ancient pictograms.*—Two of these 'characters,' of undoubted antiquity, will serve to indicate what may be predicated as the original idea of the Chinese with regard to the conception of God, viz. *Tien*, or 'Heaven,' and *Ti*, or 'Supreme Ruler.' The character repre-

senting 'Heaven' is composed of the two primitives, 'one' and 'great' (一 and 大 combined thus 天), and conveys the idea of the One Great Being or Power who dwells above, and who, in a special sense, controls the destinies of the 'world,' *i.e.* the 'Empire,' which is described as 'Under Heaven.' There is, however, another method of writing the character, which may be even more ancient than this, and which suggests a rough picture of a human being, viz. 夫, thus strengthening the supposition of the attribute of personality as attaching to the 'Great One.' This inference is further supported by the fact that 'God,' who is constantly referred to as synonymous with 'Heaven,' is represented by a name which is found in the most ancient Chinese writings, and which is explained as meaning 'the Supreme,' *i.e.* *Ti* (帝), frequently qualified by the prefix *Shang*, meaning 'above'; thus *Shang-ti*=the 'Supreme Ruler on High.' These terms have been applied interchangeably, from time immemorial, to the supreme object of veneration in China; and, in the earliest references, they are introduced, without any attempt at explanation or definition, as ideas long established and thoroughly familiar.

It is sometimes concluded that, because the Chinese character for 'Heaven' is less complex than that for 'God,' the latter must represent a later and more developed idea; in other words, the conception of Heaven was predicated as first in the order of time, and from this was evolved that of a Supreme Being residing in the empyrean. It does not, however, follow, because the symbol employed to convey the notion of God is more elaborate than that adopted to depict Heaven, that the idea involved therein is of more recent date. On the contrary, it might be argued that, phonetically, *Tien* is derived from the simpler *Ti*, and that the procession of ideas in ancient China advanced from God to the heavens, as was admitted even by the sceptical philosopher Chucius, who, when asked whether that *Li* (meaning 'Principle' or the 'Reason of things'), which he described as synonymous with *Ti*='God,' positively existed before Heaven and Earth, replied that such was most certainly the case.

From these facts the opinion has been very naturally deduced that the earliest religious ideas of the Chinese were monotheistic; and, though Buddhistic accommodations of *Tien*, to convey the idea of *deva* ('god'), and Taoistic applications of *Ti* to deceased emperors, have served to degrade the primitive simplicity and purity of these terms, it may be shown, by quotations from the canonical books, and by the observances of the Imperial cult, that the monotheistic idea was maintained in the time of Confucius, and survives to the present day. This reflexion opens up vistas of enthralling interest, when it is realized that, even beyond the forty centuries of history which pertain to these written characters, there must have been a long period, of which few unequivocal traces remain, when those ideas were current which were afterwards stereotyped in the written symbols which have come down to us; for, if the ancient pictograms can claim an antiquity so remote, how much older must be the preconceptions which they were intended to enshrine!

(*b*) *The witness of the ancient canons.*—The fact that, in the first historical allusions to religious matters in China, there are traces of theological ideas which seem to conflict with the original monotheism, does not weaken the force of the argument as to the purity of the original conceptions, since these ideas are exhibited as of the nature of new developments; and the incongruity between the earlier and the later practices (where the spirits presiding over the phenomena of Nature, and the *manes* of deceased worthies, are admitted to a share in the worship offered to the Deity) may be explained as analogous to the veneration of saints and mediators which is found to exist *pari passu* with a profound belief in the unity of the Godhead.

Little weight is attached, even by Chinese writers, to the early rulers, Fu-hi (2852 B.C.), Hwang-ti (2697 B.C.), and others, to whom are ascribed the organization of sacrifice, the building of temples, the establishment of the worship of the ancestral spirits or powers of Nature, and the adoption of music as a liturgical adjunct. Yet it is important to observe that, among the later hypotheses which seek to throw light upon the mystery of the prehistoric period, no attempt is made to account for the origin of religious observances—the existence of God, and the possibility of entering into communion with Him, being assumed as a necessary and instinctive belief. The canonical history, as accepted and transmitted by Confucius, begins with Yao (2356 B.C.), to whom the posthumous title of 'Emperor' was applied, and who is characterized as being sincerely religious, in the traditions by means of which later historians attempt to amplify the brief statements of Confucius in the *Shu King*, or Canon of History. In connexion with Shun, his successor (2255 B.C.), and those who followed him, during the fourteen centuries covered by the history, there are numberless references to the ancient faith, and many expressions are employed which seem to be a re-echo of the primal revelation. The record of Shun's reign is introduced by the statement that, on his accession to the throne of Yao, he offered 'the customary sacrifice' to Shang-ti. The phrase '*customary* sacrifice' is, by some authorities, interpreted to mean the '*round* sacrifice,' *i.e.* that offered upon the round altar or hillock which was supposed to represent the shape of Heaven; but, in any case, the reference implies a well-known and old-established method; and this is confirmed by what follows: 'He sacrificed specially, but *with the ordinary forms*, to Shang-ti,' etc.

Thus, at the very earliest period of Chinese history, in the case of the first monarchs whom Confucius recognized as authentic, though he made no profession of being a religious propagandist, we find religious observances occupying a paramount place; and throughout all the later history, as recorded in the 'Canon of History' (*Shu King*) and as illustrated in the 'Canon of Odes' (*Shih King*), the same phenomenon is observable. This is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that, in the one book which Confucius himself composed (the 'Spring and Autumn' [*Ch'un Ch'iu*], or Annals of his own State of Lu), there are no such references; and in the conversations recorded by his disciples the name of Shang-ti is only once mentioned; and the discussion of transcendental subjects is distinctly deprecated: 'Confucius always refused to talk of supernatural phenomena . . . or of supernatural beings' (*Analects*, viii. 20). In the two Canons referred to —*i.e.* the Canon of History and the Odes—the fortunes of kings and dynasties are inseparably connected with the performance or neglect of religious duties. One instance out of many will suffice to illustrate this fact. When Show (1154 B.C.), the last ruler of the Yin dynasty, proved unworthy of the 'decree of Heaven' which gave him the throne, Wu-wang took up arms against him, claiming a mandate from Heaven for his action, and denouncing the unrighteous monarch as failing to reverence Heaven above, and neglecting the worship of

Shang-ti. The result was the overturning of the dynasty and the establishment of a new line of rulers, that of the Chow dynasty. Similar examples are available, both in the earlier and in the later history, where it is shown that even the 'Son of Heaven'—as the monarch is entitled—must forfeit his high estate if he fails to fulfil his duties as the vicegerent of God.

During the reign of Shun there are allusions to certain practices which seem to be of the nature of new developments. Ancestor-worship and that of the 'host of spirits' are definitely mentioned for the first time, and the latter is referred to as an *extension* of the earlier methods. It would appear that the first beginnings of this declension from primitive monotheism did not originate with Shun, but that a further impetus was given, in his time, to the observances which afterwards became so popular and wide-spread.

The fact that the several departments of Nature were regarded as under the control of their own presiding spirits, acting as the deputies of the Supreme Being, would naturally admit of an ever-widening application; and, when the 'hills and rivers' were recognized as the spheres of spiritual agency, the theory of such agency would, in course of time, be logically extended to natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, etc., as well as to the outbreak of flood, fire, pestilence, etc., which served to inspire with terror and suggest the need of propitiation. A great advance in this direction marks the early years of the Chow dynasty (1122–255 B.C.). To the 'Chief of the West,' who first undertook to disestablish the corrupt line of Yin, is attributed the arrangement, if not the invention, of the 'Eight Diagrams' forming the subject-matter of the 'Canon of Permutations,' or 'Book of Changes' (*I King*); and his sons, Wu-wang (= King Wu) and Chow-kung (= Duke of Chow) are regarded as the prime movers in the religious reformation which followed the establishment of the new dynasty. Of the former we read in the *Shu King*: 'He attached great importance . . . to the proper observance of funeral ceremonies and of sacrifices'; and the first concrete example of ancestor-worship in China is recorded in connexion with the latter. The two brothers form the link which connects Confucius with the earliest days of Chinese history, for the system which existed in his time, and which was supposed to reflect the ancient methods, was that which had been developed by the king and the duke, who were regarded by Confucius as almost on a par with the ideal monarchs Yao and Shun.

During this dynasty, and perhaps at this time, many changes were made and many innovations introduced—the result, no doubt, of a growing desire to reduce to a philosophic system the somewhat vague generalizations which had so long been accepted. The 'Eight Diagrams,' which had served in earlier days as a medium of divination, were now elaborated by subdivisions, and regarded as furnishing an explanation of the changing phenomena of Nature, becoming in course of time the basis of a complete system of cosmogony, which has had the effect of eliminating God almost entirely from the field of Confucian speculation, and of degrading the ancient religion of China to a practical agnosticism in the case of the great majority of professed Confucianists to-day. A hint of this tendency is given in the new terminology introduced by King Wu, who speaks of 'Heaven' as the 'Universal Father,' and of 'Earth' as the 'Universal Mother.' This dualistic conception does not appear in the language of the earlier theologians, who regarded Heaven as synonymous with Shang-ti, and Earth as the theatre of His benevolent activities. And, though logical system required that Heaven should be correlated with Earth, the simpler conception of antiquity sometimes reappears in the later writings, as, *e.g.*, in the *dictum* of Confucius himself (the only passage in which he directly alludes to God as a personality): 'By the ceremonies of the sacrifice to Heaven and Earth they (*i.e.* the forefathers) served Shang-ti' ('The Mean,' xix. 2). Chucius, however, in later days, was burdened with no such scruples, and boldly declared that 'Heaven' and 'Shang-ti' and the 'Great Ultimate' mean nothing more than that 'Principle' or 'Law' which pervades and dominates all things, and which is beyond human comprehension. Yet, when taken to task by a disciple, he admitted that there was such a thing as a 'governing power,' entitled 'Ti,' but, like Confucius, refused to discuss the matter in detail.

The question now arises as to the ideas which were involved in this recognition of a Supreme Being, and the offering of sacrifices to Him; in other words, what religious motive dictated these ancient observances. It seems impossible to account for the origin of the sacrificial offering if thanksgiving and prayer do not find a place in the theory. Perhaps it was for this reason that Confucius, who seems to have deprecated prayer and a confident approach to the Powers above, confessed himself unable to explain the significance of the great quinquennial Ti sacrifice which Shun is said to have originated. There are numerous passages in the canonical books which definitely refer to thanksgiving and petition as influential motives. An early tradition relates that Fu-hi, the first ruler of the legendary period (commencing 2852 B.C.), 'appointed certain days to show gratitude to Heaven, by offering the first fruits of the earth,' and there are many folk-songs among the Odes (dating from the Chow dynasty [1122 B.C.], and including some pieces belonging to the preceding dynasty) in which the gifts of harvest are acknowledged with joyful song and sacrificial thank-offering to the ancestors, whose good offices with the Supreme Being are thus recognized, as well as to Shang-ti Himself, who is regarded as the 'All-Father,' the giver of grain, and the dispenser of every good and perfect gift; *e.g.*

'O wise How-tsi,
Fit associate of God,
Founder of our race,
There is none greater than thou!
Thou gavest us wheat and barley,
Which God appointed for our nourishment,' etc. (*Odes*, iv.).

A modern example, based upon the ancient forms, is afforded by an address to Shang-ti, presented by the Emperor She-tsung of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1538), which may serve as a valuable illustration of the Chinese notions of God, and the connexion of thanksgiving with the sacrificial offering:

'Of old, in the beginning, there was the great chaos, without form and dark. The five elements had not begun to revolve, nor the sun and moon to shine. . . . Thou, O spiritual sovereign, camest forth in Thy presidency, and first didst divide the grosser parts from the purer. Thou madest heaven; Thou madest earth; Thou madest man. All things got their being, with their reproducing power. . . . I, Thy servant, presume reverently to thank Thee, and, while I worship, present the notice to Thee, O Ti, calling Thee Sovereign.'

The offering of prayer, in the same connexion, is implied in the language used in the 'Record of Rites':

'Sacrifices should not be frequently repeated, for such frequency is indicative of *importunateness*, and importunateness is inconsistent with reverence. Nor should they be at distant intervals, for such infrequency is indicative of indifference,' etc.

It should be remembered that amongst Eastern peoples, like the Chinese, petition generally takes the form of suggestion rather than express requisition. Direct application is regarded as degrading to the appellant and embarrassing to the person approached; and, for this reason, it is not to be expected that prayer should take the same definite form in China as it does in the West.

It is, nevertheless, possible to find unequivocal instances of prayer being offered to God, as in the case of King Suan (827 B.C.), when a great drought threatened to destroy his dominions; and in the Imperial prayer at the winter sacrifice at the present day which runs:

'I earnestly look up, hoping for merciful protection. I bring my subjects and servants, with offerings of food in abundance, a reverential sacrifice to Shang-ti. Humbly I pray for Thy downward glance, and may rain be granted for the production of all sorts of grain, and the success of all agricultural labours.'

See, further, the next two articles, and also COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Chinese), COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Chinese), CONFUCIUS, CONFUCIAN RELIGION, INDO-CHINA, ISLĀM (in China), MANICHÆISM, TAOISM, ZOROASTRIANISM, and the Literature cited at the end of these articles.

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CHINA (Buddhism in). — Buddhism was introduced into China during the Han dynasty. It is still an open question whether it entered China in its older form, the Hīnayāna (*q.v.*), or 'Little Vehicle,' or in its younger form, the Mahāyāna (*q.v.*), or 'Great Vehicle'; but it is a fact that at a very early date the Mahāyāna was predominant, and that it has remained in the ascendant to the present day.

Mahāyānistic Buddhism is a universalistic religion, whose great principle or basis is the Order of the World, which it calls *Dharma*, or 'Law.' Dharma manifests itself especially by the Universal Light, the Creator of everything, and this light is emitted by the Buddhas, or beings endowed with the highest *bodhi*, or 'intelligence.' There have been an infinite number of these beings in the past, and an infinite number will be born in the future; indeed, the Light of the World is born every day in the morning, and enters into *nirvāṇa*, or 'nothingness,' in the evening. The life of a Buddha is a day of preaching of the Dharma, a so-called revolution of its wheel, a daily emanation of light. Thus it is that there have been delivered many billions and trillions of sermons, as long as the universe has existed, each having for its subject the elevation of man to a state of bliss; and those which have happily been written down for the good of posterity are the so-called *sūtras*, which in China are termed *king*. Man, accordingly, should behave in every respect as those *sūtras* preach, thus assimilating himself with Dharma.

The great aim of Chinese Buddhism, which has given it the name of Mahāyāna, 'Great Vehicle,' is to uplift the whole of mankind to certain states of salvation, called the states of the *deva*, the *arhat*, and the *bodhisattva* or the *buddha*, and also to increase to the highest possible degree the number of ways or means of obtaining such grades of blessedness. The sanctity of the *bodhisattva* or the *buddha* means entry into *nirvāṇa*, or absorption by the Universe.

Dharma, the Universal Law, embraces the world in its entirety. It exists for the benefit of *all* beings, for does not its chief manifestation, viz. the Light of the World, shine for blessing on all men and all things? Salvation, which means conformity of life to the Dharma, consequently means in the first place manifestation of universal love for both men and animals. Indeed, as men and animals equally are formed of the elements which constitute the Universe itself, animals may become men, and, through the human state, be converted into *arhats*, *bodhisattvas*, and *buddhas*. Thus even for animals salvation is to be prepared by religious means; and their lives, no less than those of men, must by all means be spared.

The Hīnayāna, the 'Little Vehicle' of Salvation, the older form of Buddha's Church in India, could not lift man up to any higher dignity than that of the *arhat*. This dignity was obtainable only by those who renounced the world, that is to say, by poverty and asceticism. The man who strove after salvation was a *bhikṣu*, or mendicant monk. This fundamental principle of Buddha's Church has maintained its position in the Mahāyāna system, which, indeed, rejects no single means of salvation, and certainly not the one which Buddha himself established by his doctrine, life, and example. Monastic life has been the chief Mahāyānistic institution from the very beginning. Mahāyānism has, however, added two upper steps—the Bodhisattva-ship and the Buddha-ship —to the ladder of salvation.

Mahāyānistic monasteries, which have actually studded the soil of China, must be defined as special institutions devoted to the working out of salvation. Various methods are practised there to this end, and the monk can choose those which best suit his inclinations and his character. He may choose one method, several, or even all. Asceticism and poverty of a severe type are almost exceptional. It is, in fact, only in a few monasteries that some brethren are found who seldom or never leave their cells, or the grottos in the grounds of the monastery, spending their lives therein in pious isolation and meditation, or in a state of passivity, without ever even shaving themselves, and looking somewhat as pre-Adamite man must have looked. Mendicancy outside the monastic walls is likewise now a rare occurrence. When the abbot and his treasurers deem it necessary, he sends the brethren to collect from the laity. This is also done on certain days of the year by several brethren in company. Not many instances of begging for private needs now occur, for the mendicant friar has almost disappeared, and the majority of the monks seek salvation in more dignified ways.

The buildings and chapels which constitute a monastery are provided with images of *bodhisattvas* and *buddhas*, and these are continually worshipped, and besought to lend a helping hand to the seekers of salvation. The more commonly practised method is to live according to the commandments which Buddha has given for the preservation of human purity, and for man's progress in excellence and virtue; that is to say, the five and the ten principal commandments, with the *Pratimokṣa*, or 250 monastic rules, which have all been taken over from the Hīnayāna, and especially the 58 commandments of the Mahāyāna. The latter are contained in the *Fan-wang king*, 'Sūtra of the Net of Brahmā,' or the Celestial Sphere, with its network of constellations, the *Brahmajāla Sūtra*. The man who truly lives by these commandments becomes a *bodhisattva* or a *buddha* even in this life; and he has no need to trouble himself about the two lower stages, *deva*-ship and *arhat*-ship, which are attained by strict obedience to the ten commandments and the *Pratimokṣa*.

A solemn vow to live a life of sanctity, in obedience to the commandments, makes the monk. It constitutes his ordination, which only a few monasteries nowadays have the privilege, granted by Imperial authority, of conferring. It usually takes place in the fourth month of the year, about the festival of Buddha's birth. The pupils of the clergy, who are living in small monasteries and temples scattered throughout the empire, repair to the abbot, who has the episcopal right to perform the function of consecrator, and at his feet they express their determination to devote themselves to the *Saṅgha*, or Church. They express penitence for their sins, and swear by Buddha that they will truly keep the five great commandments, which are: not to kill; not to steal; not to commit

adultery; not to lie; not to drink spirits. A little later they are, on account of this vow, admitted as pupils, and solemnly undertake to renounce the world and keep the ten commandments, which are the five just mentioned, and besides: abstinence from perfumes and flowers, from singing and dancing, from large beds, from having meals at regular times, and from precious things. On this second vow the neophytes receive the tonsure, and the abbot hands to each of them a mendicant friar's robe or the garment of poverty, *kaṣāya*. They are now *śramanera*, or monks of inferior rank, and at the same time *devas*, or saints of the lowest degree.

A day or two later they are ordained *śramanas* or *bhikṣus*, ascetic monks. The vow to keep the 250 monastic rules, or *Pratimokṣa*, is the most important part of this ordination. The ceremony takes place in the presence of a chapter consisting of eight of the principal monks, with the abbot as president, and lasts several hours. The abbot occupies an elevated seat, and the members of the chapter are seated on his right and left. Each candidate receives an alms-dish. The candidates are taken apart in small groups, and a member of the chapter asks them whether there is any hindrance to their reception into the order of the mendicant friars. Then they are immediately taken once more into the presence of the chapter, who are asked by another of their members whether they consent to the admission of the novices. Silence is assent. The abbot then asks whether they will yield faithful obedience to the 250 monastic rules of life, contained in the *Pratimokṣa*: the candidates answer in the affirmative, and thus take the vow. The ceremony ends with a sermon by the abbot, and his benediction. They are now *arhats*, or saints of the second degree.

Then there follows, on the very next day, or two days after, the highest consecration, which raises the *śramanas* from the recently gained stage of *arhat*-sanctity to that of the *bodhisattva*. This is preceded by a ceremonial purification from sin, before an image of Buddha. The candidates recount their sins, and plead that the pains of hell, which they have deserved, may be remitted; then they perform a bodily ablution, and put on new clothes. The purification is combined with a solemn sacrifice to the *Triratna*—the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha—in order to sue for pardon. The candidates now confess their sins before these saints, and swear that they will for ever live by the 58 commandments of 'Brahma's Net.' Finally, they all atone for their sins in a long litany, in which they call on the names of three hundred Buddhas, and at each name prostrate themselves and press their foreheads on the ground.

The next ordination-ceremony, in compliance with one of the 58 commandments, is the singeing of the head. In the great church of the convent, where stand the three great images of Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha, they all assemble, and each of them has a number of bits of charcoal stuck on his smooth-shaven head. These are set on fire by the monks of the monastery by means of burning incense-sticks, and allowed to burn away into the skin. At an earlier period, it seems that the novices used to burn off a finger, or even the whole arm, as a sacrifice to Buddha; in Chinese books we even read of cases of complete self-immolation on a pyre of wood.

The ordinands now humbly request ordination from the abbot. He gives them instruction on its meaning and importance, and, led by him, they all in unison invoke the Buddhas Śākya, Mañjuśri, and Maitreya, with all the Buddhas of the ten parts of the Universe, to form a chapter, and bestow on them the highest ordination. Once more they acknowledge their sins, and, passing through a state of repentance, repeatedly make a solemn vow that they will seek the good of all creatures, and, besides instructing themselves in holy doctrine, will promote the salvation of them all. The abbot asks them whether they have committed any of the seven great sins which exclude from the Saṅgha, and reminds them of their need of firm determination to live by the commandments; they express their promise to carry out this intention with firmness. It is in this firm determination, this promise, that the completion of their ordination exists. They are now *bodhisattvas*, on the way to Buddha-ship.

In the monastic life of the Mahāyāna the object is the attainment of the dignity of *bodhisattva* and *buddha* by means of obedience to the commandments of 'Brahmā's Net.' Without a knowledge of this fact it is impossible to understand this monastic life.

The first and greatest commandment forbids the slaying of any living creature. So, no flesh or fish is eaten in the monastery, and the monks are absolute vegetarians. The cattle, sheep, pigs, fowls, geese, ducks, and fish which pious laymen, in order to acquire merit beyond the grave, entrust to their care, and for the keep of which they pay, are allowed to live the natural term of their existence. From time to time the monks perform certain rites at the cattle-pens or the fish-ponds, by means of which animals, like men, undergo a new birth, and are able to attain to the higher states of salvation of the *deva*, the *arhat*, and the *bodhisattva*.

The commandments demand with special emphasis the preaching of the Mahāyāna, that is, the opening of the way of salvation to all the world. In each monastery, accordingly, there is a preaching-hall and a college of monks, who are called preachers, with the abbot at their head. And because preaching is the exposition of *sūtras*, and *vinayas*, or laws, which have been given to mankind by Buddha as the means of salvation, it is easy to understand why the monasteries are the places where such books are prepared and published. The most important of these institutions consequently possess printing departments, with monks acting as copyists, engravers, correctors, etc. There are also monks whose duty it is to afford instruction in the sacred writings to the less educated brethren.

There are several annually recurring days of preaching. The sermons of the monks, because they are taken from the sacred books which are the gift of Buddha, are the sermons of Buddha himself. This most holy saint is, in the system of Mahāyāna, the Light of the World, and his teaching, or the Dharma, is that light in which the Order of the World finds expression, and which, by its diffusion, embraces and blesses all existent life. So in every sermon, or 'illumination,' all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Arhats, and Devas are supposed to be present, and, to honour them, incense, flowers, food, and other gifts are on such occasions set out on an altar. On the other hand, the *māras*, or spirits of darkness, are blinded by the presence of so much light and so many light-giving gods, and are driven away or utterly destroyed, together with all evil of which they are the universal authors. Preaching is, accordingly, not merely a holy act, but in every respect a beatific act. The monks call it 'the turning of the Dharma-wheel,' that is to say, the revolution of the Order of the World.

The 'Sūtra of Brahmā's Net' also ordains that, in case of a death, the sacred books are to be read, in the presence of the corpse, each seventh day up

to seven times seven, in order that the sleeper's soul may be advanced to the dignity of a *bodhisattva*. It is one of the chief duties of the monks to carry out this ordinance among the laity, and it is, indeed, performed in a very solemn way. The principal book on these occasions is the 'Sūtra of Amitābha,' or the Buddha representing the sun in the west, behind which lies paradise. The recitation of this is accompanied by a thousandfold recitation of that Buddha's blessed name. In this wise Buddhism contributes much in China to the ceremonial adornment of ancestor-worship.

The regular course of the Universal Order is very much helped by the artificial 'turning of the Dharma-wheel' by man. The monks, therefore, set up altars on occasions of destructive drought or excessive rainfall, and there recite their *sūtras*. And at the same time, as at every recitation of *sūtras*, the saints are invoked, sacrificial ceremonies and other rites are performed, and numerous spells are uttered. Such religious magic is nearly always performed by command of the authorities, who of course, in times of threatened failure of the harvest, are always in dread of famine. It is also performed when there is a plague of locusts; in sickness or epidemics; when there is an impending revolt or war; and on occasions of flood, or conflagration—in short, whenever danger must be averted.

Since, then, the sacred books avert all evil from mankind, and make mankind in every way not merely happy but holy, even in the highest Buddhistic degree, it stands to reason that in the golden age of China's Buddhism the number of these *sūtras* increased infinitely. Learned clerics devoted themselves to the translation of them from Sanskrit and Pāli, and apparently wrote a good many themselves, thus acquitting themselves of the holy duty of increasing the ways to salvation. Pious monks undertook pilgrimages to India, in order to collect the sacred writings there and bring them to China. Some have left records of their travels, which are of very great value for our knowledge of their holy land, as well as of other countries. Among the most famous pilgrims are Fā-hien, who started his journey in A.D. 399; Sung-yün, whose travels took place between 518 and 522; I-tsing, who lived from 634 to 713; and particularly Hiuen-Tswang, who was absent from his home from 629 to 645.

We may, of course, consider Chinese Buddhist literature to date from the very moment of the introduction of the religion into China. No fewer than 2213 works are mentioned in the oldest catalogue of A.D. 518; 276 of these are in existence. In A.D. 972 the holy books were printed collectively for the first time, and since that time several *Tripiṭaka* editions have been made in China, Korea, and Japan. In China, owing to the general decay of monachism, probably no complete editions now exist; but, fortunately, copies of several editions have found their way into Japan. In 1586 the Japanese priest Mi-tsang began a reprint of the *Tripiṭaka* made at Peking under T'ai-tsung of the Ming dynasty, who reigned from 1403 to 1424; it was finished after his death. In 1681 it was carefully reprinted. A few years ago an excellent and cheap edition in movable types was made by a learned society in Tokyo, which purposes to collect and reproduce everything which may throw light on the history and culture of Japan; and the same society is even preparing a supplement, containing everything else which may still be discovered in the Buddhist field. The Buddhist sacred literature of Eastern Asia, therefore, need no longer be missing in any considerable learned library of the world. The Japanese collection is in the Chinese language, which has remained to this day the sacred language of the Buddhist Church in the Land of Sunrise.

The great 'Sūtra of Brahmā's Net' also makes it a law for all seekers of salvation to secure and further each other's welfare and holiness by pious wishes. Good wishes, on the supposition that they are made with fervent honesty, have efficacy. They are uttered at almost every ceremony and at every act of the brethren of the monastery, and give a special impress of devoutness to their life. The common daily matins, or early service in the church of the monastery, consisting principally in the recitation of a *sūtra* devoted to the Buddha of the East, Amitābha's counterpart, concludes with a comprehensive wish for the welfare of all creatures. Side by side with such wishes, the brethren continually utter an oath to the effect that they will endeavour to secure the happiness of all creatures, as well as to cultivate in their own persons the wisdom of the Buddhas. In this way they zealously minister to general progress on the way to salvation.

An important monastic method for the attainment of holiness is *dhyāna*. It consists in deep meditations—carried on for a long time—on salvation, and by this means its reality is obtained. Thought, indeed, produces this reality; it has creative force; it acts like magic. In the larger monasteries there are rooms, or a hall, specially devoted to this work of meditation, where the monks bury themselves in quiet reflexion, or in a state of somnolence. The winter months are specially devoted to this pious exercise.

Finally, there are exercises of repentance and confession of sins, which are performed every morning at the early service. Of course it is impossible for man to walk in the way of salvation with good results, unless he is continually purged from sins which lead astray. As this daily cleansing hardly suffices, the monks have introduced another, the so-called *poṣadha*, which takes place at each new moon and full moon. On this and on other occasions, as they think fit, they purge themselves from their sins by recitations of a certain *sūtra* which Buddha preached to men for this purpose; and they also say litanies consisting of the names of innumerable Buddhas, and use many other rites for the same end.

These few words may suffice to sketch the aim and purpose of Buddhist monastic life. There is no doubt that it represents the highest stage of devotion and piety to which to this day man in Eastern Asia has been able to raise himself. Its principle—love and devotion for every creature endowed with life, carried up far above the level of practical use, to a height almost fantastic, if not fanatical—is the woof of 'Brahmā's Net'; the warp of this Net is compassion, disinterestedness, and altruism in various forms—virtues without which the realm of the Buddha is inaccessible. The interdiction to kill is absolute. It is the very first commandment, including also interdiction to eat flesh, fish, or insects, or to do anything whatever which might endanger a life. It is, as a consequence, even forbidden to trade in animals; or to keep cats or dogs, because these are carnivorous beasts; or to make fire without necessity, or to possess or sell any sharp instruments, or weapons, nets, or snares. 'Thou shalt not be an ambassador, because by thy agency a war might break out. Warriors or armies thou shalt not even look at. Thou shalt not bind anybody . . .' The interdiction to steal is also drawn out to its farthest consequences. It prohibits incorrect weights and measures, and arson. The commandment against untruthfulness and lying includes all cheating by word and gesture, all backbiting or calumny, even the mention of faults and sins of

the brethren in the faith. Further, the principle of universal love causes the Code of 'Brahmā's Net' to forbid slave-dealing and slave-keeping. The honour of having prohibited slavery more than fifteen hundred years ago belongs, therefore, to Buddhism. Complete forgiveness for any wrong whatsoever is required—all revenge, even for the murder of a father or mother, being forbidden.

The Buddhist code does not, of course, merely preach abstinence from crime and sin, but enforces also active cultivation of virtue—a natural consequence, indeed, of its great principle of promoting the good and salvation of every one. It ordains the rescue of creatures from imminent death always and everywhere, the giving of possessions to others without the slightest regret or avarice, especially to brethren in the faith. 'Thou shalt sell for them thy kingdom, thy children, whatever thou possessest, even the flesh of thine own body; nay, thou shalt give thy flesh to satisfy the hunger of wild beasts. All injury, insult, and calumny which falleth on others shalt thou divert upon thyself. Thou shalt hide thine own virtue and excellence, lest they eclipse those of others.' It is further ordained to nurse the sick, and to ransom slaves. It is strictly forbidden to do anything which might induce another to a sinful act, and which, as a consequence, might be an impediment on his way to salvation—such as to sell spirituous liquors or to facilitate their sale; or to commit incest, since such an act also makes another person sin.

Salvation being the alpha and the omega of 'Brahmā's Net,' the Code which bears its name abounds with rescripts on the preaching of the Doctrine and the Laws. The commandments must be learned by heart, recited constantly, printed and reprinted, published over and over again. 'Thou shalt to this end,' it proclaims, 'tear off thine own skin for paper, use thy blood for ink, thy bones for writing-pencils.' On the other hand, it is a grave sin to refuse to listen to sermons on the holy religion, or to treat carelessly any foreign preacher or apostle—they must all be hospitably received, and requested to preach three times a day; and from all sides disciples and monks must run to them to hear. Religious books must be treated with idolatrous care, and even sacrifices must be offered to them, as if they were living saints.

As we might expect, the Code of 'Brahmā's Net' does not fail to mention conventual life. It demands that convents shall be erected with parks, forests, and fields, that is to say, with grounds on the products of which the monks may live. It ordains the erection of pagodas of Buddha for the exercise of *dhyāna*, and forbids mandarins to hinder their erection, or to confiscate any of their possessions. As a matter of fact, history has many cases to record of zealots who founded monasteries, or gave of their wealth to increase their estate and income, and therewith the number of their monks. Yet, in by far the majority of cases, they have been erected and supported for the regulation of the climate, or, as the Chinese themselves say, for *fung-shui* purposes. From the 4th cent. A.D. we find mention of the erection of convents in mountains where dragons caused thunderstorms and tempests, floods and inundations—with the object of bridling these imaginary beasts; or where, on the contrary, monks had conjured away droughts by compelling dragons to send down their rains; and it is a fact that, to this day, people and mandarins openly confess that such institutions exist for hardly any purpose but regulation of winds (*fung*) and rainfall (*shui*), and, consequently, to secure good crops, so often endangered in treeless China by droughts. Thus it is that convents are generally found in mountains which send down the water without which cultivation of rice and other products in the valleys is impossible; thus it is that, conversely, the people, protected in this way, support the convents with gifts, for which the monks are bound to perform their *sūtra*-readings and their religious magic for the success of agriculture. And it is on the same important considerations that mandarins, however thoroughly Confucian they are, support the convents, and lack the courage to sequestrate and demolish them.

The influence of a Buddhist convent on weather and rainfall is mainly due to the fact that it harbours in its central or principal part, which is the great sanctuary, church, or chapel, three large images of the *Triratna*, that is to say, of the Dharma, or Order of the Universe, the Buddha, or the Universal Light, and the Saṅgha, or assembly of Bodhisattvas, Devas, Arhats, and the whole host of saints who perform their part in the revolutions of the Universe. The place of the images of these three highest universal powers has been calculated with the utmost care by *fung-shui* professors, so that all the favourable influences of the heavens, mountains, rivers, etc., converge on them, and may be emitted by their holy bodies over the whole country around. In many cases, a pagoda is erected for the same purpose in the immediate neighbourhood of the convent, on an elevated spot commanding a wide horizon. It contains an image of Buddha, or, if possible, a genuine relic of his own body, in consequence of which it becomes a depository of Universal Light, always driving away the *māras*, or spirits of darkness and evil. Such a tower, therefore, protects and blesses the whole country bounded by its horizon, as the Buddha himself in his own person would do.

Seeing that the holy 'Sūtra of Brahmā's Net' is the very basis of the system of Buddhist religious life in the Far East,—the principal instrument of the great Buddhist art of salvation,—it certainly deserves to be called the most important of the sacred books of the East. Its importance is also paramount from the fact that it has exercised its influence for at least 1500 years, if the general statement is correct that a preface was written to it by Sang Chao, who lived in the 4th and 5th centuries of our era. A study of that influence is a study of the history of Mahāyāna Buddhism itself, as it has prevailed not only in China, but also in Indo-China, Korea, and Japan. Such a study might show that the book has been the mightiest instrument for the amelioration of customs and morals in Asia.

Certainly the career of Buddhism cannot be said to have been a very happy one. It might, on account of its noble principles of humanitarianism, have deserved a better fate. It had no enduring success in India, where it was born; Brāhmanism and Sivaism there have actually superseded, not to say destroyed, it. Nor has it met with better fortune in China. There it has never been able to supplant Confucianism, the religion of the State. On the contrary, after some centuries of considerable prosperity and growth, a strong reaction against it set in from the Confucian side, reducing the Church and its monachism in course of time to the pitiable state in which we know it at the present day. The chief reason of that spirit of antagonism and persecution was, of course, that it did not, like Confucianism, give truth pure and unalloyed. It was a heterodox religion. The greatest triumph of the opposition was in A.D. 845, when the emperor Wu Tsung decreed that the 4600 convents and the 40,000 religious buildings in the empire should be pulled down, and that the

260,000 monks and nuns should adopt secular life. Herewith the glory of the Church was gone for ever; the number of its monasteries and ascetics remained from that time at a minimum level: the State henceforth has continued to give Confucianism its full due, that is to say, it has maintained to this day the laws and rescripts shackling the Church, and has even increased their severity.

The *Ta-Ts'ing luh li*, the great Code of Laws of the empire, prohibits the erection or restoration of Buddhist convents without special Imperial authorization, and forbids any priest to have more than one disciple, or to adopt this profession before he is forty years old. The result of these laws, which have been doing their work for at least five hundred years, has been that the days of the Buddhist convents seem numbered. The hundreds of stately edifices, which, as books profusely inform us, once studded the empire, can now be found by dozens only; and even from these all but a few of the clergy have disappeared. Nuns are rare.

But the influence of the Church and its doctrines survives among the people. It gives birth to numerous lay-communities, the members of which make it their object to assist each other on the road to salvation. They are a natural fruit of the doctrine that, to obtain salvation, it is not at all necessary to retire into a monastery; for ordinary men and women it is quite sufficient to obey the five fundamental commandments against murder, theft, adultery, lying, and alcohol—this obedience being capable of raising them to the sanctity of the *devas*, or gods. Frequently we find such societies mentioned in books under denominations which evidently bear upon their principal means for reaching sanctity; but about their doctrines or rules we read very little. The first and principal commandment compels them to be strictly vegetarian; and they apply themselves to the rescuing of animals in danger of death and to other works of merit, as well as to the worship and invocation of the chief saints who lend the seekers after salvation a helping hand, namely, Śākya, Amitābha, and Maitreya, and the merciful Avalokiteśvara, or Kwan-yin. These names are continually on sectarian lips. The female element plays a part of great importance, even a predominating part, in the sects. The broad universalistic views of the Mahāyāna Church even compelled it to regard Confucianism and Taoism as parts of the Order of the World, and therefore as ways leading to salvation. Hence the Buddhist sects naturally contain elements borrowed from the religion and ethics of Confucius and Lao-tse. It is, indeed, the nature of those sects to be eclectic. They bear irrefutable evidence to the blending of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism into a single religion; the Chinese saying that these three religions are but a single one is realized by sectarianism. In the principal sects the Buddhist element predominates in every respect, their institutions being moulded upon Buddhist monasticism. They possess everything pertaining to a complete religious system: founders and prophets, a hierarchy and a pantheon, commandments and moral philosophy, initiation and consecration, religious ritual, meeting-places or chapels with altars, religious festivals, sacred books and writings, even theology, a paradise, and a hell—borrowed principally from Mahāyānistic Buddhism, and partially from old Chinese Taoist and Confucian Universalism. It is through these associations that piety and virtue, created by hopes of reward, or by fears of punishment hereafter, are fostered among the people, who, but for the sects, would live in utter ignorance about such matters; indeed, Confucius and his school have written or said nothing of importance on these subjects, and the Taoist aspirations after virtue and religion have evidently died. The sects thus fill a great blank in the people's religious life. They are accommodated to the religious feelings of the humble, and, by satisfying their cravings for salvation, are able to hold their own, in spite of bloody oppression and persecution by the Government. Spiritual religion exists in China principally within the circle of Buddhism; and through the sects Buddhism meets the human need of such an inward religious life.

To divert the dangers of State persecution, it is for sects a matter of the highest importance to keep their existence secret; they are, in fact, 'secret societies,' branded as dangerous to morality, to the State, and to the people. History proves that they have often fostered agitation, sedition, and even rebellions, and civil wars which have raged for years. Such events may have to be considered as outbursts of suppressed exasperation, provoked by centuries of cruel oppression. For the suppression of the sects the State has enacted a series of laws in the *Ta-Ts'ing luh li*.

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CHINA (Islam in).—See ISLAM (in China).

CHINA (Jews in).—The existence of Hebrews in China undoubtedly dates back a considerable period. By many authorities (*e.g.* Gesenius, *Thes.* 948 ff.; Delitzsch and Cheyne in their *Comm.*) the reference in Is 49¹² to 'the land of Sinim' is considered to relate to the Chinese Empire; and although others (*e.g.* Cheyne, *Introd. to Is.*; Dillm.-Kittel, *Com.*; Duhm, *Com.*) question this interpretation, intercourse between Jewish merchants settled in Persia and the 'silk-men,' as the Romans called the Chinese, is undoubted. The Seres (Chinese) are frequently mentioned in Latin literature in connexion with silk: *e.g.* Ovid, *Am.* I. xiv. 6; Vergil, *Georg.* ii. 121 (the latter passage refers to the belief that silk was made from the leaves of trees). The adjective *sericus* means 'silken,' as, *e.g.*, in Propertius, IV. viii. 23; and the neuter *sericum* is used by later writers (Ammianus, Isidorus, the Vulgate) as a substantive = 'silk.' With regard to the exact date of a permanent Hebrew settlement in China there is considerable doubt. From the inscription still preserved at Kai-Fung-Fu it appears that the colony settled in that city during the Han dynasty, which lasted from 206 B.C. until A.D. 221. It is also stated more definitely that the settlement took place under the Emperor Ming-ti of this dynasty, who reigned from A.D. 58 to 76. The year 69 was that of the fall of Jerusalem, a calamity that led to a still wider dispersion of the Jews, and it is quite possible that one of the remotest effects of the Roman victory was the establishment of a Jewish colony within the limits of the Chinese Empire. A Jewish traveller, Sulaiman, of the 9th cent., claims that the settlement was made in the year A.D. 65 (see Ibn Khordādbeh,

The Book of Ways). The severe Babylonian persecutions of a generation earlier, that led to the massacre of at least 50,000 Jews, have also been pointed to as a possible cause of the immigration, and similar occurrences in Persia in the middle of the 3rd cent. have been quoted for the same reason. The undoubted traces of Persian influence in the ritual of the Chinese Jews prove conclusively some connexion with Persia, and it is possible that the 3rd cent. may have seen an immigration, though not necessarily the first, of Jews into China. In Renaudot's translation of *Ancient Accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan Travellers who went there in the Ninth Century*, it is stated that at that date Jews had been settled in China from time immemorial. The other extreme is adopted by a Chinese authority (*JE*, art. 'China'), who states that seventy families landed in Honan in A.D. 950 and were settled by the Government at Peën-lang (afterwards Kai-Fung-Fu). If the view be adopted that the Jewish colonies in China were not all established at the same time, but by different batches of immigrants, none of these varying dates need be discarded without examination. In some quarters the view is held that the settlements were in reality anterior to any of the dates already mentioned, and that the Hebrew sect do not derive their origin from Jewish settlers either previous or subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem, but to their kinsmen the Israelites who set out on their wanderings some centuries earlier. In short, China, no less than every other province of the world, has been pointed to as the hiding-place of the Lost Ten Tribes. In support of this view, however, little or no evidence is produced. One piece of evidence that supports the great antiquity of the settlements is the name *Tiao-Kiu Kiaou* or 'Pluckers-out of the Sinew' (cf. Gn 32[32]), which is applied to the settlers by their Chinese neighbours. If the colonists had arrived much later than the 1st cent., it is certain that other customs adopted in obedience to Rabbinical precept would have attracted more attention from the natives than that of plucking out the sinew that shrank. Certain peculiarities in the synagogue ritual also support the theory of a very early settlement.

The suggested sources of the immigration are almost as numerous as the periods during which it is said to have taken place. In the Kai-Fung-Fu inscription of 1489 it is stated that the religion practised in the synagogue came from Tien-Chou (India?), and further that the seventy families who arrived in the 10th cent. came from 'Western Lands.' This immigration is believed by Edouard Chavannes (*Revue de Synthèse historique*, Dec. 1900 [cf. *Bibliotheca Sinica*[2], 591]) to have come by sea from India, from the Jewish colonies that were already in existence there. In the 14th cent., Ibn Baṭûta, an Arabic writer, in his account of Al-Khansa (Hang-chou or Canfu) refers to the numbers of Jews settled there for commercial purposes. At that period Peën-lang was also an important city, and, the ordinary trade routes running through Persia and Khorasan, it is suggested that the Jews came by those roads as ordinary merchants. Still another supposition is that these Jews, or a section of them, formed a portion of Alexander's army. The introduction of silk into China has also been attributed to these newcomers.

But little is known of the history of the sect during the Middle Ages. In the 8th cent. the Emperor appointed an officer to look after the affairs of the colony. The two Muhammadan travellers to whom allusion has already been made state that in the 9th cent. the sect was very numerous and influential, and that of the 100,000 or 120,000 alien victims of the Bai-chu revolts, a large proportion consisted of Jews. Other causes also tended to reduce the Jewish population at that time, for many 'for the sake of riches and preferment have abjured their own religion.' A passing reference to Jewish prosperity and influence in China is found in Marco Polo's account of his travels (Murray's tr. p. 99). Occasional mention of the colony is also found in Chinese annals. Under the year 1329 they appear in connexion with legislation for the taxation of dissenters. Twenty-five years later, rich Jews and Muhammadans were invited to assist in suppressing the several insurrections that were then raging.

Although Jewish colonists are known to have settled in several districts of China—in Canton, Ningpo, Nan-King, Peking, etc., it is only regarding the settlement in Kai-Fung-Fu that we have any information. The city itself has undergone many vicissitudes since its first establishment. In its earliest days it was the capital of a petty kingdom, and later it became annexed to other districts. In the course of its career it has borne many names. It first obtained its present designation in the 3rd cent. of the present era, but changed it after an interval for that of Peënchow, only to resume its former appellation after a short period. The city was then known in succession as Leang-Chow, Nang-kin, and Peën-lang. Finally, it resumed the ancient designation of Kai-Fung-Fu. The period of the city's greatest prosperity was the 12th century. It then measured six leagues in circumference, and had a population of more than a million families. Its palaces and gardens were famous, and the approaches to the city renowned. Its vicissitudes have included fifteen inundations, six extensive fires, and eleven sieges.

The early settlement.—The early history of the Jewish community in Kai-Fung-Fu can best be learned from the following abstracts of the translations of inscriptions on stone tablets found in the city and dated respectively 1489, 1512, and 1663. From the first we learn that

'Seventy families, viz. Li, Yen, Kao, Chao, and others, came to the Court of Song, bringing as tribute cloth of cotton from Western lands. The Emperor said, "You have come to China. Keep and follow the customs of your forefathers, and settle at Peen-lang (Kai-Fung-Fu)"'

In the first year of Long-hing of the Song dynasty (1163), when Lie-wei (Levi) was the Ouseta (Rabbi), Yentula erected the synagogue. Under the Yuen dynasty, in the sixteenth year of the Che-Yuen cycle (1279), the temple structures were rebuilt. The dimensions on each side were thirty-five *tchang* (about 350 feet).

The Emperor Tai-tsou, who founded the Ming dynasty, granted in 1390 land to all who submitted to his authority, on which they could dwell peacefully and profess their religion without molestation. The Jews had ministers of religion, who were called *Man-la* (Mullah), to rule the synagogue and to watch over the religious institutions.

In the nineteenth year of Yong-lo (1421), Yeo-Cheng, a physician, received from the Emperor a present of incense, and permission to repair the synagogue. Then was received the grand tablet of the Ming dynasty to be placed in the synagogue. The Emperor bestowed honours and titles upon Yen-Cheng.

In 1461 there was an overflow of the Yellow River, and the foundations alone of the synagogue were left standing. Li-Yong, having obtained the necessary permission from the provincial treasurer, rebuilt the temple and had it decorated.

Later on, the cells at the rear of the synagogue were put up, and three copies of the Holy Law were placed there. A copy of the Law had, before this, been obtained from Ning-pouo; another had been presented by Chao-Yng of Ning-pouo. Various dignitaries presented the table of offerings, the bronze vase, the flower vases, and the candlesticks. Other members of the community contributed the ark, the triumphal arch, the balustrades, and other furniture for Israel's temple called I-se-lo-nie-tien.

The second inscription furnishes little historical information additional to that already obtained. The following passage is, however, of interest:

'During the Han dynasty this religion entered China. In 1164 a synagogue was built at Peen. In 1296 it was rebuilt. Those who practise this religion are found in other places than Peen.'

The third inscription, after repeating the his-

torical incidents mentioned in the first, continues with a graphic account of the events that followed the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1642:

The city underwent a six months' siege by the rebel chief Li-Tse-Cheng, who eventually caused its fall by diverting the Yellow River. The loss of life was great, and the synagogue was destroyed; about 200 Jewish families were saved, and took refuge on the north side of the river. The names are recorded of those who succeeded in saving the scrolls and other sacred books which were floating on the water. These, with other sacred writings which were rescued out of the ruins of the synagogue, were placed in a large house away from the city, where, for a time, the Jews assembled for Divine service. About ten years afterwards, Chao Yng-cheng, a Jewish mandarin from the province of Chen-si, who was in command of a force of soldiers, came to Peën and did much to restore the city, the roads, and the bridges. Aided by his brother, Yng-teou, he induced his co-religionists to return to the city and to take up their old habitations close to the temple, which was rebuilt in the year 1653, in the tenth year of the reign of Choen-che. Full particulars are given of the work of reconstruction and of the part taken by the members of the seven houses. It was not possible to make up more than one complete scroll of the Law out of the parchments recovered from the waters. This task was entrusted to their religious chief. The scroll, much venerated by the faithful, was placed in the middle of the ark. Twelve other scrolls were gradually collated and put in order by members of the community, whose several names are given on the back of the stele, and the other holy writings and prayer-books were repaired and revised with every care. The commandant Chao Yng-cheng, before leaving the city, wrote an account of the vicissitudes undergone by the sacred scrolls, and his brother published a book of ten chapters on the subject. Several high mandarins, whose names are given in the stele, took a part in the work of the restoration of the synagogue, and also in the erection of the stele, which took place in the second year of Kang-hi of the Tsing dynasty (1663).

An Orphan Colony. — The discovery of the 'Orphan Colony' is entirely due to the efforts of Jesuit missionaries, and especially to those of one of a cultured and enlightened band that was sent out to Peking at the end of the 16th century. These Jesuits were so well received in Peking that some of them were raised to the rank of Mandarin, and several, as Presidents of the Tribunal of Mathematics, were the official advisers of the Government on matters relating to the Calendar and Astronomy. It was one of them, Father Ricci, who first, by accident, came into contact with a native Jew. One day, Ricci received a visit from a native scholar who had come to Peking to pass an examination for a Government appointment. He had heard of Ricci's religious beliefs, the worship of one God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth. He knew that he was not a Muhammadan, and the visitor therefore concluded that the stranger's religious beliefs were the same as his own. Ricci on his part was struck by the physiognomy of his visitor, differing as it did from those to which he had become accustomed in China. He took him into his oratory, where he knelt before the picture of the Holy Family with St. John and another of the Evangelists. The visitor followed his example, saying, 'We, in China, do reverence to our ancestors. This is Rebecca with her sons Jacob and Esau; but as to the other picture, why make obeisance to only four sons of Jacob? Were there not twelve?' Mutual explanations followed, and it then transpired that Father Ricci's visitor was an Israelite (so he described himself, not a Jew), and came from Kai-Fung-Fu. In that city there were ten or twelve families of Israelites, with a synagogue recently renovated in which a scroll of the Law four or five hundred years old was preserved. The visitor recognized old Hebrew characters, but was unable to read them. The knowledge was, however, by no means lost in the colony. Other visits from native Jews followed, and three years later Ricci succeeded in sending a native Christian to Kai-Fung-Fu. His report confirmed the statements of the Jewish visitors. Correspondence ensued between Ricci and the native Jewish community, in the course of which the local Rabbiship was offered to the Jesuit provided that he was willing to reside with them and to abstain from the flesh of the swine. Ricci's successor, Julius Alcni, possessed a knowledge of Hebrew, and visited the colony himself in 1613. In Nan-King Semmedo learnt that the last five families in that city had recently joined the Muhammadans, the community nearest akin to them; and writing in 1642, he alluded to four Chinese towns in which native Jews were then living in favourable circumstances.

Almost a century elapsed before the next European visited the colony. Father Gozani in 1704 went on direct instructions received from Rome, and was favourably received and obtained valuable information. On later occasions the Papal authorities sent Gaubel and Domenge on similar errands, and in these instances also the visits were by no means barren of results. These visits continued at frequent intervals until 1723, when the Emperor Yong-Ching expelled all missionaries from the province.

The next attempt to get into communication with the colony was made by the Anglo-Jewish community. In 1760, Haham Isaac Nieto, the ex-spiritual head of the London community of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, addressed to the Chinese colony a letter couched in sympathetic terms, and asking for information on a variety of points. No trace can be found of the receipt of any reply, although one in Hebrew and Chinese is said to have come. Nine years later, Kennicott of Oxford attempted to get into communication with the colony, but without success; and similar unsatisfactory results attended the efforts made by Tychsen in 1777 and 1779. In 1815 some English Jews sent a letter which undoubtedly reached the people for whom it was intended. The messenger, however, did not await a reply, and this opportunity for a continued correspondence was lost.

Destitution and decay.—The treaty of Nan-King in 1842 and the opening of five treaty ports gave great facilities, as compared with those hitherto existing, for intercourse with China. James Finn, British Consul in Jerusalem, began to take an interest in the Jewish remnant in China, and in 1845 addressed a letter to the community. This letter was duly delivered, but by a series of accidents the reply did not reach Finn until 1870. From that reply it was ascertained that the condition of the colony had become very precarious. Destitution and religious decay were prevalent. The scrolls of the community were still intact, but none of its members could read them. Only one of them, a woman of more than seventy years, had any recollection of any of the tenets of their faith. 'Morning and night, with tears in our eyes and with offerings of incense, do we implore that our religion may again flourish.' The community was without ministers, and its temple was in ruins. The prayer of the writer and of his co-religionists was that assistance should be afforded them in the restoration of their house of prayer, and that they should be supplied with teachers who would give them instruction in the ordinances of Judaism.

This pathetic statement of the condition of affairs was confirmed by the messengers sent to Kai-Fung-Fu in 1850 and 1851 by the then Bishop of Hong-Kong:

'The expectation of a Messiah seems to have been entirely lost. . . . They had petitioned the Chinese Emperor to have pity on their poverty, and to rebuild their temple. No reply had been received from Peking; but to this feeble hope they still clung. Out of seventy family names or clans not more than seven now remained. . . . A few of them were shopkeepers in the city; others were agriculturists at some little distance from the suburbs; while a few families also lived in the temple precincts, almost destitute of raiment and shelter. According to present appearances, in the judgment of native messengers, after a few years all traces of Judaism will probably have disappeared, and this Jewish remnant will have been amalgamated with and absorbed into surrounding Muhammadanism' (*North China Herald*, Jan. 18, 1851).

The number of the community was at first esti-

mated at about 200 individuals, but later visitors came to the conclusion that they far exceeded this total. The rite of circumcision was practised, 'though the tradition respecting its origin and object appears to be lost among them.' These messengers from Hong-Kong succeeded in copying the Jewish inscriptions and obtained several of the books in the possession of the community. They also brought back two members of the colony, who stayed for a few months at Shanghai.

One of the results of these successful efforts to get into communication with the colony was that the attention of the English and American Jewish communities was directed towards its existence. Efforts were made both in England and in the United States to send Jewish missionaries to the Orphan Colony, but they were in every instance foiled—by the outbreak of the Tai-Ping Rebellion, or of the American Civil War, or by the death of Benjamin II., the Jewish traveller who had been engaged by the Anglo-Jewish community to visit their secluded co-religionists.

In 1866, W. A. P. Martin, an American Presbyterian missionary, published the journal of his visit to the colony. He also found the community in a very decayed condition. The temple was represented by one solitary stone, inscriptions on which recorded the erection of the synagogue and its subsequent rebuilding. The descendants of its builders admitted with shame and grief that they had themselves demolished the walls still standing in their time. Their physical wants needed appeasing, and in order to satisfy them they had sold the timber and stone of which the edifice had been constructed.

In July 1867, the first Jewish visitor for centuries, a German, J. L. Liebermann, arrived at Kai-Fung-Fu. Other visitors followed. Their tales showed a sad agreement. Within the last few years repeated efforts have been made to save the Orphan Colony to Judaism. The leading Jewish citizens of Shanghai formed a rescue committee, and in August 1900 a native messenger was sent to Kai-Fung-Fu with a letter in Hebrew and Chinese addressed to the Jewish community there. The messenger returned to Shanghai towards the end of October, with a reply in Chinese in which the writer promised that, when the country was more settled, some members of the colony would visit Shanghai. Further correspondence ensued, and resulted ultimately in this promise being fulfilled in 1901 and 1902. The two youngest of the visitors were circumcised and received instruction in Hebrew and Judaism, the object being to send them back to their people in the capacity of teachers. In 1902 also, in response to repeated petitions, the Chinese Government granted the community new title-deeds to the land on which their temple originally stood. The original deeds were lost during the Tai-Ping Rebellion.

The Early Synagogue.—According to the accounts of the Jesuit visitors in the 18th cent., the synagogue at Kai-Fung-Fu was known as *Li-pai-se* (the weekly meeting-house), as it was for the most part opened only on the Sabbath. The worshippers removed their shoes before entering the building, and wore a blue head-dress during service, to distinguish them from the Muhammadans, who wore white. The reader of the Law covered his face with a transparent veil in imitation of Moses (Ex 34[33]), and wore a red silk scarf depending from the right shoulder and tied under the left. By the side of the reader stood a monitor to correct him if necessary. The prayers were chanted, and no musical instruments were used. The congregation wore no *tallithim*. The festivals as well as the Day of Atonement were duly observed. The Feast of *Simchath Torah* also received recognition, and, according to the testimony of Father Domenge, the service on that day included the customary procession of scrolls of the Law. The liturgy contains services for the Fast of Ab and for Purim. The New Moon was also celebrated as a festival, a trace of pre-Talmudic tradition. The Calendar and mode in which the festivals were fixed agreed with those in use among modern Jews, as well as with those of the non-Jewish Chinese, whose system is similar to that of the Jews. Circumcision was observed, proselytism discouraged, and inter-marriage forbidden. The sacred books were used in casting lots, and homage was paid to Confucius as was also done by non-Jewish inhabitants. The name of the Deity was never pronounced, but *Etunoi*—the equivalent of the Hebrew *Adonai*—was used as a substitute. These Jews refrained from the use of heathen musical instruments at their wedding ceremonies, and abstained from the flesh of swine. They did not, however, refuse to eat of the flesh of animals which have undivided hoofs. Peculiarly, this restriction was exercised by another small sect believed to be the descendants of Syrian Christians.

The following is an abstract of their Biblical story:

'Abraham was the nineteenth in descent from Adam. The patriarchs handed down the tradition forbidding the making and worshipping of images and spirits, and the holding of superstitions. Abraham pondered over problems of Nature, and arrived at the belief in the one true God, and became the founder of the religion we believe in to this day. This happened in the 146th year of the Cheou dynasty. His belief was handed down from father to son till Moses, who, it is found, was alive in the 613th year of the Cheou dynasty. He was endowed with wisdom and virtue. He abode forty days on the summit of Mount Sinai, refraining from meat and drink, and communing with God. The fifty-three portions of the Law had their origin with him. From him the Law and tradition were handed down unto Ezra, who was likewise a patriarch. After the Creation, the doctrine was transmitted by Adam to Noah; thence unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and afterwards through the twelve patriarchs to Moses, Aaron, and Joshua. Ezra promulgated the Law, and through him the letters of the Yew-thae (Jewish) nation were made plain.'

The books of the sect consist of the Pentateuch, the Prayer-Book, and, according to the first Jesuit visitor, Maccabees, Judith, and Ben Sira in Aramaic. The Pentateuch is divided into fifty-three portions—not fifty-four, as among the modern Jews. The sect also possessed the Haphtorah, or portions of the prophets to be read on festivals and sabbaths, and the books of Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, and a portion of Chronicles. Other books in the collection are the *Keang-Chang*, or the Expositors, apparently commentaries, and the *Le-pae*, or ceremonial books. Job, Proverbs, the Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Lamentations, and Psalms were apparently not found, although their omission from the catalogue does not assure their non-existence. The books brought to Europe were carefully examined by A. Neubauer, who came to the conclusion that the ritual was undoubtedly of Persian origin. In fact he identified it with the Persian ritual, of which, unfortunately, but very little is known. If there were any doubt concerning the origin of the Chinese Jews, the fact that all the directions for the ritual of their prayers are in Persian would dispel it. The Persian used, however, is not the old language, but that spoken since Firdausi. This evidence of language would suggest a late immigration, long after the dynasty of Han, unless the view be accepted that intercourse with Persia was continued subsequently to the original settlement in China, and that it was from Persia that the colony drew its books and possibly its instructors. Parts of the Mishna are quoted in the Prayer-Book, but nothing from the Gemara. It is also necessary to notice that vowel-points are placed very arbitrarily. The Pesach Haggadah is almost the same as that of the Yemen Jews, whose ritual

was closely allied to that of Persia. Some of the books of the sect have been brought to Europe and are in the museum of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, in the British Museum, in the Libraries of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, at Yale College, in the Lenox Library, New York, in the Vienna Library, at Paris, and in the possession of the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, at Philadelphia.

The pronunciation of Hebrew by the Chinese Jews, in consequence of their surroundings, differs somewhat from that customary among modern Jews. For instance, תורה is pronounced *thoulaha*, בראשית *pieleshitze*, שמות *shmotze*, ויקרא *vajekelo*, במדבר *piemizepaul*, etc.

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CHINOOKS.—The Chinook Indians are a tribe which gives its name to an entire linguistic family, speaking a tongue sharply differentiated by grammatical peculiarities from those of the surrounding peoples. The family includes those tribes formerly dwelling on Columbia River from the Dalles to its mouth (except an insignificant strip of territory occupied by an Athapascan tribe), and on the lower Willamette as far as the present site of Oregon City. It also occupied a part of the coast on each side of the mouth of the Columbia, from Shoalwater Bay on the north to Tillamook Head on the south. They dwelt in large wooden houses, which were occupied on communal principles by three or four families, often containing twenty or more individuals; but, as their food supply consisted chiefly of salmon and roots, they were forced to wander considerably from their villages, especially in summer. By reason of their trading habits and cupidity they may be regarded as the Phœnicians of the Red Race. They made extended trips to various parts of the surrounding country for the purpose of bartering their wares, and carried raids into the territories of other peoples, making slaves of their captives, and bartering them with other tribes. The village was the chief social unit with them, and they possessed no clan system. Each village, however, possessed a headman, whose influence often extended over several communities. In physical organization they differed considerably from the other coast tribes. They were taller, with wide faces and prominent noses, the expression being frequently one of extreme craftiness, whilst the custom of artificially flattening the head by compressing the front of the occipital region was universal with them. They were divided into two linguistic groups—Lower Chinook, comprising Chinook proper and the Clatsop; and Upper Chinook, comprising all the rest of the tribe, with numerous dialectic differences. The Lower Chinook dialects are now practically extinct. Of persons of pure Chinook blood only about 300 now exist. Upper Chinook is still spoken by considerable numbers, but the fusion of blood on the Indian reservation, where most of the so-called Chinooks now dwell, has been so great that the majority of those who speak it cannot be said to be of Chinook blood.

1. Type of religion.—The stage of religious evolution to which the beliefs of the Chinooks may be referred was that of zootheism, where no line of demarcation exists between man and beast, and all facts and phenomena of being are explained in the mythic history of zoomorphic personages who, though supernatural, can still hardly be described as gods. The original totemic nature of these beings it would be difficult to gainsay. They appear to occupy a position between the totem and the god proper—an evolutionary condition which has been the lot of many deities. Allied with these beliefs we find a shamanistic medico-religious practice, in which the various 'gods' are invoked for the assistance of the sick. Such a system is rare among N. American Indian tribes, and bears some resemblance to the systems in vogue among the tribes of N.E. Asia.

2. Cosmogony.—

'Coyote was coming. He came to Got'at. There he met a heavy surf. He was afraid that he might be drifted away, and went up to the spruce trees. He stayed there a long time. Then he took some sand, and threw it upon that surf. This shall be a prairie and no surf. The future generations shall walk on that prairie. Thus Clatsop became a prairie.'

Such is the myth which relates how Italapas, the Coyote god, created the Chinookan district. He then fixed the various tabus, especially as regarded salmon-catching. Throughout the north-west, west, and the Pacific coast of N. America generally, the coyote is regarded either as the creative agency, or as a turbulent enemy of the creator himself. In the myths of the Maidu of California, Kodoyanpe, the creator, has a prolonged struggle with Coyote, who seeks to hamper him in his world-shaping work, and is finally worsted by his crafty foe. But in the myths of the Shushwap and Kutenai of British Columbia, Coyote himself is the creator, and in those of the Californian Ashochimi, Coyote appears after the Deluge, and plants in the soil the feathers of various birds, which grow into the various tribes of men (Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California*, Washington, 1877, p. 200).

3. Mythological concepts.—These fall into four classes: (1) supernatural beings of a zoomorphic type, with many of the attributes of deity; (2) guardian spirits; (3) evil spirits; (4) culture-heroes.

(1) *Zoomorphic beings.*—This class includes such concepts as the coyote, blue-jay, robin, skunk, and panther. As has been said, there is probably no doubt that all these beings were originally totems of various Chinookan clans, although these do not appear to have possessed any special tribal names, but are simply designated as 'those dwelling at such and such a place.' The Chinooks may, however, have lost these tribal names—a common occurrence when tribes become sedentary—and yet have retained their totemistic concepts.

Italapas, the Coyote, as has been said, is one of the chief of Chinook concepts of the first class, and may be regarded as at the head of the pantheon. Nearly equal to him in importance is Blue-Jay, who figures in nearly every myth of Chinook origin. But whereas Italapas, the Coyote, assisted Ikanam, the Creator, in the making of men and taught them various arts, Blue-Jay's mission is obviously one of dispeace; and he well typifies the bird from which he takes his name, and from which he was probably derived totemically. He figures as a mischievous tale-bearer, braggart, and cunning schemer, with many points of resemblance to the Loki of Scandinavian mythology.

His origin is touched upon in a myth dealing with the journey of the Thunderer through the country of the Supernatural people, in which, with Blue-Jay's help, the Thunderer

and his son-in-law obtain possession of the bows and targets of the Supernatural folk. They engage in a shooting-match with the invaders, who win at first by using their own targets, but when the Supernatural people suspect craft, they agree to the substitution of shining Supernatural targets for their own, and lose; and, as they had staked their own persons in the match, they fall into the power of the Supernatural beings, who wreak vengeance upon Blue-Jay by metamorphosing him into the bird whose name he bears. 'Blue-Jay shall be your name, and you shall sing "Watsetsetsetsetse," and it shall be a bad omen.'

There is a trilogy of myths concerning Blue-Jay and his sister Ioi. Ioi begs him to take a wife to share her labour, and Blue-Jay takes the corpse of a chief's daughter from her grave and carries her to the land of the Supernatural people, who restore her to life. The chief, her father, discovers the circumstance, and demands Blue-Jay's hair in payment for his daughter, but Blue-Jay changes himself into his bird shape and flies away—an incident which would appear to prove his frequent adoption of a human form. When he flees, his wife expires a second time. The ghosts then buy Ioi, Blue-Jay's sister, for a wife, and Blue-Jay goes in search of her. Arriving in the country of the ghosts, he finds his sister surrounded by heaps of bones, to which she alludes as her relations by marriage. The ghosts take human shape occasionally, but, upon being spoken to by Blue-Jay, become mere heaps of bones again. He takes a mischievous delight in reducing them to this condition, and in tormenting them in every possible manner, especially by mixing the various heaps of bones, so that, upon materializing, the ghosts find themselves with the wrong heads, legs, and arms. In fact, the whole myth is obviously one which recounts the 'harrowing of hell,' so common in savage and barbarian myth, and probably invented to reassure the savage as to the terrors of the next world, and to instruct him in the best methods of foiling the evil propensities of its inhabitants. We find the same atmosphere in the myth of the descent into Xibalba of Hun-Ahpu and Xbalanque in the *Popol Vuh* of the Kiche of Guatemala, in which the hero-gods outwit and ridicule the lords of hell.

Skasa-it (Robin) is Blue-Jay's elder brother, and his principal duty appears to consist in applying sententious comments to the mischievous acts of his relative. The Skunk, Panther, Raven, and Crow are similar concepts. That most of these were supposed to be anthropomorphic in shape—probably having animals' or birds' heads upon men's bodies—is proved not only by the protean facility with which they change their shapes, but by a passage in the myth of Anektcxolemix, in which is mentioned 'a person who came to the fire with a very sharp beak, who began to cut meat'; and another 'person' splits logs for firewood with his beak. But such concepts are notoriously difficult of apprehension by those to whom the distorted appearance of Nature—due to an intense familiarity with and nearness to her—in the savage mind is unfamiliar.

(2) *Guardian spirits.*—The Chinooks believed that each person possesses a guardian spirit, or sometimes two or three, which are seen by him early in life. This proves conclusively that they were still in the totemic stage. The guardian spirit or totem was usually seen in a secluded spot, to which the young warrior or maiden had withdrawn for the purpose of selecting a totem.

A verified account of the manner in which a young Indian beheld his totem states that the lad's father sent him to a mountain-top to look for Utonaqan, the female guardian spirit of his ancestors. At noon, on his arrival at the mountain, he heard the howls of the totem spirit, and commenced to climb the mountain, chilled by fear as her yells grew louder. He climbed a tree, and still heard her howls, and the rustle of her body in the branches below. Then fear took possession of him, and he fled. Utonaqan pursued him. She gained upon him, howling so that his knees gave way beneath him, and he might not run. Then he bethought him of one of his guardian spirits, and left her far behind. He cast away his blanket, she reached it, and, after snuffing at it, took up the pursuit once more. Then he thought of his guardian spirit the wolf, and a new access of strength came to him. Still in great terror he looked back. She followed behind him with a wolf-like lope, her long teats brushing the ground. Then he thought of his guardian spirit the bitch, and left her far behind. Late in the day he reached a small deep creek. He knew that Utonaqan was afraid of water, so he waded into the stream up to the armpits. She came running to the bank, and at the noise of her howling he fainted and fell asleep. Through the eyes of sleep he saw her as a human being. She said to him: 'I am she whom your family and whom the Indians call Utonaqan. You are dear to me. Look at me, Indian.' He looked, and saw that her throat and body were full of arrow-heads. After that he slept, and awoke when the sun was high in the sky. He bathed in the creek, and returned home.

(3) *Evil spirits.*—These are many and various. The most terrible appears to be the Glutton, whose appetite nothing can satiate, but who devours everything in the house, and, when the meat supply comes to an end, kills and eats the occupants. In the myth of Okulam he pursues five brothers, after eating all their meat, and devours them one by one; but the youngest escapes by the good offices of the Thunderer, Ikenuwakcom, a being of the nature of a thunder-god, whose daughter he marries.

(4) *Culture-heroes.*—Besides being reckoned as deities of a zoomorphic and sometimes anthropomorphic type, Blue-Jay, Italapas, and the others may be regarded as partaking of the nature of hero-gods, or culture-heroes. But they are not always prompted by the highest motives in their cultural activities, and are markedly egotistical and selfish, every action being dictated by a desire to prove superior in cunning to the foe vanquished. To overcome difficulties by craft is the delight of the savage, and those gods who are most skilled in such methods he honours most. In the myths relating to Blue-Jay and his sister Ioi, Blue-Jay repeatedly scores against numerous adversaries, but in the end is punished himself, and it is difficult to say whether or not the world is any the wiser or better for his efforts. But the idea of good accomplished is a purely relative one in the savage mind, and cannot be appreciated to any extent by civilized persons.

4. **Ideas of a future state.**—The Chinooks believe that after death the spirit of the deceased drinks at a large hole in the ground, after which it shrinks and passes on to the country of the ghosts, where it is fed with spirit food. After drinking of the water and partaking of the fare of spirit-land, the soul becomes the irrevocable property of the dead, and may not return. But every person is possessed of two spirits, a greater and a lesser. During sickness it is this lesser soul which is spirited away by the denizens of ghost-land. The Navahos have a similar belief. They assert that in the personal soul there is none of the vital force which animates the body, nor any of the mental power, but a species of third entity, a sort of spiritual body like the *ka* of the ancient Egyptians, which may leave its owner and become lost, much to his danger and discomfort. Among the Mexicans a similar spirit-body (*tonal*) was recognized, much the same in character, indeed, as the 'astral body' of modern spiritualism. Among them, as with the Mayas of Yucatan, it came into existence with the name, and for this reason the personal name was sacred and rarely uttered. It was regarded as part of the individuality, and through it the ego might be injured. This belief is general among the aboriginal peoples of both Americas.

In the country of the ghosts we see a striking analogy to the old classical idea of Hades. It is a place of windless, soundless, half-dusk, inhabited by shadows who shrink from tumult of any description, and whose entire existence is a sort of shadowy extension of earthly life. It is to be sharply distinguished from the country of the 'Supernatural people,' who lead a much more satisfying life. But there are other and still more mysterious regions in the sky, as recorded in the myth of Aqas Xenas Xena.

This myth relates how a boy who has slain his mother mounts to the celestial sphere by means of a chain fastened to the end of an arrow. He first meets the darkness, and is then accosted by the Evening Star, who asks if he has seen his game, and explains that he is hunting men. He reaches the house of the Evening Star, and finds his sons and daughter at home counting over the game-bag of the day—dead folk. The daughter is the Moon. The same thing occurs in the house of the Morning Star, whose daughter is the Sun. The sons of the one star are at war with those of the other. He marries the Moon, who bears him children who are united in the middle. He returns to earth

with his wife and progeny, whom Blue-Jay separates, and they die, returning to the Sky with their mother and becoming the 'Sun-dogs.'

In this day and night myth we recognize the widespread belief in celestial regions where man exists not after death, and which is common to nearly all American mythologies.

There is a similar myth relating to the Sun, which is kept in the hut of an old woman who dwells in the skies, from whom an adventurous hero obtains a blanket which renders him insane—a probable explanation of sunstroke.

The funerary customs of the Chinooks displayed a belief in a future existence. On the death of a person of importance his relatives attached *dentalia* (strings of teeth used as money) to the corpse, and placed it in a canoe, which was next painted, and had two holes cut in its stern. The people then went down to the beach and washed themselves and cut their hair. They also changed their names. After a year the corpse was cleaned. In the canoe the dead man was surrounded by all the paraphernalia of war; and tin cups, copper kettles, plates, pieces of cotton, red cloth and furs—in fact, all the things the Indians themselves most value, or which are most difficult to obtain—were hung round the canoe. Beside the corpse were placed paddles, weapons, food, etc., and everything necessary to a long journey. Beads and shells were placed in the mouth of the dead man, and the canoe was finally towed to an island-cemetery, and there made fast to the branches of a tree, or raised on a scaffolding of cedar boards and poles some four or five feet from the ground. The final act was to bore holes in the canoe, and to mutilate and render useless the articles which had been offered to the dead, in the hope that, although of no use to possible terrestrial thieves, they (or rather their astral counterparts) would be made perfect by supernatural beings upon the arrival of the deceased in the land of spirits.

Wilson relates (*Prehistoric Man*[3], ii. 209) that the son of Casenov, a Chinook chief, having died, he attempted the life of his favourite wife, who had been devoted to the youth. Casenov stated that, 'as he knew his wife had been so useful to his son, and so necessary to his happiness and comfort in this world, he wished to send her with him as his companion on his long journey.'

On the death of a shaman or priest, his *bâton* was placed next to the canoe, and his rattle of bear-claws or shells hung upon its stern. When a shaman had a large family, his rattle was carried far into the woods, as was the rest of his paraphernalia—probably in case any of his children should purloin it, with a view to securing a portion of their father's magic power through its agency. On the death of a female, her robe alone was hung on the canoe. The pilfering of *dentalia* or other objects from a corpse was punished by death, and but rarely occurred. Levity at a burial was heavily fined, or in some cases was followed by the speedy death of the mocker at the hands of the relatives of the deceased. On the death of the child of a chief, he and his relatives went to the chief of a neighbouring 'town,' who gave him three slaves, a canoe, and *dentalia*; and, if these gifts were not forthcoming, a feud arose. On the death of a chief, his people invariably went to war with the chief of another town, probably for the purpose of securing sufficient plunder to perform his obsequies in a becoming manner.

5. Priesthood.—The shamans of the Chinooks were a medico-religious fraternity, the members of which worked individually, as a general rule, and sometimes in concert. Their methods were much the same as those of the medicine-men of other Indian tribes in a similar state of belief (see art. CHEROKEES), but were differentiated from them by various thaumaturgical practices which they made use of in their medical duties. These were usually undertaken by three shamans acting in concert for the purpose of rescuing the 'astral body' of a sick patient from the Land of Spirits. The three shamans who undertook the search for the sick man's spiritual body threw themselves into a state of clairvoyance, in which their souls were supposed to be temporarily detached from their bodies, and then followed the spiritual track of the sick man's soul. The soul of the shaman who had a strong guardian spirit was placed first, another one last, and that of the priest who had the weakest guardian spirit in the middle. When the trail of the sick man's soul foreshadowed danger or the proximity of any supernatural evil, the soul of the foremost shaman sang a magical chant to ward it off, and, if a danger approached from behind, the shaman in the rear did likewise. The soul was usually thought to be reached about the time of the rising of the morning star. They then laid hold upon the soul of the sick person and returned with it, after a sojourn of one or perhaps two nights in the regions of the supernatural. They next replaced the soul in the body of their patient, who forthwith recovered. Should the soul of a sick person take the trail to the left, the pursuing shamans would say, 'He will die'; whereas, if it took a trail towards the right, they would say, 'We shall cure him.'

It was supposed that when the spirits of the shamans reached the well in the Land of Ghosts where the shades of the departed drink, their first care was to ascertain whether or not the soul of him they sought had drunk of these waters; as they held that, had it done so, all hope of cure was past. If they laid hold of a soul that had drunk of the water and had returned with it, it shrank, upon their proximity to the country of the Indians, so that it would not fill the sick man's body, and he died. The same superstition applied to the eating of ghostly food by the spirit. Did the sick man's soul partake of the fare of Hades, then was he doomed indeed. In this belief we have a parallel with that of the Greeks, who related that Persephone, the daughter of Demeter, the 'corn-mother,' might not repair to earth for more than a short period every year, because Pluto had given her to eat of the seed of a pomegranate. The tabu regarding the eating of the food of the dead is almost universal. We find it in the Finnish *Kalevala*, where Wäinämöinen, visiting Tuonela, the place of the dead, refuses to taste of drink; and it is to be observed in Japanese and Melanesian myth-cycles. Likewise, if the spirit enters the house of the ghosts, it cannot return to earth. These beliefs apply not only to human beings, but also to animals, and even to inanimate objects. For example, if the astral counterpart of a horse or a canoe be seen in ghost-land, unless they are rescued from thence by the shaman, they are doomed.

The shamans often worked through the clairvoyant powers of others. They possessed little carved fetishes of cedar-wood in the shape of mannikins, and these they placed in the hands of a young person who had not as yet received a guardian spirit. By virtue of these fetishes they were supposed to be rendered clairvoyant, and to be enabled to journey to the Land of Ghosts on behalf of the shaman, there to observe whatever the medicine-man wished them to. The souls of chiefs travelled to the supernatural country in a manner different from those of ordinary people. They went directly to the seashore, and only the most adept shamans professed to be able to follow their movements. At high water the sick are in imminent peril of death, but at low water they will recover. If the soul of a sick man be carried out into the ocean, however, the owner cannot recover. This would appear to prove that the sea was regarded as the highway towards the country

of the supernatural. If the shamans wished to cheat the ghosts of a soul, they created the astral form of a deer. The ghosts would then abandon the pursuit of the earthly soul for that of the animal, whilst the shaman rescued the soul threatened by them.

6. Medico-religious beliefs.—When a person fell sick, the shaman affected to withdraw the disease, and imprison it between his closed hands. It was then placed in a kettle of boiling water, and afterwards taken out in the form of a human bone, carved in the semblance of a person. The number of people it had killed was known by the number of scores on the arm of the image; for example, when it had accounted for eight persons, it had five scores or cuts on one arm and three on the other.

Should a shaman announce that any one is being harmed by the magical arts of another, the wizard is assuredly doomed. But the shamans are generally employed to send disease or misfortune upon the enemies of those who pay them. They begin operations by practising their arts upon animals and even upon trees, and, if successful in slaying or blighting these, come to regard themselves as possessing the attributes of shamans.

7. But little is known of the rites of the Chinooks in connexion with puberty, marriage, and seasonal festivities. Marriage was usually accomplished by purchase, and was accompanied by the singing of magical chants, and the payment of much *dentalia* to the bride's relatives, three-fourths of which, strangely enough, was refunded. There is no reason to think that the seasonal festivities of the Chinooks differed in any manner from those of other peoples of the North Pacific Coast. Festivities were probably regulated by the supply of food—such as stranded whales and other drift supplies. On the occasion of a whale being cast ashore, a feast was held, and songs were sung to the supernatural helper of the sea, Iketal.

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CHIRIQUI.—Chiriqui is the name of a lagoon, river, volcano, and province, the last being the westernmost province of the new Republic of Panama; the term, therefore, has no connexion whatever with 'Cherokee,' with which it is sometimes confused. The word is evidently of Indian origin, but we have been unable to trace its meaning. It appears in the works of Oviedo as *Cheriqui*, and has since suffered little change in spelling.

The discoverers of the Isthmus all testified to its relatively large Indian population. A century later (1606), the missionary, Melchor Hernandez, found as many as six distinct languages spoken on and near the shores of the Chiriqui lagoon, by ten different tribes. Since the advent of the European the reduction has gone steadily on. The tribes occupying the province of Chiriqui in recent years are the Guaymies and Dorasques. Pinart believes that the Guaymies are the descendants of the race that constructed the ancient *huacals* ('cemeteries') from which our Chiriquian antiquities come.

Among the Guaymies are found manifest traces of totemism, each tribe, family, and individual having its tutelary animal. Like American Indians in general, they believe in spirits and animism, employing magicians (*sukia*), and making offerings to appease evil spirits. The dead are carried far into the forest and placed on a scaffold. After a year has elapsed, an official goes to the place, cleans the bones, binds them in a package, and transports them to the family sepulchre. Formerly they buried with the dead all his possessions.

The Changuina-Dorasque stock formerly occupied the greater part of the province of Chiriqui. By the middle of the 18th cent. their limits were confined to the plains of Chiriqui. In 1887 their number was reduced to thirteen or fourteen persons of pure blood, living chiefly near Bugaba, Caldera, and Dolega. As to the Dorasque tribes proper, the last member died between the years 1882 and 1887.

Beyond the observations of Pinart little has been done towards collecting data on the religion of the tribes now occupying Chiriqui. Turning to prehistoric Chiriqui as reconstituted from the wealth of archæological material furnished by the numerous *huacals* of that region, one finds traces of an elaborate and highly interesting cult. This is best typified in the figures with mixed attributes that occur not only in plastic form as metal and clay figurines, but also as paintings on vases. Representations of this class usually combine the human body with the head of some lower animal—the alligator, jaguar, or parrot, for example. The non-human attributes are often emphasized by the addition of conventionalized animal forms or parts thereof.

Perhaps the most important divinity of the series is the alligator- or crocodile-god. The finest known painting of it represents the interior of a large shallow cup or chalice belonging to the so-called polychrome ware. The human body and extremities are easily recognizable. The head, however, is that of the alligator, characterized by the naso-frontal prominence, long jaws, the upper one being recurved, a formidable array of teeth, and a head-dress or *nuchal* crest decorated with alligator spines. The spine symbol is also repeated on the two tails. Within the field, behind the eye and leading down to the shoulders, are three *motifs* derived from the profile view of the alligator—the curve of the body accompanied by the symbol for the body-markings placed in the dorsal concavity. In the upper and lower *motifs* there is a dorsal angle instead of a dorsal curve. The same design is employed to fill in angular spaces on opposite sides of the field. Not an inch of space is left undecorated; spines and teeth are to be seen everywhere.

It is highly interesting to trace alligator symbolism not only from one ceramic group to another, but also from ceramics to the metal and stone figurines. A favourite *motif* in one group of pottery, for example, is that derived from the dorsal view of the alligator.

The profile view of a common body with an alligator head at each end occurs in another ceramic group, and is often seen also in metal figurines. In one of these this *motif* is disguised as a flattened bar both at the head and the feet of an alligator-god, and its origin would not be even suspected but for the four conventionalized alligator heads. The identity of the god himself is made certain by the bulging eyes, open mouth with teeth, and especially by the wire coil representing the upturned snout.

The use of the conventionalized alligator or alligator head as a decorative and symbolic *motif* on metal figurines does not seem to have been detected by previous writers. An alligator-god was reproduced by Bollaert, who not only did not recognize the head as being that of an alligator, but also did not see the three additional diagrammatic alligators that were woven into the setting of the central figure. A subsequent writer copied this illustration, calling it simply a 'grotesque human figure in gold from Bollaert.' It stands on the inverted body of an alligator, which in turn is

surmounted by the customary horizontal base, the points of contact being the spines on the back of the alligator, whose head is recognized by an eye, recurved snout, and open mouth with teeth. The attitude of this alligator at the feet of the god is the same as in the foregoing example. What Bollaert called 'a fan-like crown at the back' consists of two highly conventionalized inverted alligators, their coiled tails being attached to the sides of the god's head and their heads resting on his shoulders. A gold figurine in the British Museum (Cat. no. 4536), representing the alligator-god, is entered as a 'monstrous standing figure with horned head, one horn partly broken off, the other horn terminating in a serpent-like head.' These horns are in reality conventionalized alligators. Similar deities are also found in Costa Rica. In the Keith collection are two splendid alligator-gods from the Huacal de los Reyes, Rio General, near Terraba. In one of these a wire coil at the end of the nose represents the hooked snout. Instead of the oft-recurring head-dress composed of a flattened bar with attached conventionalized alligator heads, there is a framework enclosing five sigmoid scrolls, each representing a multiple alligator *motif*. The body and legs are human. At the shoulders and hips, however, are four additional extremities, as if to give greater weight to the reptilian attributes. Each of these four extremities ends in an alligator head instead of a foot.

There is a Chiriquian god with avian attributes. The specific type of these as well as the esteem in which the parrot was held, both among the Chibchas and the Chiriquians, leads the present writer to propose the name of 'parrot-god' for this deity. The body is human; the head that of a parrot. There is the customary flattened bar at the top and bottom, to which are attached parrot heads instead of alligator heads. The hands also of the deity are replaced by parrot heads.[1]

Two fine examples of the parrot-god were recently acquired by Mr Minor C. Keith, and, like the two alligator-gods in the latter's collection, form part of the golden treasure of the Huacal de los Reyes, discovered about the year 1906. These two parrot-gods are similar in detail. The body and legs are human. The head and the forked wings that replace the human arms are the only avian characters. The figures are strengthened by flattened bars at the head and feet, to which and to the bars are joined conventionalized alligator heads. Each image is supplied with knee- and loin-bands.

In Chiriquian deities with human attributes it is generally the latter that predominate. That is to say, the body and extremities are usually human, and the head animal; in other words, a man with an animal mask, and with ornaments representing parts of the animal in question or of some other. The reverse is true in some figures. Here the head, breast, and arms are human, and the body and lower extremities avian. The tail being much reduced in size, the bird attributes are not evident at first glance. In order further to emphasize these, a bird foot of the parrot type is the central feature of the elaborate head-dress, and the human hands are replaced by bird feet. Two stylistic bird heads are placed at the sides of the body, and serve as supports for the elbows.

Among the Chiriquian antiquities exhibited by Captain Dow before the American Ethnological Society in the early sixties, was a gold image with attributes suggesting the foregoing. It was 'in the form of a man, holding a bird in each hand, and sustaining one on his forehead.' It should be noted that there the entire bird takes the place of the bird foot.

[1] This specimen belongs to Mr G. G. Heye of New York.

The Imperial Museum of Natural History, Vienna, possesses a small parrot deity of gold—a bird's head and wings, and a human body and lower extremities. Decorative alligator heads are attached to the calves, one on each side. A small animal is held in the beak of this deity.

Dr. Alice Mertens has recently given to the Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin, a valuable series of Costa Rican gold ornaments, also from the valley of Rio General. Judging from the published photographic reproductions, one of these is a double parrot-god, with two complete human bodies, each with two arms and a single wing, the latter joined to the distal shoulder in either case. One head is missing; the other is that of the parrot.

Representations of the parrot-god are confined neither to the gold figurines nor to Chiriqui. At Mercedes, near the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica, Keith found a number of stone slabs of various sizes resembling somewhat the gravestones in the colonial cemeteries of New England. Instead of being used as headstones, however, they are said to be found at the bottom of the graves. Skilfully carved out of volcanic rock, they are generally decorated with figures in relief, or in the round. Two of the smaller and simpler slabs are each adorned with a parrot-god. It stands at the centre of one end, with wings extended outwards and downwards until they touch the corners of the slabs. The entire figure is thus in the round.

Many of the celt-shaped amulets from Las Guacas, Nicoya (Costa Rica), described by Hartman as 'ornithomorphic,' are also anthropomorphic, *i.e.*, have mixed attributes. These are in all probability representations of the same parrot-god of which such fine examples in gold have just been noted. The differences in execution are practically confined to such as are due to the nature of the medium. Even the head-dress is the same, although not so elaborate. Instead of the relatively large gold bar representing a common animal body (usually that of the alligator) with conventionalized heads at each end, there is a reduction of the whole, differing in degree, from two opposing heads brought close together to two simple projections resembling ear tufts.

Some of the gems among Chiriquian gold figurines represent a creature part human and part jaguar, presumably a jaguar-god. One such is in the Heye collection. The Keith collection of gold ornaments includes a number of jaguar-gods. In one from the Huacal de los Reyes, valley of Rio General, Costa Rica, the bars at the head and feet are each marked by a row of triangular perforations, while the four alligator heads are so highly conventionalized as to become simply curved extensions of the flattened bars. There is no differentiation of jaws, teeth, and eyes. In fact, each bar with its two curved branches is a multiple alligator *motif*—a common body with a head at each end, the triangular perforations representing alligator spines. In another figure of a jaguar-god from the valley of Rio General, it is quite evident that the head bar and its curved extensions represent a multiple alligator *motif*, each head being differentiated. The spines on the common body are placed ventrally, as in the preceding figure. The bar and alligator heads at the feet are entirely wanting in this example. A third jaguar-god in the Keith collection is from Mercedes, near the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica. The treatment is similar to that in the preceding figure, except that a rattle is held in each hand; and, instead of the horizontal bar representing a body common to the two stylistic alligator heads, the two bodies are set like horns in the head of the jaguar-god. In both figurines, however, the alligator *motif* is

alike, in that the spines and scales are located ventrally instead of dorsally. In the first of the figures referred to, the same result was arrived at by means of a row of triangular perforations. The three figures taken together furnish the key to the meaning of the bars that constitute the head- and foot-piece to so many Chiriquian gold images, this type of setting for such figurines being, in fact, one of the characteristic features of Chiriquian art. These bars are derived from, or at least merge into, animal forms—two heads and a common body. A majority of them represent the alligator, a rare exception being seen in the figure where parrot heads are employed. The bar in that case is presumably an avian body, common to the two heads which it connects.

Like the parrot-god, the jaguar-god also occurs on the monumental stone slabs as well as in the form of independent stone statues, examples of both having been found recently at Mercedes by Keith. One of these slabs is about 2 m. high by 59 cm. wide and 10 cm. thick. The front is plain. Resting on the top is a group of three jaguar-gods carved in the round. The bodies and extremities are human. While the head in each case is that of the jaguar, it is adorned with long human hair reaching down to the lumbar region. In addition, the larger, central figure wears a crown. The grouping is admirable. The chief god rests on both knees, with arms extended, an hands on the shoulders of the figures at the sides. These two smaller gods are of equal size, the one on the right reposing on the right knee, and that on the left reposing on the left knee. The group as a whole is thus bilaterally symmetrical. The two lateral margins at the back of the slab are decorated with eighteen small figures of the jaguar, nine on each side, with heads all directed towards the group of jaguar-gods. Beginning at the corners nearest the latter, these sculptured jaguar figurines are distributed at equal distances, the last ones being removed at least 30 cm. from the foot of the slab.

Equally remarkable is the great stone statue representing the jaguar-god, found also at Mercedes. It is of stocky proportions, with a height equal to that of a short man. It wears a cap or crown, cylindrical ear-plugs, and a sash carried over the left shoulder and reaching down to the left hip. The right arm is missing. In the left hand is held a human head, the long coiled hair of which is brought up over the right shoulder of the god, as if to balance the sash on the left. This statue has certain points in common with one also from Mercedes, illustrated by Hartman, except that the head and body of the latter are both human. The discovery of these fine examples in stone of the jaguar-god not only serves as a confirmation of the present writer's belief in the existence of that deity from the gold and earthenware specimens already described, but also extends the boundaries of the cult half-way across Costa Rica.

In a ceramic example of the jaguar-god, instead of the all-pervading alligator *motifs* represented in plastic form at the head and feet, alligator symbolism takes a form more appropriate to the medium, and is confined to painted designs on the body of the deity.

It is a belief common to various peoples that God created man in His own image. In making to himself therefore graven images of his god or gods, man would quite naturally give them human attributes. This rule holds good not only in Egypt, Judæa, Assyria, and India, but also in Mexico and Central America. In fact, the parallelism between these Chiriquian deities and certain gods of the Hindu pantheon is most striking. We need mention only Gaṇeśa, the god of prudence and policy, represented with human body and elephant head; or some of the many incarnations of Viṣṇu, as: (1) Matsya, part fish and part man; (2) Kurma, half tortoise and half man; (3) Varāha, the head of a boar and a body of a man. There is also the Assyrian god of fecundity, with head and wings of an eagle, recalling the Chiriquian parrot-god.

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G. G. MACCURDY.

CHIVALRY (from Fr. *cheval*, 'a horse').—Chivalry, not only the military system of feudalism, but also a code of arms embracing the refinements of courtesy, was the label put on an institution which took organic shape in the 12th, reached its maturity in the 14th, and lingered in decadent life until the end of the 16th century. It incorporated a great body of usages which had vaguely begun under Roman rule, especially in Gaul, the province most notable for its cultivation of the horse. The old opinion that tournaments were an invention of the 11th century is negatived by a chain of instances of martial displays going back to the evolutions of Gaulish horse in the Roman army, as finely described (A.D. 136) by Arrian (*Tac.* 43 f.). Classical proof abounds of the superiority in military rank and consideration of the horse-soldier over the foot-soldier, due in ancient times, without a doubt, to the greater expense of maintenance, which accounts for the precedence of cavalry over infantry in modern armies. But the contrast between the Roman *eques* and *miles* will not account for the mingled attributes of the mediæval knight as a social and fighting unit, though it supplies the nucleus of an explanation. As usual in the history of European evolution, the debt to Rome has been underestimated. It seems clear that the classical authors had no small part in framing and rounding off the concept of knighthood ultimately pictured by Chaucer; for Vegetius was much quoted in the Middle Ages, and it is significant that Jean de Meung, who finished the *Roman de la Rose*, should in 1284 have made the first translation of Vegetius, giving to the *de Re Militari* a new currency and dominion over knightly education in the guise of *Les Establissemens de Chevalerie*. Not a few applications of the work to feudal society were due to subtle misunderstandings of terms, such especially as those whereby the *miles* of antiquity became the *chevalier* of the Middle Ages, the *tiro* passed for the equivalent of esquire and bachelor, and the ancient *oleum incendiarium* was re-adapted to the 13th cent. by its rendering as 'Greek fire.' Meung's prose was swiftly followed by the versified *Abrejance de l'Ordre de Chevalerie*, which yet further extended a vernacular modernization not a little tending to make the Roman army a direct educational model for French knights.

Chivalry as a system was, above all things, feudal and tenurial. By the time of Charlemagne, the owner of 12 *manses*, or farms, served his feudal lord with a horse and cuirass; and the class distinction was confirmed by the tenure which was the basis of feudal society. Knight service was soon the organic centre of Europe, and remained so for nearly a thousand years.

To this landed aristocracy, always select and exclusive, there came, largely through the Crusades,

an integrating motive and emotion. The rescue of Jerusalem from its Seljuk conquerors was politically the defence of the Empire against the Turk. It was at the same time a championship of Christianity against Muhammad, and a struggle to win back the grave of Christ. Under this enthusiasm of arms for religion, the earliest of the formal Orders of Knighthood were constituted. Their origins furnish a chronology of chivalry, as their varieties of type reflect the change of spirit. Hospitallers, founded about 1110, and Templars, about 1118—orders of soldier-monks—were vowed to chastity, and designed as a sort of exalted police-service on the road to Palestine, to aid and defend pilgrims, churches, churchmen, widows, and orphans against the cruelty of pagans and heretics. Their centre was in the East, and their effective period the two centuries of warfare between Western Europe and the Muslim East. In the first Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon, conqueror of Jerusalem, had in 1099 (probably in deference to direct clerical suggestion) refused to assume a crown of gold in the Holy City where, as he recalled, his Lord had been crowned with thorns. Some such zeal of faith dominated the beginning of the movement, in spite of much base alloy of motive, and was manifest for at least a century and a half. Conspicuous examples of similar martial piety were found in religious Orders such as the Teutonic Order, founded in 1197. Steadily the spirit grew more secular, and the knights devoted to the aid of the Holy Sepulchre gradually but surely failed to achieve their missions. The crusade of 1190–1192 showed that the mailed gentlemen of Europe had met their match in the East, and that neither in generosity nor in military prowess and skill was Richard Cœur de Lion the superior of Saladin. The crusade of 1202–1204 was deflected from the relief of Palestine to a barefaced and greedy conquest of Constantinople, and the foundation of a second futile Latin kingdom in the East. St. Louis, no doubt, in his purity of saintly zeal beautifully maintained the monastic ideal and the nebulous piety of the true Crusader; but geography and the economics as well as the fortunes of war were against him. With him died the hope of Europe to recover Palestine. That land, stained with the fruitless blood of Europe for two centuries, was definitely lost by 1291, and it sent back the Hospitallers and Templars not a little corrupted by the East. Proposals for reunion of all the Orders came to nothing, though ecclesiastical propagandists, like Pierre Dubois, clamoured for reform, and pointed to their misapplied wealth as fit for better ways of use for the recovery of the sacred city. All such schemes, and all future enterprises, thenceforward frankly secular designs of conquest, proved abortive; the Crusades were ended, and their admirers have entirely failed to convince their critics that they were of any real advantage whatever, either to Europe or to Palestine. The outcries of Pierre Dubois had other sequel than a fresh crusade; and the high-handed suppression of the Templars in 1307–1314 may be said to terminate the semi-monastic phase of chivalry.

A new element had been introduced into knighthood by the place accorded to humanity in league with valour—the interpenetration of Christianity into the practice of arms, so as to reduce the barbarity of war. Ruthless pillage and wanton bloodshed were widely prevalent, in spite of the unavailing 'Truce of God.' St. Louis implored his nobility, in their strife, to let the burden of it fall less appallingly on the poor. The obligation of the knight not to make war unjustly was a step forward in theory. Ransom was at least in part a dictate of mercy, although the fellowship of an aristocratic caste doubtless favoured a practice which had substantial inducements of gain. Literature from the 12th cent. at once reflected and was reflected by the chivalric spirit. A vast body of *chansons de geste*, with cycles of kings, of rebellious barons, of courteous knights, of martyr soldiers and saintly nobles—above all, of adventurous tournament and chivalrous love—supplied minstrel and troubadour with endless themes of romance, in which the legend of Alexander and the tale of Troy lent their conceptions of nobility to embroider the imagined memories of the court of Charlemagne. France, the centre of this literature of war and combat, was the source also of its accompanying literature of courtesy, which originated in Provence late in the 12th century. Some licence towards the fair sex, inseparable from the life of the period, ought hardly to be reckoned a consequence of the institutional organization, although youthful folly, no doubt, often attends athletic virility. The morals of an age cannot fairly be ascribed to any single institution, and the evidence favours the view that the sexual and other standards of the Middle Ages distinctly rose under chivalry. Heraldry, a direct product and characteristic token of chivalry, grew rapidly in the 12th cent. into a system which became virtually a perfected science long before the 13th cent. was closed.

While many authors reckon the 14th cent. as the epoch of decadence of chivalry, there is at least equal reason to regard that period as its golden age. Certainly that century saw its functions in their highest splendour. Orders of the foremost rank were founded, and included, in Spain, that of the Bend; in England, that of the Garter; and in France, that of the Star—all centred in the Court, and all alike manifesting the more secular spirit of the newer chivalry, in which the religious element had perceptibly fallen to a secondary place, and valour had taken on showy graces, displayed in gallantry, pageant, and courtliness. Heraldry, now in its heyday of elaborate symbolism, was an exclusive badge of military aristocracy. Adventure and romance were fostered by minstrelsy and literature. That the valour remained incorrupt was shown on such fields as Crécy, Poitiers, and Otterburn—such episodes as the *Combat des Trente*—and in the defeats as well as the victories of du Guesclin; it even shone in the midst of such disasters as the new crusade against the Turk in Europe, which ended in the battle of Nicopolis, fought in 1396, on the same day as the Clan combat of Perth. The virtues of chivalry were those of the warlike calling. Its great law of the duel was a combination of superstition, force, and pageant. Its failure to check the tendency to cruelty (manifest enough in the pitiful record of many a duel) was shown in the persons of some of the noblest exemplars of the cult., *e.g.* in Richard I. and Edward I., Edward III., the Black Prince, and Henry V. In war and its mimicry it is hopeless to expect the graces of peace. Courts of chivalry, with duels as their central law, although kings and queens presided, were cruel at heart. Yet the fine ideal, 'the bird in the bosom,' was continually evident in such lives as those of Bruce and du Guesclin; and even late in the decadence, Francis I. might well be proud to take knighthood from the sword of Bayard. No nobler rendering of the high thought in the soul of chivalry is to be found than in *Gawain and the Green Knight* (*c.* 1360), which, telling in fable of the moral grace as well as of the courtly dignity of the Round Table of Edward III., makes its brave hero—to whom falsehood was as impossible as fear—not only scrupulously pure, but triumphantly courteous, even in the resistance of a

temptress. That this was not all feigning, we can gather from Chaucer's Knight. In many battle-fields he had gained sovereign renown, but it is on his quiet virtues that the poet lays the stress:

> 'And though that he were worthy, he was wys,
> And of his port as meek as is a mayde.
> He nevere yet no vileinye ne sayde
> In al his lyf, un-to no maner wight.
> He was a verray parfit gentil knyght'
> (*Prol.* 68-72).

While the 15th cent. still brought laurels and new Orders of great celebrity, like the Toison d'Or of Burgundy, founded in 1430, they were fading glories. Embittered feeling, induced by long wars in civil strife in Britain and France, Italy and Spain, blunted the chivalric sense. Chivalry failed the more quickly because aristocratic pride had grown self-conscious of its loss of power. The day of the armoured horse was over: war was becoming a science of mechanism, drill, and numbers; gunpowder was democratic; mercenary footmen with firearms supplanted the mounted levy of old feudalism. Chivalry, which had grown up in tenure, had learned its power and practised its art in European conquest, had experienced a renaissance in Crusading piety, and had drawn to its close in a spell of courtly splendour of pageantry and tilt, was to survive all those phases in its persistence as a badge of family and degree. Its system of heraldry has become a universal emblem of birth. Its primitive cult of physical vigour and bravery faded into a convention; its label of rank it long held on the Continent, and still holds in Britain; but its abiding merit was its power to transmit into the vague standard of 'the honour of a gentleman' a tradition of personal ethic which, with many follies, yet has long made *noblesse oblige* a living maxim of the common day. Besides, it is a memory which still stirs the heart like the sound of a trumpet.

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GEORGE NEILSON.

CHOCTAWS.—The Choctaws are an important division of the Muskhogean family, formerly occupying Middle and South Mississippi from the Tombigbee River to the borders of Dallas county, Georgia. They are ethnically allied to the Chickasaws and Humas, whose dialects are almost identical with theirs. The majority of the Choctaws began to migrate to Indian Territory in 1832, having ceded most of their lands to the United States. They engaged in agriculture more than any other tribe in the south of N. America, and, although a courageous people, waged war only in self-defence. They practised artificial 'flattening'—a circumstance from which their name is derived (Spanish *chato* = 'flat' or 'flattened'). In 1904 their numbers were estimated at 17,805, exclusive of negro and other elements. These are all under the care of the U.S. Government Agency in Indian Territory, but there are still a few in Mississippi and Louisiana. In later times they were subdivided into three bodies—Oklafalaya, 'long people'; Ahepatokla, 'potato-eating people'; and Oklahannali, 'six towns,' from their topographical situation.

1. Type of religion.—The Choctaw religion is almost exceptional among the N. American Indian religions in that it appears to consist of an admixture of Animism and sun-worship; or, more correctly speaking, the two systems may be observed side by side among this and allied peoples of the Muskhogean stock. They allude to a Supreme Being whom they designate *Yuba Paik*, 'Our Father Above'; but whether this conception arose from contact with missionaries or is genuinely aboriginal, it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty. The term may be collective, like the Hebrew *Elohim* or the Latin *Superi*, and may include all the powers of the air. Cogolludo (*Hist. de Yucathan*, Madrid, 1701, lib. iv. cap. vii.), speaking of the Mayas, says: 'Ku does not signify any particular god, yet their prayers are sometimes addressed to Kue' (the vocative of Ku). It is perhaps more likely that the term is evolved from the expression for sky, as are *Deus*, the Nottoway *Qui-oki*, the Iroquois *Garonhia*, and the ancient Powhatan *Oki*. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the cognate Creek expression signifies 'He who lives in the sky.' As is generally the case among N. American Indian tribes, the Choctaws confound the sun with fire; at least they refer to fire as *Shahli miko*, 'the greater chief,' and speak of it as *Hashe ittiapa*, 'He who accompanies the sun and the sun him.' On going to war they call for assistance from both sun and fire. But, except as fire, they do not address the sun, nor does he stand in any relation to their religious thought other than as fire—that is, he is not personified, as, for example, among the Peruvians, or worshipped as the supreme symbol of fire. In American religions, generally speaking, what appears on the surface to be sun-worship pure and simple usually resolves itself, upon closer examination, into the worship of light and fire. Indeed, the cognate Natchez word for 'sun' is derived from that for 'fire,' and the sun is referred to as 'the great fire.' The expression 'sun-worship' must, then, be understood to imply an adoration of all fire, symbolized by the sun.

2. Probable origin of Choctaw sun-worship.—The Muskhogean tribes in general, according to tradition, were originally banded in one common confederacy, and unanimously located their earliest ancestry near an artificial eminence in the Valley of the Big Black River in the Natchez country, whence they believed they had emerged. Gregg states (*Commerce of the Prairies*, ii. 235) that they described this to him and another traveller, and calls it 'an elevation of earth, about half a mile square, and fifteen or twenty feet high. From its north-east corner a wall of equal height extends for nearly half a mile to the high land' (Heart, *Trans. Am. Phil. Soc.* iii. 216). This eminence they designated *Nunne Chaha*, or *Nunne Hamgeh*, the 'High Hill,' or the 'Bending Hill,' known to the Muskhogees as *Rvne em mekko*, or 'King of Mountains.' This looks as if the Choctaws had alluded to some of those immense artificial mounds so common in the Mississippi Valley. It is a well-known fact that, when De Soto passed through the Gulf State country in 1540-41, the tribes inhabiting it—Creeks, Choctaws, etc.—were still using, and probably constructing, mounds; and from this it is inferred that they and no others were the famous 'Mound-builders' of American archæology—a theory now adopted by the officials of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology and the majority of modern Americanists. Wilson, writing in 1875, considerably before the modern theory as to the origin of the 'Mound-builders' gained general credence, states that—

> 'analogies to these structures have been traced in the works of Indian tribes formerly in occupation of Carolina and Georgia. They were accustomed to erect a circular terrace or platform

on which their council-house stood. In front of this a quadrangular area was enclosed with earthen embankments, within which public games were played and captives tortured. . . . Upon the circular platform it is also affirmed that the sacred fire was maintained by the Creek Indians as part of their most cherished rites as worshippers of the sun' (*Prehistoric Man*³, London, 1876, i. 276). He proceeds to say that, although the evidence does not seem very clear, analogies point 'to the possibility of some of the Indian tribes having perpetuated on a greatly inferior scale some maimed rites borrowed from their civilized precursors.'

Several proved analogies between the worship of the 'Mound-builders' and the Indians exist: for example, the discovery of unmistakable evidence that one of the sacred altars of 'Mound City' was specially devoted to nicotian rites and offerings. The discarded stones, also, found in the mound country are the same as those used by the Muskhogean people in the game of *chunkey*, which has probably a solar significance.

3. **Cosmogony.**—Like the other Muskhogean tribes, the Choctaws believed that before the Creation a great body of water alone was visible. Two pigeons flew to and fro over its waves, and at last espied a blade of grass rising above the surface. Dry land gradually followed, and the islands and mainland took their present shapes. In the centre of the hill *Nunne Chaha*, already mentioned, was a cave, the house of the Master of Breath. There he took the clay around him, and from it fashioned the first men; and, as at that period the waters covered the earth, he raised a great wall to dry them on. When the soft mud had hardened into flesh and bone, he directed the waters to their present places, and gave the dry land to the men he had made. The fact that the Choctaws were divided into eight clans has been cited by Brinton (*Myths of the New World*³, 1896, p. 101) in confirmation of the view that the myth of their origin must have been akin to those American legends which give to the majority of the Indian tribes a descent from four or eight brothers who emanated from a cave. Such a myth was in vogue among the Tupi-Guarani of Brazil, the Muyscas of Bogota, the Nahua of Mexico, and many other tribes. They appear to have possessed an ancient tradition that the present world will be consumed by a general conflagration (cf. AGES OF THE WORLD [Prim. and Amer.]), after which it will be made a much more pleasant place than it now is, and that then the spirits of the dead will return to the bones in the bone-mound, become covered with flesh, and once more occupy their ancient territory.

4. **Idea of a future state.**—The Choctaws believe that after death those 'who have behaved well' are taken under the care of *Esaugetuh Emissee* ('Master of Breath') and well looked after; that those who have behaved ill are left 'to shift for themselves'; and that there is no further punishment. They also believe that when they die the spirit flies westward 'as the sun goes,' and there joins its family and friends 'who went before it.' They do not believe in a place of punishment, or in any infernal power.

5. **Mythological conceptions.**—Besides the sun as the god of fire *par excellence*, we have seen that the Choctaws conceived *Esaugetuh Emissee*, or the 'Master of Breath,' as the creative agency, at least where man was concerned, so that he may have acted as a demiurge. This deity has many counterparts in American mythologies, and appears to be the personification of the wind, the name being onomatopoetic. The deification of the wind as soul or breath is common to many mythologies.[1]

In Dakota *mija* is literally 'breath,' figuratively 'life'; in Yakama *wkrisha* = 'there is wind,' *wkrishwit* = 'life.' With the Mexican Aztecs *ehecatl* signified both 'air *or* life' and 'the soul,' and was supposed to have been born of the breath of Tezcatlipoca, their chief deity, who is often alluded to as *Yoalli ehecatl* ('Wind of Night').

We seem to see a totemic significance in the fact that the alligator was worshipped, or at least venerated, by the coast and river tribes of the Muskhogeans, and never by any chance destroyed by them. The myth of the horned serpent was also in vogue among them, and was practically identical with that told by the Cherokees to Lieut. Timberlake (see CHEROKEES); and the charm which they presented to their young men when they set out on the war-path was composed of the bones of the panther and the horn of the fabulous horned snake.

According to a legend, this snake dwelt in the waters. The old people went to the shore, and sang sacred songs to it. It rose a little out of the water. The magic chant was repeated, and it then showed its horns. They cut off the horns, and, when occasion necessitated, placed a fragment of them in their 'war-physic,' to ward off the arrows of enemies.

Fetishism, or medico-religious plant-worship, can be traced from the fact that the Muskhogeans possessed no fewer than seven sacred plants, the chief of which were the *cassine yupon* (*Ilex vomitoria*) and the blue flag (*Iris versicolor*). The former is a powerful diuretic and mild emetic, and grows only near the sea. The latter is an active emeto-cathartic, and from it was prepared the celebrated 'black drink' with which they opened their councils.

6. **Priesthood.**—The priests of the Choctaws, as is usual among Indian tribes, were medicine-men and diviners. The office of high priest, or 'Great Beloved Man,' as he was called, was kept in one family, passing from father to eldest son. The junior priests are described as dressed in white robes, and carrying on their head or arm a great owl-skin stuffed very ingeniously as a symbol of wisdom and divination. They were distinguished from the rest of the tribe by their taciturnity, grave and solemn countenance, and dignified carriage, and went about the settlements singing to themselves in a low, almost inaudible voice. They possessed an esoteric language, which examination by competent scholars has proved to be merely a modification of the ordinary speech. It contains some words unknown in the idiom of daily life, which may be regarded as archaisms, or as borrowed from other peoples, along with the ceremonies or myths to which they have reference.

7. **Festivals.**—The principal festival was that of the *Busk* (*puskita* = 'fasting'), which wiped out the memory of all crimes except murder, and reconciled the criminal to his clan. It is sometimes called the Green-corn Dance, and is fully described in art. CHEROKEES. It was in reality a festival of the four winds, when the new fire was lighted and the green corn served up, and all the invocations and ritualistic practices connected with it were ruled by the application of the number four and its multiples in every imaginable relation. It was also a time of solemn probation for the youth of the tribe, who had to undergo severe fasting, and in some cases even torture of a revolting description, in order to prove themselves worthy of manhood. These fasts and trials were all arranged in fourfold order.

This application of the number four, of course, had reference to the cardinal points from which the rain-bringing winds blew, to which the feast was dedicated. The Muskhogean peoples believed that from the four corners of the earth came four men who brought them the sacred fire from the four cardinal points, and indicated to them the seven sacred plants. These were called the *Hi-you-yul-gee*. Having thus endowed the people,

[1] Cf. Heb. *rûah* = 'breath,' 'soul,' 'wind,' and Marti's suggestion that Arab. *hawah*, 'to blow *or* breathe,' is connected with Heb. *Jahweh* (*Gesch. der isr. Rel.*, 1897, § 17); also cf. 'ghost' and 'gust,' and 'spiritual' from *spirare*, 'to blow *or* breathe' (see, further, art. BREATH).

these four men disappeared in a cloud, returning whence they came. Another and more ancient legend describes how the Indians were originally divided into four clans, and in the ancestors of these the four friendly spirits are easily discovered.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited in the article, see esp. A. S. Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, Philadelphia, 1884; J. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, New York, 1844; B. Hawkins, *Sketch of the Creek Country*, Savannah, 1848.

LEWIS SPENCE.

CHOICE.—See DESIRE, FREE-WILL, WILL.

CHORTEN.—*Chorten* is the Tibetan name for the solid funereal monuments erected over the relics of Buddha and his saints, or as a cenotaph, or to mark a sacred Buddhist spot. It literally means 'a receptacle for offerings or sacrificial worship' (Tib. *mCh'od*, 'offerings' or 'worship,' and *rten*, 'a holder'). Thus the name is practically synonymous with the Skr. *dhātu-garbha*, or 'relic-holder,' a term which, corrupted into *dāgaba* and latterly *pagoda*, became transferred apparently from the original relic-casket so as to denote the monuments in question. The exact literal Tibetan equivalent, however, of *dhātu-garbha* is *mDuṅ-rten*. In Tibet, *chorten* is used to designate both forms of the Buddhist funereal monument, namely the *chaitya* (or *c'aitya*) and the *stūpa* or 'tope.' For it is applied equally to the relic-holding towers within the assembly-halls of monasteries and to the numerous votive *chaityas* so universally met with in temples and on domestic altars, as well as to the huge tumuli and massive masonry towers erected in the open air.

The Tibetan form of these structures closely resembles the conventional form which they had assumed in Indian Buddhism about the eighth cent. A.D., when Buddhist monachism was first introduced into Tibet. It exhibits the same elongated pyramidal contour as its Indian prototype of that period, with the same five constituent members or sections, which are now held to symbolize 'the five elements' of the ancients, into which a human body is supposed to be resolved after death. These, from below upwards, are as follows: the square plinth at the base symbolizes the *earth* from which rises a dome, the *garbha*, the true relic-holder, and the only portion present in the original primitive *chaityas*, in the form of three-fourths of a globe, representing *water*; on this is superimposed a cone-like spire (*chūḍāmaṇi*) representing *fire*; this is surmounted by an inverted arc, 'the inverted vault of the sky,' like a crescent moon to represent *air*; and, as a finial, there rises an acuminated circle, 'the tapering into space,' said to represent *ether*.

It differs from its mediæval Indian prototype mainly in having its second member, the dome or cupola (*garbha*), in the form of an erect bowl rather than an inverted one. Like the Indian variety, its three lower members are stepped, the plinth and dome being each subdivided into five steps; and the cone, which is separated from the convexity of the dome by a square block or neck (said to represent a relic-box), is divided into thirteen disks or 'umbrellas,' symbolizing the thirteen heavens of the later Indian Buddhist mythology, from the topmost of which is sometimes suspended a fringed umbrella.

This spire is surmounted by a vase or bell-shaped structure, usually of gilded copper, the top of which forms a tapering pinnacle, sometimes modelled after a small *chaitya*, but often moulded in the form of one or two or all of the following objects: a lotus bud, a crescent moon, a globular sun, a triple canopy; and above all these a terminal rises, a tongue-shaped spike, the 'ether,' also regarded as representing the sacred light (*jyoti*) which emanated from Buddha.

Large gilded *chortens* have been erected over the mortal remains of the historical Grand Lamas of Lhasa and Tashilhunpo, with the exception of those 'incarnations' which have been officially declared to be 'false,' and they are favourite objects of pilgrimage.

All the larger *chortens* are popular objects of worship by circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*), and several, either as relic-holders or cenotaphs, are to be found in the immediate vicinity of every Buddhist temple in Tibet. One of the largest and most celebrated is at Gyantse in Western Tibet; but none is so vast as the great *pagoda* of Rangoon (*Shwēdagōn*). They are also found as gateways at Lhasa and elsewhere, and sometimes at the extremities of the elongated cairns or dykes faced with slabs carved with the *Oṁ Maṇi* formula, the so-called *Man(i)-dong*.

Miniature *chortens* or *chaityas*, in the shape of cones or medallions of moulded clay or dough, with or without the addition of relics of holy lamas, are favourite votive objects for deposit in the niches of the dome of the larger *chortens*; these are called *sa-tsch'a* ('earth' + *chaitya*), and manifestly correspond to the *dharma-śarīra* of the Indian *stūpas*, as recorded by the pious Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, in the 7th cent. A.D. Those clay medallions and cones, cast in moulds and inscribed with the 'Buddhist creed' and other sacred sentences, are consecrated by the priests and sold in large numbers by them to pilgrims, who deposit them in heaps on the larger *stūpas*, and use them also as amulets or charms.

LITERATURE.—B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874, p. 30; E. Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, London, 1863, pp. 192–196; L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, pp. 261–264 (with illustrations), 329–330, 420, also *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London, 1905, pp. 85, 208, 230–231, 331, 342.

L. A. WADDELL.

CHRISM.—See UNCTION.

CHRIST.—See JESUS CHRIST.

CHRISTADELPHIANS.—This is the self-chosen name of a sect which repudiates the name 'Christian' as being now associated with everything anti-Christian, and whose members claim to be 'Christ's brethren' by the 'obedience of faith' (He 2^{11}, Ro 16^{26}).

1. Origin.—Christadelphians do not regard themselves as 'a new sect in the ordinary sense of that phrase. They have not originated in any new inspiration or notion, nor in the strict sense do they owe their existence to a new leader.'[1] They are simply 'the sect everywhere spoken against in the first century, newly revived; and rest their identification therewith upon the likeness of their practice to the Apostolic original.'[2] Their revival, nevertheless, is traceable to one man in particular, John Thomas.

John Thomas was born in London on the 12th of April 1805. Of his mother nothing is known except that she 'was a mild and amiable lady, of a religious turn.' But his father—'a high-spirited, proud, and talented man'—appears first as clerk in the East India Civil Service, then successively as Independent minister, keeper of a boarding-school, Independent minister again, clerk in the London City Gas Office, Baptist minister, etc. The son's restlessness is explicable in the light of the father's. At the age of 16, John became a member of the Independent Church in Chorley (Lancashire), of which his father just then was minister, and also began medical studies with a private surgeon. These he continued, a year or two later, 'under a general practitioner near Paddington.' Next he became a student of St. Thomas's Hospital; obtained his diploma in due course; spent a year as companion to a London physician; and practised on his own account for three years at Hackney. Then in 1832 (May) he emigrated to America—partly because his father had a desire to settle there, but mainly because he had 'no special prospects,' and 'intensely' disliked 'a priest-ridden state of society.' September found him at

[1] From pamphlet, *The sect everywhere spoken against*, p. 3.
[2] From pamphlet, *Who are the Christadelphians?*, p. 1.

Cincinnati, where he made the acquaintance of Mr. Walter Scott, described as 'the original founder of Campbellism' (see DISCIPLES OF CHRIST), who succeeded on one and the same day in converting him to his view of baptism, and immersing him in 'the Miami Canal' before a number of witnesses at 10 o'clock 'in the light of the moon.' This connexion with the Campbellites 'brought him out' as a speaker and a writer—much to the neglect of his medical work. He became editor of a monthly periodical called *The Apostolic Advocate*, and gave himself up to the study of Scripture, with a view to expounding the truth pure and simple. He gloried (says his biographer) in ignorance of other books, and in never having been 'cursed with the poison of a theological education.' Thus, not 'perverted by human tradition,' his mind just took 'whatever impression the word might make upon it, like a blank sheet the impression of the printer's types.' One result of this study was a change in his view of baptism. In Oct. 1834 he published an article in which he maintained, as against his fellow-Campbellites, that, 'before immersion could be scripturally recognized as the "one baptism," the subject thereof must be possessed of the one faith'; that every immersed person not possessing and confessing the one faith is not founded upon the Rock; and that the Campbellites were ignorant of the one faith. 'In the course of the year following,' to quote his own words, he 'called in question their speculations and traditions concerning the soul, heaven, hell, eternal torment, the devil, their salvation without faith, and so forth.' By 1844 he had reached his main position, that the ancient hope of Israel—viz. the coming of the Lord in power and great glory to set up a heavenly kingdom on earth, beginning at Jerusalem—was the essence of the ancient gospel, and must be believed in order to 'acceptable worship or salvation.' Then, realizing that this had not been his faith at the time of his first baptism, he got a friend to immerse him afresh, simply pronouncing over him the words 'Upon confession of your faith in the things concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, I baptize you into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.' Thus originated the Christadelphian formula still in use. He also published (1847) a 'confession and abjuration of former errors' and a 'declaration' of present belief. Denounced by Campbell and others as 'a moonstricken speculator,' a 'materialist,' an 'infidel,' he yet won a certain following as the result of preaching tours in England and Scotland, the United States, and Canada. In 1864 he coined the name 'Christadelphian' while on a visit to Ogle county, Illinois. His death occurred in New York, 5th March 1871. Many companies of the brotherhood now exist, principally in England, the United States, and New Zealand. No statistics are available, but the largest Ecclesia is in Birmingham. Here Robert Roberts, the able biographer of Thomas, has long been the acknowledged leader.

2. Creed.—In 1869, Thomas, in a letter to the *Rock*, set forth a full and explicit statement of the 'Christadelphian Creed.' It has often been reprinted, and so may be taken as authoritative. Another statement of faith issued by the Leicester Ecclesia in 1902 reveals no substantial differences, although in the emphasis of its clauses on the Person of Jesus there may be an implied reference to some recent controversy on that subject, which is said to have taken place. The following is a summary combined from these two sources:

(1) The only authority in matters of faith and practice is the mind of Christ in the written word, *i.e.* the whole Bible, which is interpreted by the rule that nothing is to be received as proved which sets the NT Scriptures against the Old, or any text of them against another. Both Testaments are 'without error in all parts of them except such as may be due to transcription or translation' (Leicester Statement).

(2) There is one God, the Father, dwelling in unapproachable light; the Son, who is Jesus of Nazareth, begotten of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Spirit, and afterwards anointed with the same Spirit without measure at His baptism; the Spirit, which is 'the radiant power or energy of the Deity, filling universal space, and is the medium for the accomplishment of His omnipotent behests, whether in creation or inspiration' (*ib.*).

(3) Man fell in Adam through disobedience, became thereby merely mortal, and can come to immortality (which consists in endless bodily existence) only through faith in Jesus Christ, whose mission it was to fulfil 'the promises made to Adam, Abraham and David, and amplified in the writings of the Prophets' (*ib.*).

(4) These promises all had reference to the one 'hope of Israel' expressed in 'the things of the kingdom of God,' viz. that God will cause the kingdom of Israel to be restored in Palestine 'which has been bequeathed for an everlasting possession to Abraham and his Seed (Christ) by covenant' (*ib.* § 19); that to this end the Jews must be ingathered, the Holy Land be reclaimed from 'the desolation of many generations,' and Jerusalem be re-built so as to 'become the throne of the Lord and the metropolis of the whole earth'; that, therefore, God will send Jesus Christ personally to the earth, at the close of the times of the Gentiles, with power to overthrow all other forms of government and establish one kingdom, with Himself as King, in the earth; that the administration of the Kingdom so established will be vested in the approved and immortalized brethren of Christ to all generations; that the Kingdom thus constituted will last a thousand years, during which Sin and Death will continue among the earth's subject-inhabitants, though greatly restrained; that during this period war will be abolished and the earth filled 'with the knowledge of the glory of Jehovah as the waters cover the sea'; that at the close of the thousand years there will be a final extinction of the wicked and the immortalization of those who during the thousand years have been 'approved'; that Jesus, having finished His priestly work, will then deliver up the government to the Father, who will manifest Himself as the 'all in all': that at the beginning of the millennium a judgment will take place by Christ, but only of the *responsible* dead and living (responsibility depending upon what He determines to be a due measure of light and privilege). 'Those who are ignorant of the Divine Will shall not come from the grave, but "remain in the congregation of the dead."'

(5) This is the faith once for all delivered to the saints, fully revealed and made available by Jesus Christ—the faith 'deemed sufficient to save man in Paul's day,' and necessary for salvation still.

(6) Those who understand, believe, and obey this Gospel of the Kingdom must 'take upon themselves the name and service of Christ by being immersed in water and faithfully walking in harmony with His command.' They are then saints and brothers of Christ, are in Christ, and are secure of immortality.

Over-against this positive creed of Christadelphianism its negative 'epitome of the errors of Christendom' is given as follows:[1]

(1) That there are three Gods in One and One in Three—universal and indivisible.

(2) That the devil is a fallen archangel—God of Evil, enemy of God and man, tormentor of them. On the contrary, 'the devil is sin in its various forms of manifestation among men, and the term "Satan" means simply "adversary," and is applied in Scripture to both good and bad adversaries, but most frequently to human beings, individually and collectively, who are at enmity with God.'

(3) That man is an immortal spirit, in peril of hell-fire, in which all unregenerate souls will be tortured for ever.

(4) That salvation is the deliverance of immortal souls from hell-fire, and their translation, when they leave the body, to realms of bliss 'beyond the bounds of time and space.'

(5) That Jesus is the incarnation of one of three Gods, sent to the world to endure, in crucifixion, the combined wrath of the other two Gods that immortal souls might escape from the devil and be admitted to Paradise.

(6) That the gospel (to be believed for salvation) is the fact of Christ's death, resurrection, and ascension.

(7) That the soul is incapable of believing this gospel until inspired by the Holy Ghost.

(8) That baptism is of no consequence except for babies, and that then a few drops of water in the face are sufficient.

Connected with this general condemnation of Christendom is the belief (of Thomas at least):

(1) That the Roman Church is 'the mother of harlots'—her harlot daughters answering to 'the State churches of anti-Christendom,' while all the dissenting names and denominations answer to the 'names of blasphemy' of which the European body politic is 'full' (Rev 13. 1[3. 5]).

(2) That the corruption of civil and ecclesiastical affairs has advanced beyond all human power of redress, and can be dealt with only by the supernatural judgment of God. Hence the fact that Christadelphians, though strictly law-abiding, do not

[1] At end of pamphlet by Thomas on *The Sabbath*.

feel called upon to engage in efforts for social or political amelioration, and refuse to bear arms.

(3) That we are living in the last days of Antichrist, described (in the Apocalypse) as the 'period of the sixth vial in which Christ appears again upon the theatre of mundane events.' In 1869, Thomas found 'the two great leading and notable signs' of the Second Advent in what he called 'the drying up of the Ottoman power, and the Imperial French Frog power in its political operations in Rome, Vienna, and Constantinople during' the previous twenty-one years (Rev 16[12-16]). He himself confidently expected the end to come in 1866–8; and supposed that then a period of 42 years would be taken up in the subjugation of the nations. 1910, accordingly, would witness the complete establishment of the Kingdom. So 'the doctor's calculations' (says his biographer) 'are not yet proved wrong. It will be necessary for A.D. 1910 (common era) to pass without the presence of Christ on the earth before this can be made out. . . . We are now in the forty-year margin between the ending of the period of Papal ascendency and the setting-up of the Kingdom of God, during which the re-appearing of Christ is possible at any time' (*Life*, 315 f.).

3. Constitution of the ecclesia. — Christadelphianism is a 'lay-movement.' 'As a sect, they have no sacerdotal pretensions. They are a number of private men and women who have surrendered to the claims of Scripture by the exercise of the inestimable right of private judgment.[1] Each ecclesia, therefore, is self-organized and self-governed. 'Ecclesial independence is a principle jealously conserved by Christadelphians, though mutual co-operation is in progress throughout the country.' 'Each ecclesia keeps its own records.' There is 'no central office'; no attempt to compile statistics; no responsibility to any district union or general assembly. But it is the common practice to meet 'every first day of the week to eat bread and drink wine, in remembrance of the Captain of their salvation, who died for them'; to sing 'the songs of Zion' or 'Jehovah's songs, concerning the Christ, as found in David; to offer prayer; and to read the Scriptures of the Prophets and Apostles, for edification and comfort.' This refers to the morning service—usually confined to 'the brethren,' though not necessarily—at which the speaking is directed to 'those within.' Here 'practical and moral topics,' no less than religious, are treated of; but in meetings for 'those without' or the 'alien'—held as a rule on Sunday evenings—the subject of address is always some aspect of 'the things concerning the Kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ.' At these there is never any collection. 'All expenses of whatever kind are met by voluntary contributions' made privately, or by collections at the morning service. It is a natural result of their attitude to the immediate future that Christadelphians expend but little money on the building of 'places of worship.' A 'hired place' is deemed sufficient, and frequently the place is an 'upper room.' No virtue, however, is attached to the circumstance of its being 'upper,' as is sometimes alleged.

The following is an outline of the Leicester 'ecclesia,' and may be considered typical:

(1) The officers consist of five presiding brethren (*i.e.* those who take it in turn week by week to preside at the ecclesia's meetings, regular or special), seven managing brethren (who arrange for the conduct of meetings, deliberate and decide upon all questions arising in connexion with the working of the ecclesia, etc.), secretary, assistant-secretary, treasurer, lecturers, manager of book department, four door-keepers, three visiting brethren, six visiting sisters, superintendent of Sunday-school, president of music, and leader of singing.

(2) All officers are elected annually by the ecclesia, except the lecturers, who are selected and appointed by the managing brethren.

(3) Managing brethren meet ordinarily at least once a month (the meeting being announced on the previous Sunday morning), and have power to convene special meetings of the ecclesia at their discretion.

(4) Members of the ecclesia are free to attend all meetings of the managers and to share in the discussions, but not to vote.

(5) Managers report their proceedings to the ecclesial quarterly meetings, and are subject to the decision of the ecclesia as regards any matter affecting the future.

(6) Any brother or sister may request the managers (by written application through the secretary) to summon a special meeting of the ecclesia; and, in case of their refusal, any ten brethren or sisters may convene such meeting 'by furnishing the secretary with a requisition signed by each of them'—provided the requisition be 'posted up in a conspicuous place on the Sunday previous to the meeting.'

(7) All funds and property of the ecclesia are held in trust by the managing brethren for the time being.

(8) Any member proved to be guilty of departure 'from any element of the one faith,' or of 'behaviour unworthy of the name of Christ,' is to be compelled to cease fellowship.

(9) No personal accusation against a brother or sister is to be received until the Scriptural course (Mt 18[15-17]) has first been taken by the accusers.

(10) Any case of unjustified absence 'from the table on Sunday mornings' must be brought by the visiting brethren before the ecclesia in order to further inquiry.

(11) 'Marriage with an unbeliever is an offence against the law of Christ. If such offence take place, the ecclesia must signify its disapproval by resolution sent to the offending brother or sister; after which, the brother or sister may retain their place among the brethren only by admitting the offence.'

(12) No printed matter is to be circulated or offered for sale at the place of meeting, unless the consent of managing brethren be first obtained.

From these—the principal features of the Christadelphian constitution—its strictly democratic character, and, on the whole, its ethical stringency, are sufficiently evident.

LITERATURE.—Besides a number of pamphlets published by Thomas (chiefly at London and Birmingham), reference may be made to R. Roberts, *Defence of the Faith proclaimed in Ancient Times* (Birmingham, 1868), *Meaning of the Christadelphian Movement* (London, 1872), and *Dr. Thomas, his Life and Work* (London, 1884). The sect also publishes at Birmingham *The Christadelphian*. FRED. J. POWICKE.

[1] *Sect everywhere spoken against*, p. 16.

CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOUR.—The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour is, in the words of the so-called 'model constitution,' which has been adopted by most Societies, an organized effort 'to promote an earnest Christian life among its members, to increase their mutual acquaintance, and to make them more useful in the service of God.' In other words, it is a training school for the Church, and is intended to do for the young Christian what the manual or industrial training school does for the young citizen, teaching him to speak by speaking, and to work by working. The Society seeks to carry out in practice the favourite dictum of the psychologist, 'no impression without expression,' and to teach the young people how to obey the precepts of the pulpit and the Sunday School in everyday life. It differs from the Sunday School by putting the emphasis on *training* rather than *teaching*, and from the Young Men's Christian Association by emphasizing the religious more than the social life, and by centring the energies of each local society in some one local church, as, of course, the Y.M.C.A. cannot do, since each Association exists for the whole community.

The first Society of Christian Endeavour was

formed on 2nd Feb. 1881, in Williston Church, Portland, Maine, by the pastor Francis E. Clark. It was a simple and humble effort to add to the spiritual efficiency and practical service of his own young people, with no thought of the organization spreading to other churches. The constitution and pledge then adopted were substantially the same as those which are still in use by the Societies in all denominations and in all parts of the world, and they have been translated into eighty or more different languages. The weekly prayer-meeting is an essential part of the organization, and this meeting all active members promise to attend, and to take some part in, 'aside from singing, unless prevented by some reason they can conscientiously give to the Master.' This participation, however, may be a very slight one, like the repetition of a verse of Scripture, a sentence of prayer, a quotation from a religious author, or a few words of testimony. A monthly consecration meeting is held, usually during the first week of each month, at which the roll of active members is called; and each one is expected to respond to his name, or at least to send a verse of Scripture to be read when his name is called. Social meetings, literary meetings, study classes, and even athletic meetings may be, and often are, held, but they must not interfere with the regular weekly prayer-meeting.

Besides these weekly meetings, which cultivate the gift of expression, the various committees are an equally important and necessary part of the Society. They are of every possible variety, and are meant to do, in a systematic way, anything that the Church desires its young people to do. The average number of committees is five or six. All Societies, however, have the Look-out, the Prayer-meeting, and the Social committees, whose duties may be gathered from their names, though it may be added that the Look-out committee is expected to look after the spiritual interests of the Society, to secure new members, and to see to it that, so far as possible, the active members live up to their obligations. Missionary, Temperance, Good Literature, Information, Calling, Music, Relief, and Junior committees are some of the more usual committees. Continued and wilful absence from the Society and its duties for three months forfeits membership in the organization. As other church duties are taken up, the active members of a local Christian Endeavour Society may become members of a Senior Society (if the congregation with which the Society in question is connected possess such an affiliation) or may become honorary members; this latter body, according to the 'model constitution,' includes 'all persons who, though no longer young, are still interested in the society, and wish to have some connexion with it, though they cannot regularly attend the meetings.' In addition to the active and honorary members there are associate members, consisting of those young people who are not ready to be considered decided Christians, but are willing to put themselves under the influence of the Society, though they are not under obligation to take part in the meetings or serve on all the committees.

The second Society of Christian Endeavour was formed in Newburyport, Massachusetts, eight months after the first. For a time the growth was slow, and there was much opposition on the part of some churches and pastors, who feared that such an organization would weaken the allegiance of the young people to their own churches. On this account, many purely denominational Societies were formed on the Christian Endeavour model; but the fears of early days have proved to be unfounded, and many of these denominational Societies have been merged into the Christian Endeavour movement, though the Epworth League continues to maintain its denominational character as a distinctly Methodist organization.

After some two years the Societies began to grow more rapidly, and in five years from the establishment of the first Society they were gradually finding their way into all parts of the world. In 1884 the first Society was established in India, and also in China. In 1888 the first one was organized in Great Britain, in the High Town Church of Crewe. About the same time the movement was introduced into Australasia, where it has since greatly flourished, and in rapid succession it was adopted as a means of Christian nurture and training by churches in Turkey, Madagascar, Japan, South Africa, Egypt, the South Sea Islands, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Finland, Macedonia, and South America. It is now found in every Christian land, and practically in every country to which Christian missionaries have gone.

After a few years it was found necessary to form separate Societies for the boys and girls under fourteen years of age, who were in danger of being overshadowed by older ones, and then Junior Societies began to multiply, and have now become a very important feature of the work. Later still, it was found best in many churches to form the older boys and girls, between fourteen and eighteen years of age, into Intermediate Societies, which have multiplied rapidly, and proved of great value in many churches in caring for the religious character of young people in the critical age of adolescence.

Though the great majority of Societies are connected with local churches, many others are found in schools and colleges, especially in missionary lands. There are also many 'Floating Societies of Christian Endeavour' on ships of war and in the merchant marine of the United States and Great Britain, and others in army posts, soldiers' homes, etc. One of the most interesting developments of the organization is in the prisons of the United States, where there are many Societies and some 3000 active members, all of whom, of course, have been brought into the Christian life and work since their incarceration.

About the year 1884 the Societies began to form themselves into Unions, composed of the young people of many denominations. These have greatly extended and flourished, so that now every leading country has its national Christian Endeavour Union. Every State and Province and Colony in English-speaking lands has its State or Provincial Union, and most large cities and many smaller towns have their local Christian Endeavour Union. These Unions hold annual, semi-annual, or quarterly conventions, many of which are very largely attended. The National Conventions have often brought together vast numbers, ranging from ten to fifty thousand delegates. There is also a World's Union of Christian Endeavour, which has held four conventions—Washington (1896), London (1900), Geneva (1906), and Agra, India (1909).

Each country now has its own headquarters, where its literature is printed. These national organizations exist for information and inspiration alone, and disclaim all authority over local Societies, which owe allegiance only to their own churches. Their officers, except the Secretaries, are usually honorary officers who give their services without salary. There are some fifty weekly or monthly publications printed in different languages in the interests of the movement, of which the leading ones are *The Christian Endeavor World* of America, published in Boston, and *The Christian Endeavour Times* of London.

The 'United Society of Christian Endeavour' has its headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts; Rev. Francis E. Clark is president, Mr. William

Shaw, Secretary, and Mr. H. N. Lathrop, Treasurer. A Board of Trustees, representing all denominations and composed of nearly one hundred members, controls the business of the United Society. The British National Union has its headquarters in London; the President is chosen every year; the permanent Secretary is Rev. W. Knight Chaplin. The 'World's Christian Endeavour Union' also has its headquarters in Boston, and the President and Treasurer are officers of the United Society, though with a different board of Vice-presidents and Trustees.

There are now (Aug. 1910) something more than seventy-three thousand Societies of all kinds and in all parts of the world, with more than three and a half million members. Of these, some forty-seven thousand are found in the United States and Canada, more than ten thousand in Great Britain, and over three thousand in Australia. Every evangelical denomination of Protestant Christians is represented in the Society, and the movement is growing rapidly and substantially.

LITERATURE.—The literature is very abundant, embracing books and booklets upon every phase of the work. Francis E. Clark, *Christian Endeavor in all Lands*, Philad., 1906, is the most comprehensive history; see also the same writer's *Christian Endeavor Manual*, London, 1904, and J. R. Fleming, *The Christian Endeavour of the Future*, London, 1903. Professor Amos R. Wells is the author of many volumes for committees and different departments of the work.

FRANCIS E. CLARK.

CHRISTIANS (Names applied to).—**I. Names certainly or presumably claimed by Christians.**—(1) 'Disciples' (μαθηταί). This name is chronologically earliest, reflecting Gospel conditions, and surviving into (both halves of) the Book of Acts, but then disappearing. It is to be interpreted on the analogy of 'disciples of John' or 'disciples of the Pharisees' (*e.g.* Mk 2[18]). When Christians speak of themselves in a pregnant sense as 'disciples,' they mean that they are 'disciples of Jesus.' The correlative view of Jesus is as the Master simply. Hence, in the later Apostolic age, names for Christians which involve a richer connotation displace this earliest term.

'Disciples' has become one of the chosen names of a Baptist sect in America better known as 'Christians'; see below, end of (2). It is valuable to them as being primitive.

(2) 'Brethren' (ἀδελφοί). Although comparatively rare at the opening of NT epistles (Col 1[2], Ja 1[2], but not 1[1]), this title is the earliest of all in Acts (1[15]; though TR had 'disciples'), and it may be considered the standing NT designation for Christians by Christians. It runs through Acts down to 28[15], and is the habitual vocative in Christian sermons as early as II Clement. It can be used in sing. as well as plural. An individual Christian is 'a brother' (*e.g.* Ro 16[23]), or—if the sex is changed—'a sister' (1 Co 9[5], Ro 16[1], Ja 2[15]). The 'holy kiss' (1 Th 5[26], 1 Co 16[20], 2 Co 13[12], Ro 16[16], 1 P 5[14]) was the natural expression of primitive Christian brotherhood. The term was taken over from Judaism. There it meant racial and also religious brotherhood; but, in respect of both, the Jew was a 'child of Abraham' (cf. Lk 13[16] 19[9]) rather than a child of God. St. Paul annexes Abraham to the Christian fellowship, whether of Jewish or of Gentile blood (Gal 3[29], Ro 4[11f.]). In calling themselves '*the* brethren,' the Apostolic Christians imply that the brotherhood of Israel after the flesh, with its OT worship, is altogether an inferior thing. If we are to assume that the Fatherhood of God is the implied correlate of Christian brotherhood, this cannot be God's universal Fatherhood. In God, as in Abraham, it must be a Fatherhood towards the faithful. On any other view, 'brethren' would lose its distinctive meaning.

When we meet with the thought of God's universal Fatherhood in Tertullian (*Apol.* xxxix.), Harnack (*Expansion of Christianity*[2], i. 406) explains it as borrowed from the Stoics.

In later generations, as Harnack (*loc. cit.*) observes, 'brother' was almost entirely a title for one clergyman to bestow upon another; or, if a clergyman used it of a layman, he showed special condescension in doing so. It may be a transitional stage when the Emperor Constantine addresses the bishops and Christian people, in his numerous writings, as ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συνθεράποντες (Euseb. *Life of Constantine*, iii. 24).

This title, like 'disciples,' has been revived by a modern Protestant sect. Its members are known to each other as 'the Brethren,' but are called by those outside 'Plymouth Brethren' (see BRETHREN [Plymouth]).

(3) 'Saints' or 'holy persons' (ἅγιοι). This also is taken over from Judaism, and appropriated as distinctively Christian. It signifies the Christians who are truly consecrated to God, truly separated from common things (cf. 1 Co 7[14]). The evidence of Acts (9[13. 32. 41] 26[10]) for the usage of the early Church at Jerusalem is followed by the evidence of St. Paul's usage in addressing churches of Gentile converts (1 Co 1[2], 2 Co 1[1], Eph 1[1], Ph 1[1]; cf. He 3[1], Jude[3], Rev 22[21]). Catholic tradition has misled popular speech into understanding by sainthood some unusual degree of spirituality. Puritanism protested against this error; but, rightly or wrongly, Puritanism became unpopular, and the word 'saints' is now rather a sneer flung from outside than a claim put forward from within. Still, Edmund Gosse is able to tell of its use in Plymouthist circles (*Father and Son*, 1907, p. 10).

The 'holy kiss' may again be referred to. Further, 'holy' is 'the earliest predicate of Church' (Hahn-Harnack, *Bibliothek der Symbole*[3], 1897, p. 388). This last usage is not found in the NT, although 'holy prophets' (Lk 1[70]) and 'holy apostles and prophets' (Eph 3[5], cf. Rev 18[20] TR) half foreshadow the later exclusive claims of 'holy orders.'

In spite of Harnack's dissent, we must maintain that 'saints' tended to be applied specially to the earliest Christian community, the Church of Jerusalem (cf. 1 Co 16[1], 2 Co 8[4] 9[1], with Ro 15[26], Gal 2[10]). Had there not been racial dislocation in Church history, Jerusalem might have forestalled Rome.

(4) 'Believers,' 'faithful' (πιστεύοντες, πιστοί, Ac 5[14], Eph 1[1], Col 1[2]; cf. 2 P 1[1]). This term is ambiguous from the first. It stands poised, even in the NT, between religious faith (in God's grace) and moral fidelity—sometimes inclining towards the one, sometimes towards the other. There is ambiguity still to-day. The 'faithful' in a Roman Catholic allocution are those holding Church dogmas; 'believers' in a Protestant revival-meeting are the converted.

In the Synoptic Gospels, 'faith' is concerned mainly with miracle (*e.g.* Mk 9[23]). Impossibility disappears before it. St. Paul's teaching carries the principle inwards and upwards. Life and salvation, impossible upon any other terms, flow straight from trust in God. Elsewhere in the NT we have a nearer approach to dogma. The Christian believes that Jesus is the Messiah and the Son of God (Jn 20[31]). Or, he believes in the historical fact of Christ's resurrection (Acts especially), which Jews treat as an imposture (cf. Mt 28[13ff.]). Here was the plain line of division between Christian Jew and non-Christian.

In a sense, such emphasis upon belief was a novelty in the Bible religion. In another sense (cf. St. Paul's appeals in Ro 4[3] 1[17] to Gn 15[6], Hab 2[4]; or cf. Is 7[9]) the OT was very profoundly a religion of faith. Zoroastrianism, especially in the Gathas, may have shown anticipations of the appeal to personal faith. In later history, Muhammadanism affords a significant parallel and contrast.

Inscriptions, quoted by Hawkins (*DCA*, art. 'Faithful'), show that the word *fidelis* came to be used of the baptized person, even of the baptized child, in contrast with the mere catechumen. And

Harnack (*Expansion* [2], i. 404) cites the same usage of language in the Canons of Elvira (A.D. 306). So early did the conceptions of 'faith' and 'faithfulness' grow hard. See also below (12), *sub fin.*

(5) 'Elect' or 'chosen' (ἐκλεκτοί). As a name, the word is rare (Tit 1^1, 1 P 1^1, 2 Jn $^{1.13}$). In NT historians we have it only in Mk $13^{20.22}$ (= Mt 24^{22}), the apocalyptic chapter. Possibly the term had a special vogue in apocalyptic circles. The Parable Book dissected by criticism out of the Book of Enoch calls the expected Messiah 'the Elect One' (Is 42^1; cf. Mk 1^{11} etc.). Manichæism is stated to have called its inner circle 'the Elect' or 'the Perfect' (cf. the reference cited in *PRE* [3] xii. 211, and see art. MANICHÆANS). Heracleon is quoted (Clem. *Strom.* IV. ix. 73) as claiming the term for Gnostics, as opposed to vulgar Christians. We are told that in the 7th cent. the Paulicians applied the name to their clergy. These usages might give the word a flavour of heresy. Nor, where high predestinarian doctrine is taught, can the name seem very suitable for any external fellowship. Its origin, of course, is in the OT. God chose Israel once; He chooses Christian souls now.

(6) 'The Called' (κλητοί). It is questionable whether this—closely akin in sense to the last—is ever precisely a name; but we may refer to Ro $1^{6.7}$, 1 Co 1^2, Jude ^{1}, He 3^1.

(7) 'The Church' (ἐκκλησία). This collective term denotes in Greek the general assembly of all entitled to be summoned, as citizens, by the herald (cf. Ac 19^{39}). In the LXX ἐκκλησία stands for Heb. *qāhāl*, a favourite term with P for the religious community of Israel. A synonymous term in his vocabulary, *'ēdhāh*, is rendered occasionally by ἐκκλησία, but almost always by συναγωγή. The Jews had annexed 'synagogue'; Christianity annexed 'church.'

Mt 16^{18} and 18^{17} hardly amount to a definite proof that our Lord used the expression. The verses are unsupported elsewhere. It will always be possible to argue that the Master's language has been recast.

For early post-resurrection use, Acts (8^3 etc.) is strikingly supported by Ph 3^6; less so perhaps by the more reflective and theological language of 1 Co 15^9. 'Church,' then, like the distributive term 'saints,' and perhaps like 'brethren,' proves that early Christianity claimed a unique place of nearness to God. In a sense, the word always connotes some kind of exclusiveness. If there are no limitations, there is no Church. Protestantism may etherealize the limits; but it continues to believe in them, and to cherish the great name. Only the Friends, or the Salvation Army, or the Brethren would treat Christ's visible Church as effete.

Edmund Gosse, indeed, assures us that P. H. Gosse spoke of his own tiny fellowship as 'the Church of Christ in this parish' (*Life of P. H. G.*, 1890, p. 330). Perhaps Gosse was exceptional. His son tells that he had ceased to keep in touch with Plymouth Brethrenism.

The NT uses the word sometimes in the singular, sometimes in the plural. The plural is usually one of geographical separation within a limited district (cf. Gal 1^2, Rev $1^{4.20}$ etc.). Even the strange phenomenon of house-churches (Ro 16^5, 1 Co 16^{19}, Col 4^{15}, Philem ^{2}) may be interpreted as illustrating the same principle. Still, it was only under a deliberately lax organization that such a plurality of 'churches' would be acquiesced in. In the NT each separate church represents or stands for the one great Church of God. On the other hand, Jerusalem had a natural precedence as mother of all churches, till racial dislocation snapped the primitive fellowship [see above (3)].

(8) 'The Way' (ἡ ὁδός). This name seems to occur only in Acts (9^2 $19^{9.23}$ 22^4 24^{22}; cf. 16^{17} 'way of salvation,' 18^{25} 'way of the Lord,' 18^{26} 'way of God,' 24^{14} 'the way which they call a sect'). In 17th cent. English 'way' still clearly meant road or track; and that is the sense of the original. We are conscious of the literal signification when we say 'highway' or 'byway'; but 'way' generally means to us method or process, and we hardly feel it as a metaphor. The word is colourless. Christians might use it in a pregnant sense, but non-Christian Jews admitted nothing by employing it. On the other hand, it was courteous. It had not the suggestion of disparagement which attached to 'Nazarene.' This state of matters explains the origin of the term, and again its disappearance. Such a term has nothing to teach us.

Weizsäcker (*Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr. 1895, ii. 262) and others quote as a parallel the Talmudic *Halakhoth*, literally 'walks,' as parallel especially to 1 Co 4^{17} ('my ways in Christ' [for A. Seeberg's view, see his *Katechismus der Urchristenheit*, 1903, p. 6 f.]); but these are special rules of conduct, not a single great way of life. 'Way of salvation' (Ac 16^{17}, see above) is a better gloss on the meaning. The Buddhist 'Holy Eightfold Path' is in one sense closely akin.[1] For Semitic parallels, cf. Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 1853, p. 353, and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 203 f. So, too, in modern Muhammadanism duty as authoritatively expounded from the Qur'ān *plus* traditions is *Sharī'ah*, literally 'the way.' *Mahdī*, again, = 'he who is guided in the right path'; while a minor sect of orthodox Sunnite Muhammadanism is a *Ṭarīḳah*, lit. 'path.' In Shi'ite Persia we have the heresy of the *Bāb* (the 'gate'). See art. BĀB, BĀBIS.

(9) 'The Poor' (πτωχοί). We assume that this sense underlies the name 'Ebionites,' given to Christians of Jewish birth (Origen, *c. Cel.* ii. 1, Hom. iii. 5 on *Genesis*, on *Matt.*, tom. xvi. 12; Euseb. *de Eccl. Theol.* i. 14, also *Onomasticon* [and Jerome's translation]). If the Fathers, from Irenæus (*Hær.* I. xxvi. 2) downwards, generally call the Ebionites heretics, that merely reflects the growing isolation of the primitive Church of Jewish descent, and the increasing divergence in belief between it and the West (see EBIONISM).

We also assume that the name 'poor' was claimed from within the primitive Church, rather than (as Harnack [i. 402] holds) attached to it in scorn by hostile Jews. For (*a*) in the OT אֶבְיוֹן is hardly less a synonym for piety (Ps 69^{33} 107^{41}) than עָנִי itself. (*b*) We have such NT passages as Lk 6^{20}, Ro 15^{26}, Gal 2^{10}, Ac 4^{34}, to which we may add Ja 2^5, if addressed to Christians of Jewish race. (*c*) One Latin Christian writer, Minucius Felix (*Octavius*, 36), roundly affirms 'we are called poor,' and claims that the name is creditable to Christians.[2] (*d*) Epiphanius tells us (xxx. 17) that the Ebionites whom he knew—syncretists with affinities to the heresy underlying the pseudo-Clementines—claimed to have their name in succession from the Christian heroes of Ac 4^{34}.

The 'Poor Men of Lyons' may be said to revive primitive 'Ebionism.' The same ideal plays a great part with St. Francis of Assisi, and even appears in the (popular) name of his female order, the 'poor' Clares. A Lollard petition of 1395 begins: 'We, poor men, treasurers of Christ and His apostles.' Of course, too, poverty is one of the standing vows in Catholic monasticism (cf. T. M. Lindsay, 'Evangelical Poverty in the Centuries before the Reformation' in vol. i. [1887] of *Theological Review and Free Church Colleges Quarterly*).

(10) 'Friends' (φίλοι) seems to mean Christian disciples in Ac 27^3, possibly also 3 Jn ^{14}; cf. Lk 12^4, Jn 15^{13-16}. The rival name 'brethren' excluded it from general use. Mediæval mystics known as the 'Friends of God' came near to reviving it. The Society of Friends (Quakers) definitely did so. See artt. FRIENDS OF GOD and SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

2. Names given by Jews.—(11) 'Nazarenes.' We find this name once in the NT (Ac 24^5, cf. v.^{14}) on the lips of Jews. Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 8) speaks of Jews as authors of the name. Epiphanius (between xx. and xxi., xxix. 1, xxix. 6) tells us that it was a primitive designation for Christians;

[1] A similar concept is found as early as the Rig-Veda (*e.g.* x. lxxi. 6, *sukṛtasya pathi*, 'path of well-doing' [for further references, see H. Grassmann, *Wörterb. zum. Rig-Veda*, Leipzig, 1875, coll. 284, 767 f.]), and recurs in the Avesta (*e.g. Yasna* xliii. 3, li. 13, liii. 2, lxxii. 11) and the Old Persian inscriptions (NRa 56–59; see, further, Jackson, *GIrP* ii. 626, and *JAOS* xxi. 171 f.).

[2] We must not make too much of this isolated assertion; but, at least, it may imply the floating echo of an earlier name.

Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*) trace it to the town of Nazareth. Krauss (*JQR* v. [1892] 131, etc.) gives Patristic references [Jerome on Is ii. 18 should be on Is lxv. 18] to the cursing of Nazarenes in Jewish synagogues. See also below (12).

Other interpretations of 'Nazarene,' sometimes involving doubt as to the historical existence of Nazareth at the Christian era (Wellhausen, *Israel. u. Jud. Gesch.*[1] p. 220 n. [p. 255 in ed. 2, p. 266 in ed. 3], quoting Halévy; but cf. Buhl, *Pal.*, 1896, p. 113 n. 229; Cheyne, *EBi*, 'Nazareth'; W. B. Smith in *The Monist*, Jan. 1905, pp. 25–45, and in *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, 1906), are fantastic. If Nazareth had a bad name (Jn 1^{46}, cf. Jerome as cited above), we can understand the appeal to Is 11^{1} at Mt 2^{23}; Messiah *had* to be a '*Nēṣer*'!

Epiphanius' pre-Christian *Nazoræi* (xviii.) and Philastrius' Jewish Nazarenes are perhaps mere blunders (yet see Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. des Urchristentums*, p. 426 ff., and Box, art. 'Nazarene,' in *DCG*). Some earlier writers—like Theodoret later (*Hæret. Fab.* ii. 2)—may have declared that Christians of Jewish blood were mere 'Jews' in opinion, and this might be distorted into 'Nazarenes are a sect of Jews.'

There is nothing to surprise us if we find Nazarenes (*i.e.* Christians of Jewish blood) ranked, like the Ebionites and along with them, as heretics by later Fathers like Epiphanius (xviii.) and some Latin writers (Augustine, *Hæres.*, and the work known as *Prædestinatus*).

Jerome is well informed, but perhaps confused; certainly he is confusing (cf. *Ep.* cxii. 13, on Is 9^{1}; cf. also on Is 11^{2}).

Curiously affected literary use of 'Nazarene' as equivalent to 'Christian' meets us in Prudentius, *Peristeph.* v. [not ii.] 25, *contra Symm.* i. 549; cf. *Peristeph.* x. 45, *Cathemer.* vii. 1. We have a trace of genuinely heretical use in the still surviving Jewish Gnostic and vehemently anti-Christian sect of Mandæans (*q.v.*)—if, indeed, their usage is derived from 'Nazareth.' Their Scripture, the *Ginza*, uses it of all members of their community; but H. J. Petermann, in his *Travels* (1861), reported that he found the name applied to their learned men exclusively.

Jewish use of the name for Christians continues in the Levant to this day, and has been copied by the Muhammadans from their first appearance onwards. See also below (14), and cf. Krauss in *JE* ix. 194 f.

(12) '*Minim*.' While there is scarcely any reference to 'Ebionites' in the Talmud, we must hold with Krauss [above (11)] and R. T. Herford (*Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, 1904) that the *Minim* cursed in the Jewish synagogues were—or at least included—Jewish-Christian heretics. Indeed Jerome expressly tells us so (*Ep.* cxii. 13).

Later Jewish usage has not retained either the name 'Nazarenes' or the name '*Minim*' (cf. art. 'Min' in *JE*) in the curse-formula. For a possible reference to Christian *Minim* in the name *Khan Minyeh*, see G. A. Smith, *HGHL*[1], 1894, and the references there given.

Details may be controverted; but the apparent recognition by *Minim* of two principles *co-operating in Creation* does not bear out Friedländer's rival theory that the *Minim* were Gnostic (and Antinomian). It rather suggests a Logos theology like that of the Ep. to the Hebrews; which is interesting, if also—in view of Patristic evidence regarding Ebionite Christologies—not a little perplexing.

It would be no less interesting if we could follow the Jewish scholars Derenbourg (1867) and Joel (1880–83) in interpreting *Minim* as meaning 'believers,' *i.e.* 'believers in Jesus' [above (4)]. Joel even held that *maămînîm* was slangily cut down into *minim*; as if we said 'lievers' instead of 'believers' [cf. Christ-ians; below (13), *sub fin.*]. But the old view seems to be regaining the assent of Talmudic experts. According to it, *mīn* means 'kind' (as in Gn 1); and *Minim* are strange kinds or unlawful sects—*i.e.* heretics as such. This appears a very singular explanation; but in the Talmud nothing is impossible.

3. **Names given by Gentile outsiders.**—(13) 'Christians.' The NT occurrences, all with a smack of hostility, are three—Ac 11^{26} 26^{28}, 1 P 4^{16}.

Ja 2^{7} should be explained rather of b[illegible] the name of Christ; cf. [Ac 8^{37}], Gal 3^{27}, Ro 6^{3}. Ac 5^{41} might be similarly disposed of; or conceivably it is a fourth reference. If Lk 6^{22} refers to the word 'Christian,' it must be a late re-shaping of what the Master said.

Later possible references are Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25 (disturbances at Rome, 'Chresto impulsore'), and a fragmentary inscription at Pompeii (in a wine-shop, and so dismissed, as misinterpreted, by Schmiedel in *EBi*; but Ramsay [*Ch. in Roman Empire*[3], 1893, p. 268, *St. Paul*, 1895, p. 346] contends that it might be a sneer at the new saints, and quite appropriate to a wine-shop). More assured references are Tacitus (Nero's persecution, *Annal.* xv. 44) and Suetonius once more (*Nero*, 16, believed to be borrowed from Tacitus). Definite legal use is attested in the younger Pliny's letter (*Ep.* x. 96) to Trajan *c.* 104 (?) A.D., and in Hadrian's rescript (*c.* 130 A.D.) in reply to Licinius Serenus Granianus (as preserved in Euseb. *HE* iv. 9).

Among the Apostolic Fathers, Ignatius shows special attachment to the word; cf. also *Didache* xii. 4; *Ep. ad Diogn.* (*passim* in 1–6, esp. 6); Justin, *Apol.* i. 12. M. Aurelius' coldly scornful reference (*Meditat.* xi. 3) may serve to mark universal acquaintance with the name (*c.* 170 A.D.).

Jews could not originate this name—they looked for a 'Christ.' Ac 11^{26} tells us that it arose in the home of the first Gentile-Christian church (though nothing precise is said as to the date when the word was coined at Antioch). Baur declared that the adj. as a Latin form was impossible in a Greek-speaking region; but this view of the grammatical evidence is universally given up. Besides, were there not Roman soldiers at Antioch?

Lipsius (1873), while withdrawing the grammatical objection, dwelt upon the comparative silence (1) of the NT, (2) of early Christian literature. His rejection of Ac 11^{26} involved (1) a different interpretation of Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25; (2) the assumption that Tacitus placed in A.D. 64 what was true only of his own day some fifty years later, in his 'Quos vulgus Christianos appellabat.' But (3) Lipsius concurred in assigning the name to Antioch because of its use by the Antiochene Father, Ignatius. Since 1873 we have had the vindication of the (shorter) Greek text of Ignatius—Lipsius, who had worked from the Syriac text, subsequently accepted the Greek—and the mention of Christians in the newly discovered *Didache*. Further, if Harnack's view of the composition of Acts is accepted, its Antiochene evidence is peculiarly reliable. See also below (14).

The MS of Tacitus is read by Harnack (i. 413 f.), 'Quos vulgus Chrestianos appellabat.' He maintains—against hostile criticism—the interpretation: 'The mob then called them, blunderingly, Chrestians; every one now knows the name as Christian.'

This name, however accidental in origin, is exactly right from the Christian standpoint. 'Ye belong to Christ' (Mk 9^{41} AV).

The 'Christians' of the United States [above (§ 1)] are called by outsiders 'Christ'-ians.

(14) 'Galilæans.' We have no genuine evidence for this name in the NT. In Mk 14^{70} Peter is simply identified by accent as a provincial follower of the provincial prophet. Ac 2^{7} merely declares that the Christian apostles came from Galilee.[1]

Jewish sects or heresies enumerated by Justin (*Trypho*, 80), Epiphanius (xviii.), and (after them) Ephraim Syrus include 'Galdæans' as followers of Judas of Gamala (cf. Ac 5^{37}).

Our reliable evidence, such as it is, reveals a Gentile usage. Epictetus (*Diss.* iv. 7. 6) doubtless means Christians by 'Galilæans,' with their 'habit' of apathy under suffering. Valentinus (*ap.* Eulogion *ap.* Photius [in Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch.* p. 302]) speaks of 'Galilæan' dyophysitism in contrast to Gnostic insight into Christ's person, and Mani the heresiarch is quoted similarly by Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr.* v. [1712] 285) and Lardner (*Jew. and Heathen Testimonies*, ii. [1765] 102. 3, under 'Epictetus'). These two references support each other. There may have been an early

[1] Unless, perhaps, the historian makes an *amende* to that province for denying it any visions of the risen Jesus (contrast Lk 24^{6} with Mk [14^{28}] 16^{7} or Mt 26^{32} $28^{7.10}$) when he allows that the witnesses were Galilæan men.

Gnostic monophysitism, despising popular 'Galilæan' views of Christ.

Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xvi.) appealed to Lardner as showing that 'Galilæan' was a common name for the early Christians, and he insinuated that Nero got the crimes of the followers of Judas of Galilee imputed to the Church. Gibbon's Christian editors, Guizot and Milman, resented the conjecture, as a whitewashing of villainy; and really it is quite baseless, for the evidence as to Nero's persecutions says nothing at all about 'Galilæans.'

It is barely worth mentioning that John Malalas (7th cent., quoted in Hilgenfeld's ed. of *Acts*, 1899) speaks of Christians as having originally been called 'Nazarenes and Galilæans.' Suidas repeats this.

Whether Jewish or Gentile in origin, the nickname lent itself well to the Emperor Julian—possibly in edicts, certainly in his writings. He could express Hellenic contempt for two great monotheistic religions by treating one as fit only for provincials of Judæa, and the other for provincials of Galilee. Harnack aptly compares the nickname 'Phrygians' given by the orthodox to the Montanists.

In *Expansion*[2] (i. 402), Harnack withdraws his tentative assignment of *Acta Theodoti Ancyrani*, xxxi., with its hostile use of the name 'Galilæan' by Roman officials, to a date earlier than Julian. It is later. But Harnack still thinks it probable that the name had really come earlier into use among the official enemies of Christianity.

4. Nicknames and blunders.—(15) 'Jesseans.' Epiphanius (xxix. 14, not 'xxix. n. 4' as printed and reprinted) probably means Essenes—confusing them with Christians.

(16) '*Ecclesiastici.*' Bingham's quotations (I. i. § 8) show that we have here simply the modern 'churchman' in its two senses—catholic *versus* dissenter, or clergyman as distinguished from layman.

(17) 'Catholics' never means simply Christians, but always orthodox or church Christians.

(18) 'Atheists' may be a genuine nickname for the early Christian rebels against the Empire's idolatrous worship; cf. *e.g.* Euseb. *HE* iv. 15. 6.

(19) 'Gnostic' is always a term of contrast. Thus Clem. of Alexandria uses it of the superior Christian as distinguished from the uncultured believer.

(20) '*Christi.*' Ps 105[15] leads Euseb. (*Demonst.* i. 5) to say that the OT called God's friends 'Christs.' According to Hippolytus (*Philos.* vii. 34), Ebionitic heretics held that they could themselves become 'Christs' by merit or adoptive grace. But this does not give us the word as a name; still less does Ambrose (*de Obit. Valentin.* iii. 12), or Jerome on Ps 105[15]. Ambrose says a true Christian is like Christ; Jerome, that Christ needed no literal outward anointing.

(21) '*Chrestoi.*' Often *Christos* is confused with *chrestos*, 'good' (Justin, *Apol.* i. 4; Lactant. *Inst.* iv. 7; Tertull. *Apol.* 3); but there is no evidence whatever that Christians were called '*Chresti.*'

(22) '*Pisciculi*'—a simple pleasantry in Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, ci.

(23) 'Of the dogma.' A single obscure passage is quoted (Euseb. *HE* vii. 30, § 19).[1]

(24) 'Jews.' Christians, for a time, might be involved in the dislike felt to Jews. At the utmost, it is a temporary nickname.

(25) '*Tarsāk, Tarsā.*' This name, which literally means 'timid,' is specifically Persian, being applied, probably in derision, to Christians as early as the 9th century *Šikand-gūmānīg Vijār* (xv. 1, tr. West, *SBE* xxiv. 229), and frequently recurring later, as in the 17th century *Dābistān*, a Persian treatise on various religions and sects (tr. Shea and Troyer, Paris, 1843, ii. 305), which also, like many other Persian and Arabic works, terms the Christians *'Isawī*, 'followers of Jesus' (cf. Arab. *Masīḥī*, 'follower of the Messiah,' the latter designation likewise occurring in Syriac).

[1] From Rufinus downwards it has been customary to omit the words τοῦ δόγματος in translation, although the Berlin ed. marks no variant reading. Might we take the previous word ἐπίσκοποι as non-technical? Did the Emperor Aurelian entrust the decision in question to those 'charged with superintending doctrines' in Rome and Italy?

LITERATURE.—J. Bingham, *Origines Eccl.*, Oxf. 1840, ch. 1; art. 'Faithful' in Smith-Wace's *DCA* (repeating, supplementing, and silently correcting, Bingham). For 'Christians': R. A. Lipsius, 'Ursprung des Christennamens,' in *Gratulationsprog. der theolog. Fakultät Jena für Hase*, Jena, 1873, pp. 6–10; T. Zahn, *Introd. to NT* (tr. Edinb. 1909); the Comm. on *Acts*, and the Bible Dictionaries. For 'Church': F. J. A. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, Lond. 1897 [a good survey of Biblical usages is included]. For 'Ebionites,' 'Nazarenes,' '*Minim*,' the Patristic evidence is very fully given by A. Hilgenfeld, esp. in *Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums*, Leipz. 1884; cf. his *Judenthum u. Judenchristenthum*, Leipz. 1886; for a recent survey, with fuller Jewish references, see G. Hoennicke, *Judenchristenthum in 1ten u. 2ten Jahrh.*, Berlin, 1908. In general: A. Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1904–5 [valuable additions in 2nd ed., 1908], also in *Luke the Physician*, tr., Lond. 1907, and *The Acts of the Apostles*, tr., Lond. 1909, and elsewhere.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

CHRISTIANS OF ST. JOHN.—See MANDÆANS.

CHRISTIANS OF ST. THOMAS.—See NESTORIANS.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.—I. The Discoverer.—'In the year 1866, I discovered the Christ Science or divine laws of Life, Truth, and Love, and named my discovery Christian Science. God had been graciously preparing me during many years for the reception of this final revelation of the absolute divine Principle of scientific mental healing' (*Science and Health*, p. 107). So writes Mrs. Mary Baker Glover Eddy, the founder of Christian Science, and author of its text-book. Born (1821) at Bow, New Hampshire, in the United States, Mary Morse Baker, afterwards Mrs. Eddy, was the child of devout, God-fearing parents. The 'intervales' of her father's farm of 600 acres lie along the banks of the Merrimac, in the township of Concord, now a city, where she resides. At the age of about twelve she joined the Congregationalist Church, of which she remained a faithful member for thirty years. Her insight into spiritual things was remarkable from an early age. In an autobiographical sketch she writes thus: 'From my very childhood I was impelled, by a hunger and thirst after divine things,—a desire for something higher and better than matter, and apart from it,—to seek diligently for the knowledge of God, as the one great and ever-present relief from human woe' (*Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 47). This faith in God sustained her through many trials which came to her in after years; but, when her health failed, she found that neither her own prayers nor those of other members of her Church could heal her.

Mrs. Eddy's education was of an unusual character. Her father had been told that her brain was too large for her body, and, dreading the close application of school, he educated her chiefly at home; but she learned with great facility, and studied many deep subjects, Natural Philosophy, Logic, and Moral Science being her favourite studies. She also gained some knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In later years she was filled with the desire to alleviate the sufferings of humanity; with the hope of restoring her own health she studied medicine, the object of all her experiments being to discover the healing power. She became convinced that the healing power did not lie in the drug, and for twenty years she was trying to trace every effect to a mental cause. Eventually, to use her own words, 'I gained the scientific certainty that all causation was Mind, and every effect a mental phenomenon' (*Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 38).

The discovery or revelation came to her in an hour of extreme need. She lay apparently at

the point of death, having sustained such severe internal injuries from a fall on the icy pavement that the doctor gave no hope of her recovery. Her friends were gathered round to see the end, when she asked for a Bible, opened it at the ninth chapter of St. Matthew, and begged to be left alone. As she read of the healing of the man who was sick of the palsy, there came to her such an overwhelming realization of the ever-presence and power of Christ to heal and save, that she felt herself instantaneously cured, rose, dressed herself, and joined her astonished friends. She did not at first fully understand how she had been healed. 'Even to the homœopathic physician who attended me, and rejoiced in my recovery, I could not then explain the *modus* of my relief. I could only assure him that the divine Spirit had wrought the miracle—a miracle which later I found to be in perfect Scientific accord with divine law' (*Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 38). To discover the *modus operandi* of this divine healing power now became the object of Mrs. Eddy's life. For the next three years she devoted herself to prayer and meditation, and a close study of the Bible, with the result that she felt convinced she had discovered the divine Principle and law which lay behind the words and works of Jesus Christ; in other words, the Science of Divine Metaphysical Healing, or Christian Science. The truth and practical efficacy of the system she next demonstrated to the world in the healing of innumerable cases of incurable or hopeless disease; she also preached, taught, and gave lectures. But it was not till the year 1875 that she felt the time had come for the publication of the text-book *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures.* This book contains a complete statement of the Science of Mind-healing, its Principle and Practice, and is the only authorized text-book on the subject.

2. The Science.—Christian Science is a clear and definite system, based on certain fundamental propositions defining the nature of God. Every deduction from beginning to end of the system is the logical outcome of these primary statements concerning the Divine nature. On p. 465 of the text-book appears the following definition of God: 'God is incorporeal, divine, supreme, infinite Mind, Spirit, Soul, Principle, Life, Truth, Love.' The essence of Mrs. Eddy's discovery is contained in this definition of God. She saw that, if God is the only Cause and Creator, as the Bible declares, then He must be the Principle of the universe; that is, the origin, source, governing power or law. And, since it is impossible to conceive of a non-intelligent cause, this Cause or Principle must be intelligence or Mind. Thus Mind is seen to be the Principle of the universe. Again, if there is but one Cause or Principle, it must be all-inclusive or infinite. Hence God must be the one infinite Principle, the one infinite Mind. Turning again to the definition of God, we see that He is further defined as Spirit, Soul, Life, Truth, Love. Thus Christian Science, while revealing the unchanging nature of Deity as Truth, as Principle, governing the universe by immutable law, yet shows Him to be no cold abstraction, but the universal, intelligent, Life-Principle or Soul, whose very nature is Love: 'God, the great I AM; the all-knowing, all-seeing, all-acting, all-wise, all-loving, and eternal Principle' (*Science and Health*, p. 587). 'The starting-point of divine Science is that God, Spirit, is All-in-all, and that there is no other might nor Mind,—that God is Love, and therefore He is divine Principle' (*ib.* p. 275). Christian Science repudiates the use of the term *person* or *personal* as applied to God, if the word is employed in a limited or anthropomorphic sense. The term is permissible if it is used to express the individuality of the Infinite, and in this sense only is it used in *Science and Health.*

Having thus established the definition of God, Christian Science next proceeds to deduce therefrom the nature of man and the universe, arguing thus:—If Cause is admitted to be one infinite Mind, then all that exists must be that Cause and its effects—in other words, infinite Mind and its ideas. Hence man and the universe are defined as ideas, images of God. These ideas must partake of the nature of the Mind which produces them; they must be contained in that Mind, and be wholly governed by it; hence, man and the universe must be spiritual, eternal, perfect, expressing the Divine nature. That this teaching is in accord with Scripture is established by such passages as the following: 'And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. . . . So God created man in his own image. . . . And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good' (Gn $1^{26.\ 27.\ 31}$); 'All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made' (Jn 1^{3}); 'For in him we live, and move, and have our being' (Ac 17^{28}). The substance of these texts is thus metaphysically stated on p. 468 of *Science and Health*:

'There is no life, truth, intelligence, nor substance in matter All is infinite Mind and its infinite manifestation, for God is All-in-all. Spirit is immortal Truth; matter is mortal error. Spirit is the real and eternal; matter is the unreal and temporal. Spirit is God, and man is His image and likeness. Therefore, man is not material; he is spiritual.'

This brings us to the next point, and shows how Christian Science deals with the problems of *matter* and *evil*. Many philosophers have taught that matter is unsubstantial or unreal, and the latest discoveries of natural science seem to be tending in the same direction; but it has been left to Mrs. Eddy to deduce the unreality of matter and all evil as a necessary consequence from the premiss that God is infinite, and God is Spirit.

'The three great verities of Spirit, omnipotence, omnipresence, omniscience,—Spirit possessing all power, filling all space, constituting all Science,—contradict for ever the belief that matter can be actual' (*ib.* p. 109).

'The fundamental propositions of divine metaphysics are summarised in the four following, to me, *self-evident* propositions. . . .

1. God is All-in-all.
2. God is good. Good is Mind.
3. God, Spirit, being all, nothing is matter.
4. Life, God, omnipotent good, deny death, evil, sin, disease. —Disease, sin, evil, death, deny good, omnipotent God, Life.

Which of the denials in proposition four is true? Both are not, cannot be, true. According to the Scripture, I find that God is true, "but every (mortal) man a liar"' (*ib.* p. 113).

The above quotations show the radical position which Mrs. Eddy has taken upon the subject of matter and evil. She saw that, if God is infinite, the only Cause, *reality* must consist of God, good, and that which proceeds from Him. Hence nothing else can be *real*. The word 'real' is used in Christian Science to mean eternal, indestructible, true, the essential nature of things. Hence matter and all evil, sin, sickness, and death, being contrary to the nature of God, are classified as 'unreal'; that is, as being subject to destruction, and as having only a temporary existence as the experience of mortals. They are defined as *error*, or illusion, the result of a false sense of existence, to be destroyed by Truth, the knowledge of the perfection of all true being. Jesus speaks of evil in the following terms: 'He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it' (Jn 8^{44}). St. Paul describes it as *τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκος*, 'the mind of the flesh,' or 'the carnal mind' which is 'enmity against God' (Ro $8^{6.\ 7}$). In Christian Science this lying material sense, or sense of evil, is termed 'mortal mind.'

'When apparently near the confines of mortal existence, standing already within the shadow of the death-valley, I learned these truths in divine Science: that all real being is in God, the divine Mind, and that Life, Truth, and Love are all-powerful and ever-present; that the opposite of Truth—called error, sin, sickness, disease, death—is the false testimony of false material sense—of mind in matter; that this false sense evolves, in belief, a subjective state of mortal mind which this same so-called mind names *matter*, thereby shutting out the true sense of Spirit' (*Science and Health*, p. 108).

'Usage classes both evil and good together as *mind*; therefore, to be understood, the author calls sick and sinful humanity *mortal mind*,—meaning by this term the flesh opposed to Spirit,—the human mind and evil in contradistinction to the divine Mind, or Truth and Good. . . . Mortal mind is a solecism in language, and involves an improper use of the word *mind*. As Mind is immortal, the phrase *mortal mind* implies something untrue and therefore unreal; and as the phrase is used in teaching Christian Science, it is meant to designate that which has no real existence' (*ib.* p. 114).

The doctrine that matter is unreal because it does not originate in God, who is Spirit, may seem startling to this age; but Mrs. Eddy maintains that it is in strict accord with the teaching of Jesus Christ and His apostles, and that it underlies all the miracles in the Bible. During the brief period of His earthly ministry, Jesus broke all the laws of matter; He constantly threw contempt upon all material things; He healed the sick in direct contradiction to all recognized laws of medical science; He said, 'The flesh profiteth nothing' (Jn 6^{63}). Yet He also said, 'I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me' (6^{38}); and St. John says of Him, 'For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil' (1 Jn 3^{8}). The same teaching runs through the Epistles, where matter, or the flesh, is constantly taken as a type of all that is opposed to God. Nothing can be stronger than the statements of St. Paul on this subject. 'The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other' (Gal 5^{17}). 'So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God' (Ro 8^{8}). 'Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God' (1 Co 15^{50}). Thus Christian Science maintains that it has Scriptural authority for the teaching that matter does not proceed from God, but is the outcome of evil—in other words, an illusion of mortal mind.

Christian Science claims to differ from all other religious systems of the day in that it rests on demonstration, and is thus entitled to be called the Science of Christianity. It maintains that the command of Jesus to preach the gospel and heal the sick is binding on every one of His followers in every age; that the power to heal sickness and sin was the proof of true discipleship demanded by the Founder of Christianity, and that every Christian can and should be judged by the same test to-day. 'And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover' (Mk $16^{17f.}$). 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father' (Jn 14^{12}).

Christian Science practice consists in the application of the divine Principle and rule of Christian Science to all the problems of human existence; its aim is to accomplish the complete salvation of mankind by the overcoming of all evil, all sin, disease, and death, thus revealing the true and original nature of man as the perfect offspring of God. Thus the healing of sickness is held to be an essential part of the work of salvation, and is enjoined on every Christian Scientist as a necessary part of his Christian work. At the same time, Mrs. Eddy makes it clear that by far the most important part of the work is the healing of sin. From beginning to end of the text-book she urges upon her readers that sin is no part of man's true nature, that it is *error* (ἁμαρτία), and that it can and must be destroyed by Truth.

The only means employed in Christian Science practice for the healing of sickness and sin are mental. Prayer in Christian Science is based on the spiritual understanding of God as immutable Principle, unchanging Love, infinite Good. Recognizing from this pure and perfect source only what is true and good, its object is to bring to the individual such a clear recognition of the ever-present, omnipotent God, and of the perfection of man made in His likeness, as will enable him to so discern the illusion, yea, the nothingness of evil, whether sickness or sin, as to rise above it and to be free. In Christian Science, faith rests upon the absolute assurance that God never sends sickness or any other evil. Hence the Christian Scientist prays with that understanding of Truth and Love which Jesus laid down as a necessary condition of prayer. 'Therefore, I say unto you, What things soever ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them' (Mk 11^{24}). That this is the basis of all Christian Science healing will be evident from the study of the following extracts from *Science and Health*:

'The Christian Science God is universal, eternal, divine Love, which changeth not and causeth no evil, disease, nor death' (p. 140). 'The Christlike understanding of scientific being and divine healing includes a perfect Principle and idea—perfect God and perfect man—as the basis of thought and demonstration' (p. 259). 'The great fact that God lovingly governs all, never punishing aught but sin, is your standpoint, from which to advance and destroy the human fear of sickness' (p. 412). 'The physical healing of Christian Science results now, as in Jesus' time, from the operation of divine Principle, before which sin and disease lose their reality in human consciousness and disappear as naturally and as necessarily as darkness gives place to light and sin to reformation' (Preface, xi). 'Man's enslavement to the most relentless masters—passion, selfishness, envy, hatred, and revenge—is conquered only by a mighty struggle. Every hour of delay makes the struggle more severe. If man is not victorious over the passions, they crush out happiness, health, and manhood. Here Christian Science is the sovereign panacea, giving strength to the weakness of mortal mind,—strength from the immortal and omnipotent Mind,—and lifting humanity above itself into purer desires, even into spiritual power and goodwill to man' (p. 407).

Christian Science demands the entire surrender of the human will to the Divine. Mrs. Eddy constantly impresses upon her students that their success in healing depends on their fulfilment of the condition laid down by Jesus: 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me' (Lk 9^{23}). Thus Christian Science is the exact opposite of mesmerism or hypnotism, and it has nothing in common with theosophy, spiritualism, occultism, higher thought, mental suggestion, or mental science.

In his warfare with evil, the Christian Scientist takes the life of Jesus Christ as his only example. He understands that Jesus was the Saviour because He revealed the Christ, the spiritual idea of God; that Jesus proved by His life and works that it is the Christ or Truth revealed—the spiritual eternal nature of God and man touching human consciousness—which takes away the sin of the world. Hence the constant endeavour of the Scientist is that he also may be governed by that Christ; in other words, that he may have 'this mind . . . which was also in Christ Jesus' (Ph 2^{5}). Christian Science acknowledges the Divinity of Christ and the Incarnation, as the following passage shows:

'The Christ was the Spirit which Jesus implied in his own statements: "I am the way, the truth, and the life"; "I and my Father are one." This Christ, or divinity of the man Jesus, was his divine nature, the godliness which animated him. Divine Truth, Life, and Love gave Jesus authority over sin, sickness, and death. His mission was to reveal the Science of

celestial being, to prove what God is and what He does for man' (*Science and Health*, p. 26).

Christian Science teaches that the Atonement was the life-work of Jesus, whereby He proved, step by step, man's unity with God, by conquering all materiality and sin. It regards the crucifixion on Calvary as the last and greatest temptation to believe in the power of evil with which He was confronted; it teaches that He overcame this temptation at His resurrection, thus proving that death itself is mastered by the right understanding of eternal Life; and that the Ascension was the crowning act of redemption, whereby the spiritual nature of man was fully revealed, and the atonement, or *at-one-ment*, with the Father was demonstrated.

3. Organization of the movement. The first Christian Science church was organized by Mrs. Eddy and a small band of her students in Boston in 1879, and a charter was obtained from the State of Massachusetts. Later, this organization was dissolved, and the church was re-organized in 1892 under the name of 'The First Church of Christ, Scientist.' The Tenets and By-laws of the Church were framed by Mrs. Eddy, and are incorporated in the *Church Manual*, the first edition of which was issued in 1895. The basis and objects of the Church are thus described on p. 19 of the *Manual*:

'The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Mass., is designed to be built on the Rock, Christ; even the understanding and demonstration of divine Truth, Life, and Love, healing and saving the world from sin and death; thus to reflect in some degree the Church Universal and Triumphant.'

This Church has no creed or articles of faith. Each one's position as a Christian Scientist depends not on his willingness to accept certain doctrines or beliefs, but on his individual understanding of the divine Principle of Christian Science, which understanding must be proved by practical demonstration. All who apply for membership, however, are required to subscribe to the following Tenets which appear on p. 15 of the *Manual*:

'1. As adherents of Truth, we take the inspired Word of the Bible as our sufficient guide to eternal Life.

2. We acknowledge and adore one supreme and infinite God. We acknowledge His Son, one Christ; the Holy Ghost or divine Comforter; and man in God's image and likeness.

3. We acknowledge God's forgiveness of sin in the destruction of sin and the spiritual understanding that casts out evil as unreal. But the belief in sin is punished so long as the belief lasts.

4. We acknowledge Jesus' atonement as the evidence of divine, efficacious Love, unfolding man's unity with God through Christ Jesus the Way-shower; and we acknowledge that man is saved through Christ, through Truth, Life, and Love as demonstrated by the Galilean Prophet in healing the sick and overcoming sin and death.

5. We acknowledge that the crucifixion of Jesus and his resurrection served to uplift faith to understand eternal Life, the allness of Soul, Spirit, and the nothingness of matter.

6. And we solemnly promise to watch, and pray for that Mind to be in us which was also in Christ Jesus; to do unto others as we would have them do unto us; and to be merciful, just, and pure.'

All other Christian Science churches are branches of Mrs. Eddy's church in Boston, Mass., the original organization, which is known as the Mother Church. Each branch church is a self-governing, self-supporting body, but the members of all the branches subscribe to the Tenets of the Mother Church. The Sunday services are conducted by two Readers, generally a man and a woman. Perhaps the most remarkable features of the service are the silent prayer and the lesson -rmon. The latter consists of passages from the -le and *Science and Health*, which are read ca-ately by the First and Second Readers, and as h-re so arranged as to form a consecutive religio- -n a given subject. These lesson sermons

4. Chris- -by a Committee in Boston and this univers- -terly, so that the same lesson is character. -ty in every Christian Science church but in ort- -e world. There is no personal preach- bound up w- -s the preacher. Besides the Sunday and in l-

services, a Wednesday ev- -ng meeting is held in every Christian Science c- -. At these meetings testimonies of healing an- -practical benefits received from Christian Sc- -given by those present.

Christian Science branch chu- -societies not yet organized into churches, -lished all over the world—in London, wh- -re three churches and a society, and n- parts of England; in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Belfast; also in France, Germany, Ho- Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden; in Cana- the United States, Mexico, and Argentina; and n- Australia, China, and the Transvaal.

In connexion with every church there is a free reading-room where the Christian Science literature can be read, and where it is for sale.

In 1881, Mrs. Eddy founded a College in Boston for the purpose of teaching Christian Science. This institution, under the name of the Massachusetts Metaphysical College received a charter from the State, with the right to grant degrees. During the time that it remained open more than 4000 students were taught by Mrs. Eddy herself. In 1889 she closed the College, in spite of its great popularity, that she might devote her time to a revision of *Science and Health*. Ten years later she had the work of the College resumed by a Board of Education sitting in Boston and presided over by her. This Board is a teaching and examining body, and issues certificates to teachers of Christian Science. No one is authorized to teach this subject unless he has taken a degree at the College, or has obtained a certificate from the Board of Education.

In 1898 a Board of Lectureship was established with a view to correcting some of the public misconceptions of Christian Science. This Board is composed of lecturers, both men and women, whose duty it is to give public lectures on Christian Science when called upon to do so by a Christian Science church or society. The lectures are free to the public, and every church is expected to provide at least one lecture a year.

LITERATURE.—There is no authorized Christian Science literature except that which issues from the Christian Science Publishing House in Boston, Mass. The student of Christian Science must be warned not to accept any other as genuine. The chief work on the subject is the text-book, *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*, 1875, by Mary Baker Eddy. The study of this book is essential to any grasp of the Principle and practice of Christian Science. Other works by Mrs. Eddy are *Miscellaneous Writings*, *Retrospection and Introspection*, *Unity of Good*, *Rudimental Divine Science*, *No and Yes*, all valuable to the student. The smaller literature includes the *Christian Science Journal*, published monthly, the *Christian Science Sentinel*, published weekly, and *Der Herold der Christian Science*, a monthly publication in German. These contain articles by Christian Scientists, testimonies of healing and other practical benefits received from the application of the Science, and a list of the Christian Science churches and Christian Science teachers and practitioners throughout the world. Then there are the *Christian Science Quarterly Bible Lessons*, which are a valuable aid to the study of the Scriptures in conjunction with *Science and Health*; and various tracts, pamphlets, and lectures which help to elucidate the subject to the beginner. The literature can be obtained at any Christian Science reading-room, but not as a rule at the ordinary booksellers.

C. LILIAS RAMSAY.

CHRISTIAN SECTS.—See SECTS (Chr.).

CHRISTIAN YEAR.—See CALENDAR (Christian).

CHRISTIANITY. I. *STANDPOINT OF THE DISCUSSION.*—In recent years in Germany it has been insisted, as by Troltsch, that Christianity must be studied as one of the religions of the world, not from the standpoint of faith, but from that of science, according to the *religious-historical* and not the *dogmatic* method. Before we can go any further in our discussion, we must determine

whether, and how far, this demand is legitimate. What is this religious-historical method which is to replace the dogmatic, and can we by the use of it substitute the standpoint of science for that of faith?

1. **The religious-historical method.**—This has three principles, which may be briefly described as (1) criticism, (2) correlation, and (3) comparison.

(1) The literary sources, with the historical records they contain of the origins of Christianity, are to be dealt with by the same methods of literary and historical *criticism* as are applied to any other ancient literature. This principle in many cases of its application involves the assumption that the writers of the past had so little sense of the conditions of inquiry and judgment necessary for the discovery and presentation of historical truth, and so slight ability for distinguishing fact from fiction, that their accounts are to be approached with suspicion rather than with confidence.

(2) The scientific categories of causality and evolution are to be applied to the religious life generally and to the Christian faith particularly, so as to *correlate* each fact of belief, morals, worship, or polity, with its immediate historical antecedents, and to *correlate* the total reality of the Christian religion at each stage to the previous stages of a progressive evolution. The application of this principle to Christianity involves, for some scholars, no less than this, that, on the one hand, Jesus Himself must be accounted for by His Jewish heredity and environment, with the least possible recognition of any originality in His personality, and, on the other hand, that the development of the Christian Church must be marked by a progress beyond the truth and grace of its Founder Himself. Sometimes, however, two modifications in the application of the principle are recognized. It is admitted that in human history, as contrasted with the physical world, there is the not altogether calculable factor of personality, so that the results of the action and reaction of personalities cannot be determined with the same certainty as the resultant of several physical forces. It is further admitted that in religious history especially, there remains, as the residual fact which baffles definition and explanation, the real contact of the human soul with God. This fact denied, religion becomes an illusion, a self-projection and self-elevation of man into the void.

(3) Admitting that religion is an exercise of human personality, which is unique in that it necessarily involves this relation to the Divine, which ever evades the grasp of science, yet science must observe, *compare*, classify, and generalize about all religious phenomena. Science cannot admit the claim of any religion to be so much superior to all the others as to entitle it to any exceptional treatment. The Christian theologian or philosopher must abate his pretensions that Christianity is the *absolute* religion, and must be quite satisfied if science give his faith leave to regard it as only the best actual, and not also the best possible or even conceivable. For every fact, or alleged fact, of the Christian history parallels are, if possible, to be found in other religions, so that this claim to uniqueness and originality may be disproved. The endeavour is to be made even to show how this or that precious possession of the Christian faith has been borrowed from another religion.

2. **Objections to the method.**—To this demand the Christian scholar may offer a fourfold objection:

(1) The method as thus applied has not proved as *objective* as it claims to be. Many of the results reached by it cannot pretend to claim the universal validity that the conclusions of physical science claim. In divisions IV. and V. of this article the contradictions which emerge in the application of this method will be fully discussed.

(2) The method betrays a *bias* that is by no means scientific; it makes assumptions which it has not proved. It is an assumption that no ancient scriptures, no religious literature, can distinguish accurately fact from fiction, or display a scrupulous desire for truth. It is an assumption that the free action of human personality, as the channel of the activity of God in and for man, must be 'cribb'd, cabin'd, and confin'd' within the arbitrarily fixed limits of causality and evolution. It is an assumption that there can be no such great differences between one religion and all others as to entitle it to a place by itself, or to justify the expectation that it may display features which are found in no other. The bias, of which one is entitled to complain, is that the kind of conclusion which alone is to be accepted as objective is foreshadowed in the statement of the method, before the data to which it is to be applied have been adequately considered.

(3) The method rules out of court as inadmissible the evidence which Christian faith insists must be heard if Christianity is to get a fair trial. The impression that the Christian Scriptures make on the reason and the conscience of the man who comes to them without any world-view which involves either an affirmation or a denial of the supernatural, is that here he is in contact with spiritual and moral reality, and with a reality of such a quality that it imposes sincerity and honesty as a primary duty on all who bear witness to it. The personality of Jesus Christ, as He is presented in the Gospels, and as the impression He made is interpreted in the Epistles, is so absolutely unique, that human personality in Him is even less calculable than in other men, and His contact with the Divine is so close that His moral and spiritual possibility cannot be determined by any previous stage of man's evolution. The salvation which the soul that trusts Him experiences has a finality and sufficiency which make it quite impossible for those so saved to reckon Him as only one of the world's masters in the things of God, and make it not only credible, but almost necessary, that His life, teaching, and work should have a content such as no other religious history can show. For faith Christ reigns alone.

(4) But if it be objected that faith must submit to the judgment of science as regards its object, it must be insisted that spiritual things are spiritually discerned, and that it is faith alone which 'is the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen.' In religion it is only the human experience of the Divine reality that can decide the issue. This is the merit of Ritschl's *theory of value judgments*, that it does recognize this peculiarity of religious knowledge. To understand Christianity a man must be a Christian, because he alone knows Christ. A man must be religious to appreciate the content of any creed. The standpoint of faith is not that of ignorance, or credulity, to which science can claim to be superior; it is a condition of apprehending religion as reality, and not as illusion. The standpoint of faith does not exclude the standpoint of science; although faith can see further than science can, it seeks also to by
see as science sees. A faith like the Christian, f have
which sincerity and veracity are cardinal obl Jesus'
tions, is bound to avoid all self-deception, dges the
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that the measurements of nature and history are not adequate to the length and breadth, depth and height, of the love of God in Christ Jesus the Lord.

II. *DEFINITION OF CHRISTIANITY.*—We may define Christianity as the ethical, historical, universal, monotheistic, redemptive religion, in which the relation of God and man is mediated by the person and work of the Lord Jesus Christ. This definition must be explained in detail.

1. Christianity ethical, not natural, religion.—Religions may first of all be distinguished according to the goods, or good, which they offer to man. Where prayers and offerings are made to the spirits or gods to obtain such earthly boons as food, health, safety, etc., the religion may be described as *natural*. Where, instead of these or along with these, the gods or spirits are conceived as capable of bestowing the moral and religious blessings of forgiveness of sin, strength in temptation, their own fellowship with their worshippers, etc., the religion may be spoken of as *ethical*. As Christianity is, above all, concerned about the inner life of man in God, it belongs to the latter class.

2. Christianity historical, not spontaneous.—Again, religions may be distinguished as *spontaneous* or *historical*; as growing up along with the evolution of the tribe or the nation, without the predominant action of any individual teacher or lawgiver, or as having a definite beginning in the life, teaching, or work of a religious genius, who, even if only desirous of conserving the old, yet so impresses his personality on what he transmits as to give it new character and influence. Confucius in China, Gautama the Buddha in India, Zoroaster in Persia, Muhammad in Arabia, may be mentioned as such founders of historical religions. As will afterwards be shown, in no religion are the person and the work of the founder of such significance and value as in the Christian.

3. Christianity universal, not national.—Among the historical religions we may make a further distinction into *national* and *universal*. The beliefs and customs of a religion may be so bound up with racial characteristics and national peculiarities as to impose, by its very nature, a limitation in the practicable expansion of the religion. Confucianism is so adapted to China that it has not spread, except to Japan, beyond the borders of that Empire, unless when Chinese emigrants have carried it with them. Buddhism and Islām both claim to be universal in character, and so have shown themselves missionary in effort as rivals to Christianity. But, on closer examination, neither proves itself as suitable for a world-religion as Christianity does. Buddhism in its original form, so far as scholarship can fix it, appears as a monastic system, reflecting in its purpose and method alike the pessimism of the Indian temperament, and is thus seen to be unfitted for the rôle of inspiring and directing any progressive society. Islām, too, is both in creed and code so bound up with the peculiarities of Arab thought and life, that, unless it should undergo a thorough transformation, it could not be expected to win acceptance in any highly cultured and civilized society. Christianity alone has shown that, on the one hand, it meets the needs of the soul of man as no other religion does, and that, on the other hand, it can adapt itself in so doing to varying conditions as no other can. It appears now as the only religion that can properly claim universality.

4. Christianity monotheistic. One reason for this universality of Christianity is its *monotheistic* character. This it shares with Judaism and Islam; but in orthodox Judaism this is still too closely bound up with the peculiarities of national custom, and in Islam too much marked by a defective moral conception of the Divine character, to possess real universality. The revelation of God in Christ possesses characteristics which give to Christian monotheism a wider appeal to the reason, conscience, and affections of men. This monotheism is an inheritance of Christianity from Judaism, the cradle of its infancy. This faith was reached after a progressive religious development which its agents regarded as a Divine discipline of the Hebrew nation. The OT, in which the record of this revelation is written, the Christian Church includes in its Sacred Scriptures. In the religious consciousness of Christ the OT conception of God was assumed, but was carried to a further stage of its development. Conscious of Himself as Son, He revealed God as Father. The impression which His personality made on the religious community He founded, and the experience given to it of a fullness and freshness of Divine life through faith in Him as Saviour and Lord, led to the Christian conception of the one God as Father, Son, and Spirit. Although in popular belief and speech the Christian doctrine of the *Trinity*, or preferably *Tri-unity*, has often come perilously near tritheism, yet Christianity is essentially monotheistic, maintaining the unity of God as a cardinal doctrine. In the art. MONOTHEISM the impossibility of any other conception of God answering the demands of reason or conscience, and meeting the needs of the soul, will be shown. This argument must here be taken for granted, to avoid unnecessary repetition.

5. Christianity redemptive.—Man is even in his earthly life conscious of the reality of physical evil in manifold forms, from which he desires protection and deliverance. As his moral development advances, he becomes aware of moral evil or *sin* in himself, and feels his need of being saved from it. Although this sense of his danger cannot be regarded as the sole motive of religion, yet there can be no doubt that no religion can satisfy the whole man unless it offers him *redemption* from evil—physical or moral, whichever he may feel most keenly. This necessity Buddhism clearly recognizes; it was his discovery of the secret of salvation that made Gautama the Buddha, or Enlightener. But it is to be observed that Buddhism lays all the stress on physical evil; that it regards physical evil as inseparable from existence; that the salvation it offers is, if not entire annihilation, yet complete cessation of the consciousness of existence; and that this salvation is effected by man for himself without any assistance from the gods, whose existence the original Buddhism practically ignores. Christianity, on the contrary, emphasizes moral evil as the root of man's unhappiness, insists on loving fellowship with God as life's highest good, promises an immortality of glory and blessedness with God, offers the forgiveness of sin and the renewal of the soul of man by the grace of God received by human faith, and reveals and realizes that Divine grace in the sacrificial death of Christ and His continued living presence in His Spirit. It may confidently be added that, as it diagnoses man's disease more accurately, so it provides the remedy more adequately.

6. Christianity centres in Christ's mediation.—In Christianity, on the one hand, God is conceived as moral perfection, and, on the other hand, man is regarded not only as morally weak but as morally blameworthy. The fellowship between God and man is admitted to be interrupted by sin, and man must be redeemed to be restored to this fellowship. In this redemption, Christ alone is the *Mediator*. On the one hand, He as Son knows God as Father, and reveals Him to men as the Father who forgives their sins, that is, welcomes them back to fellowship with Himself even though

they have sinned. On the other hand, Christ by the truth and grace of His teaching, example, and life draws men to Himself, awakens their confidence, arouses their penitence, and so assures them of the pardon which in revealing God as Father He offers. This revelation and redemption begins in the earthly life, but is consummated in His cross as the ransom, the covenant-sacrifice. In a later section (VIII. I. (*d*)) the doctrine of the Atonement will be discussed; meanwhile in this preliminary definition it must be pointed out that for historical Christianity the sacrifice of Christ, however interpreted, is an essential factor in the mediation between God and man. As essential is His continued presence in His Church by His Spirit, as thereby the objective revelation and redemption is subjectively applied in each individual experience. Thus the Founder of the Christian community holds in this religion an altogether unique position. He is not only teacher and example, but in His death He offers the sacrifice by which men are saved, and in His life by the Spirit He is Himself ever saving them who come to God by Him.

III. *DIVERGENT TENDENCIES IN CHRISTIANITY.*—While we have endeavoured to offer in the previous section as objective a presentation of the essence of the Christian religion as possible, this must be supplemented by a brief indication of the divergent tendencies in the religion, in which the accent is thrown on one feature or another.

1. Speculative tendency.—One of the earliest tendencies (for we find it in the Greek Apologists and Fathers), and also one of the latest (for modern philosophers of the idealist school show it), may be described as the *speculative*. The universe is regarded as a problem for thought, of which the Incarnation of God in Christ is the solution. The earliest thinkers regarded it as a unique solution, because in Christ alone had God become man; the later thinkers tend to regard Christ as only the first to reach the full consciousness of the universal principle of man's essential affinity to God. This, however, is not the emphasis in the NT, or in the general Christian experience.

2. Sacramentarian tendency.—In the Greek Fathers, especially, there was a tendency to conceive salvation physically as a deification of man, a deliverance of man from corruption to immortality; and correspondingly the Incarnation was stated in physical terms, as the union of the human and the Divine nature in one Person; but the contrast of the two natures was so emphasized that the unity of the Person could not be concretely conceived; the moral character and the religious consciousness were hidden in the physical mystery. The salvation thus physically conceived was imparted to the individual by the physical means of the *sacraments*. While a more spiritual view of Baptism and the Eucharist runs on alongside of this physical view, we must recognize the prominence in Christian history of this *sacramentarian* tendency. The soul's cleansing and nourishment come through physical channels. The relation between these physical means and Christ Himself is variously conceived, but what is common to all forms of the sacramentarian tendency is this stress on the material channels of the Divine gifts in Christ.

3. Practical tendency.—At the opposite pole is what may be called the *practical* tendency. It is the example of Jesus which is regarded as alone supremely valuable. This is the position of the advocates, in the 18th cent., of the *religion of Jesus*. The Christian religion, as making Christ the object of faith, is to be regarded from this standpoint as a perversion of the religion of Jesus, in which He was Himself the subject of faith, a faith which we may share with Him by following His example. This tendency is not without its representatives to-day, some of whom are not at all interested in Christ's relation to God, but only in His social sympathy and service. It may be admitted that Christ can be the object of Christian faith only as He is Himself the subject of the faith in which is typically revealed the relation of man to God, which by His grace is afterwards progressively realized in man. But in Christian experience Christ has been not only the pattern, but also the power of the new life in God. Hence the tendency represents an incomplete Christianity.

4. Mystical tendency.—In all religions are found men who seek fellowship with God as life's highest good, and a fellowship so close that the soul feels itself one with God, with no separation at all. Examples of this *mystical* tendency are Taoism in China, Ṣūfiism in Muhammadanism, Neo-Platonism in the Græco-Roman religion, and the highest type of piety in Hinduism. In Christianity this tendency appears in the pseudo-Dionysian writings (6th cent.), in Scotus Erigena (died after 877), and, in the form of an absorbing contemplation of Christ as the Bridegroom of the soul, in Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153) and the mediæval Mystics. The danger in mysticism is its attention to the soul's inner states of communion with God, and its neglect of the historical facts, through which, in Christ, God is revealed and man redeemed. Fellowship with God is the end of Christian faith; but in this fellowship Christ as the Mediator is not, and cannot be, set aside without serious risk to the religious certainty and moral quality of the Christian life. See, further, MYSTICISM (Christian).

5. Evangelical tendency.—The *evangelical* tendency, characteristic of St. Paul, prominent in Augustine (354–430), and dominant in Luther (1483–1546), lays the emphasis on man's sin and God's forgiveness. If the NT is to be regarded as authoritative, this tendency gets closer to the core of the Christian religion than any of the others. It becomes one-sided only if it fails to recognize that each of these other tendencies stands for something of value to the soul of man, and if it does not endeavour to embrace, within the wide circumference of the circle it draws from its centre in the Cross, the satisfactions of the mind, heart, and life of man for which these tendencies betray the demand, and for which there is an abundant supply in the manifold wisdom of God as displayed in the revelation and redemption in Christ.

IV. *ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY.*—While, as has already been mentioned, Christianity fully accepts the ethical monotheism of the Hebrew prophets, and stands in a historical continuity with Judaism, we need not trace its origin here farther back than to the Person and Work of Christ as its founder. The NT is the only literary source for the history of the beginnings of the religion that needs to be taken into account. These writings have been subjected to a searching criticism; and, before stating as concisely as posssible what is the historical reality they disclose, it seems necessary to refer briefly to some of the theories of the origin of Christianity which are current to-day.

1. Current theories of the origin.—The views of Baur, Strauss, and Renan, important as they were in their own day, may be passed over; and it must suffice to mention only the Liberal Protestant view as represented by Harnack; the Modernist Roman Catholic, of which Loisy is pioneer; and the Radicalism of Kalthoff and Pfleiderer.

(1) In his book, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (Eng. tr. under the title, *What is Christianity?*),

Harnack undertakes to answer the question in a strictly historical way.

(*a*) We are at this stage of the discussion concerned only with the first part of the work dealing with *the Gospel*. The contents of the teaching of Jesus can be included in any one of three circles of ideas: 'the kingdom of God and its coming,' 'God the Father and the infinite value of the human soul,' 'the higher righteousness and the commandment of love.' Without excluding the eschatological reference of the Kingdom of God, Harnack seeks to do full justice to the moral and religious content of the Gospel. He thus discusses the relation of the gospel to the world, poverty, law, labour, the Person of Christ, and doctrine.

(*b*) His view of the Person of Christ is of special importance. Jesus 'desired no other faith in His person and no other attachment to Himself than what is contained in the keeping of His commandments,' and He 'described the Lord of heaven and earth as His God and Father; as the Greater, as the only Good.' In all things He is dependent on and submissive to God; and 'over against His God even includes Himself among other men' (p. 80 [Eng. tr. 126]). On the other hand, 'Jesus is convinced that He so knows God as none before Him, and He knows that He has the calling to impart to all others by word and deed this knowledge of God, and therewith the filial relation to God.' But 'how He came to this consciousness of the uniqueness of His filial relation, and how He reached the consciousness of His power and of the obligation and task which lie in this power, that is His secret, and no psychology will discover it' (p. 81 [128]). Jesus also claimed to be the Messiah by His use of the title 'Son of Man'; this was 'the necessary condition of His being able to win absolute recognition for Himself—conscious of this inner call—within the history of Jewish religion' (p. 89 [141]). For Harnack the Jewish Messiahship is, as it were, the temporal husk; the moral and religious sonship towards God, of which Jesus is uniquely conscious for Himself, and which He is also uniquely conscious of being able to impart to others, is the permanent kernel. The relation of Jesus to the gospel is thus defined: 'Not the Son, but the Father only, belongs to the gospel, as Jesus declares it,' and yet 'He is the Way to the Father, and He is, as appointed by the Father, also the Judge.' 'He was the personal realization and power of the Gospel, and will be always experienced as such' (p. 91 f. [144 f.]). In maintaining the credibility of the Synoptic Gospels as historical sources, Harnack defines his position as regards the miracles of Jesus. On the one hand, he affirms a current tendency to ascribe miracles to prominent persons even in their lifetime; and, on the other hand, he admits some of the miracles of healing as instances of the incalculable influence of 'soul on soul and of soul on body.'

(*c*) The three characteristics of the Apostolic Age were 'the recognition of Jesus as the Living Lord,' a real individual experience of living union with God, and a holy life in purity and brotherliness, with the hope of Christ's speedy advent. Christ was confessed Lord for three reasons: His authoritative teaching, His sacrificial death, and His resurrection and ascension to 'the right hand of God.' In justification of the view of Christ's death as sacrificial, Harnack offers several reflexions which need not now concern us; but what is important is his statement that there is no reason to doubt that Jesus Himself 'described His death as a service, which He was offering to the many, and that by a solemn action He established for it a continued remembrance' (p. 101 [160]). Harnack sharply distinguishes between the 'Easter-faith' and the 'Easter-message.' Doubtful of the trustworthiness of the records of Christ's appearances to His disciples, he is certain that 'from this grave the unshakable faith in the conquest of death and in eternal life has taken its origin' (p. 102 [162]).

(*d*) Harnack goes as far as his denial of the miraculous and his aversion to the metaphysical will allow him, in recognizing the moral and religious uniqueness of Jesus, and the value of His mediation between God and man in making God known to men, and drawing men to God. Other representatives of Liberal Protestantism do not go so far; they are doubtful whether from the strictly historical standpoint as much can be affirmed as Harnack affirms. The representation is significant, however, as an instance of how much a historian, exercising his critical conscience, feels entitled to preserve of the common Christian tradition. For those who do not share what may be regarded as an intellectual bias—his denial of the miraculous and his aversion to the metaphysical—his account will not seem adequate. It must be added, however, that Harnack gives the impression that his own personal faith would carry him further than this rigidly historical standpoint allows.

(2) Loisy in his *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* (Eng. tr., *The Gospel and the Church*) writes in direct antagonism to Harnack, whose representation of the Original Gospel and the Apostolic Faith he regards as an attack on Roman Catholicism. He seeks to show that the origins of Christianity were not as Harnack represents them, but merely a germ out of which Roman Catholicism has necessarily, and therefore legitimately, developed.

(*a*) Loisy starts with the assumption that 'the Gospels are not strictly historical documents' (Eng. tr. p. 23), and in criticism goes considerably beyond Harnack's 'comparatively temperate' opinion. Harnack had recognized an ethical as well as an eschatological content in Jesus' conception of the Kingdom of God. Loisy entirely rejects the former, and recognizes only the latter. 'The message of Jesus is contained in the announcement of the approaching kingdom, and the exhortation to penitence as a means of sharing therein. All else, though it is the common preoccupation of humanity, is as though non-existent.' Harnack laid special stress on Jesus' unique consciousness of God as Father, and His effective communication of His faith to others; Loisy thus curtly dismisses this feature: 'The conception of God the Father is only one element, traditional in its origin, like all the rest, and has its history, like all the rest, in the general development of Christianity' (p. 86 f.).

(*b*) In regard to the Person of Christ the opposition is no less marked. 'The historian,' says Loisy, 'must come therefore to the conclusion that He believed Himself the Son of God, because He believed Himself to be the Messiah. The idea of the Divine Sonship was linked to that of the Kingdom; it had no definite signification, as far as Jesus was concerned, except in regard to the Kingdom about to be established' (p. 105 f.).

(*c*) There is nothing in the gospel which Jesus preached that can be regarded as the essence of Christianity. 'The truly evangelical part of Christianity to-day is not that which has never changed, for, in a sense, all has changed and has never ceased to change, but that which in spite of all external changes proceeds from the impulse given by Christ, and is inspired by His Spirit, serves the same ideal and the same hope' (p. 115 f.). It has to be admitted that the ideal as Jesus conceived it has not been realized, the hope as He cherished it has not been fulfilled; but that does not matter. 'If His hope has only been actually realized before the eyes of faith, the philosophical historian will not hesitate to find even that an astonishingly true fulfilment, when he notes the results the hope has achieved and its inexhaustible fruitfulness' (p. 125). In other words, truth in the strict sense of the word cannot be claimed for the gospel of Jesus, but only worth for the inspiring and sustaining of the religious life.

(*d*) As regards the Apostolic belief in Christ's sacrificial death as one of the reasons for confessing His lordship, resting, according to Harnack, on Jesus' own teaching, Loisy holds that 1 Co $15^{3.4}$ 'by no means makes it certain that the idea of the Atonement by death existed from the beginning with the distinctness that the teaching of Paul conferred on it, or that it contributed to lay the foundations of Christology to the same extent as the idea of the Resurrection' (p. 127). As regards this idea, it belongs to faith and not to fact 'directly and formally established.' To the historian 'the fact of some appearances will seem incontestable, but he will be unable to decide their nature and extent with precision' (p. 132). Harnack is charged with exaggeration in making 'the certainty of eternal life' depend solely on 'faith in the resurrection of Christ,' since other sources of the belief must be taken into account (p. 135). 'Nor can it be truly said that to-day faith in the eternally living Christ is the sole support of belief in immortality' (p. 136). The endeavour to discern in the Gospels an original essence of Christianity in the revelation of God's Fatherhood is scornfully derided, and for it is substituted the indication of an original impulse to subsequent development in Christ's hope of the Kingdom.

(*e*) For the present purpose it is not necessary to follow Loisy's argument further; for its purpose is to justify the development of this germ in human history in the Church—by which Loisy means the Roman Catholic Church, with its Christian dogma and Catholic worship. The assumption is that 'whatever is, is right,' and that Christianity could not have evolved otherwise than it has done. The utility of any creed or code or rite for the religious life is its justification. His aim he has stated in his last sentence; it has been to show 'how Christianity has lived in the Church and by the Church, and how futile is the desire to save it by a search after its quintessence' (p. 277). The original content of the gospel, as Harnack presents it, is discredited by criticism, so that it is not available for use, as Harnack uses it, as a standard of judgment for the subsequent developments.

In his *Autour d'un petit livre*, Loisy tried to reconcile these views of the Person and Work of Christ with the doctrine of Roman Catholicism, but the Church did not accept his apology as satisfactory. *The Programme of Modernism*—the reply of the Italian Modernists to the Papal Encyclical of condemnation—and Father Tyrrell's *Christianity at the Cross Roads* both show that Modernism is following closely in the footsteps of Loisy in its criticism of the Gospels, and that the Christ it leaves us is the visionary possessed by the Apocalyptic idea of the Kingdom of God. As this idea is held to have a much closer kinship with the Roman Catholic than with the Protestant type of piety, the criticism of the Gospel is used in commendation of the Church.

(3) Up till 1903, Kalthoff might have been reckoned as representing the Liberal Protestant tendency, but suddenly he passed over to an extreme radicalism in regard to the life of Christ. Titius suggests that it was the publication of Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums* which led him to see the gulf of separation between himself and that school. Of his fundamental ideas on this new theological departure, Titius gives the following summary (*Der Bremer Radikalismus*, p. 100 f.):

'The person of Christ we cannot to-day any more firmly grasp. Among the thousands of the crucified in the time of the Gospels, there certainly must have been some Jesus who in the spirit of prophetic piety closed his poor martyr-life. But this X has no meaning. Decisive, on the contrary, is the consciousness of the community, which has objectified, personified itself in the Gospels. For the community is the body of Christ—accordingly the actual historical Christ, Christ the patron of the community, the idea of the growing Church. The Divine State of the world-Church and Christ belong together as appearance and idea. This Church, however, is according to its essence a new social order, Christianity a new social movement on a very big scale (*grössten Stiles*), to which the impulse was given by an elementary exercise of power by a class of men, oppressed but striving upward. The factors of its formation and origin can be shown in the common life of the age.' In Kalthoff's own words, 'the picture of Christ is in all its main features ready before a single line of the Gospels was written. Philosophy produced the framework of a universal world-view, metaphysical dualism, into which the picture of Christ was inserted. The economic conditions of Rome brought together the explosive material which was discharged in Christianity, and in the religious brotherhoods were given the organizing forces, which combine all the tendencies of the time, in the actual structures of the Christian communities' (quoted by Titius, p. 101). It is not necessary to follow the construction any further. This is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the criticism of the Gospels, which assumes that the modern scholar may deal with these ancient documents according to his own good will and pleasure.

(4) Not less radical in its criticism, although not so extravagant in its reconstruction, is Pfleiderer's *The Early Christian Conception of Christ*.

(*a*) Pfleiderer states his position with all the distinctness which could be desired, in the opening sentences of his Introduction: 'It is to the great and abiding credit of the scientific theology of the nineteenth century that it has learned to distinguish between the Christ of Faith and the man Jesus of history, two entities which have been identified by ecclesiastical dogma. By means of careful and toilsome critical investigation, it has been shown how the dogma of the God-man gradually took form, precipitated, as it were, from the intermingling of religious ideas of various origin with the reminiscences of the early Church concerning the life of her Master' (p. 7).

(*b*) These reminiscences cannot, however, with any certainty be recovered, for 'Jewish prophecy, Rabbinic teaching, Oriental gnosis, and Greek philosophy had already mingled their colours upon the palette from which the portrait of Christ in the New Testament Scriptures was painted. And so all that can be determined with certainty from these writings is only that conception of Christ which was the object of the faith of the early Christian communities and their teachers' (p. 9). It is not necessary to determine what reminiscences of fact are blended with these imaginations of faith in this conception; for 'it is evident that the Christian religion and the Christian Church are based upon that early belief in Christ to which the New Testament and contemporary Christian literature bear witness. This alone is the established fact, which is in no way affected, however the answer to the question concerning the origin of this belief may fall' (p. 10 f.).

(*c*) Christianity thus begins not in historical reality, but in mythology; but this for Pfleiderer appears no disadvantage. 'Surely myths, and the corresponding rites and ceremonies in which the mythical idea finds dramatic, free, living, and continuous presentation, are by far the most original and forcible form of expression of the peculiar genius of every religion, and are therefore of the greatest significance for the investigator of the history of religion; they are, in fact, his ultimate source of information' (p. 13 f.).

(*d*) As one of the world's mythologies, Christianity must not be left in isolation, but must be considered 'in relationship with, and in dependence upon, the myths and legends of universal religious history' (p. 14). The rest of the book is an illustration of this thesis, the Christian conception of Christ being traced to manifold sources in the myths and legends of other religions.

2. Estimate of the validity of current theories.—Having stated these theories, we may now estimate their validity; and it will be best to work backwards from the extreme to the moderate criticism of the Gospels.

(1) If it be true, as Pfleiderer maintains, that historical reality is not necessary as the basis of faith, we need not put ourselves to this trouble. We must therefore face the question, Can faith be indifferent whether its object is fact or fiction? and find the answer to it before we know whether the quest is worth pursuing.

(*a*) It is not necessary to show that Christian theology, as expressing the common faith of the Christian Church, has always taken for granted that it was dealing with a real revelation of God, and a real redemption of man in the real Person and work of Jesus Christ. But the challenge now cast down must be taken up. Sin, sorrow, suffering, death are real facts and not fictions. Must not the Divine deliverance, consolation, and assistance which man feels that he needs, and which he believes that he has found in Jesus Christ, be a real fact and not fiction? Myths and legends cannot really save from these real evils of the life of man. Herrmann's pamphlet, *Warum bedarf unser Glaube geschichtlicher Thatsachen?* ('Why does our faith need historical facts?') works out this argument with great force. Only a scholar in his study, remote from the needs of man, would suggest that a picture of a brimming cup could slake a man's thirst. A mythical conception of Christ is not as good as the historical reality. Why have the legends and myths from which Pfleiderer seeks to compound the Christian conception of Christ fallen into a limbo of forgetfulness from which the modern scholar must rescue them, while Christ remains to-day the help and the hope of millions of men? Is it not because He had, and has, a reality which these never possessed?

(*b*) The comparison which Pfleiderer so industriously makes exaggerates the resemblance and ignores the differences between Christian ideas and the myths and legends of other religions, besides making the curious assumption that, if any similarity, however remote, can be suggested between a myth or legend and what claims to be a fact of Christian history, the fact cannot be a fact, but must be a fiction. The conclusion that the stories in the *Lalita Vistara* about the birth of Buddha are the same in kind as the records of the birth of Jesus in Matthew and Luke shows neither a fine taste nor a sound judgment. Is it not more reasonable and credible to see in myths and legends guesses, longings, and hopes of the soul of man poetically expressed, which in Jesus Christ find a real satisfaction for mind, heart, and life?

(*c*) In the Christian Church there was a fullness of new spiritual life, which with ebb and flow has continued to the present day, and is being ever more widely diffused in actual experience. They who experienced that life connected it with the Risen and Ascended Lord, and identified Him with the Jesus whose companions some of them claimed to have been, and whom they knew to have been crucified. That identity was for them established by manifestations which they themselves had witnessed. Here there is historical reality adequate to explain the subsequent development. Why round a person of whom little was surely remembered so rich a mythology should have gathered, and how such a fusion of diverse fictions became so mighty a force, is inexplicable. St. Paul's experience, even setting aside the interpretation which he gave to it, cannot be explained by any gradually developed mythology. His four great Epistles carry on the face of them the marks of authenticity; they disclose to us a spiritual and moral change, and they offer an adequate cause of it, if the Christ who was the object of his faith, and whom he believed to have transformed him by the exercise of personal presence and power, was indeed historical reality, and the testimony borne to Him by the primitive Christian community was true; but otherwise St. Paul's history as a Christian apostle is an impenetrable enigma. As against Pfleiderer we must insist that it does matter a great deal whether Christ be fact or fiction, that it does not follow that the story of Christ is just as fictitious as myths and legends, to which some points of resemblance in it may be discovered, and that the Christian experience from the beginning of the Christian history until to-day requires as its explanation historical reality, and not mythology.

(2) Kalthoff's reconstruction may be passed over

with the simple remark that the only literary sources which we possess for the history of the origin of Christianity lend no support whatever to his view of Christianity as a social movement among the oppressed masses of the Roman Empire, and that its plausibility is due only to a transference to a distant age of economic views and social hopes of the present time.

(3) Loisy's theory of the origin of Christianity is not so far removed from all historical probability as is Kalthoff's.

(*a*) What may at the outset justify caution, if not suspicion, is that the criticism has the vice which German critics condemn with the epithet 'apologetisch.' It is a Roman Catholic's defence of his Church against Liberal Protestant criticism, for Modernism is no approach of Roman Catholicism to Protestantism, but an attempt to divert modern scholarship into channels more favourable to Roman Catholicism than Protestantism. Loisy's treatment of Harnack savours not of the impartiality of criticism, but of sectarian polemics.

(*b*) The Synoptic Gospels do undoubtedly contain eschatological teaching of Jesus, and it is difficult to understand how apocalyptic hopes could have been so prominent and dominant in Apostolic Christianity without some warrant in the Master's words. It is probable even that Christian theology generally has not recognized adequately that Jesus stood in the prophetic succession, and that in regard to the future He held the prophetic standpoint and used the prophetic speech. On the other hand, the Gospels contain ethical and spiritual teaching on which Harnack is warranted in laying emphasis, and which is much less probably the reflexion of the current thought and life of the age and environment of their composition than the eschatological teaching may be. The moral character and the religious consciousness of Christ as presented to us in the Gospels do not give the impression of a visionary, whose primary interest was a future Kingdom of God, but of a perfect Son of God, not only possessing the certainty of God's Fatherhood, but communicating the same certainty to others, in His assurance of forgiveness. Harnack's representation comes very much nearer the total impression which the personality of Jesus in the Gospels makes than does that of Loisy.

(*c*) Further, the commentary of history supports Harnack's rather than Loisy's version of the teaching of Jesus. The apocalyptic hope has not found a literal fulfilment, and there is no likelihood that it ever will; the ethical and spiritual teaching of Jesus is still the highest influence in the life of the race. If the former be the subordinate and the latter the predominant element in the gospel of Jesus, Christendom to-day still owes its best to Him; if not, it has outgrown Him. The germ which Loisy's criticism leaves us has not vitality enough to explain the subsequent development, nor is there such identity of principle between Jesus and Christianity as to justify the place which He has always held in Christian faith. He is, if Loisy be right, too much the creation of His own time and place to be the Creator of a new era in the moral and religious life of mankind.

(4) Harnack in many respects shows the criticism of the Gospels at its very best, and approaches very nearly the common Christian standpoint. The reasons for what is negative in his conclusions are two—his denial of miracles and his aversion to metaphysics.

(*a*) A discussion of the whole question of *miracles* (*q.v.*) would here be out of place. Let it suffice in the present connexion to say that Harnack recognizes in Christ a moral and religious uniqueness, and assigns to Him a significance and value for the highest interest of the human race, which put Him in another category than ordinary man, and forbid at least the dogmatic assertion that even His nature-miracles were necessarily 'interferences with the continuity of Nature,' and did not fall within the reach of the influence which this unique personality could wield. If 'the religious man is sure of this,' as Harnack concedes, 'that he is not enclosed in a blind and brutal course of nature, but that this course of nature serves higher ends' (p. 17 [26]), why should it be thought a thing incredible that, in the miracles of Jesus, Nature should serve the higher ends of the Kingdom of God? Harnack's reason for accepting the healing miracles of Jesus as natural does not explain the bulk of them, but only those which can be regarded as removing neurotic disorders. Exclude all the others, and it would become difficult for Harnack to maintain his contention for the credibility of the Synoptic Gospels as historical sources. Such a denial of miracles as that to which Harnack commits himself involves a far more radical criticism of the Gospels than we find in him.

(*b*) Harnack endeavours to escape metaphysics by treating the unique filial consciousness of Jesus as a secret which no psychology will discover. But, while we may admit that our thought cannot fathom the depths of the mind of Christ, it is impossible to recognize so unique a filial consciousness in Christ without being forced to inquire how we must conceive the relation of God to Him who possessed it. We cannot say that He alone knows and alone reveals the Father, and then, as over-against God, include Him in our thought of Him among other men. Be the interpretations of His Person in the NT and in Christian dogma adequate or not, we must attempt such an interpretation as does justice to His uniqueness in Himself and His significance and value for man.

(5) The present writer cannot, then, accept the theories of the origin of Christianity which have been sketched as characteristic of modern thought. That the Synoptic Gospels present the common Christian tradition from the distinctive standpoints of their respective authors; that the Fourth Gospel contains historical reminiscences still more highly coloured by doctrinal reflexions set in a metaphysical Hellenistic framework; that St. Paul, in interpreting a real experience of the saving power of the living Christ, uses categories of Jewish and even Greek thought; that the fact of the virgin birth and the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ are not so well attested historically as the moral and religious teaching and the miracles of Jesus (as contained in the common Christian tradition in the Synoptics) or the Resurrection (as borne witness to by the leaders of the Apostolic Church and notably by St. Paul, whatever difficulties still attach to the Gospel records of the appearances of Jesus)—these are conclusions of criticism which we may fully accept without in any way lowering the general reliability of the NT as the literary source of the history of the beginnings of Christianity. All questions of the composition of the separate writings and of the formation of the Canon, as of the inspiration of the NT in its parts or as a whole, are dealt with elsewhere; our only concern now is to maintain that the Christian religion had its origin not in a mythology, not even in the transformation by religious affection and imagination of a good and wise teacher into a Divine Saviour and Lord, but in the historical reality of Jesus Christ the Lord, as the Gospels record, and the Epistles interpret, His life and work.

V. *DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.*—Just as there is a great variety of opinion regarding the origin, so is there regarding the development, of

the Christian religion. The creed, code, polity, and ritual of the Christian Church have undergone many changes; opinion is divided whether these changes have been for the better or the worse. We must look briefly at current theories before offering a short historical sketch. The Roman Catholic and the Protestant views are in marked contrast, and even in intended opposition.

1. Roman Catholic theories.—These are by no means as uniform as might have been expected.

(1) The old orthodox Roman Catholic view may be given in the words of Father Tyrrell:

'According to the orthodox theory, as defended by Bossuet [died 1704], as assumed by the Councils and the Fathers, the doctrines and essential institutions of the Catholic Church have been always and identically the same. The whole dogmatic, sacramental, and hierarchic system, as it now stands, was delivered in detail by Christ to His Apostles and by them to their successors. He proclaimed, not the very words, but the very substance in all detail of the doctrines of Trent and of the Vatican. He instituted the papacy, the episcopate, the seven sacraments. . . . The Church is the infallible guardian of this system as delivered to her keeping by the Apostles—not to develop dialectically, but to preserve intact without addition or subtraction' (*Christianity at the Cross-Roads*, p. 14 f.).

(2) This, in face of insuperable historical difficulties, has been modified, according to the same writer, in the new orthodoxy.

In this he holds that the distinction between the implicit and the explicit, as the cloak folded up and the cloak spread out, is confused with another distinction, the potential and the actual, as the boy and the man. The view that the belief implicit in one age might be made explicit in another is consistent with the assumption of this complete changeless deposit; not so the view that beliefs which afterwards became actual were only potential in the earlier ages, although the new orthodoxy assumes it to be so. 'In the newer view revelation is guarded by the infallible understanding of the episcopate in ecumenical debate—infallible in deducing the logical consequences of the faith of past generations, and adding them to the ever-growing body of explicit and actual beliefs' (p. 24). In thus adding to this body of beliefs, the episcopate, it is maintained, is not going beyond the Apostolic age, for 'it is conceded that the Apostles knew fully and explicitly by revelation all that has been, or shall ever come to be, believed actually by the Church. But the sub-Apostolic age was not fit for this fullness of truth; only through long centuries could the Church be prepared to receive it' (p. 26). Tyrrell's criticism of this view is pungent. 'This hybrid theory of development implies that the casket of dogmatic jewels at once dropped from her weak and incompetent hands, and that she [the Church] is infallible, not in keeping what she received, but in slowly recovering what she has lost' (p. 27).

(3) This new orthodoxy is not, however, to be identified with Newman's *Theory of Development*, which is not *dialectical* as this is, *i.e.* a drawing of new beliefs as the logical consequences out of the faith of the past, but *biological*, *i.e.* the unfolding of a life in new surroundings to adapt itself to them.

Newman puts this theory forward as 'an hypothesis to account for a difficulty' (*Development of Doctrine*, 1845, p. 27)—the contrast between primitive Christianity and Catholicism. Christianity, he says, 'came into the world as an idea rather than an institution, and has had to wrap itself in clothing and fit itself with armour of its own providing, and to form the instruments and methods of its prosperity and warfare' (p. 116). The process by which it has accomplished this he describes as 'development,' by which he understands 'the germination, growth, and perfection of some living, that is, influential, truth, or apparent truth, in the minds of men during a sufficient period' (p. 37). He indicates the tests by which development may be distinguished from corruption, but commits the application of the tests to 'an external authority' (p. 117), namely, the infallible Church (see Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, 1893, p. 32 f.). His aim was to defend the old doctrines by the new methods; and he did not realize that the new methods might be turned against the old doctrines. His theory was 'an *argumentum ad hominem* addressed to the Tractarians' who had gone so far with him and hesitated about going as far as he had done. If the Patristic theology, he argues, was legitimate as a development of Apostolic doctrine, why not the scholastic also? If the earlier stages of the development are to be approved, why not the later? It is the same 'idea' which is finding, according to changing conditions, fresh embodiments (see Tyrrell, *op. cit.* 31 f.).

(4) Modernists have taken from Newman this representation of the 'idea' of the Church, not as a body of doctrine, but as a religious impulse, and have used it as a weapon against the doctrines which he himself sincerely adopted, and sought in this way confidently to defend. For the Modernist view we must now return to Loisy's *L'Evangile et l'Église*.

The second part of the book dealing with the Church, its Dogma and Worship, is not less a polemic against Harnack than the first, and, as has already been suggested, the defence of the Church against Harnack's condemnation is probably the motive of the attack on his view of the gospel. Loisy boldly justifies the entire development of the Church as Christian, because necessary for the continued vitality of the gospel. First of all, he defends the evolution of the society till even the Papacy is reached; but in his account of that evolution he does not display the same acute critical faculty as in dealing with the Gospels. 'To reproach the Catholic Church for the development of her constitution is to reproach her for having chosen to live, and that, moreover, when her life was indispensable for the preservation of the gospel itself. There is nowhere in her history any gap in continuity, or the absolute creation of a new system; every step is a deduction from the preceding, so that we can proceed from the actual constitution of the Papacy to the evangelical society around Jesus, different as they are from one another, without meeting any violent revolution to change the government of the Christian community. At the same time, any advance is explained by a necessity of fact, accompanied by logical necessities, so that the historian cannot say that the total extent of the movement is outside the gospel. The fact is, it proceeds from it and continues it' (p. 165). This complacency is possible only by limiting the gospel to Christ's eschatological teaching as a germ needing such subsequent development that it might live and work in the world. Loisy has by his criticism got rid of the ethical and spiritual elements of the gospel, which Harnack applies as the standard of his judgment of the Church. In like manner, regarding Christian dogma, Loisy maintains that, while 'the development of dogma is not in the gospel, and could not be there,' yet 'it does not follow that the dogma does not proceed from the gospel, and that the gospel has not lived and lives still in the dogma as well as in the Church,' for 'the commentary is homogeneous with the text' (p. 180 f.). Into the details of his demonstration that the human prophet of the gospel legitimately, because necessarily, became the Second Person in the Trinity, who assumed human nature, and of his vindication of other equally surprising transformations of the content of the gospel as determined by his criticism, it is impossible to enter. But it may be stated as a general objection that the biological analogy of the germ and the development of the organism is altogether overstrained. In a doctrinal development there must be an intelligible moral and religious continuity such as is not to be expected in a living growth; and this is entirely lacking in the doctrinal changes which Loisy defends as necessary. The use of an altogether inadequate category vitiates his whole argument. The same method of proof is employed to legitimize every development, however superstitious it may appear, in the Catholic ritual of worship. Whatever Roman Catholicism (for Loisy's optimism extends only to his own Church) has ever been in history it has been necessarily, and so validly.

2. Protestant theories.—These do not cherish this optimism in regard to the evolution of Christianity in history.

(1) The traditional Protestant view is that the Holy Scriptures contain Christianity as it ought to be; that very soon corruption set in, although the later Roman Catholic developments were more of a departure from the primitive Christian faith and life than those earlier in the undivided Church had been; that in the Fathers of the Church much sound Christian teaching is to be found; that the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils in regard to the Person of Christ and the nature of the Godhead must be accepted as authoritative; and that the Reformation effected a return to Apostolic Christianity. It need hardly be said that this view is a loosely-bound bundle of uncritical assumptions. There was development, good and bad, within the Apostolic Church itself, and no such wide gulf can be fixed between any two ages of the history of the Church. Had it been possible, it would not have been desirable for the Reformation to restore the Apostolic age, which was gone beyond recall. All developments in Roman Catholicism were not corruptions, for many had a relative historical justification. Patristic teaching and Conciliar dogma cannot be isolated from the whole historical context, and assigned a permanent authority, while that context is condemned as corrupt.

(2) As attaching itself more immediately to one of these assumptions, that the doctrinal decisions of the Church, especially in the Ecumenical Councils, have a permanent authority, may be mentioned a

theory which has been put forward by Orr in his book, *The Progress of Dogma*.

(*a*) His working hypothesis is briefly as follows: While the Scriptures afford 'the ultimate test of dogmatic products' which are desirable and legitimate, as 'there is a doctrinal content in Christianity which it is the duty of the Church to ascertain and witness for,' yet there is both 'need and advantage of the objective test furnished by' the history of dogma, which, as the judgment of doctrines, has resulted in 'the survival of the fittest.' This conclusion is confirmed by 'the parallelism of the logical and historical developments,' for doctrines have been discussed and formulated in the history of dogma in the same order as they are treated in text-books of systematic theology. 'The vindication of the fundamental ideas of religion' in 'the age of apologetics' has been followed by 'the theological, anthropological, and Christological controversies.' Then, shifting from the East to the West, 'the soteriological period' has been followed by 'controversies on the application of redemption.' To our modern age is to be ascribed 'a peculiar interest in eschatology,' and 'the future may be expected to devote itself to practical problems' (see the Contents, Lecture I. p. ix f.).

(*b*) Orr is inevitably forced into antagonism to Harnack's view of the history of dogma. Harnack's restricted use of the word 'dogma' is rejected in favour of the wider use for any doctrine which has obtained ecclesiastical sanction; the influence of Greek metaphysics in the formation of dogma, so insisted on by Harnack, is minimized; dogma is regarded as a permanent need of the Church, and so not confined, as by Harnack, to the period before the Reformation; and to Harnack's pessimistic an optimistic estimate is opposed.

(*c*) Although at the Reformation the Ecumenical decisions regarding the Person of Christ were accepted without challenge and defended with conviction against Socinianism, yet it is unusual to find in a Protestant writer so whole-hearted a defence of the progress of dogma, even during the Middle Ages, as Orr offers. Without entering into criticism of his theory in detail, we must point out that human history in no one of its aspects can be forced into the Procrustes bed of such a theory without violence. Dogma cannot be isolated from ritual and polity, and its history be regarded as an evolution of doctrinal definitions in the logical order of a text-book of theology. Surely the Reformation meant a much more thorough re-consideration of Christian thought and re-construction of Christian life than a mere turning from the doctrine of an objective Atonement to the doctrine of its individual appropriation; and the modern period is primarily concerned with far more fundamental conceptions—scientific, philosophic, and theological—than any mere theory of the last things. Each age, while using thankfully all the gains of thought in the past, must think out the Christian Gospel for itself, and re-state it in its own current language. Much error has mingled with truth, and even the doctrines which, as having received some sort of ecclesiastical sanction, can be dignified with the title dogmas are not above criticism. The writer's optimism seems to go very much further than the facts allow.

(3) Although Orr had planned his book before Harnack's *History of Dogma* appeared, yet he cannot avoid a running criticism of the view to which he is so much opposed. Loisy's *L'Évangile et l'Église* was a reply to Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums*, but it also aims at discrediting Harnack's view of the evolution of the Church as stated in the *History of Dogma* (a fourth revised and enlarged ed. is now appearing; the Eng. tr. is of the third ed.).

(*a*) While Harnack recognizes that faith must give its contents, facts, or truths an intellectual expression, he sees in the outstanding solution of this problem in the dogma of Catholicism, besides the Scriptural or traditional source, an alien philosophical method, and an illegitimate ecclesiastical authority, so that it has been advantageous in strengthening the position of the Church, rather than profitable for the confirmation of faith. As imposed by an ecclesiastical authority, claiming a universal dominion, dogma is by him distinguished from doctrine, and is necessarily limited to the period prior to the Reformation. He divides the history of dogma into four sections: (1) the origin of dogma, (2) the Christological development of the East, (3) the Soteriological development of the West, and (4) the threefold issue in Tridentine Roman Catholicism, Anti-Trinitarianism and Socinianism, and Protestantism. Four conclusions are drawn by him from the history: (1) Dogma is 'a work of the Greek spirit on the soil of the Gospel.' (2) It has changed from age to age, as it is the result of theological activity. (3) While the original character was preserved, it was modified by Augustine, who infused a more intense religious spirit; and still more by Luther, who sought to restore the rights of Christian experience. (4) Deliverance from its bondage will be gained as the process of its origin and development comes to be known. Already in the first century the gospel of Jesus was changed from its pristine purity and its original excellence by the Church's acceptance of the Jewish apocalyptic hopes (which, be it observed, Loisy regards as the content of the gospel), the Jewish or Hellenic doctrine of pre-existence, the Platonic doctrine of the Logos (both speculative, metaphysical elements), and the Græco-Roman doctrine of God and the soul (a philosophy inadequate for the intellectual expression of the gospel). Of this first accretion the Christian faith was divested, in spite of the Montanist reaction, in the 2nd century. St. Paul was so far misunderstood that, despite Marcion's attempt to restore Paulinism, the Christian religion became a moralism, or even legalism. Although the acute form of the secularization of Christianity in Gnosticism was rejected, yet both Church and doctrine, in spite of an assumed Apostolic canon, confession, and office to preserve its continuity from the Apostles, continued to lose more and more its primitive character, and to be conformed to its environment in the Græco-Roman culture. The process was advanced by the Apologists, seemed to suffer a check in the influence of Irenæus, but was stimulated by the Alexandrian school of theology. In the end of the 3rd cent. it gained its completion in the adoption of the Logos-Christology by the Church. 'This development' effected 'the definite transformation of the rule of faith into the compendium of a Greek philosophical system' (Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. ii. 380). 'The formula of the Logos, as it was almost universally understood, legitimized speculation, *i.e.* Neo-Platonic philosophy, within the Creed of the Church' (*ib.* iii. 2). While the multitudes had to believe this creed, they could not understand it, and so could not draw from it the motive of their religious and moral life; they were brought under tutelage to the theologians who alone could interpret and apply the mystery. 'The necessary consequence of this development was that the mysterious creed, being no longer in a position practically to control life, was superseded by *the authority of the Church, the cultus, and prescribed duties*, in determining the religious life of the laity; while the theologians, or the priests, appeared alone as the possessors of an independent faith and knowledge' (p. 3). Another consequence was the rise of the order of monks, who came between the laity in tutelage and the authoritative clergy, and who sought a subjective piety of their own in a renunciation of the world. During the 4th and 5th cents. the Church in the East was absorbed in the Christological controversies, in which the interest in truth was often subordinated to the rivalries of theological schools, the ambition of bishops, and even political intrigues. This development issued in scholasticism, ritualism, and mysticism, and the Orthodox Greek Church has remained at this stage of the evolution. Owing to the influence of Augustine, and the more practical genius of the West, theology was more concerned with anthropology and soteriology; but no such compact dogma was reached as in regard to the Person of Christ. The Platonic speculative philosophy was, in mediæval scholars, replaced by the Aristotelian logical method. Accepting the absolute authority of the Church as regards the data of theology, scholasticism tried to reconcile dogma and reason; its issue in Nominalism shows the hopelessness of its task. Harnack maintains that the necessary close of the process is shown by its threefold outcome. At the Reformation the Roman Catholic Church opposed itself to the new movements by conferring on the Pope the sovereign rule over the faith of the Church, and 'gave fixity to the Augustinian-Mediæval doctrines, and added them to the old dogmas as equally legitimate portions of the system' (vii. 22). The 'Anti-Trinitarian and Socinian Christianity,' which 'developed in the sixteenth century,' 'broke with the old dogma and discarded it' (p. 23). 'Instructed by history itself, the Reformation obtained a new point of departure for the framing of Christian faith in the Word of God, and it discarded all forms of infallibility which could offer an *external* security for faith, the infallible organization of the Church, the infallible doctrinal tradition of the Church, and the infallible Scripture codex. In this way that view of Christianity from which dogma arose—Christian faith the sure knowledge of the ultimate causes of all things, and therefore *also* of the Divine provisions for salvation—was set aside; Christian faith is rather the firm assurance of having received from God, as the Father of Jesus Christ, the forgiveness of sins, and of living under Him in His Kingdom—nothing else' . . . 'And yet the Reformers allowed the old dogma to remain; nay, they did not even submit it to revision' (p. 24 f.). While the Reformation thus retained the old dogma, it abandoned the principle of the previous development of dogma, and so may be regarded as not only one of the issues, but 'the right and proper issue of the history of dogma' (p. 26; see Garvie, *The Ritschlian Theology*, ch. iv.).

(*b*) While there is a certain convenience in distinguishing the pre-Reformation type of doctrine, with its peculiar philosophical method and its distinctive ecclesiastical sanction, from the creeds accepted in the sects of Protestantism, it is difficult even for Harnack to use the term 'dogma' with absolute consistency, and he has to include in his history a good deal of doctrine which is not even dogma in the making. This objection need not, however, be pressed, as there seem to be more serious defects in his theory. His estimate of the history seems unduly condemnatory. Pfleiderer expresses a judgment of the theory for which there is justification. 'Perhaps we can most simply describe its character by saying that to Baur's optimistic evolutionary theory of history it opposes a pessimistic view of Church history, which makes this history to consist, not in a progressive theological and rational development, and ever richer unfolding of the Christian spirit, but in a progressive obscuration of the truth, in the progress of disease in the Church, produced by the sudden irruption of Hellenic philosophy and other secularizing influences. We can understand that such a view is acceptable to a realistic and practical age which has long lost all touch with the ancient dogmas; we cannot deny that it contains relative truth, and might, in fact, serve as a salutary complement to Baur's optimism; but is it

adapted to form the supreme guiding principle of ecclesiastical history, or can it justly claim to be the only scientific view, or the right to condemn as unscientific scholasticism the teleological theory of evolution, which, in the manifold play of individual causes, recognizes the governance of a higher Reason? These are questions to be seriously asked' (*Development of Theology*, p. 298 f.). While there were human error and sin in the development of dogma, as in all things human, there was also, surely, a Divine guidance that kept the Church from labouring altogether in vain in its effort to define its faith. And how otherwise could the Church have given an intelligible form to the faith for contemporary thought, than by making the best use it could of the current categories of serious thinking? Must we not think of Greek philosophy and Roman law as alike parts of the preparation for the gospel in the world?

But Harnack's immense learning has not been expended in vain if it convinces us that we cannot assume that 'the faith as delivered to the saints' was adequately and finally expressed in these Græco-Roman intellectual forms. When Bishop Gore tries to distinguish the terminology of the Creed, as borrowed, from the original substance, he overlooks the fact that the terminology inevitably modifies the substance. When he goes on to maintain that the language of the Creeds is 'permanent language, none the less permanent because Greek' (*BL*, 1891, pp. 101, 105), he ignores the revolution in modern thought that science and philosophy have brought about, which makes it impossible for the thinker of to-day to be satisfied with these ancient categories. We must, as against Harnack, recognize the necessity of the alliance of Christian faith and Greek thought; but, in opposition to Gore, we must refuse to accept this alliance as permanent. Further, the starting-point of the process, according to Harnack, is one that can be accepted only from an advanced critical standpoint. As has already been indicated, Harnack denies the miraculous and avoids the metaphysical in his statement of the gospel of Jesus. The Apostolic interpretations of the Person and work of Christ are treated as foreign influences adversely affecting this gospel. The explanations of the nature of Christ (the miraculous birth, the anointing with the Spirit at baptism, the pre-existence, the 'Logos' incarnation) are thus excluded from essential Christianity; but these surely prove that the impression Jesus made on eye- and ear-witnesses was such that His Person offered a problem for which some solution must be found, and that, though we may be compelled to distinguish kernel from husk in the solutions offered, we are forced to face the same problem to-day, and may find these old solutions not meaningless or worthless. If the close contact of the Apostolic age not only with the Jesus of the earthly ministry, but still more with the living Christ of faith, gives to the Apostolic experience a typical character, the interpretations given of that experience may have a normative value even to-day. If we are forced to admit that, as the two greatest thinkers of the Apostolic age, Paul and John, thought, the historical can be most clearly seen in the light of the eternal, then we, too, shall feel warranted in advancing in thought from the Jesus on earth to the pre-existent Word and the exalted Lord in heaven, and so we shall see the gospel from the beginning in a necessary metaphysical setting.

3. Summary and conclusion.—(1) It is obvious that historical and literary criticism makes it impossible for us to accept either the old orthodox Roman Catholic or the traditional Protestant view of the development of Christianity. The Modernist view of Loisy is too much a special pleading for Roman Catholicism as against Protestantism to be accepted, even although his principle that whatever has been useful to preserve the Gospel in the world may be regarded as necessary, and so providential, can be given a much wider application than he gives it, that is, to any form of Christian thought or life which has survived. His view of the original gospel of Jesus, adapted as it is to his special purpose, involves a very radical criticism of the Gospels. Harnack is justified in insisting on the ethical and spiritual elements in the gospel of Jesus, and, as against Loisy, gives a more adequate representation of Christianity in its beginnings; but even he seems to mutilate the historical reality of the Person, teaching, and work of Christ, in his denial of miracles and aversion to the metaphysical. He seems to exaggerate the foreign elements in the Apostolic interpretation of the distinctive Apostolic experience, and so, throughout the development of Christianity, he depreciates the factor of the necessary rational formulation of the content of faith. That the faith was expressed in ecclesiastical dogma always without obscuration or distortion cannot be maintained, or that the conception or phraseology of one age can be imposed as valid for every other age. But that faith must necessarily suffer if it strives to solve its intellectual problems must be denied, and it must be conceded that the Christian thought of to-day has much to learn from the thinking of former times.

(2) The present writer may briefly give his own positive convictions on this problem, using the suggestive biological analogy. The Christian organism is represented not only by the gospel of Jesus as it is presented with substantial historical accuracy in the Synoptic Gospels, but also by the Apostolic testimony to and interpretation of the presence and action of Christ in human experience as contained in the NT writings generally. That even in the Apostolic age the Jewish and Gentile environment exercised an influence may be freely conceded, but not so as to give the subsequent development a perverse direction from the very start. The contrast between the Apostolic and the post-Apostolic writings is so marked that the conclusion seems warranted that, the Apostolic experience being typical, the testimony and interpretation do remain normative of what is essentially Christian. That the organism could not escape being affected by, in adapting itself to, its Græco-Roman environment must be conceded; that this action and reaction were not only necessary but a condition of progress may, from the standpoint of a theistic teleology, be conjectured; for the leaven must get into the meal that the whole might be leavened. This does not, however, exclude the frank recognition of the fact that there were characteristics of the Greek speculative genius and of the practical Roman *ethos* not altogether harmonious with the distinctive character of the gospel, so that there was perversion amid progress in the subsequent development—the salt in seasoning did lose some of its own savour. Greek metaphysics and Roman law misrepresented as well as expressed the gospel. The impartial student of the history of the Church cannot for a moment deny that false views, unworthy motives, wrong purposes were factors, and at times dominant factors, in this evolution. Whether the development might, in the given conditions, have been very different from what it was, it would be rash either to affirm or to deny; but the facts at least forbid the optimism of Loisy as much as the pessimism of Harnack. That some of the heresies and schisms suppressed by the Church were attempts at reform (who can confidently add premature?), is a fact which should make the theorist pause before he discovers a Divine necessity in the process. That a compact organization in creed and code, ritual and polity, was necessary for the Church to preserve it through its persecution by the Roman Empire, for its influence on that Empire, for its survival of the Empire's fall, who can deny? But can all the means used to secure this unity be justified from the Christian standpoint? In like manner, through the Middle Ages a case can be made out for this or that feature as necessary to the Church for its practical effectiveness, and yet the acknowledged corruptions which crept in through these doors of expediency make us pause before uttering the plausible creed, 'The real is the rational.' That the Reformation was a justified attempt at 'reversion to type' the writer holds, even although a later stage in any development cannot completely recapture an earlier, and Protestantism was not so close a copy of the Apostolic age as it sometimes wished and imagined itself to be. As development is essential to an organism, so Christianity lives as it grows; its future progress must be, as its past has been, conditioned by its environment; but, it may be hoped, it has now in itself such vitality that it will not merely, as it has often done, passively adapt

itself to, but will rather adapt to itself by transforming, that environment.

VI. *HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.*—In dealing with one of the other religions in a work which will be read mostly by those professing the Christian faith, a sketch of the history would be necessary, and might, with the material in most cases at our disposal, be attempted within reasonable compass; but the history of the Christian Church has been so minutely and extensively explored that no such endeavour is possible. What alone seems practicable is to mention such events, movements, or features as are of primary significance.

The history falls into three eras. The *ancient* era embraces the first eight centuries, the *mediæval* the next seven, and the *modern* the last five. In the first, the Christian Church spread from Jerusalem to Rome, and from Rome to the borders of the Roman Empire, and, on its fall, to the Germanic nations. In the second, the Papacy grew in power until it held full sway in Western Europe; but its decline already began in the 13th cent., and various movements towards reform anticipated the third era. This, strictly speaking, began in 1517 with Luther's posting of the Theses against Indulgences, and may be regarded as not yet closed, for no change of such importance has since occurred as to mark the commencement of a new era.

1. Ancient era.—This may be subdivided into four periods.

(1) The first period (to A.D. 100) may be described as *the Apostolic Age*; in it the Christian Church separated itself from the Jewish people, which in A.D. 70 lost both its 'local habitation and its name' among the nations possessing a political unity. Jewish Christianity (Nazareans and Ebionites), becoming ever more heretical, separated itself from Gentile Christianity, but soon dwindled away.

(2) The second period (2nd and 3rd cents.) is marked by the progress of Christianity in the Roman Empire, in spite of repeated—sometimes sporadic, sometimes systematic—persecutions, until in 313 it had attained such importance and influence that Constantine deemed it politic to strengthen his position as Emperor by adopting this persecuted religion as his own. The attempt of Gnosticism to blend Christianity with Greek philosophy and Eastern mysticism was successfully withstood by the Church, which strengthened itself to resist persecution from without and heresy (especially in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity) and schism from within, by developing a uniform organization based on an assumed Apostolic creed in the expanded Baptismal Confession, Apostolic office in the Episcopate, and Apostolic canon of truth in the writings of the NT.

The theologians of this period deserving special mention are *Irenæus* (Bishop of Lyons, A.D. 178), who had a personal link through Polycarp with John at Ephesus, and opposed to Gnosticism the Apostolic tradition; *Origen* (A.D. 185–251), the chief ornament of the Alexandrian school, in which Christian faith formed a fruitful and yet perilous alliance with Greek culture; and *Tertullian* (became Montanist A.D. 220), the father of the distinctively Latin theology, who provided the terminology for the doctrine of the Trinity in the West. To the development of the ecclesiastical organization probably no influence contributed more than that of *Cyprian* (A.D. 200–258), who, emphasizing the sacerdotal idea, and asserting the episcopal authority, yet resisted the claims of Rome

(3) In the third period, from Constantine to Gregory I. (313–590), the Church, in spite of a pagan reaction under Julian, gained supremacy in the Roman World, and the Christian spirit even influenced Imperial legislation; but internal divisions appeared.

(*a*) The separation of the Eastern Empire, with Constantinople as its capital, from the Western, which still had Rome as its centre, profoundly affected the unity of the Church. While the Roman See advanced ever greater claims to the primacy in the episcopate of the Church, the patriarchate of Constantinople, the new capital, and the patriarchate of Alexandria pushed forward rival claims. The antagonism of the theological schools of Antioch and Alexandria further complicated the situation.

(*b*) The Roman Emperors, soon after assuming a by no means clearly defined authority in the Christian Church, found themselves appealed to for the settlement of theological disputes (Council of Nicæa, 325); and it is impossible to maintain that the interests of Christian truth did not suffer from the intrusion of political intrigue in the making of the creeds of the Church. In the Arian, Apollinarian, Nestorian, and Eutychian controversies (4th and 5th cents.), the reality of the Divine nature, the completeness of the human nature, the unity of the Person, the distinction of the two natures of Christ, were the decisions reached. In these efforts at uniformity of creed, divisions were caused, and the Church of the Empire could claim to be catholic or orthodox only by condemning and expelling those who did not accept these decisions.

(*c*) Even if we agree that the formula of *two natures in one Person* of the Creed of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) was the best expression of the Christian faith about Christ in the thought-forms of the time, we cannot altogether ignore, as is often done, the existence alongside of this catholic, orthodox Church, which owed not a little to its connexion with the Roman State, of other Churches claiming to be quite as Christian. *Arianism* (*q.v.*), false as was its conception of Christ as a demi-god, had an able representative in Ulfilas (died A.D. 381), the missionary to the Goths, and the first translator of the Bible into a Teutonic tongue. *Nestorianism* (*q.v.*), which recent research has shown not to have been as heretical as it was politically convenient for its orthodox opponents to represent it, has the honour of having carried the gospel into the Far East—to India, and even to China. *Monophysitism* (*q.v.*), which, against the duality of the Divine and human natures in the unity of the Person of Christ, affirmed the unity of the Divine-human nature of Christ, has survived in the Coptic Church. The formula *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* expresses an ideal of doctrinal uniformity which was never a historical reality, least of all when efforts were made to enforce catholicity and orthodoxy.

(*d*) The less speculative and more practical West played a skilful part in these disputes, the metaphysical character of which was, however, more congenial to the subtle Greek mind. In the West there was the controversy of Augustine and Pelagius (A.D. 411–431) concerning the freedom of man's will, the consequences of the Fall, and the election of grace, in which the religious experience of Augustine, Pauline in its distinctive character, was a decisive factor.

(*e*) Although in the previous period asceticism and anchoritism had found entrance into the Christian Church, it was in this period that *Monasticism* (*q.v.*) first really developed. The clergy, too, became more distinctly marked off from the laity, and celibacy was increasingly enforced, though in many cases with great difficulty. Into the worship generally many pagan elements were allowed to creep. Sacramentarianism and sacerdotalism grew apace. It is not necessary to deal with these topics in any further detail.

(4) The outstanding features of the fourth period, from Gregory I. to Charlemagne (590–800), were the founding of the Church among the Germanic nations and the subjugation of many of the Christian lands of the East by Islām.

(*a*) While the Christian faith first reached some of the Teutonic tribes in the form of Arianism, yet Catholicism soon gained the victory. In Great Britain the independent Celtic Church was also overthrown, and the new peoples were not only Christianized but also Romanized, for the authority of the Roman See was fully asserted in these freshly converted nations. This missionary activity had to be continued for more than four centuries in the next period before Europe was Christianized.

(*b*) The dominion of the Muslims was extended from Arabia over Egypt, Africa, Spain, and Sicily westwards, and over Syria and Persia eastwards, and it was only the victories of Charles Martel and his Franks in 732 and the resistance of the Eastern Empire till 1453 that stemmed the tide of Islām conquest, and saved Europe from the danger of an exchange of the Cross for the Crescent.

2. Mediæval era.—This may be considered as beginning with the crowning of Charlemagne, the Frankish king, as Roman Emperor by the Pope, Leo III., in 800. While the world was asked to believe that this was done 'by the immediate impulse of a Divine inspiration' (Kurtz, *Church History*, i. 487), yet negotiations to secure this dignity had been going on for years between the king and the Pope. Charlemagne conceived this Imperial power as a universal theocratic Christian monarchy. The Greeks had failed worthily to sustain the position, and it had been transferred to the Frankish king. As the head of all Christendom, he claimed to direct the external government of the Church itself, while he acknowledged the Pope as its spiritual head. The dominating interest of the Middle Ages is the contest for supremacy between Emperor and Pope. The first period in this era, from Charlemagne to Pope

Gregory VII. (800–1073), is characterized by the growing power of the Papacy. The second period, from Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII. (1073–1294), is the time when the Pope exercised full sway in Western Europe. In the third period, from Boniface VIII. to the Reformation (1294–1517), the Papacy declines, the need of reform asserts itself, and there are various movements towards it. We need not treat these periods separately in detail, as for an understanding of Christianity as a religion this controversy is of secondary importance, however greatly the course of the history of Christendom in the world was affected by it. Only a few subjects of interest for the present purpose can be briefly mentioned.

(1) *The Great Schism*, by which 'the Holy Orthodox Church' of the East was finally severed from 'the Catholic Church' of the West is undoubtedly the most significant fact in the Middle Ages. Into the details of the growing estrangement we need not enter, but the causes of the final separation must be mentioned.

(*a*) There was a contrast of race. In the West the Latin race had been affected by an infusion of Germanic blood. In the East the Greek race had been blended with Asiatic peoples. The difference which from the beginnings of the Christian Church had shown itself was thus considerably increased. (*b*) As has already been mentioned, the division of the one Roman Empire into an Eastern and a Western gave to Christendom two centres of authority and influence, and the new capital in the East, Constantinople, became a formidable rival to the ancient city of Rome in the West. (*c*) The Pope in Rome was not, however, prepared to surrender to the Patriarch of Constantinople, or even to share with him, the primacy that the position of Rome hitherto had secured for its bishop; and for several centuries the contest for power was waged. (*d*) Had there not been these deep-rooted and far-spreading causes for antagonism, the controversy which brought the long quarrel to an issue could not itself have produced so momentous an effect. The difference of doctrine between East and West was this: the Eastern Church held that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone *through* the Son, but the Western that He proceeds both from the Father and from the Son. The former asserts a subordination of the Son to the Father; the latter maintains an equality of Father and Son. In the Nicene Creed, current in the West, the word *Filioque* had been inserted in the clause *Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit*, and the East charged the West with committing a serious wrong in venturing on any such insertion. When Leo IX. in 1054 sought to force the views of the West on the East, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael, refused submission, 'the Papal legates formally laid on the altar of St. Sophia a sentence of anathema,' and 'the schism was now complete' (Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, p. 241). It may be added that the Eastern Church has undergone relatively slight change in doctrine or practice, and has exercised little, if any, influence on the further development of the Christian Church in the world, and accordingly in this article there is only brief reference made to it.

(2) A feature of the Christianity of the Middle Ages which deserves special mention is the rise and advance of *Scholasticism* (*q.v.*). Its aim and method are well expressed in Anselm's phrase, 'credo ut intelligam.' The authority of the Church in doctrine is unreservedly accepted, but there is a considerable mental activity in defining and distinguishing, asking and answering questions in regard to the contents of the creed, so as to commend it to reason. The Aristotelian logic, imperfectly known and understood, is the instrument used to rationalize, as far as can be, ecclesiastical dogma.

Anselm (A.D. 1033–1109), in the 11th cent., may be regarded as the father of Scholasticism, alike in his statement of the ontological argument and in his theory of the Atonement. Thomas Aquinas (A.D. 1227–1274) and Duns Scotus (A.D. 1266 or 1274–1308) were the heads of the two schools which divided Scholasticism in its most flourishing period (13th and 14th cents.). While the former gave the primacy to reason, and so sought to show the rationality of Christian doctrine, the latter emphasized the dominance of will, and thus sowed the first seeds of a scepticism which was developed in the professed interests of religious faith and Church authority by Nominalism—to the final discredit of the methods of Scholasticism.

(3) *Monasticism* held a very prominent place and wielded a very powerful influence in the Middle Ages. Specially worthy of mention is the rise of the Mendicant orders—the Franciscans and the Dominicans. St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226) stands out as one of the most gracious and attractive of Christian personalities, although the Order he founded soon lost the spirit which he sought to infuse into it. Monasticism, which sprang from worthy motives, and for a time served useful ends, became more and more corrupt, and gave ground for the denunciations of the Reformers. Much was lost to mediæval society by the withdrawal from family life and citizenship of many of the best men and women.

(4) A strange and sad yet heroic sight is presented to our gaze in the *Seven Crusades* between 1096 and 1270, in which Christendom endeavoured to recover from the 'impious hands' of the Muslim the sacred spots of its religion. Although the immediate issue was disastrous, yet by these efforts the horizon of Christendom was widened, and its sense of unity was deepened.

(5) Dominant as was the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages throughout Western Europe, yet there appeared again and again *protesters against the Church.* The claims of the clergy were opposed by various sects, known in different countries by different names, the most widely current being that of Cathari. There were pantheistic heretics like Amalrich, and apocalyptic like Joachim of Floris. There were revolutionary reformers like Arnold of Brescia, and reforming enthusiasts such as Tanchelm. Most interesting, because maintaining their continuous testimony to the present day, are the Waldensians. Against these dissenters the Church ruthlessly asserted its authority, especially in the Albigensian crusade (A.D. 1209–1229), which sought to stamp out the heretics in the south of France. The tribunal of the Inquisition was founded in 1232 to deal with heresy, and was entrusted to the Dominicans, who, as *Domini canes* ('dogs of the Lord'), scented out and ran down every divergence from the orthodoxy of the Church, or resistance to its authority.

(6) Although it affected the external fortunes of the Papacy rather than the history of Christianity as a religion, mention must be made of the *Babylonian Exile* (A.D. 1305–1377), during which the Popes found a safe asylum in Avignon, but were kept in complete subjection to the French Court, while making most extravagant hierarchical claims, especially on Germany. This was followed by a forty years' schism (1378–1417), during which two, and for a time even three, Popes in turn cast anathemas at one another. This scandal to Christendom was the occasion of the reforming Councils of Pisa and Constance (1409, 1414–1418). The attempts at reformation then begun were continued in the Council of Basel (1431–1449); but these efforts to deal effectively with the corruption of the Papacy were defeated by national jealousies and rivalries, and out of the struggle the Papacy emerged triumphant, only to sink during the 15th cent. into even deeper corruption. The reformers, while holding the necessity for one visible head of the Church, yet, on account of the evils inflicted on the Church by the Papacy, insisted that the Pope himself must be subject to the supreme authority of the universal Church as represented by the Ecumenical Councils. This is the *conciliar* theory, which is opposed to the *curialist* view of the absolute supremacy of the Pope.

(7) Many devout souls in the monasteries who did not find satisfaction in the creeds, ritual, and works of the Church sought a refuge in *Mysticism* (*q.v.*). Without any deliberate intention of challenging its claims, and even with a diligent use of such means of grace as it prescribed, many cherished an inner life with God that was essentially independent of the external organization. Bernard of Clairvaux saved much of the mysticism from degenerating into pantheism, by presenting Jesus

as the object of mystic contemplation and devotion.

This mysticism, with its stress on the inwardness of the religious life, may be regarded as a preparation for the Reformation, two forerunners of which must be mentioned—*John Wyclif* (1324–1384) in England, and *John Hus* (1369–1415) in Bohemia. Wyclif began as an opponent of the Papal claim, and a champion of the rights of the English Crown and Parliament; but the attempts to suppress him made him only the bolder, and he went ever further in his attack on the errors and abuses of the Church. He set himself the task of giving the people the Bible in their mother tongue, and sent out mendicant preachers of the gospel. Hus was largely dependent on Wyclif, but he knew how to win the populace for his own views, and he has the glory of martyrdom. The Church succeeded in warding off this and other attacks until Luther became the centre of a movement for reform, which was powerful enough to resist all attempts at repression. There can be no doubt that the Renaissance, or Revival of Learning, following the capture of Constantinople in 1453, and the consequent diffusion of Greek learning in Western Europe, reinforced the movement for reform in the Christian Church.

3. Modern era.—This dates from the nailing of Luther's 95 Theses against Indulgences on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg in 1517. The fuel was gathered together, and this was the spark that set it ablaze.

(1) The history of early Protestantism is one in which political considerations work with and against religious interests, and is far too complicated to be briefly re-told.

In German Switzerland, Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) began the work of reform in 1519. The two movements might have been combined, and might have supported the one the other had it not been for the *Sacramentarian controversy*. Luther insisted on taking the words of institution at the Lord's Supper literally, and maintained a doctrine, not of *transubstantiation*, or the transformation of the substance of the elements into the body and blood of Jesus, while the accidents remained the same, but of *consubstantiation*, or the presence of the body and blood of Christ 'in, with, and under' the elements. Zwingli held that the words 'this is' meant 'this signifies,' and so regarded the sacrament as a symbolical memorial of Christ's suffering and death. In spite of all attempts at conciliation, the forces of reform remained divided. The Reformation in French Switzerland began in 1526; but it was the arrival of Calvin (1509–1564) in Geneva in 1536 that first gave to the movement there its wider significance and value. Holding the same convictions as Luther, the doctrine of justification by faith as the material principle, and the doctrine of the authority of the Scriptures as the formal principle of Christian theology, he yet, by his difference of genius and character, gave to that Protestantism (the Reformed), which looked to him for leading, a different type of doctrine and polity from the Lutheran (the Evangelical). While both Calvin and Luther were Augustinians, holding strongly the doctrine of Divine election to salvation, Calvin emphasized, as Luther did not, the converse of the doctrine—the Divine repudiation of the lost. Luther sought in the Holy Scriptures the gospel of the grace of God; Calvin found that there, and in addition a Divine law for the creed and conduct of the Christian Church. The Peasants' War (1524–1525) drove Luther back from any attempt to apply the principles of the Reformation to society generally; Calvin boldly attempted to make Geneva a city of God, and its government a theocracy. As regards the doctrine of the Supper, Calvin endeavoured to mediate between Luther and Zwingli: the Lord's Supper is not only a symbol, but a channel of Divine grace; by the Holy Spirit the virtue of Christ's glorified body, which is not itself present in the elements but in heaven, is conveyed to the believing participants as the source of their resurrection-body. Calvinism in Switzerland before long took the place of Zwinglianism. Lutheranism spread from its home in Germany to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. As Geneva became the refuge of exiles for conscience' sake from other lands, Calvinism, on their return home, was impressed on the Protestantism of Holland, France, and Scotland, and, to a much less degree, on England also. The Church of England was in many respects a political compromise. An attempt was made as far as possible to maintain the historic continuity with the old Church, while Puritanism, which was Calvinistic, endeavoured to bring about a more thorough reform of the Church. Calvinism has shown itself more aggressive for political as well as religious liberty than Lutheranism.

(2) It has sometimes been maintained that the distinctive principle of the Reformation was the right of private judgment in matters of faith; but this was at least not the intention of the Reformers themselves. They had not yet learned the principle of toleration, though the co-existence in one nation of Roman Catholic and Protestant, or of Lutheran and Reformed, where neither party was strong enough to suppress the other, enforced the practice. Outside of the two great Protestant Confessions there were movements for a larger liberty of thought and life than these allowed.

The pantheism and libertinism in France and Italy, which resulted from the intellectual emancipation of the Renaissance when divorced from the religious interest of the Reformation, lie outside our present subject. *Anabaptism* (*q.v.*) was the extreme left of the Protestant movement, revolutionary politically and socially as well as theologically, and its excesses were its undoing. The Reformers were ruthless in their condemnation. The acceptance by the Reformers of the Ecumenical decisions regarding the Trinity and the Person of Christ was challenged by several Anti-Trinitarian thinkers. Calvin's share in the execution of Servetus in Geneva for his denial of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, now deplored, was generally approved at the time. The most formidable Anti-Trinitarian movement was that led by the two Socini, which found a number of adherents in Transylvania and Galicia, and which had as its doctrinal symbol the *Racovian Catechism* (1605). Socinianism in some degree affected Arminianism, and English and American Unitarianism is its representative to-day, although the earlier movement recognized the authority of the Scriptures more fully than the later does.

(3) The Reformation provoked the Roman Catholic Church, in self-defence, to a *Counter-Reformation*. Roman Catholicism set itself to remove the worst abuses which the Reformers had exposed and condemned, but its main purpose was to define its doctrine and practice alike, in antagonism to Protestantism. This was effected by the Tridentine Council (1545–1547, 1551, 1552, 1562, 1563). Without any repudiation of Augustine, the Augustinianism of the Reformers is met by a Pelagianizing tendency in dealing with sin, grace, faith, works, etc. The curialist doctrine of the Pope's supremacy is assumed, and so the conciliar theory of his subordination to a General Council is set aside. The Vatican Council of 1870, in affirming the infallibility of the Pope when determining questions *ex cathedra*, simply completed the work of the Tridentine Council. The old orders of monks, who had failed to give the Papacy adequate support in the assault of the Reformation, had to give place in the Pope's favour to a new order, the Jesuits, whose object was to strengthen the Papacy and to drive back the advances of Protestantism. In missionary effort it tried to win for the Church new lands instead of those it had lost. The Jesuits found a formidable opposition in Jansenism. Pascal, in his *Provincial Letters*, exposed mercilessly the character of their casuistry.

(4) The two Protestant Churches were soon involved in theological controversies, as scholasticism followed hard on the theological revival. Within Lutheranism, Luther's doctrine of the Supper involved a doctrine of the Person of Christ full of contradictions. Conflicting tendencies soon emerged, and these were compromised by means of subtleties of thought and refinements of language, which made the resultant doctrine a tangle of inconsistencies. The tendency on the whole was towards Monophysitism, the actual absorption of the humanity in the Divinity. The Reformed doctrine, with its stress not only on the distinction, but, one may even say, on the opposition, of the Divine and the human nature, tended towards Nestorianism, or the virtual abandonment of the unity of the Person.

It is interesting to observe how the characteristics of a previous age repeat themselves. Just as the East in the ancient era had been concerned mainly about the problems of Christology and the West about the problems of Soteriology, so, in the modern, Lutheranism has had its hottest debate about the Person of Christ, and Calvinism about sin and salvation. Pelagianism was, though with modifications, revived, and latent Zwinglianism was made patent, against the dominant Calvinism in Arminianism. The Remonstrance of the Arminians in 1610 set forth the five articles of their Creed in antagonism to Calvinism: (1) conditional election, or election dependent on the fore-

knowledge of faith; (2) universal atonement in the sense that it is intended, though not actually efficient, for all; (3) the inability of man, without regeneration by the Holy Spirit, to exercise saving faith or to do any good work; (4) the indispensableness, yet the non-irresistibility, of grace; (5) the uncertainty of the perseverance of all believers. The Synod of Dort in 1618 affirmed the more moderate type of Calvinism, and expelled the Arminians, but subsequently various attempts were made to qualify the rigour of the doctrine of election. This controversy between Arminianism and Calvinism continued under varying conditions till the middle of last century, when the new theological standpoint, without settling the difference, withdrew interest from it. An interesting endeavour to give the Calvinistic system a Biblical form is the Federal Theology, in which God's relation to man is represented as a covenant, first of works, then of grace. The old view, that agreement in doctrine is the basis of Christian fellowship, survived, even when the authority that could compel uniformity had ceased to be, and so Protestantism began to split up into sects.

(5) Three sects must be mentioned which, in their distinctive principles, place themselves outside of the Lutheran and Calvinistic national Churches. In the early days of the Reformation in England appeared the *Brownists* (*q.v.*) or *Independents*, who affirmed the independence of each Christian congregation, on the ground of the presence and action of Christ Himself in every community gathered together in His name. It was this independency that in England resisted the claims of the Crown, and asserted the rights of Parliament, and during the Commonwealth was the dominant influence in the State, and that, in America, through the Pilgrim Fathers, laid down those principles of civil and religious liberty on which the constitution of that great Republic of the West rests. The Anabaptists of Germany soon ceased to be a revolutionary party, and, as Baptists, insisting on adult baptism by immersion, formed on the Continent a small and persecuted sect. In England, however, this view found much wider acceptance, and the Baptists have become, both there and in America, a very influential denomination. George Fox (1624–1691), in opposition to all doctrines, Churches, and sacraments, preached 'the inner light,' kindled in every man's conscience by God, renewed and quickened by the Spirit of Christ. There were some eccentricities and extravagances at the beginning of the movement, but it gradually settled down to sobriety and common sense, and now under the name of the *Society of Friends* (*q.v.*) survives, influential far beyond its actual numbers, as a constant witness to the spirituality of the religion of Christ, and as a consistent protest against all externalism which may invade it.

Within Lutheranism there was an effort made at spiritual revival by Spener (1635–1705). While deeply attached to Lutheranism, he felt that 'the orthodoxy of the age had lost the living power of the Reformers and was in danger of burying its talent in dead and barren service of the letter.' Accordingly he aimed at 'a new and wider reformation' (Kurtz, *Church History*, iii. 41). 'He went back from scholastic dogmatics to Holy Scripture as the living source of saving knowledge, substituted for the external orthodox theology the theology of the heart, demanded evidence of this in a pious Christian walk: these were the means by which he sought to promote his reformation' (p. 42). This movement, which is known by the name of *Pietism* (*q.v.*), excited much controversy, but found a centre of influence in the new university of Halle. After the death of Spener and other leaders, Pietism became more narrow, emotional, and antagonistic to the Church. But there can be no doubt that it had brought needed quickening to Lutheran orthodoxy. A similar movement is that which is linked with the name of Zinzendorf (1700–1760), who in 1722, on his estate at Herrnhut, founded the *Society of the United Brethren* (see MORAVIANS). Without any intention of separating from the Lutheran Church, Zinzendorf was compelled to revive the 'old Moravian constitution' of the 'pre-Reformation martyr Church' (p. 118). With some extravagance of doctrine, and fanaticism of practice at its beginning, this community raised a necessary protest against the prevailing indifference to the concerns of the soul. Its zeal for Foreign Missions and a well-ordered system of education are marks of distinction at the present day. While Christian piety was thus kept alive, the *Illumination*, which in the alleged interests of freedom of thought was anti-Christian, had in the 18th cent. a powerful, wide-reaching influence.

(6) The period of religious revival in the 16th and part of the 17th cent. was followed by a period of prevailing indifferentism. In England there was the *Deistic* movement (see DEISM), which affirmed a natural religion of five articles as common to all mankind, and regarded Christianity as true only in so far as it was a re-publication of this religion, and as false wherever it went beyond it. Although subsequent research has shown that this assumption of a natural religion has no basis in fact, and the Deists for the most part were more critical of what they regarded as false views than ardent in holding what they considered the truth, the movement anticipated in some respects the more recent 'higher criticism' of the Scriptures. Arianism and Unitarianism also showed renewed activity.

(7) The *Illumination* in France was one, but not the sole, cause of the French Revolution; that in England there was not so violent an upheaval was partly due to the influence on the working classes of the *Evangelical Revival*.

John Wesley (1703–1791) already in his Oxford course showed his religious seriousness by founding a society of like-minded men, scornfully known as Methodists. The influence of the Moravian Brethren led him to recover the largely lost sense for the gospel of God's free grace to sinners. He went throughout the length and breadth of the land preaching to huge crowds, winning a multitude of converts, and founding religious societies for their mutual edification. By appeals to hopes and fears, he and his helpers strove to bring about immediate conversion. In some districts this religious awakening was marked by abnormal morbid features, but of the solid good accomplished there can be no doubt. In this movement George Whitefield (1714–1770) took a notable part; but he and Wesley were doctrinally opposed—the one Calvinist, the other Arminian. Wesley never intended any secession from the Church of England, but the antagonism of the clergy compelled the formation, much against his will, of a sect outside of the Church—the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion. Through the Countess of Huntingdon, Whitefield obtained access to aristocratic circles, and his followers formed the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. Methodism made rapid progress in America, and, as Wesley's scruples regarding any schism from the Anglican Church were there irrelevant, he consented to its assuming an independent episcopal organization. The Evangelical Revival was a necessary complement to the Reformation.

(8) When we come to the 19th cent., with which the century just begun is continuous in character, so many new movements clamour for notice that the briefest allusion to the most important is alone possible.

(*a*) As an outcome of the Evangelical Revival on the one hand, and of the widening of the horizon by geographical discovery, expansion of commerce and colonization, and fresh developments of industry on the other hand, the modern missionary movement made its very modest beginnings with the opening of the century. After the conversion of the European peoples to Christianity, there was little effort, with a few notable exceptions, to spread the gospel throughout the world. Protestantism had been so absorbed in its internal difficulties as to become forgetful of its external obligations. Once begun, the enterprise has made such rapid progress that an organization to secure university students for this service—*The Student Volunteer Movement*—does not regard it as Utopian to choose for its watchword, 'The Evangelization of the world in this generation.'

(*b*) Inspired by the same motive of a revived religion, modern philanthropy entered upon its

beneficent career to relieve need, comfort sorrow, deliver the enslaved, and uplift the degraded. If in its earlier forms this philanthropy made mistakes as to the extent and the causes of the misery it sought to remove, and was not always quite free from self-righteousness and patronage, in its later developments it is seeking to combine science with sentiment, and to deal with the sources, as well as remove the symptoms, of social disease. Never was the Christian Church quite so intelligently and conscientiously awake to its task of exercising a beneficent influence on human society.

(*c*) The intellectual standpoint of the Christian Churches during last century underwent a change which it is no exaggeration to call a revolution. The romantic movement in literature, the idealist philosophy of Germany, the discoveries and conquests of science, the application of scientific methods to the study of Holy Scripture and the History of the Christian Church, and more recently the science of Comparative Religion, especially the dominance of the idea of evolution in all present-day thought—all have combined to shake many things in the tradition and customs of all the Churches that had till then seemed immovable. (α) The controversies of Calvinist and Arminian had rested on the assumption of the authority of the Holy Scriptures for doctrine, and of the obligation of each Church to formulate a system of theology drawn from that source. Echoes of these polemics were heard in the early part of last century in Scotland, when James Morison (1816–1893) in 1841 was suspended from the ministry of the Secession Church for preaching the universal love of God, atonement of Christ, and operation of the Spirit. He founded two years later, for the proclamation of this gospel, the *Evangelical Union*. The latter entered into union, in 1895, with the *Congregational Union*, which, though it had originated in the beginning of the century in the evangelistic work of the Haldanes, was, when Morison began his work, moderately Calvinistic, and at first opposed this new theological departure. Even the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, which still retain Calvinism in their Creeds, with the qualification of Declaratory Acts, have in their living working faith dropped all limitation of the saving grace of God. Owing to the new standpoint in theology, this controversy is now antiquated. (β) One doctrine which did receive special attention was that of eternal punishment. No decisive issue has been reached on this subject. Some still profess belief in the everlasting duration of the torments of the lost, but for few now has the belief any reality. The theory of Conditional Immortality (*q.v.*), which assumes that only believers in Christ are assured of eternal life, has gained only a limited acceptance. An undogmatic Universalism is the view which is almost insensibly displacing the other solutions of this problem. (γ) Christian theology was for a time much concerned about the reconciliation of geology and Genesis, of the Darwinian theory of the descent of man and the Biblical accounts of the origin and Fall of man; but this difficulty has for Christian scholars been removed by the view of the purpose of revelation, and consequently of the nature of inspiration, which is gaining currency as a result of literary and historical criticism of the Bible, the conclusions of which are gradually securing acceptance. The attempt to pronounce anathema the efforts of modern scholars to deal with the Bible as literature and as history, and not as dogma, has been futile; and there is a liberty of research, which sometimes degenerates into a licence of subjective conjecture, in most of the Protestant Christian Churches. (δ) The whole field of Christian theology is being explored afresh; no conclusions of previous ages are now deemed final. As in the 2nd cent. Gnosticism forced itself into the Church, and was with difficulty expelled, so to-day philosophic tendencies—monistic, pantheistic, naturalistic—are affecting professedly Christian thought, and are leading to conclusions which are irreconcilable with the historic Christian faith.

(*d*) This movement of progress has provoked a movement of reaction. In the Anglican Church the Tractarian Movement, begun in 1833 by the publication of *Tracts for the Times*, of which Newman (1801–1891) was the inspiring genius until he passed over to Roman Catholicism in 1845, has tried to restore the Catholic—not only the Patristic but even the mediæval—doctrine and practice in the Church of England and the Episcopal Churches of Scotland and the United States, to disown the Reformation and Protestantism, and to assert the continuity of the Church of England since Christianity was brought to these shores by Augustine. While the Low Church, which is evangelical and Protestant, maintains its testimony in the Established Church, and is zealous in good works, especially the Foreign Mission enterprise, it fails to give any intellectual leadership. The Broad Church has many distinguished scholars and thinkers, but little popular influence. The High Church at present has the dominating power.

(*e*) The result of this Anglo-Catholic movement has been to throw into bolder relief the contrast between the Established Church and Nonconformity, which through the Free Church Council has been united, as it never was before, not only to secure redress of its political grievances, and to exercise a moral influence on the course of public affairs, but also to bear a common evangelical testimony and wield a common evangelizing influence, as well as to bring Christian principles to bear on social reform. The freedom that some of the Free Churches allow in matters of doctrine is sometimes used for doctrinal innovations, but on the whole the Free Churches maintain the historic continuity in doctrine.

(*f*) Within the Anglo-Catholic section of the Church of England there is a very earnest desire for the reunion of Christendom by a recognition of Anglican orders by the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Churches, but the overtures which have been made to this effect have met with no encouragement from Rome, though the Greek Church takes, unofficially, a more irenic position. As regards union with other Churches of Great Britain and the United States, Anglicanism insists on the historic episcopate as the necessary condition. This spirit of unity is widely diffused. Scotland in the 18th and earlier half of the 19th cent. showed a tendency to division. From the Reformation onwards there has been in the Established Church the persistent sense of the spiritual liberty of the Church of Christ or 'the Crown Rights of the Redeemer.' Again and again the exercise of the control of the Church as established by the State has caused difficulty; and it has been as a protest against any such interference that one secession after another has taken place, the latest and greatest being the Disruption in 1843, by which the Free Church of Scotland came into being. In 1900 the great majority of the members of the dissenting Presbyterian denominations in Scotland united under the title of the United Free Church, and the hope is cherished by many that the hindrance of the Establishment may somehow yet be overcome, and Scotland have one Presbyterian Church. In England several Methodist Churches have come together. Similar movements are taking place in the British Colonies. Worthy of mention is the fact that in July 1909, at the Calvin celebration in Geneva, Lutherans and

Calvinists from all parts of Europe joined in a common Communion service in the Cathedral where Calvin preached.

(*g*) In Germany, while there is a strictly conservative party of confessional Lutherans, the majority of theological teachers and writers belong to the Liberal Protestant school. Ritschl and his followers endeavoured to save Christian faith from the perils threatened by modern thought, by distinguishing the theoretical judgments of science and philosophy from the value judgments of religion; but the influence of the school seems to be on the wane. A positive modern school is attempting to adapt orthodoxy to the demands of modern thought; but at the present moment the most influential tendency apparently is that (referred to in an earlier section) which insists on the religious-historical method in the interpretation of Christianity. The representatives of this tendency are for the most part more negative in their reconstruction, after criticism, of the historical reality of Jesus and His gospel than is Harnack, who is an adherent of the Ritschlian school. With often a very fine appreciation of the moral and religious greatness of Jesus, the representatives of this tendency place Him among the human founders of religions, and will not go further than admit that Christianity is so far the best religion the world has known. Religious psychology and Comparative Religion are displacing metaphysics in the modern theological method. A similar tendency, though with an opposite purpose and different results, is Modernism in the Roman Catholic Church. France, Italy, and England have been affected by this movement, of which something has already been said. Although the ecclesiastical authorities are doing their utmost to suppress it, it is not likely to be so speedily or easily vanquished, if vanquished at all, as some previous efforts towards greater liberty have been.

(9) It has been obviously impossible to give an account even approaching completeness of the manifold life of Christendom in the present age. This historical sketch may, however, be closed with an endeavour to estimate the situation to-day.

(*a*) There has been, as a result of the missionary efforts of the last century, a great expansion of the Christian Church, and an incalculable increase of its influence. The gospel has been carried throughout the whole world, and multitudes of converts have been won. Dr. Zeller, of the Statistical Bureau of Stuttgart, gives the following estimate of the number of adherents of the various religions:—Of the 1,544,510,000 people in the world, 534,940,000 are Christians, 175,290,000 are Muhammadans, 10,860,000 are Jews, and 834,280,000 hold other beliefs. Of the last class, 300,000,000 are Confucianists, 214,000,000 are Brāhmanists, and 121,000,000 are Buddhists. In every thousand there are 346 Christians, 114 Muhammadans, 7 Jews, and 533 adherents of other religions. But the influence of Christianity reaches much further than the bounds of the Christian Church. The ancient civilizations of the East, as well as barbarism in all parts of the earth, have been brought into contact with Christendom by conquests, colonization, and commerce. European civilization, in the making of which Christianity has been a potent factor, is beginning to affect the thought and life of all mankind. In India, China, and Japan especially, the old religions are being undermined, and the Christian leaven is working even where there is hostility to Christianity as the foreign religion. Neo-Hinduism in India and Neo-Buddhism in Japan are attempts to arrest the progress of Christianity by offering instead an adaptation of the ancestral faith to modern conditions, and yet may be regarded as a tribute to, as well as a witness of, the influence of Christianity. Within the nations professedly Christian we must also recognize that the moral and social progress—so marked a feature of the last century—has been very largely inspired and directed by the Christian ideal. In higher moral standards, in advancing social reform, and in improved international relations, this influence may be traced without ignoring the other factors in the process.

(*b*) On the other hand, however, it must regretfully be confessed that the Church as an institution has not the same hold on the bulk of the population that it had a century ago. Probably the connexion with the Church was in many cases only a tradition and custom, and not due to any personal conviction. It may be in the long run a gain for the Church that only those who are really, should be professedly, Christian; but meanwhile there is a growing indifference, in some circles even a deepening hostility. It is unfortunate that on the Continent the Christian Churches have to so great an extent acted as the defenders of the existing order, so that social and political reformers have been for the most part estranged from them. Social Democracy is generally contemptuous of, if not hostile to, Christianity. In Britain, fortunately, the gulf has not become so wide. Most of the representatives of Labour in the House of Commons are friendly in their attitude to Christian work, and some of them are heartily engaged in it. Priest, parson, or minister, by whatever name the official representative of the Church may be called, has lost most of the authority with which he was formerly invested. This loss of the Church might conceivably be a gain of the faith itself. But this cannot be maintained. To-day there is an attitude of distrust, doubt, and challenge to Christianity as a historical religion. The present is so content with its own achievements and resources that it is impatient of any demand for dependence, even in the things of the soul, on the past. The gospel for to-day must be an up-to-date gospel. Criticism lends some support to this modern self-sufficiency by bringing into question almost the entire historical reality of the gospel. Reduced to a vanishing quantity, this gospel can be banished from recognition as a factor of any appreciable value in the progress of human society. Modern moral ideas and social ideals can then be traced to other sources; and thus the man who has inherited a culture and civilization with the making of which Christianity has had much to do, can feel himself quite independent of it, and can even persuade himself that the Christian Church has in the past been, and now still is, the great hindrance to the humanitarian movement. The difficulty in the situation goes down deeper still. While most of those who hold aloof from the Church and disown their debt to Christianity as a historical religion, yet accept the Christian ideal of life, it is being boldly challenged. Secularism, Positivism, Socialism, and the Ethical Movement are offering modern society a guidance which claims to be better than the outworn Christian. Nietzsche, who, *mirabile dictu*, seems to be gaining followers, frankly proposes a devaluation of all values, and offers a morality deliberately anti-Christian. Garrod (*HJ* iii. [1904–5] 510–528), argues that the two ideals of honour and chivalry, which modern society recognizes, 'are neither Greek nor Christian,' but Gothic, 'the peculiar property and creation of the northern races' (p. 517); and denies that 'the Greek or the Christian ideal has been, or that both in conjunction have been, in a true sense progressive' (p. 513). Social Democracy in Germany finds in Haeckel's philosophy the world-view, which takes the place of religion, but cannot be called religion.

(c) To meet this situation there have been attempts to adapt Christianity to its modern environment, as by Modernism in the Roman Catholic Church, and by Liberal Protestantism. In some circles of social reformers all the stress is thrown on the social aspects of Christ's teaching and example, and Christianity is represented as if it were exclusively Socialism with a religious sanction in God's Fatherhood, and a moral motive in devotion to Christ as the first and best Socialist, which economic Socialism lacks. A strenuous endeavour is made to get rid of the miraculous in Christianity as an offence to the mind of to-day, and to represent it as the highest stage in a natural religious evolution. Spiritualism, Theosophy, Christian Science, and New Thought are all offering themselves as substitutes for historical Christianity, to fill the void in the religious life of mankind which the rejection of the spiritual ministry of the Church of Christ involves. There are some even who have persuaded themselves that the West must seek its spiritual deliverance in the Wisdom of the East. Brāhmanism, Buddhism, and even Islām are being offered in place of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless the Christian Church faces the future without fear, for it knows whom it has believed.

VII. *FUTURE OF CHRISTIANITY.* — If the Christian Church is not only to hold its own, but to win the world for Christ, as is its aim and hope, there are four main tasks which must be discharged. It must realize the present opportunity in the *Foreign Mission enterprise*; it must recognize the urgent necessity of *Social Reform*; it must accept the sacred obligation to seek the *unity of the Christian Churches*; and it must venture on *the theological re-statement of the Christian gospel* which the age demands.

1. **Foreign missions.**—The whole world is now open to the message of the gospel. Civilized nations are in contact with all the savage peoples. If this contact is not to result in the subjugation of the 'inferior' races to the ambition and avarice of the 'superior,' and in the moral deterioration of savage and civilized man alike, this civilization must be made the channel for Christian morals and religion. The awakening of India, China, and Japan to a racial consciousness, a national purpose, threatens the supremacy of Europe, nay, even a conflict between East and West. European civilization will be borrowed only to be used against European pretensions, unless these antagonisms can be resolved in the unity of a common faith. The solidarity of the human race, which we may hope for as the ultimate issue of human history, can be realized only as a common faith inspires a common ideal; and what faith is there that can enter into effective rivalry with the Christian for this function? If it were not that once and again the visions of the seers have taken possession of the common mind, and been realized by the common will, one could scarcely dare to hope that the Christian Church would surely rise to the height of this opportunity; but for the Christian believer the purpose of God in Christ to reconcile the world unto Himself standeth sure. The growth of the Christian Church in the past may be taken as the pledge of its wide-world expansion in the future (see the *Report of the World Missionary Conference*, 1910).

2. **Social reform.**—Christianity has already been reckoned among the ethical religions, and may even claim to be more distinctively ethical than any, since in it morality and religion spring from one root and bear one fruit. Love is the principle of morality and religion alike; God's Fatherhood issues in man's brotherhood. This principle has found expression in different forms of moral duty according to the needs of every age. That the expression has ever been adequate, or the adaptation complete, cannot be maintained. To-day there is increasingly a recognition of the organic character of human society, of the dependence of all the parts on the whole, of the consequent obligation of all the members to one another. The Christian morality for this age must not only recognize the individual's obligations to others fully, but it must realize that it is by common action alone that many wrongs can be removed, and many needs can be met. The development of society as an organism, while it is conditioned by economic arrangements, needs the impulse and direction of a conscious, voluntary, social purpose. Much of the best effort of the present age is consecrated to this task of making society better; and the Christian Church would probably recover not a little of its lost ground among the masses in Christian lands if it would think out the application of the Christian Ideal in modern conditions, and endeavour with all its resources to secure its realization.

3. **Church unity.**—During the last century, efforts have been made to bring together Christian denominations which have much in common, and it is probable that this tendency will not only continue, but will increase in the immediate future. In Foreign Missions, with but a few exceptions, the Protestant societies limit their respective spheres of labour so as not to enter into competition with one another, and even harmoniously co-operate in many objects. In Social Reform, Christians of different sects find themselves on the same platform or in the same committee-room. When the traditions and conventions of the past ages have loosened their hold still further on the Christian Churches, when the need of adjustment in doctrine, worship, and practice to modern conditions has been more fully realized, still more of the ancient barriers will fall. What does seem certain is that it will not be by the assertion of Papal supremacy, or of an historic episcopate, or any one form of Church polity as essential, that unity will be reached. It is doubtful even whether uniformity is to be aimed at as the condition of unity. Just as the existence of separate nations does not seem incompatible with racial solidarity if an aggressive, exclusive patriotism can be suppressed, so Christian unity seems altogether congruous with a variety of thought, life, worship, and even order, which shall serve as the many facets of the jewel to reflect the manifold truth and grace of Christ. As far as the present direction suggests the future course of the Church, the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, without uniformity in creed, code, ritual, and polity, is the next step to be taken.

4. **Theological re-statement.**—The Apostle Paul found that 'Christ crucified was unto the Jews a stumblingblock and unto the Greeks foolishness,' but he did not on that account stop preaching, for, on the other hand, he found both Jews and Greeks to whom Christ was the wisdom of God and the power of God. Thus to-day we must recognize that there is an indifference and a hostility to the Christian Churches due to sin and unbelief; and it is more than one dares to expect that Christianity could be so adapted that it would find universal acceptance. There is, however, in the estrangement of the cultured classes on the one hand, and of the toiling masses on the other, a challenge to the Christian Churches seriously to face the question whether the stumblingblock and the foolishness may be, not in the gospel itself, but in the current presentations of it. May not the mind of to-day be offended by antiquated forms of thought and modes of expression? May not the Western find too much Eastern dialect in the

language of the Kingdom of God for his understanding and welcome of it? The discoveries and conquests of science in the realm of Nature, the advance of philosophy in the interpretation of the mind of man, the comparison now possible between Christianity and other religions revealing resemblances as well as differences, the application of the principle of evolution in every sphere of human thought—all these conditions have brought about so great a change in the intellectual standpoint that, if Christianity is to realize its purpose and fulfil its promise, it must be prepared to forget many of the things that are behind, and to reach forth to the many things before, so as to adapt itself to its environment, for survival in the struggle for existence of the rival faiths of mankind.

VIII. *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.*—In a brief description such as the necessary limits of this article allow, only the distinctive features in creed, code, ritual, and polity can be mentioned, and when there are differences only the most important can be noted.

1. **Doctrine.**—(*a*) The *doctrine of God* in Christianity is not only monotheistic but Trinitarian. It is true that in the early centuries there were the various Monarchian theories, that at the Reformation there were the Socinian doctrines, and that to-day there is not only a Unitarian sect claiming the Christian name, but within the Christian Churches in the advanced wings there are thinkers who, in their denial of the Divinity of Christ, take away any reason for a Trinitarian doctrine of God. The historical basis of the doctrine of the Trinity is the revelation of the Fatherhood of God by Christ, the ascription of Lordship, that is, of Divine dignity, to Christ Himself by the Apostolic Church, and the consciousness of the presence and power of the Spirit of God in the Christian experience. The theological formula for the conception of God resulting from these historical facts is 'three Persons in one Substance'—Person not meaning merely individual, or mode, but something intermediate; and Substance not a class concept but a single existence (the Latin terminology of the doctrine is due to Tertullian). This formula has in popular religious thought often been understood in a tritheistic sense, and many Christian thinkers desire to have the unity of God more distinctly affirmed, to emphasize the fact that it is in revealing Himself to man that God is Father, Son, and Spirit, to insist that, while these distinctions must have corresponding reality in God, *i.e.* that the economic is also an essential Trinity, yet human thought transgresses its limits when it attempts to construe the inner being of God Himself. Other Christian thinkers have freely indulged in speculation to prove the rational necessity of the doctrine. As man is knowledge, love, and action, so is God manifold, not single. As subject involves object, so must Fatherhood in the Godhead involve sonship. But most of these attempts carry us no further than duality, the necessity of some kind of distinction in God. It would be a gain if the word 'tri-unity' could replace 'trinity.'

In relation to man, God is *Father*, by which is meant not merely man's creaturely dependence on God, or personal affinity to God, but God's love to man, and His purpose to bring man into fellowship of love with Himself. As this fellowship is hindered by sin in man, love is manifested as grace, removing the hindrance by saving man from sin. While some theologians narrow the Fatherhood of God to those in whom the purpose of grace has been fulfilled by their acceptance of it in faith, most insist to-day on the universal purpose of God to save all men. The doctrine of election, if still professed in some creeds, is passing out of progressive Christian thought. On its positive side, as an assurance to the believer that his salvation is eternally willed by God, it is Christian; on its negative side, that the ruin of some men is eternally willed by God, in spite of a few Scripture texts quoted in its support, it is now generally felt to be inconsistent with the revelation of God's character in Christ. The common belief now is that God wills to bless all men. This belief in God's Fatherhood involves not only the universal purpose of God to redeem men, but also His care and bounty, His guidance and guardianship through Nature and history. Whether miracles have or have not occurred is a much debated question. The common belief has been that God has acted for man in ways inexplicable by the ordinary course of Nature. The tendency, even among some Christian thinkers, to-day is to minimize, if not altogether to deny, the miraculous. However this may be, the Christian conception of God is that Nature and history alike are under God's control for the ends of His Kingdom. Miracles cannot be regarded as impossible.

(*b*) *The doctrine of man* is that he is a reasonable, responsible being, free to choose right or wrong, but sinful and guilty because he has chosen wrong. The orthodox theology till recently assumed that the story of the Fall in Genesis was to be taken as history, substantially if not literally; and the race was regarded as sinful and guilty in consequence of the first man's Fall. Augustinianism taught that mankind had become a *massa perditionis*, incapable of good. Pelagianism minimized the consequences of the Fall, and insisted that man had retained his freedom, and could do good. This antithesis ran through Christian theology till recently. Literary and historical criticism has shown that the story of the Fall is an attempt to find a solution of the problem of evil, and cannot be taken as the basis for a doctrine of original sin, or of inherited depravity. The modern thinker regards sin as due to the emergence of animal appetites and individual instincts in the child prior to conscience and will, so that when conscience condemns them they have already gained such a hold that the will cannot suppress them. Some speculative minds have regarded sin as a necessary stage in man's moral development, but the Christian conscience generally condemns this view. Origen (one of the most learned and able, if also eccentric, of the teachers of the Church) is alone among ancient, and Julius Müller (in his *Christian Doctrine of Sin*, 1839) among modern, theologians in explaining this tendency to evil in the individual by a wrong choice in a pre-existent state. It is now being more generally recognized that what the gospel is concerned with is not the origin, but the reality, of sin—man's distrust of, and disobedience to, God; and of guilt—man's liability, in consequence of sin, to growing estrangement from God and loss of his higher life in God. Formerly even physical death was regarded as the penalty of sin; but now it is seen to be a natural necessity; and it is rather the dread which death awakens in man that is traced to his guilty conscience. The survival of man's soul, or his natural immortality, was accepted as an essential Christian doctrine, but this view has been recently challenged in the theory of *Conditional Immortality* (see E. White's *Life in Christ*[3], 1878). Those who die in sin cease to be, it is held; only believers in Christ are found worthy of eternal life. It is probable that the ordinary view of man's immortality is derived more from Greek philosophy than from the Christian revelation. The Christian Gospel offers man salvation from sin and guilt through penitence, a renunciation of sin, and faith, accepting the grace of God in Jesus Christ, in which not only is sin forgiven, but man is cleansed,

renewed, and made holy by God's own Spirit. While Protestantism insists that faith (inclusive of repentance) alone is necessary, Catholicism maintains that this faith must not be *unformed*, but must be *formed by love*, by works completing it.

(*c*) The Christian *doctrine of Christ* is that He was truly Divine and really human, and heresy has been a denial of the one or the other nature, or of their union in His Person. Athanasius was the protagonist of this doctrine against Arianism. The accepted formula is *two natures in one Person*; but, while as regards the humanity 'nature' means the class concept, as regards the Divinity it means *substance*, namely, that Christ belongs to the unity of the Divine existence; and 'person' does not mean a *tertium quid* resulting from the union of the Divine and the human; but for the orthodox doctrine it is rather the Divine Person of the Son who assumes *human nature* (not of an individual, but generally). As a matter of fact, the balance between the Divine and the human nature has not been kept even; but the human has been, contrary to the historical evidence, hidden and lost in the Divine. As has already been mentioned, Lutheran Christology tended to absorb the human entirely in the Divine, while Reformed Christology so emphasized the difference between the Divine and the human, while asserting the reality of both, as to involve Christ's Person in an incompatible duality. The orthodox doctrine, using philosophical terminology, ignored for the most part the facts of the Gospel records. An endeavour to recover a real human consciousness, character, and experience for the historical Jesus was the motive of the *kenotic theories*, which in various ways represented the Son of God as laying aside Divine prerogatives, and even such attributes as omniscience and omnipresence, in order to become really man; but most of these theories assumed the orthodox formula as adequate. To-day, on the one hand, the historical facts are being more insisted on, and, on the other, the adequacy of the philosophical terminology of the creeds is being challenged; but it cannot be claimed that a satisfactory re-statement which is likely to win general acceptance has been reached. Meanwhile many, dissatisfied with the orthodox doctrine, are content with a *humanitarian* or *naturalistic* view; Jesus was a man, even if it be admitted that He was the best man. The pre-existence, miraculous birth, sinless perfection, unique filial consciousness, and resurrection of Christ are all being doubted or denied. While many Christian theologians suspend their judgment as regards the first and second, the remaining three are generally regarded as essential to any doctrine of Christ's Person which shall maintain the continuity of the Christian faith in Him.

(*d*) While importance has been attached to the revelation of God by Christ, yet it is on man's redemption by His sacrifice that Christian thought has generally concentrated attention. His teaching and example have been regarded as subordinate to His *Atonement*. Of the meaning and worth of that death many views have been held; and here we have no orthodox formulæ as in regard to the Trinity or the Person of Christ. As a conquest of demons; a ransom paid to the devil (Origen); a *recapitulation* of humanity, or restoration to its condition before the Fall (Irenæus); a satisfaction rendered to God's honour for the insult of man's disobedience (Anselm); a substitutionary endurance of the penalty of man's sin exacted by the Divine righteousness (Reformers); an equivalent for man's punishment accepted for the ends of the Divine government (Grotius); an evidence of God's sympathetic participation in man's condition (Bushnell); a vicarious confession or repentance (M'Leod Campbell, Moberly), in all these ways has the death of Christ been interpreted. While many are content with a subjective or *moral* theory of the Atonement (Abelard), that is, a theory which takes into consideration only the effect of Christ's sacrifice on man in awakening penitence, assuring pardon, inspiring gratitude, etc., yet some theologians do insist that an *objective* theory, that is, a theory which in some way relates Christ's death to God's government or character, is necessary to maintain the continuity of the historic faith in Christ as the atoning Saviour. There can be no doubt that the moral conscience and the religious consciousness alike to-day condemn many of the assumptions of theories of the past; yet the central position of the Cross of Christ in Christian experience demands a re-statement that shall do justice to all of truth which former theories have held.

(*e*) That Christ *rose again* was an article of the Apostolic creed even as that He died for our sins. The records of the appearances in the Gospels have hitherto been generally accepted as trustworthy; but many scholars to-day who believe in the living Lord rest their conviction on the testimony of Paul, and of Christian experience generally. Into this critical question this is not the place to enter. Christian faith has the certainty of the fellowship of the living Christ; it ascribes the continuance and the progress of the Church to His presence and power in it; it holds that still, through Him, God is saving men. This spiritual life of the individual believer in Christ and of the Christian Church is also ascribed to the Holy Spirit. The Christian creed distinguishes the Son of God, incarnate in Christ, from the Holy Spirit, as distinct Persons in the unity of the Godhead; but Christian thought has not succeeded in separating the work of the living Lord and the Holy Spirit in Christian experience. When the life of God in man is present to thought in the historical revelation and redemption, it is Christ who is conceived as present and active; when His life is experienced rather in inward illumination, exaltation, and invigoration, it is the Spirit who is considered as dwelling and working in man. Here we are in a region where theology is baffled by Christian experience. What is characteristically Christian is that God is inseparable from Christ, and the soul's inmost life is known to be God's life-giving spirit.

(*f*) As the Christian life is a union with Christ and a habitation by God's spirit, the community of those who believe, the *Church*, is conceived as the body of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Spirit. In a later section we shall deal with the Church as a historical reality, and the forms of organization which it has assumed; but meanwhile the conceptions current must be indicated. Roman Catholicism identifies the Church with the ecclesiastical organization of which the Pope is the head. Anglicanism claims to be the Church as possessing the historic episcopate and other marks of catholicity (*q.v.*) in contrast with all Nonconforming bodies. While recognizing other denominations as branches of the Church of Christ, each Protestant sect tends to regard its own particular organization as pre-eminently the Church, because more fully realizing the ideal community of Christ than any other. Protestantism recognizes a distinction, however, between the visible and the invisible Church, the visible being found in the ecclesiastical organizations bearing the Christian name, the invisible being composed of all believers, all members of Christ's body by living union with Him. The writer inclines to believe that the Church should, as an object of faith, always be conceived as the spiritual community of believers who, as united to

Christ, are united to one another, and are living one life in Him; and that this Church, which is one and cannot but be one, is present in every assembly gathered in the name of Jesus Christ. The visibility of the Church is not in any ecclesiastical organization, but the invisible becomes visible whenever and wherever the common life is expressed in preaching, worship, or work. This is the Congregational view corrected, in its undue emphasis on the sufficiency of the local congregation, by the recognition of the presence of Christ with His Church in the local congregation as the ground of its sufficiency. This conception may be applied to other forms of Christian organization. Presbytery, Synod, or Council, if and so far as gathered in Christ's name, is His Church made visible. So regarded, the Church may fitly be spoken of as the continuation of the Incarnation of the Son of God, as the channel of His activity in revealing God and redeeming man. Thus prayer, praise, and preaching alike are the act of Christ with His Church, through the medium of each Christian assembly. For divergent views see art. CHURCH, § 5, and the Anglican and Roman Catholic artt. CHURCH (Doctrine of the).

(*g*) In the history of the Christian Church great prominence has been given to the *Sacraments* (*q.v.*). Of these Roman Catholicism reckons seven; but here only the doctrine of the two universally acknowledged (except by the Society of Friends)—Baptism and the Lord's Supper—can be considered. While the Baptists insist on the believer's baptism by immersion as the sign of his death to sin, and rising again to holiness with Christ, the usual practice is infant baptism by sprinkling. Roman and Anglican Catholicism teach *baptismal regeneration*, that is, by baptism the child is so renewed that the guilt of original sin is cancelled, and its power, if not destroyed, is weakened, so that a measure of freedom is restored. In Protestantism generally the rite is regarded as the Church's assurance by outward sign that the grace of Christ is available for each child, and as the parent's dedication of the child to God. But there is no hard and fast doctrine. As regards the *Lord's Supper*, Catholicism teaches transubstantiation—the substance of the elements is changed, though not their accidents (outward appearance, taste, etc.), into the body and blood of Christ, so that even unbelievers partake. Christ's sacrifice is thus repeated, and this is efficacious for blessing to all who do not resist. Lutheranism teaches consubstantiation, or the presence of Christ's body 'in, with, and under' the elements. Calvinism localizes Christ's body in heaven, yet regards the sacrament as not merely a symbol, but as a channel of a peculiar grace from Christ. Zwinglianism taught that the Supper was a symbolic memorial. The view of the Church mentioned in the previous paragraph enables us to regard the Sacrament as an act of Christ with His Church present to the believer, communicative of His grace; but why any peculiar gift of grace should be assumed or expected the present writer must confess himself unable to understand. With the Catholic view of the Sacraments goes the view of the priest as the necessary agent of Christ in the administration of the rite (the permission in certain cases to laymen to baptize is an exception to the general theory); but this idea Protestantism has rejected as inconsistent with the sole Mediatorship of Christ and the universal priesthood of believers.

(*h*) In the Apostolic Church great prominence was given to the doctrine of the *last things* (eschatology, apocalyptics). The Second Advent of Christ in glory and power was expected speedily. This would be the signal of the general resurrection, judgment of the world, and final separation of the blessed and the damned. The belief in a thousand years' reign of Christ with His saints prior to this end (the millennium) seems to have been confined to a narrow circle. When the first generation passed without Christ's appearing, the question of the intermediate state emerged. While the assumption was general that saints at death passed to blessedness, and sinners to misery, the belief in a Second Advent, General Resurrection, and Final Judgment, as the end of the present world-order, persisted; and from time to time there have been periods of great excitement when this consummation was believed to be imminent. This doctrine still has wide acceptance. But probably among Christian thinkers the metaphorical character of the language in which this hope was expressed is now recognized; and the substance of the hope is found in the expectation of a triumph of Christ's gospel in the world on the one hand, and in the anticipation of the believer individually that after death he will have a clearer vision of, closer communion with, and greater resemblance to, Christ. While probably the doctrine of eternal torment for the sinful is still commonly held, yet Christian thought is more and more rejecting this view; sometimes for the doctrine of conditional immortality, or eternal life for believers only; sometimes for universalism, or salvation finally for all; or sometimes for a wise and tender reticence, the belief that the Father of all will do the best for each.

2. Morals.—Only a very brief reference can be made to Christian morals. Christian morality has been influenced at least as much as, if not more than, Christian belief, at each stage of the history of the Christian Church, by the total conditions, economic, social, and political; and a history of the changes in Christian morals is quite beyond the scope of this article. It must suffice to indicate the moral principles or principle, and the manner of its realization.

(*a*) This is determined by the Christian conception of God and man. Men as children of God, and thus as members of one another, have one duty—absolute love to God, and an equal love to self and neighbour. This love is grateful surrender to God, and sympathetic service of man, even unto sacrifice of self; hence the life for God and others is found in losing the life for self. This makes morality not a code of laws, but an inward disposition. As guides to conduct the accepted moral standards remain, but a new moral content is given to conformity with them by the new motive of all action. This new motive gives also a new moral range. Morality had developed as tribal or national; now it becomes universal. The neighbour is not fellow-countryman, but fellow-man, and fellow-man conceived as the child of the one Father over all.

(*b*) In the early Apostolic Church the spirit of brotherhood prevailed in a wonderful degree; even towards the hostile world there was the spirit of patience, forgiveness, and desire to save. While during the subsequent development the salt did lose much of its savour, yet the Christian Church in the pagan world stood for greater purity and charity. Anchoritism, or the withdrawal of individuals from society into desert places for solitary meditation and prayer, and afterwards monasticism—the formation of societies of such as had withdrawn themselves—were a contradiction of the Christian principle of love, inasmuch as the motive was to save one's own soul instead of seeking to save the world. Yet in the rude, unsettled times of the Middle Ages the monasteries rendered a social service of culture, industry, and beneficence. It has already been pointed out that Calvinism recognized the duty of the Church's influencing

society so as to conform it to the will of God more than did Lutheranism, but the standard was set more by the Jewish Law than by the Christian gospel. This legalism has been a characteristic of Christian morals in Protestantism as well as in Catholicism; and the truth has been lost sight of that a law of love is the fulfilment, and so the abolition, of law. Without even suggesting that there have not been in every generation Christians who have lived holily according to the law of love, we may venture to affirm that to-day the distinctive principles of Christian morality are gaining more general recognition. During the Middle Ages the most devout souls imagined that the life of poverty, and even beggary, as the closest imitation of the life of Jesus on earth, was the evangelical life. Now we see that the evangelical life is the life that brings to the needs and sorrows and sins of men the same kind of succour, comfort, and deliverance as Jesus brought to those whom His ministry saved and blessed; and this means to-day not only individual philanthrophy, but also social reform.

3. Worship.—Love towards God expresses itself, and must express itself, through love to man in whatever form it can be most effectual. But this cannot be its only or full expression.

(*a*) The relation of God and man is personal, and personal relationship involves mutual communion, the expression of affection. This communion of man with God may be individual or social. In Christian devotion there has been, throughout the ages, a strain of mysticism, an undue emphasis on the soul's solitary contemplation of, and intercourse with, God, or with Christ as the loving Bridegroom. Into the latter there has sometimes stolen an almost sensuous passion. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153) found in the Song of Solomon his vocabulary of devotion. Samuel Rutherford's (1600-1661) letters draw from the same source terms of endearment for the Saviour. A sober piety shrinks from this familiarity as irreverent; and mysticism must also be regarded as incomplete piety, inasmuch as it does not sufficiently recognize the Christian community as in its public worship enlarging and correcting individual devotion.

(*b*) This public worship in its beginning derived a good deal of its outward form from the Jewish synagogue, and very soon began to be affected even by pagan rites. How far the mysteries influenced Christian worship, even possibly in the Apostolic age, is a subject now under discussion by scholars. Whether such influence was or was not inevitable, whether without this protecting shell Christian piety could have been preserved or not, are too large questions to be answered here. It must be admitted, however, that many of the modes of worship which were introduced were not an accurate and adequate expression of the essential Christian relation between God and man. The Creator, Sovereign, and Judge was addressed in prayer and praise rather than the Father. As the inspiration of the early days ceased, and the Church began to settle down in the world, the spontaneous exercise of spiritual gifts for common edification was, in the interests of propriety and order, replaced by fixed forms carried through by the officers of the Church. In Montanism (A.D. 172) a sympathetic observer will recognize more of the Apostolic mood than in the ordered Church that condemned and suppressed it. Against this formalism, which attached more importance to the mode than to the motive of devotion, there have been protests time and again, some marked, be it admitted, by extravagance, impropriety, and fanaticism. In the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches an elaborate ritual has been gradually developed; the Church of England has its liturgy. Scottish Presbyterianism has had a less rigid order of service, and has always made provision for extempore prayer, which has sometimes sunk to a soulless routine. Those who are accustomed to a fixed ritual often affirm that this possesses sacred associations, which make it invaluable as an aid to devotion. In Churches where there is no recognized order of service, and no fixed form of prayer, worshippers sometimes express themselves as desirous of finding more reverence, beauty, and continuity with the devotions of past ages. That those who lead public worship in such communities should make themselves familiar with the devotional literature of the past, so that their speech shall be of the sanctuary and not of the street, may be conceded; and yet one may hold that the public worship of the Christian Church should spurn formality, and seek spontaneity.

(*c*) As in the Hebrew nation, so in the Christian Church the antithesis of *priest* and *prophet* has appeared, although it would be unjust to add that it has generally been accompanied by that of *ritual* and *righteousness* also. As a necessary continuance of the old dispensation combined with the new, the defenders of sacerdotalism and sacramentarianism would say, as an explicable yet regrettable perversion of the gospel, evangelical Protestants would answer—the ideas of the altar, sacrifices, and priesthood have come into the Christian Church, not only from the Jewish Church, but even from paganism itself (a change to which Cyprian [200-258] contributed much). We have already seen how divergent are the judgments of Loisy and Harnack on this development in Christianity, and we must not now take sides in this age-long quarrel. We can consider this contrast only as it affects the worship of the Church. In the Churches of the Catholic order, the ritual performed by the priest and the Sacrament of the Eucharist, or Mass, as its culmination, is the worship of the Church. In the Protestant Churches, while the spiritual exercises of prayer and praise are not neglected, the preaching of the gospel stands in the forefront. The performance of the proper ritual by the consecrated person is held to secure benefit to those who are present, even though it may be as little more than spectators, in the one case; a spiritual participation in prayer and praise and in the preaching of the word by a believing attention to it is looked for in the other case.

4. Polity.—As a religious community, Christianity must assume some form of organization. As regards the Apostolic Church, it may be confidently maintained that spontaneous inspiration was predominant rather than fixed organization, and that, so far as there was the necessary organization, there was not uniformity but adaptation. Previous associations, as of the Jewish synagogue or of the Gentile mutual benefit club, exercised an influence on the organization adopted. That there is only one form of Church polity legitimate in the Christian Church is an assumption to which modern scholarship offers no support.

(*a*) Under pressure of persecution from without, and for preservation from heresy within, the Church in the 2nd cent. inevitably assumed a more compact organization, for which Apostolic sanction was claimed. The episcopate rose out of the presbyterate, which had existed along with the diaconate from the Apostolic age; and so the threefold order emerged. This episcopate was at first only congregational and not diocesan, and the bishop was little more than the president, the *primus inter pares* in the presbytery. As the clergy came to be more sharply marked off from the laity, as sacerdotal tendencies in the 3rd cent. asserted themselves (especially in Cyprian) and were justified by appeal to the OT, the episcopate became more thoroughly monarchical (cf., for a

different standpoint, artt. Apostolic Succession, Episcopacy). As the Christian Church adapted its organization to that of the Roman Empire, the bishop of the Church in the capital of the province came to exercise a strong influence, and then even an undefined authority over the other bishops. Thus Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome came by the 4th cent. to the front rank in the episcopates. The rivalry of these Sees affected seriously the course of even the theological development (*e.g.* the controversy between Cyril and Nestorius in the 5th cent.). The position of Rome as the old capital of the Roman Empire, even when it had as its rival the new capital, Constantinople, the spirit of dominion in the Imperial city, and the influence which the Church of Rome gained through its manifold services to the Churches of the Empire—all these gave to the bishop of Rome an advantage over his rivals in asserting a higher authority. By what means the bishop of Rome became Pope of Christendom need not now be recorded (see art. Papacy). For the loss of the East by the Great Schism, the Papacy was compensated by a practically unchallenged authority over the Germanic peoples. But throughout the Middle Ages the claims of the Papacy, not only to the headship of the Christian Church, but even to a temporal dominion, a subordination of earthly rulers to its heavenly sway, were opposed by two forces, the one political and the other ecclesiastical, although they are often found in alliance—the growing spirit of nationality which resented the interference of Rome in the local ecclesiastical organization, and the surviving spirit of an earlier age which claimed that the Papal authority was subordinate to that of the General Council (the conciliar in contrast with the curialist view). At the Council of Trent, and completely at the Vatican Council, the curialist, or Ultramontane, view triumphed over the conciliar. This triumph resulted in the secession of the 'Old Catholics.'

(*b*) At the Reformation the spirit of nationalism found expression in the nationalist Protestant Churches, varying in their organization, but all subordinate to the State. The Anglican Church disowns the Papal supremacy, maintains the episcopal order, and acknowledges the Sovereign of the Realm as the Head of the Church. But within it there are two tendencies—the Catholic, which desires to maintain the continuity of tradition and custom with the pre-Reformation Church, and to secure as far as possible the spiritual independence of the Church, and chafes at the bonds the State imposes; and the Erastian, which regards Church and nation as identical, and the Crown and Parliament as expressive of the national will as legitimate authority in the national Church. The order of the Reformed Churches is not episcopal, but presbyterial, the individual congregation and the congregations in combination being governed by representatives of the Christian people. Some of the Lutheran Churches (Denmark and Sweden) are episcopal, and some are governed by district superintendents; but the subordination to the Government is carried to a degree that must seem intolerable to those who cherish the principle of the Church's spiritual independence. The fullest assertion of this principle is found in the Baptist and the Congregational Churches, in which the individual congregation is held to be complete in itself for all the necessary functions of the Christian Church, but is in no way precluded from combining with other Churches for common interests. A tendency to insist on the necessity for this wider union is increasingly asserting itself. The Society of Friends represents Christianity with the least possible organization. The Orthodox Greek Church and the Eastern Churches have a patriarchate superior to the episcopate; but into the details of their organization it is not necessary now to enter.

(*c*) That Christian faith, to deliver its message and fulfil its mission in the world, must assume some external organization cannot but be conceded, and that this instrument has sometimes defeated the purpose of its existence must be recognized. The *mechanics* of the ecclesiastical organization has been a hindrance as well as a help to the *dynamics* of the spiritual community. Nothing probably in the polity of the Church has been more of an obstacle to its testimony and influence than the entangling alliances into which it has entered with the State, for through this door mammon has often entered in, and displaced Christ. While no form of polity is distinctive of, or essential to, Christianity, that is most genuinely and effectively Christian which leaves the largest room for the gracious and mighty Spirit of the Head of the Church, and yet is best adapted to the local and temporal conditions for the fulfilment of the ends of the Kingdom—the preservation of the savour of the salt of the earth, the prominence of the light of the world, the pervasion of human society by the leaven, and the growth and spread of the mustard-plant to the ends of the earth. So manifold has Christianity been in its development in doctrine, morals, worship, and polity, that no complete description is possible; it has been one and the same in all its forms and with all its changes in raising its Founder's name above every other name, in the certainty and expectation that in that name every knee shall yet bow, to the glory of God the Father.

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CHRISTMAS.—Christmas is the Feast of the Nativity of Christ, celebrated on December 25. There are two main problems with regard to the history of Christmas: (1) the celebration of an ecclesiastical feast, and (2) the chronological method which led to the choice of a special day. These two problems have to be kept apart, especially since it seems probable that the choice of a day preceded the celebration of an ecclesiastical feast. It is, however, desirable for the sake of clearness to reverse the actual order of development, and first to discuss the history of the institution of the feast.

I. *THE INSTITUTION OF A FEAST OF THE NATIVITY.*—There are two main theories on this point—that of Usener ('Das Weihnachtsfest,' pt. i. of his *Religionsgesch. Untersuchungen*), and that of Duchesne (*Origines du culte chrétien*, pp. 247–254). According to Usener's view, the celebration of the Nativity was originally held everywhere on Jan. 6, and this was displaced in Rome in 353–4 by Pope Liberius in favour of Dec. 25, Jan. 6 being kept only for the Epiphany or Feast of the Baptism. From Rome the observance of Dec. 25 spread Eastwards, and was welcomed by the Orthodox as a means of emphasizing the fact that Jesus was born the Son of God, and of excluding the Adoptianist heresy. Duchesne, on the other hand, thinks that Jan. 6 was from the beginning the Eastern date, and Dec. 25 the Western date, and that the East and West combined each other's dates. Thus, while Usener and Duchesne agree in thinking that in the East Dec. 25 was derived from Rome, and are not seriously opposed to each other on this part of the question, they otherwise differ sharply as to the history of the feast in Rome and in the East.

The question chiefly turns on a number of small pieces of evidence which become most easily intelligible if arranged so far as possible under the names of the various localities. It is, however, desirable first to state certain pieces of negative evidence.

1. *Negative evidence.*—There is no evidence of the existence of a Feast of the Nativity before the 4th cent., except possibly among the Basilidians.

(*a*) **Clement of Alexandria's** statement as to the practice of the Basilidians may, but need not, mean that they observed a Feast of the Nativity. If they did, it was either on Jan. 6 or on Apr. 19–20 (for the evidence, see II. 1). Clement's words do not necessarily mean that the Orthodox had no Feast of the Nativity, but certainly do not imply the contrary. He himself dated the Nativity on Nov. 18 (see *Strom.* i. 147, 17 [ed. Sylberg], and cf. § II. 1, below).

(*b*) **Origen**, *c. Celsum*, viii. 22 (ed. Koetschau, p. 239), says: *ἐὰν δέ τις πρὸς ταῦτα ἀνθυποφέρῃ τὰ περὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν κυριακῶν ἢ παρασκευῶν ἢ τοῦ Πάσχα ἢ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς δι' ἡμερῶν γινόμενα λεκτέον καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.*, thus recognizing only the weekly Sunday feast and Friday fast, and the yearly Paschal and Pentecostal feasts. Similarly in *Com. in Ev. Matt.* (ed. Delarue, iii. 471 [*PG* xiii. 896]) he says: *ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾶς γραφῆς εὕρομεν ὑπὸ δικαίου γενέθλιον ἀγόμενον, ἄδικος γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνου τοῦ Φαραὼ ὁ Ἡρώδης· καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκεἰνου μὲν ἐν γενεθλίῳ ἀρχισιτοποιοὺς ἀναιρεῖται, ὑπὸ δὲ τούτου Ἰωάννης κ.τ.λ.*—which he would hardly have said had it been customary to celebrate the Nativity. The same statement is made in *in Lev.* viii. (ed. Delarue, ii. 229 [*PG* xii. 495]).

(*c*) **Arnobius** (*c.* 296), in *adversus Nationes*, vii. 32 (ed. Reifferscheid, p. 266), says: 'Telluri natalis est: dii enim ex uteris prodeunt et habent dies laetos quibus eis adscriptum est auram usurpare vitalem.' It is argued that he would scarcely have spoken thus if Christians also had been in the habit of celebrating the Nativity of Christ.

(*d*) **The Donatists** (311). More important, if it were certain, would be the fact that the Donatists never observed the feast.

These schismatics did not break away from the Church because of any dogmatic innovations, but in a zeal for strictness, and regarded themselves as the conservative party. It is therefore significant that Augustine (*Serm.* ccii. 2) says: 'merito istum diem [*i.e.* Jan. 6] nunquam nobiscum haeretici Donatistae celebrare voluerunt.' 'Nobiscum' here can scarcely mean anything except 'at the same time as'; for the Donatists would, of course, on no day recognize the Catholics, whom they regarded as heathen. From this evidence Usener concludes that the feast on Jan. 6 was introduced after 311, and also that the Donatists knew of no Feast of the Nativity. Duchesne, on the other hand, regards it as probable that they knew Dec. 25, but not Jan. 6. Neither conclusion is justified by the facts. The evidence only shows that in Africa there was no Epiphany feast (Jan. 6) before 311, and for the rest Usener and Duchesne both seem to have read into the evidence the conclusion which they wished to find.

(*e*) **Imperial legal ordinances.**—In 389, Valentinianus issued a list of legal holidays (*Cod. Theodos.* ii. 8, 19), among which only Sundays and Easter (including Holy Week and Easter Week) are reckoned. Theodosius made no change in this respect in 438, nor did Alaric in 506, but Christmas and Epiphany appear in the contemporary expansions of Alaric's work, and they were inserted in the Justinian Code of 534. It is, however, noteworthy that the regulation forbidding performances in theatres and circuses on Sunday, which existed as early as 386 [originally an exception was made for the Imperial birthdays and accession feasts, but this was repealed in 409], was in 400 extended to the 15 days of Easter, Christmas, and Epiphany (see *Cod. Theodos.* xv. 5. 2, ii. 8, 20, 23–5).

2. *Direct evidence.*—(*a*) **For Jan. 6 (Epiphany).**—This evidence is probably sufficient, when added to the remarkable silence as to the existence of a Nativity feast up to the 4th cent., to show that it was not celebrated before that time. The earliest evidence which we possess for any such feast points, moreover, not to Dec. 25, but to Jan. 6, on which date the Birth and the Baptism of Jesus were simultaneously celebrated. The details of the origin and history of this feast on Jan. 6 will be given in art. EPIPHANY. It is sufficient for the present to say that, while the earliest direct statements as to this feast are apparently those in Ephraim Syrus († 373), it probably was introduced before 325, as it seems to have been observed both by Arians and Catholics, and finally, that, as a feast of the Baptism, it was observed in the 2nd cent. by the Basilidians (see Clement's evidence, II. 1, below), from whom it may have been derived.

(*b*) **For Dec. 25.**—The evidence for the introduction of Dec. 25 may be arranged under the names of the various churches.

(1) ROME.—The *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Mommsen, p. 12) says of Telesphorus: 'hic fecit natalem domini nostri Jesu Christi noctu missas celebrarentur'; but this passage is universally recognized as a late addition, devoid of historical value. Fortunately, however, other and better evidence exists. In the chronological collections of Filocalus (Th. Mommsen, 'Ueber dem Chronographen vom Jahr 354,' *ASG* for 1850, and also published separately) there is a list of bishops of Rome, ending with Liberius (of whom only the date of accession is given, so that he was still alive), followed by a *Depositio Martyrum*, arranged according to their place in the calendar. As

Liberius is mentioned, but nothing is said of his banishment, it is clear that this list belongs to the year 354. But it is also plain that there is behind this an earlier list ending with Sylvester († 335), because all the bishops down to him are given according to their place in the calendar, but the next three—Marcus († 7th Oct. 336), Julius († 352), and Liberius—are added at the end of the list. Thus the original list of bishops was made in 336, and the recension of 354 is secondary (see Duchesne, *Bulletin critique*, xi. 41 ff.). The *Depositio Martyrum* begins: 'VIII Kal. Jan. natus Christus in Betleem Iudeae.' The question then arises, whether this statement belongs to the ground document of 336 or to the recension of 354. Duchesne holds the former view, Usener the latter. So far as the *Depositio* itself is concerned, it is to be noticed that the form of the entry is unique: at the *depositio* of each martyr is given merely the genitive of his name, to which the date is sometimes added. The only entry at all parallel is 'VIII. Kal. Martias natale Petri de catedra.' It is also curious that the *Depositio* is arranged in months, each being headed 'mense Januario,' 'mense Februario,' and so on. But the Nativity, instead of coming under December, is inserted at the beginning. This cannot be because the writer of 336 regarded the ecclesiastical year as beginning with Dec. 25, for in the list of bishops he begins with January and goes on to Dec. 31, the date of Sylvester's death in 335. These facts raise a suspicion that the reference to the Nativity belongs to 354 rather than to 336. This suspicion is confirmed by evidence contained in Ambrosius, *de Virginibus*, iii. 1 f., in which he quotes a sermon preached by Liberius (who became Pope on 22nd May or 21st June, 352 [see Lipsius, *Chronol. der röm. Bisch.*, 1869, p. 262]), on the occasion of Marcellina, Ambrose's elder sister, becoming a nun. The important passage is the following:

'Bonas, inquit, filia, nuptias desiderasti. Vides quantus ad natalem sponsi tui populus convenerit, et nemo impastus recedit? Hic est qui rogatus ad nuptias aquam in vina convertit. In te quoque sincerum sacramentum conferet virginitatis, quae prius eras obnoxia vilibus naturae materialis elementis. Hic est qui quinque panibus et duobus piscibus quatuor millia populi in deserto pavit. . . . Hodie quidem secundum hominem homo natus ex virgine sed ante omnia generatus ex Patre, qui matrem corpore, virtute referat Patrem. . . .'

The words 'Hodie . . . natus ex virgine' and the reference to the *dies natalis* of Christ show that it was delivered on the Feast of the Nativity; but the references to the miracle at Cana and the feeding of the multitude suggest that the Epiphany, not Christmas, was intended. These narratives belong to the Epiphany service, not to that of Christmas. Moreover, the last phrase obtains fresh force when we remember that the text in the Old Lat. of Ps 2[7] is 'Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te.' It is therefore not impossible that Liberius means that the birth from the Virgin and the generation from the Father in the baptism were celebrated on the same day—'*Hodie* quidem secundum hominem homo natus ex virgine sed ante omnia *generatus* ex patre.' In this case 'ante omnia' is antithetic to 'quidem,' and means 'above all,' not 'before all things' in a temporal sense. But, however this may be, and it is, of course, open to doubt, an exceedingly strong argument is found in the fact that Epiphany, not Christmas, has always been the recognized time for admitting nuns. The present regulations recognize Epiphany, Easter Week, the days of the Apostles, and Sundays; they can be traced back to the *Pontificale Romanum* of 1596 (Clement VIII.). But Gelasius (*Ep.* xiv. 12) in 494 omitted the Sundays, and the Sacramentaries of Gelasius and Gregory reduced the Easter Week to Easter Monday (*Sacr. Gel.* i. 103, and *Gregorii libr. sacram.* in the Benedictine ed. vol. iii. p. 167c; cf. Usener, 'Weihnachtsfest,' p. 272 f.).

The date of this sermon of Liberius is not certain; but from references in it to the tender youth of Marcellina it must have been early in his career as Pope. The earliest possible date is 353, and the latest possible date for the entry in the Chronology of Filocalus is 354. Therefore, as the sermon implies that the Nativity was celebrated on Jan. 6, and the chronology (taken from the Papal diptychon [?]) implies that it was, in 354, celebrated on Dec. 25, it follows that Marcellina must have become a nun on 6th Jan. 353, when the Nativity was celebrated, and that between this and 354 the date of the feast was changed by Pope Liberius to Dec. 25. If this be so, there remains uncertain only the minor point whether 25th Dec. of 353 or of 354 was the first Christmas in Rome.

It is possible that with this institution of Christmas on Dec. 25 by Pope Liberius ought also to be connected the foundation (between 358 and 366) of the church originally known as the Basilica Liberii, afterwards as S. Maria ad Præsepe, and since the 9th cent. as S. Maria Maggiore (cf. *Lib. Pontif.* 37. 7=p. 208, 5 in Duchesne's ed.). This church was the centre of the Roman celebration of Christmas. The Pope celebrated Mass there on the Vigil, and in the rooms provided by Xystus (the second founder) a feast was given by the bishops of Albano. The Pope remained until the evening for the service 'ad præsepium' (see Usener, *op. cit*, p. 279; he derives his information from the *Ordo Romanus* and F. Caurellievi, *Notizie intorno alla novena, vigilia, notte e festa di natale*, first published anonymously in 1788).

Besides this, reference must be made to the Procession with Lights[1] on the Feast of the Purification (Candlemas [*q.v.*], Feb. 2). The facts cannot be established with certainty, but, according to Belethus (*PL* ccii. 129 f.), Liberius instituted this litany, which clearly marks the end of the Christmas season and could not have existed until Christmas was fixed on Dec. 25. Probably its institution was hastened by the desire to Christianize an obscure Roman procession, the *Amburbale* (cf. Servius *in Verg. Ecl.* iii. 77, and Belethus, *PL* ccii. 86[d]), just as the *Litania major* on St. Mark's day took the place of the *Robigalia* (Apr. 25), and the *Litania minor*, or Rogation days, before Ascension day the place of the *Ambarvalia*.

These arguments (used by Usener in his 'Weihnachtsfest,' p. 267 ff.) have met with wide acceptance even in Roman Catholic circles, despite Duchesne's criticism (see esp. S. Bäumer, in *Der Katholik*, lxx. [1890] 1–20), but it is obvious that they are somewhat complicated, and Duchesne's criticisms have a permanent value. If Usener's view be accepted, Christmas on Dec. 25 dates in Rome from 353 or 354. If Duchesne be right, it is at least as early as 336. On the whole, Usener seems to do most justice to all the facts in a very complicated series. The weak point in his position is the absence of any definite proof that Jan. 6 was observed in Rome before the time of Liberius; but Duchesne has not succeeded in explaining why, if Dec. 25 be the older feast in Rome, the Roman calendar reckons Sundays 'after Epiphany,' not 'after Christmas,' or why the Christmas services in Rome have their centre in the church of Liberius, while those of Epiphany are in the older basilica of St. Peter. The former point is perhaps unimportant, but the latter is very serious.

(2) Constantinople.—The evidence as to the introduction of the Feast of the Nativity on Dec.

[1] The present liturgy for the Candlemas procession represents a recension made by Pope Sergius (701) (cf. *Lib. Pontif.*, ed. Duchesne, i. 366 ff.), and the original character of a penitential litany is almost lost. But violet vestments are still used, and the service is introduced with 'Exsurge, Domine, adjuva nos.'

25 in Constantinople is contained partly in the indirect light thrown on the subject by Chrysostom, partly in the sermons of Gregory Nazianzen. Chrysostom (see (3) below), speaking in 388, says that the feast was not yet ten years old in the East, but that it had long been known 'from Thrace to Gades.' The latter expression practically covers the Western Church, for Thrace must be taken to mean the Mysian præfecture, which belonged more to Rome than to Constantinople. Thus, according to Chrysostom, the feast was introduced between 378 and 388, and nearer to the former than to the latter date.

Gregory's evidence supports this view, and suggests that he was actually the person who introduced the feast. The facts are supplied by his three sermons *εἰς τὰ Θεοφάνια, εἴτουν Γενέθλια τοῦ Σωτῆρος* (*Or.* 38 [*PG* xxxvi. 312]), *εἰς τὰ ἅγια Φῶτα* (*Or.* 39 [*PG* xxxvi. 336 ff.]) and *εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα* (*Or.* 40 [*PG* xxxvi. 360 ff.]). It was suggested by C. Holtermann (in a dissertation defended at Wittenberg in 1684, entitled *Ex historia ecclesiastica τὰ Ἐπιφάνια*, etc.; it is usually, but erroneously, quoted under the name of J. Kindler, the Rector before whom the dissertation was defended [see P. de Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, iv. 247]) that the first two of these sermons were delivered on the same day. In this case it would appear that Christmas had not yet been separated from Epiphany. But this view is almost certainly wrong, for in the first sermon (*Or.* 38) Gregory says:

Μικρὸν μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ὄψει καὶ καθαιρόμενον Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ τὴν ἐμὴν κάθαρσιν . . . νυνὶ δέ μοι δέξαι τὴν κύησιν καὶ προσκίρτησιν (*PG* xxxvi. 329); and again: *τὰ δὲ νῦν Θεοφάνια ἡ πανήγυρις εἴτουν Γενέθλια· λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφότερα, δύο κειμένων προσηγοριῶν ἑνὶ πράγματι . . . ὄνομα δὲ τῷ φανῆναι μὲν Θεοφάνια τῷ δὲ γεννᾶσθαι Γενέθλια· τοῦτο ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πανήγυρις, τουτο ἑορτάζομεν σήμερον* (*PG* xxxvi. 313 f.).

If these passages be compared with the beginning of *Or.* 39, it is plain that a different occasion is intended by the latter:

Πάλιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἐμὸς, καὶ πάλιν μυστήριον . . . ἡ γὰρ ἁγία τῶν Φώτων ἡμέρα, εἰς ἣν ἀφίγμεθα, καὶ ἣν ἑορτάζειν ἠξιώμεθα σήμερον, ἀρχὴν μὲν τὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Χριστοῦ βάπτισμα λαμβάνει κ.τ.λ. (*Or.* 39, 1 [*PG* xxxvi. 335]); and *τῇ μὲν οὖν γεννήσει τὰ εἰκότα προεωρτάσαμεν . . . νυνὶ δὲ πρᾶξις ἄλλη Χριστοῦ καὶ ἄλλο μυστήριον . . . Χριστὸς βαπτίζεται* (*PG* xxxvi. 336).

Moreover, there is one passage which suggests that Gregory had himself introduced the Christmas feast, for he says in the Epiphany sermon (*Or.* 39): *τῇ μὲν οὖν γεννήσει τὰ εἰκότα προεωρτάσαμεν, ἐγώ τε ὁ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἔξαρχος κ.τ.λ.* (*PG* xxxvi. 349), and a few lines lower down he continues: *καὶ χάρις τῳ εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἐλθόντι ἀλλοτρίως ὅτι τὸν ξένον ἐδόξασεν.* The natural conclusion from these passages is that Gregory had instituted this feast, and that this was the 'glory' which had been given to him. Usener seems to have no doubt that this is the true interpretation; and, considering the indirect evidence of Chrysostom that the feast actually was instituted at about the time that Gregory was in Constantinople, there is no serious reason for disputing his conclusion, though, if it were not so, it might be possible to explain *ἔξαρχος* merely as 'the officiant' in the Christmas services, and the 'glory' as the privilege and honour entailed by that position.

That Gregory was speaking in Constantinople is almost certain. Apart from the passage quoted above, in which he refers to himself as a foreigner, he says (*PG* xxxvi. 317):

ἢ βούλεσθε (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον ἑστιάτωρ ὑμῖν) ἐγὼ τὸν περὶ τούτων παραθῶ λόγον τοῖς καλοῖς ὑμῖν δαιτυμόσιν, ὡς οἷόν τε δαψιλῶς τε καὶ φιλοτίμως, ἵν' εἰδῆτε πῶς δύναται τρέφειν ὁ ξένος τοὺς ἐγχωρίους καὶ τοὺς ἀστικοὺς ὁ ἄγροικος καὶ τοὺς τρυφῶντας ὁ μὴ τρυφῶν καὶ τοὺς περιουσίᾳ λαμπροὺς ὁ πένης τε καὶ ἀνέστιος;

These words obviously refer to the situation in Constantinople, to which he was called in 378 by the Orthodox party after the death of Valens. The date of the sermons must for the same reasons be placed between 378, when Gregory began his ministrations in the Anastasia, and 381, when he retired to private life, after having been Patriarch of Constantinople for only a few weeks.

Thus there is considerable—indeed, little short of conclusive—evidence that the celebration of the Nativity on Dec. 25 was introduced by Gregory Nazianzen. Negative evidence supports this conclusion, for until the time of Theodosius (379) Constantinople was Arian, and the Arians seem always to have celebrated the Nativity on Jan. 6.

(3) ANTIOCH.—The writings of Chrysostom enable us to fix with considerable exactness the date at which the observance of the Feast of the Nativity on Dec. 25 was introduced at Antioch. In a sermon preached there in 388 (for the chronology of this part of Chrysostom's life, see Usener, 'Weihnachtsfest,' pp. 227–238) on the Feast of the Nativity, he states that its observance was not yet quite ten years old (*καίτοι γε οὔπω δέκατόν ἐστιν ἔτος ἐξ οὗ δήλη καὶ γνώριμος ἡμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα γεγένηται*), although it has been well known in other districts (*ὅθεν οὐκ ἄν τις ἁμάρτοι καὶ νέαν αὐτὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀρχαίαν εἰπών· νέαν μὲν διὰ τὸ προσφάτως ἡμῖν γνωρισθῆναι, παλαιὰν δὲ καὶ ἀρχαίαν διὰ τὸ ταῖς πρεσβυτέραις ταχέως ὁμήλικα γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς ἡλικίας αὐταῖς φθάσαι μέτρον* [ed. Montfaucon, ii. 355[a], *PG* xlix. 351]), and a little further on he says that it *τοῖς ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης μέχρι Γαδείρων οἰκοῦσι κατάδηλος καὶ ἐπίσημος γέγονε.* Moreover, it is plain from this argument that, though this observance might be ten years old in the Eastern Church generally, it was being celebrated for the first time in Antioch. This is shown by his statement that he had long hoped to see that day—the celebration of the Nativity—and not only to see it, but to do so in the presence of a large congregation. Thus 388 may be taken to be the date of the first celebration of Christmas in Antioch. Moreover, that it was really held on Dec. 25 is proved by the sermon delivered by Chrysostom on Dec. 20 in the same year, in which, after devoting some words to the memory of Philogonius (which thus fixes the day of the month, for Philogonius' day was Dec. 20), he goes on to urge the congregation to pay due reverence to the Feast of the Nativity, which would be celebrated five days later (cf. p. 498[d]: *ἱκανὴ γὰρ τῶν πέντε ἡμερῶν τούτων ἡ προθεσμία, ἐὰν νήφῃς καὶ προσεύχῃς κ.τ.λ.*, and p. 499[c]: *τὰς πέντε ἡμέρας ταύτας*). [For the reasons Chrysostom gives for fixing the Nativity on Dec. 25, see II. 5.]

(4) CAPPADOCIA.—The evidence for Cappadocia is contained in the writings of Basil of Cæsarea and of Gregory of Nyssa.

(*a*) *Basil of Cæsarea.*—In the writings of Basil there is a homily *εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γέννησιν* (*PG* xxxi. 1457 ff.) which was delivered between 371 and 379. The genuineness of this homily has been questioned, but apparently without sufficient reason, and it is now usually accepted. Usener thinks that it was delivered on Jan. 6 rather than on Dec. 25, because, although Basil speaks of the feast as that of the *ἐνανθρώπησις* and *γέννησις τοῦ κυρίου*, he also describes it as the *ἐπιφάνεια*, and refers to the Magi, who are liturgically connected with Epiphany, not with Christmas. The matter is, however, not so simple. It is noticeable that, though Basil in one place (p. 1469[b]) speaks of the *ἐπιφανείᾳ τοῦ κυρίου*, in another he qualifies it as *τὴν διὰ σαρκὸς ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ κυρίου*; and it is possible that he is using the word in a general, not in a technical, sense. Moreover, the reference to the Magi is doubtful; he says (p. 1472 f.): *ἀστέρες διατρέχουσιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, μάγοι κινοῦνται ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν, γῆ ὑποδέχεται ἐν σπηλαίῳ*, and this may refer to the legend that the Magi were summoned from their homes by phenomena which took place at the moment of the Nativity (see Usener, 'Weihnachtsfest,' p. 242, and Lagarde, *Mittheil.* iv. 269). Usener further argues

that the famous visit of the Arian Valens to the Church at Cæsarea at the Feast of the Epiphany in 372 shows that at that time there was no difference between the Orthodox and the Arian custom, as the purpose of Valens was to conciliate Basil and his party by joining in their festivity (see Greg. Nazianz., *Or.* 43, 52). But this argument is much weakened by the fact that it proves nothing as to whether Basil had had a celebration of the Nativity twelve days previously.

Basil seems, in any case, to have been responsible for a new name in connexion with the feast—*Θεοφάνια*. On p. 1473[a] he says: *ὄνομα θώμεθα τῇ ἑορτῇ ἡμῶν, Θεοφάνια.* This is either an additional name for the feast on Jan. 6, or a name for the new feast on Dec. 25. If it be the latter, it is perhaps an indication that the feast on that date was quite new when Basil was speaking. Unfortunately, there is no decisive evidence as to which is the more probable view. Gregory Nazianzen (*Or.* 38, 2 [*PG* xxxvi. 313]) speaks of Dec. 25 as the *Θεοφάνια*, and so does Asterius of Amasea (*PG* xl. 337 f.); but Chrysostom and other writers (see Usener, 'Weihnachtsfest,' p. 245) use it of the Epiphany feast on Jan. 6. It is therefore not impossible that the word was originally a doublet of *Ἐπιφάνεια*, which Basil and the Cappadocians tried, though without permanent success, to transfer to the new feast on Dec. 25.

(*b*) *Gregory of Nyssa.*—The evidence of this writer is more definite, for in his homily on St. Stephen's day (*PG* xlvi. 701 f.) he refers to the Feast of the Nativity which had been celebrated the day previously (*χθὲς ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ παντὸς Δεσπότης εἱστίασε*), and in an Epiphany discourse he says: *ἐγεννήθη τοίνυν Χριστὸς πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν . . . βαπτίζεται σήμερον παρὰ Ἰωάννου.* The date of this latter discourse can probably be fixed by a reference to a heathen feast, almost certainly the New Year feast of the Kalends of January, which had taken place on the previous Sunday. Jan. 1 was on a Sunday, during the possible years, only in 383 (see Usener, 'Weihnachtsfest,' p. 247).

(5) LYCAONIA.—For this diocese no certain evidence is forthcoming. The homily of Amphilochius, *εἰς τὰ γενέθλια* (*PG* xxxix. 36[a]), is taken by Usener (*op. cit.* p. 252) to refer to Dec. 25 rather than to Jan. 6; but there is nothing definite to prove this. Moreover, Amphilochius lived at least until 394, when the feast on Dec. 25 had in any case become general in Europe and Asia Minor.

(6) ALEXANDRIA.—The exact date when Dec. 25 was accepted in Alexandria as the Feast of the Nativity cannot be fixed, but it must have been between 400 and 432. These two *termini* are reached as follows: In 400, Cassian, in connexion with the Paschal letter of Theophilus of Alexandria, which thus fixes the date within narrow limits (the range of choice seems to be 399 and 400, and the latter is almost certainly correct), wrote:

'Intra Aegypti regionem mos iste antiqua traditione servatur ut peracto Epiphaniorum die, *quem provinciae illius sacerdotes vel dominici baptismi, vel secundum carnem nativitatis esse definiunt, et idcirco utriusque sacramenti sollemnitatem non bifarie ut in occiduis provinciis, sed sub una diei hujus festivitate concelebrant*, epistulae pontificis Alexandrini per universas Aegypti ecclesias dirigantur, quibus et initium quadragesimae et dies paschae . . . designentur' (*Coll.* x. 2; ed. Vindob. p. 286, 19).

The words in italics are the proof that up to 400 the Nativity and the Baptism were both celebrated on Jan. 6. This defines the *terminus a quo*. The *terminus ad quem* is provided by two sermons of Paul of Emesa, attached to the *acta* of the Council of Ephesus (Mansi, *Conc.* v. 293, and *PG* lxxvii. 1433). This Paul of Emesa had been sent by John of Antioch to Cyril of Antioch to make peace between the Churches after the events at the Council of 431, when some of the Antiochene bishops had refused to sign the anathema on Nestorius, and as a sign of his and their orthodoxy he preached two sermons in Alexandria on the Incarnation. These sermons were carefully reported by shorthand writers, and ultimately incorporated in the proceedings of the Council of 431; the first was preached on the Feast of the Nativity on Choïak 29 (Dec. 25), and the second on Tybi 6 (Jan. 1) in 432. Thus in 432 the Feast of the Nativity had been separated from that of the Baptism. There is, unfortunately, no evidence to enable us to choose more exactly between these two limits. Usener thinks that Theophilus probably introduced the change, but there is nothing to prove this.

(7) JERUSALEM.—According to Basil of Seleucia, the observance of the Feast of the Nativity in Jerusalem was introduced by Juvenalis (425–458), who is famous for having defended, at the Council of Chalcedon, the independence of his see from Cæsarea. Basil says (*PG* lxxxv. 469[b]) of him: *ὅστις καὶ τὴν ἐπίδοξον καὶ σωτηριώδη τοῦ Κυρίου προσκυνουμένην ἀρξάμενος ἐπετέλεσεν γένναν.* That this was not the earlier custom at Jerusalem may be seen from the evidence of Silvia of Aquitaine (*c.* 385), who found the Nativity and the Baptism both celebrated on Jan. 6.

On the other hand, Cosmas Indicopleustes (550) distinctly states that the Nativity was celebrated on Jan. 6 in Jerusalem, because it was thought that Lk 3^{23} implied that Jesus was baptized on His thirtieth birthday: *οἱ δὲ Ἱεροσολυμῖται ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μακαρίου Λουκᾶ λέγοντος περὶ τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐτῶν λ̄, τοῖς Ἐπιφανίοις ποιοῦσι τὴν γέννα*ν (*PG* lxxxviii. 197). He also states that on Dec. 25 they used to celebrate the feasts of David and James the Apostle (possibly a mistake for the Lord's brother; see *ib.* p. 195[a]).

The statements of Cosmas and of Basil of Seleucia are clearly contradictory. Usener (*op. cit.* p. 328) thinks that Cosmas is using an old source, referring to the usage of Jerusalem before the time of Juvenalis; but Harnack (*ThLZ*, 1889, p. 201) prefers to think that Basil confused the Feast of the Nativity with the feasts of David and James, to which Cosmas alludes. In the next century the Feast of the Nativity on Dec. 25 was in any case established; for a sermon of Sophronius in 635 (probably) was clearly preached on that day (*PG* lxxxvii. 3, p. 3201, in Latin, and Greek text in *Rhein. Mus.*, 1886, p. 500 ff.).

An interesting, but probably unauthentic, letter of Cyril of Jerusalem is preserved by Johannes Nicænus (*c.* 900). In this Cyril asks Julius (or, according to one MS, Sylvester) of Rome (bishop 337–352) to consult the books brought from Jerusalem to Rome by the Jews in the time of Titus, and find out the real date of the Nativity. His reason was that it was so difficult to be on the same day both in Bethlehem, for the celebration of the Nativity, and on the banks of the Jordan, for the celebration of the Baptism (Combefis, *Hist. hær. Monothelitarum*; *PG* xcvi. 1441[b]). The answer to this letter is said to have been that the Nativity was really on Dec. 25. It is probable that this letter is not genuine, and Usener thinks that possibly the events of the time of Juvenalis have been ascribed to Cyril. If it be genuine, it is clear that the Church of Jerusalem did not give effect to the answer.

It should also be noted that the evidence of Epiphanius (see II. 3 (*b*)) may possibly apply to Jerusalem as well as to Cyprus. In this case it would show that in 377 (the probable date of the *Panarion*) Jan. 6 was regarded as the date of the Nativity, and Nov. 8 as that of the Baptism. But there is no proof that there was a feast on either of these days.

(8) ASIA.—Some evidence as to the observance of

the feast in the Province of Asia is afforded by the *Homilia Paschalis VIII.* (printed in Chrysostom's works, ed. Montfaucon, viii., Append. p. 275 ff.), which Usener believes to have been written by an Asiatic presbyter in the beginning of 387 (see H. Usener, 'Weihnachtsfest, p. 241) in order to fix clearly the date of Easter in that and the following year. In this it is stated that the Nativity is on Dec. 25 (*γίνεται γὰρ ὡς παντες ἴσμεν πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν ἰανουαρίων κατὰ Ῥωμαίους*, p. 275[b]), according to the Roman reckoning, whereas the Feast of the Epiphany is fixed according to the Asiatic calendar (*τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τετάρτου μηνὸς κατὰ Ἀσιανούς*). The suggestion made by this passage is that in 387 the observance of the Nativity on Dec. 25 was new, and regarded as an innovation derived from Rome.

(9) SPAIN.—Usener (*op. cit.* p. 212) thinks that the Jan. 6 celebration of the Nativity remained in force until at least 380 in the Pyrenees peninsula. His reason is that the Synod of Saragossa in 380 decreed that no one should absent himself from church between Dec. 17 and Jan. 6. This was directed against the Priscillianists, who desired to fast on the Feast of the Nativity, because they regarded the Incarnation as a defilement of the Deity. He considers that this represents a three weeks' period of preparation—an Advent season—and points out that it cannot be taken as the octave before Christmas, as that would begin on Dec. 18, not on Dec. 17. The argument does not seem decisive.

(10) ARMENIA.—The observance of Dec. 25 is still unknown in Armenia, where both the Nativity and the Baptism are celebrated on Jan. 6 (see Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905, pp. 181, 517 ff.). Duchesne, however, states (*Or. du culte chrétien*, p. 248) that they once observed Dec. 25. Apparently this was only for a short time; and in the 6th cent. they resumed their ancient use.

3. *Summary*.—Such is the chief evidence on which the history of the feast of December 25 must be based. The main issue is between Usener and Duchesne, and there seems, on the whole, to be a slight, though not decisive, balance of probability in favour of Usener. There is also a smaller point of some importance. It seems tolerably plain that Gregory Nazianzen brought the feast to Constantinople, and that Chrysostom took it thence to Antioch; but did it come to Constantinople *via* Cappadocia, or to Cappadocia *via* Constantinople? The answer to this question depends on the evidence of Basil of Cæsarea, which Usener interprets to mean that Basil knew only of a Nativity feast on Jan. 6, but it is very doubtful whether he is right; if not, it is possible that in the East the Cappadocians were the first to celebrate the Nativity on Dec. 25. The homily of Basil deserves further study from this point of view.

II. *THE CHOICE OF A DATE FOR THE NATIVITY.*—There are two main lines of argument which seem to have affected the reasoning of the Church on this subject: (1) chronological arguments based on a 'plan of the ages,' and (2) conclusions drawn from data in the Gospels. It is, however, probable that the latter represent the arguments used to defend a given date, rather than the reasoning by which it was reached. Besides these, there is in Clement of Alexandria a definite statement as to various views concerning the date of the Nativity, but, unfortunately, without any explanation of the method by which they were reached. As this is both the oldest and the simplest, it will be best to deal with it first.

1. **Clement of Alexandria.**—In *Strom.* i. 147, 17 (ed. Sylberg), written between 193 and 211, Clement says: *γίνονται οὖν ἀφ' οὗ ὁ κύριος ἐγεννήθη ἕως Κομόδου τελευτῆς τὰ πάντα ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα τέσσαρα, μην εἰς ἡμεραι ιγ*, and, as Commodus was killed on 31st Dec. 192, Clement must have dated the birth of Christ on 18th Nov. 3 B.C. But he goes on to show that there was no general agreement as to this date: *εἰσὶ δε οἱ περιεργότερον τῃ γενέσει τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον τὸ ἔτος ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν προστιθέντες, ἥν φασι ἔτους κη̄ Αὐγούστου ἐν πέμπτῃ Παχὼν καὶ εἰκάδι.* Pachon 25 = May 20, and a trace of this date is still preserved in the Egyptian calendar, which celebrates the entry of the child Jesus and His parents into Egypt on that date (Nilles, *Kalend. Manuale utriusque ecclesiæ orient. et occident.*, Innsbruck, 1896, ii. 643). This date does not agree with Clement's other statement, even if Lagarde be right in thinking that *γένεσις* does not mean birth, but conception. It is, however, curious that it would on this hypothesis almost agree with either Dec. 25 or Jan. 6, if it were supposed that Jesus was a seven months' child. That this view did obtain is proved by Epiphanius, li. 29: *φάσκει* [Epiphanius, unfortunately, does not mention his source] *δὲ ὅτι πρὸ δεκαδύο Καλανδων Ἰουλίων ἢ Ἰουνίων, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Σουλπικίου Καμαρίου* (?) *Βηττίῳ Πομπηϊανῷ ὑπάτοις* [*ἐγεννήθη*]. *τοῦτο δὲ ἐσκόπησα ὅτι καὶ οἱ εἰπόντες τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς συλλήψεως, καὶ ὡς εὐηγγελίσατο ὁ Γαβριὴλ τὴν παρθένον, εἶπον τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τῶν τινων λεγόντων ἐν παραδόσει ὡς ὅτι διὰ ἑπτὰ μηνῶν ἐγεννήθη.* And he then goes on to reckon that this 'seven months' theory would agree with Jan. 6 as the date of the Birth. It would be very curious if it really were true that in Egypt the view obtained that Jesus was a seven months' child, for exactly the same belief was held about Osiris.

Clement goes on, in *Strom.* i., to add: *οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτάζουσι, προδιανυκτερεύοντες ἀναγνώσει . . . τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην τοῦ Τυβὶ μηνός, τινὲς δ' αὖ τὴν ἑνδεκάτην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός, καὶ μὴν τινες αὐτῶν φασὶ Φαρμουθὶ γεγεννῆσθαι κδ̄ ἢ κε̄.* That is to say, the Basilidians kept the Feast of the Baptism on Jan. 10 or Jan. 6 [does the *καί* before *τοῦ βαπτίσματος* mean 'as well as of the Nativity'?], and some dated the Nativity on Apr. 19–20. The remarkable point in this evidence is that it shows no trace of Dec. 25 as the date of the Nativity, and connects Jan. 6 as the Feast of the Baptism only with a Gnostic sect; whether this date was really regarded by any one at that time as that of the Nativity rests only on the very precarious inference from the *καί* before *τοῦ βαπτίσματος*.

2. **The chronology based on a 'plan of the ages.'**—This system is based on the theory of the world's history which is most frequently connected with (*a*) *Julius Africanus*, but is really much older. According to this, the seven days of creation represent seven periods of a thousand years (because for God a thousand years are as one day), and the Sabbath represents the seventh millennium in which the Messiah will reign (cf. Irenæus, v. 28. 3: 'Quotquot enim diebus hic factus est mundus tot et millenis annis consummatur. Et propter hoc ait Scriptura Geneseos: Et consummata sunt caelum et terra, etc. Hoc autem est antefactorum narratio . . . et futurorum prophetia'). As evidence in support of this view, it was pointed out that Peleg died (acc. to LXX) in the year 3000, and Peleg means 'half.' It would seem [direct evidence is apparently not forthcoming] that it was then argued that the first coming of the Messiah was in the middle of the sixth day, *i.e.* in 5500 after the creation, leaving 500 years to run before the end. So, for instance, Hippolytus (*Com. in Dan.* iv. 23): *δεῖ οὖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὰ ἑξακισχίλια ἔτη πληρωθῆναι ἵνα ἔλθῃ τὸ σαββατον* (see, further, H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzant. Chronographie*, Leipzig, 1880–98, i. 24 ff.; and Lagarde, *Mittheil.* iv. 313 ff.).

The rule that the end is foretold by the begin-

ning was applied to the minutest details of chronology. Eustathius of Antioch († 336), for instance, says:

γίνεται οὖν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτὴν Φαλὲκ ἔτη τρισχίλια, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίαν καὶ ἀνάστασιν ἔτη πεντακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τριάκοντα ἕν, ὡς λείπειν τετρακόσια πεντήκοντα ἐννέα ἔτη τῆς ἕκτης χιλιάδος. ἔστι δὲ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συντελείας σημεῖον τὸ σάββατον καὶ εἰκότως ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ κύριος ἐπιδημήσας τῷ κόσμῳ ἐν παρασκευῇ πέπονθεν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡμέρα ἕκτη, καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας ὥρα ἦν ὡσεὶ ἕκτη ἡνίκα ἐσταυρώθη, τοῦ λόγου σημαίνοντος διὰ τοῦ ἕκτης χιλιάδος τὸ ἥμισυ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὡρισμένως οὐκ εἶπεν ὥρα ἕκτη, ὑπεμφαίνοντος τοῦ λόγου ὀλίγῳ πλείω τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ὑπερπαίειν (*Com. in Hexaemeron*, ed. Lugd. p. 65 [*PG* xviii. 757]).

The doubt attaching to the genuineness of the Commentary is here unimportant, as Gelzer has shown that this passage goes back in reality to Africanus.

(*b*) *De Pascha Computus*.—The attempt to establish the day of the Nativity on these lines is found especially in the pseudo-Cyprianic tract, *de Pascha Computus*, which represents a lost work of Hippolytus. This anonymous tractate is found among the works of Cyprian. It is perhaps African, but is certainly not Cyprian's. It was written in 243, and has been shown to be based very closely on Hippolytus' ἀπόδειξις χρόνων τοῦ πάσχα (see Hufmayr's *Die Ps.-Cyprianische Schrift de Pascha Computus*, Augsburg, 1896), which experience had, no doubt, shown to be imperfect. The writer's method of ascertaining the date of the Nativity is as follows:

He first establishes the fact that the first day of creation was at the vernal equinox, when everything breaks into life, and the day and night are equal, for God divided them equally (ch. 3). Moreover, the moon (created two days later) was created full. Thus the first day of creation was Sunday, 25th March, and the sun and moon were created on Wednesday, 28th March, when the moon was full. He then applies a 'sun and moon' cycle, and on the chronological data of the OT establishes Monday, 12th Apr., as the day of the Passover of the Exodus. After this he applies the same cycle to the interval between the Exodus and the Nativity, which is established (1) by adding together the reigns of the kings from the Exodus to the Captivity, giving 995 years; (2) by the exegesis of Dn 9[24-27], in which a period of 70 weeks is decreed. This 70 weeks is resolved into 62, 7, and 1. The 1 is taken off as belonging to the eschatological period in the future. The 7 weeks represent the 49 years taken up in building the temple, and the 62 weeks represent 434 years which must elapse between the building of the temple and the Messiah's birth. Besides this, the 70 years of captivity are added, so that the Nativity is seen to be 1548 years after the Exodus; and, as the Paschal lamb was a type of Christ, so He must be born at the time of Passover of that year, and, according to the cycle, this was in that year on March 28, the day of the creation of the sun. The writer continues: 'O quam praeclara et divina Domini providentia, ut in illo die quo factus sol in ipso die nasceretur Christus V. Kal. Apr. feria IV.' (ch. 19); and in the next chapter he repeats: 'Ecce iterum iam vere credamus quod V. Kal. Apr. secundum carnem natus sit Christus, in quo ipso die probavimus solem factum.'

The whole argument in this treatise is complicated by fantastic applications of the symbolism of numbers. For instance, the 62 weeks dealt with above represent 434 years. Deduct 100 (= Abraham's age at the birth of Isaac) and 334 remain. But the Greek for 300 is τ, the sign of the cross, and 34 = 31 + 3, *i.e.* the age of Jesus at the crucifixion + the 3 days in the tomb. Similarly, the parallelism between Jesus and the sun is supported by the fact that the solar year is 365¼ days; but ¼ day is 3 hours, which is a symbol of the 3 days at the beginning of creation, when there was as yet neither sun nor moon, and also of the 3 days in the tomb. Thus the ¼ day is explained. The 365 days represent 300 + 16 + 31 + 18, of which 300 = τ, the sign of the cross, 16 = the year of the reign of Tiberius in which Jesus suffered, 31 = the age of Jesus at the crucifixion, and 18 = ιη̄, the contraction for 'Jesus.' There is much more of the same kind of argument to show that the day of the Nativity was really that of the creation of the sun.

Thus the writer of this treatise regarded March 28 as the day of the *nativitas*. In view of the statement of Harnack and others that this must mean 'conception,' not birth, it is necessary to add that there is nothing in the text to support this free rendering of the Latin.

(*c*) *Hippolytus* († *c.* 235).—As was stated above, the *de Pascha Computus* is based on Hippolytus. The actual arguments of the latter are no longer extant, but there is some evidence as to the date he selected. This, however, has been the subject of much controversy, and so far no universally accepted result has been reached. The evidence is as follows:—

(1) On the monument of Hippolytus in the Lateran Museum there is, on the left hand side, the Paschal cycle of 112 years for 222 to 333 (see *CIG* 8613); and against the date προ δ νω απρει (= Apr. 2) stands γενεσις χ ι (Χριστοῦ ἰησοῦ, or a mistake for χυ, Χριστοῦ?).

(2) In the *Com. in Dan.* 4[23] (ed. Bonwetsch, p. 242) he says: ἡ γὰρ πρώτη παρουσία τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἡ ἔνσαρκος ἐν ᾗ γεγέννηται ἐν Βηθλεέμ [πρὸ τεσσάρων ἀπριλίων] ἐγένετο πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν ἰανουαρίων, ἡμέρᾳ τετράδι, βασιλεύοντος Αὐγούστου κ.τ.λ. But it has been a greatly disputed point how much of this text is really due to Hippolytus. There are available for the text codex A (sæc. xi.) in the monastery of Vatopedi, codex B (sæc. xv.) at Chalki, codex J (sæc. xi.) in the library of Prince Chigi, and codex P (sæc. xiii.), Paris Or. 159. There are also a Slavic version, and quotations in Syriac by George the Arabian (ed. Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 108–134), a bishop of the 8th cent. († 724). Of these authorities J Geo read merely . . . ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου κ.τ.λ., thus omitting the exact day of the month; and A, while agreeing in the main with the group BP Slav., has the curious πρὸ τεσσάρων Ἀπριλίων.

Two theories have been suggested: (*a*) The original text was . . . ἐν Βηθλεὲμ πρὸ τεσσάρων <νώνων> ἀπριλίων ἡμέρᾳ τετράδι κ.τ.λ. (so Hilgenfeld and Bratke). The other dates and the short text of J Geo are merely the result of later scribes' alterations, in order to accommodate the text to their own customs. If this text be original, the commentary and the statue agree. Against this view Bonwetsch and others argue that the grouping of the MSS is 'decisively' opposed to this theory. Certainly it is opposed, but 'decisively' is too strong a word in view of the difficulty of explaining the origin of πρὸ δ̄ Ἀπριλίων in A on other theories; the possibility that the ancestor of ABP Slav. preserved a fragment of the true text in conflation, which BP Slav. have all independently corrected away, and only A has preserved, is not excluded. (*β*) According to the other theory, the date given by Hippolytus is intended to form part of a movable calendar regulated by the date of Easter. Salmon pointed out in this connexion that Hippolytus regarded the γένεσις of Christ as having taken place at the Passover, and he adds that in the year 5502 the Passover did fall on Apr. 2. He thought, however, that γένεσις must mean 'conception' rather than 'birth.' Bonwetsch carried the argument further, following Lagarde, showing that Hippolytus regarded 5500, not 5502, as the year of the γένεσις, and in that year the Passover was March 25. If γένεσις really means 'conception,' this implies that Dec. 25 was regarded as the day of the Birth. Part of this ingenious argument is, however, open to question: in Hippolytus' *Com. in Dan.* 24[2] and 32[1] γένεσις certainly seems to mean 'birth'; and it was taken in this sense by the writer of the *de Pascha Computus*, which, it is universally agreed, is little more than a new edition of Hippolytus' lost work, ἀπόδειξις χρόνων τοῦ πάσχα, unless it be seriously maintained that here also *nativitas* and *nasci* refer to the conception and not to the birth (Harnack, *Chronol.*, 1904, ii. 251, says: 'Die Empfangnis Jesu . . . ist unter "nativitas" gemeint,' but he gives no reason, and his view seems to be unnecessarily violent against the usual meaning of the Latin.)

The most probable view seems to be that Hippolytus really fixed the birth of Christ on the day which in 223 was the Passover, but there is reasonable room for doubt whether he intended this to be a fixed or a movable date. If the former, Apr. 2 was the date he intended; if the latter, Mar. 25.

The literature on this question may be conveniently given here: the most important contributions are Bratke, *ZWT*, 1892, pp. 129–176; Hilgenfeld, *ib.* 257–282, and 1893, pp. 106–117; Bratke, *JPTh*, 1892, pp. 439–456; Salmon, *Hermathena*, 1892, pp. 161–190; Bonwetsch, *GGA*, 1895 (Philol.-Hist. Klasse), pp. 515–527.

(*d*) *Summary*.—This evidence suggests that the earliest chronology in the West [Clement seems to represent a different point of view] fixed on Mar. 25 or 28 as the date of the Nativity, because of the theory that the history of the beginning is a prophecy of the end, and the Redeemer-God is in some way parallel with the sun. It is hardly necessary to point out that this idea points to various *religionsgeschichtliche* possibilities and parallelisms, especially in connexion with Mithraism (see, further, 6 (*a*)). It is also fairly plain that the transition from Mar. 25 to Dec. 25 naturally followed as soon as the conception, not the birth, of Jesus was regarded as the true beginning of the Incarnation; but there is no evidence as to the date when this change was made, and therefore this point, however probable, remains hypothetical.

3. Further evidence of the influence of the solar year.—In Hippolytus (or the *de Pascha Computus*) the solar element is bound up with the system of

chronology connected with Africanus. There are also traces of 'solar' considerations in other writers, whose participation in these chronological arguments is less certain, though it was so widely diffused that the *argumentum e silentio* is not in itself sufficient to show that they did not share in it.

The chief instances of this are the *Clementine Homilies*, and Ephraim Syrus also is quoted by Epiphanius, so that the latter may be regarded as holding the same view.

(*a*) *The Clementine Homilies.*—These heretical books show a clear tendency to equate Jesus with the sun, and with the solar year. The chief passage is i. 6 (ed. Lagarde, p. 14):

φήμη τις ἠρέμα ἐπὶ τῆς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος βασιλείας ἐξ ἐαρινῆς τροπῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσα ηὔξανεν ἑκάστοτε καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὴ θεοῦ ἄγγελος διέτρεχε τὸν κόσμον, τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βούλημα σιγῇ στέγειν μὴ δυναμένη. ἑκάστοτε οὖν πλείων καὶ μείζων ἐγίνετο λέγουσα ὥς τίς ποτε ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐξ ἐαρινῆς τροπῆς λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἰουδαίοις τὴν τοῦ αἰδίου θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται βασιλείαν, ἧς ἀπολαύειν λέγει, ἐάν τις αὐτῶν προκατορθώσῃ τὴν πολιτείαν.

This seems most naturally to mean that the writer dated the Nativity at the vernal equinox (ἡ ἐαρινὴ τροπή), though it might possibly refer to the first appearance of Jesus in public. The 'solar' idea also is clearly indicated in ii. 23 (p. 28):

ὥσπερ τῷ Κυρίῳ γεγόνασιν δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου δώδεκα μηνῶν φέροντες τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὡσαύτως καὶ αὐτῷ [*i.e.* John] ἔξαρχοι ἄνδρες γεγόνασιν τριάκοντα, τὸν μηνιαῖον τῆς σελήνης ἀποπληροῦντες λόγον. ἐν ᾧ ἀριθμῷ μία τις ἦν γυνὴ λεγομένη Ἑλένη, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο ἀνοικονόμητον ᾖ, ἥμισυ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς οὖσα ἡ γυνὴ ἀτελῆ τὸν τῆς τριακοντάδος τέθεικεν ἀριθμόν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς σελήνης ἧς ἡ πορεία τοῦ μηνὸς οὐ τέλειον ποιεῖται τὸν δρόμον [*i.e.* a woman, who counts only as half a man, was necessary, because the lunar month is not 30, but only 29½ days].

(*b*) *Ephraim Syrus.*—This writer accepts Jan. 6 as the date of the Nativity, but connects the date with the solar year, though in a different manner from that followed by pseudo-Cyprian and by the *Clementine Homilies.* For him not the equinox, but the solstice, is the important point, and he regards Jan. 6 as representing 12 days after the winter solstice, Dec. 25: and these days refer on the one hand to the twelve Apostles, and on the other to the twelve months. The important passage is a quotation in Epiphan. *Panar.* 51 (bk. ii. p. 482, ed. Dindorf):

ὡς καὶ ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Σύροις σοφὸς Ἐφραὶμ ἐμαρτύρησε τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐξηγήσεσι λέγων ὅτι, οὕτως γὰρ ᾠκονομήθη ἡ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. παρουσία, ἡ κατὰ σάρκα γέννησις εἴτ' οὖν τέλεια ἐνανθρώπησις, ὃ καλεῖται ἐπιφάνεια ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς αὐξήσεως ἐπὶ δεκατρισὶν ἡμέραις διαστήματος· ἔχρην γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τύπον γενέσθαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ δώδεκα μαθητῶν, ὃς τὸν δεκατριῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς αὐξήσεως ἐπλήρου ἀριθμόν.

Similar references to the solar character of the Nativity may be found in his hymns, e.g. *de nativitate Christi in carne*, vi. 3, 7, etc. (see also the list of passages quoted by Usener, p. 195). As Epiphanius quotes Ephraim with approval, he must also have adopted the same reasoning.

4. Jan. 6.—It is obvious that, whereas the reasoning in the *de Pascha Computus* was directly influenced by solar arguments, and may have no other foundation, Epiphanius and Ephraim were trying to bring an already established date into agreement with solar considerations. This date was Jan. 6. It is doubtful whether it was first assigned to the Baptism and afterwards to the Nativity, or *vice versa*. The evidence of Clement shows that among the Basilidians in Alexandria it was the Feast of the Baptism, but whether it was also that of the Nativity is uncertain. Where the two feasts come together, it is possible that there was a double connexion between the two.

(*a*) *Exegetical.*—It was held that the day of the Baptism was also that of the Birth, because in Lk 3^{23}, after the account of the Baptism, it says καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα. This was taken to mean that it was the anniversary of the birthday (cf. Cosmas Indicopleustes: παραγραφὴ εἰς τὴν σύλληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου, quoted by Lagarde, p. 290, who says that the Jerusalemites keep the Nativity and the Baptism on the same day, relying on Lk 3^{23}; this, he says, is only a half truth, for, though it was true that the Baptism fell on the day of the Nativity, as Luke implies, the Church had separated the two celebrations, postponing that of the Baptism for twelve days). It is, however, not possible to prove that this exegesis is old, though it would not be surprising to find that it really is so.

(*b*) *Dogmatic.*—It is quite probable, though again difficult to prove definitely, that in many circles the Baptism was regarded as the birth according to the Spirit, and the Nativity as the birth according to the flesh; it was therefore natural that they should be celebrated on the same day.

It is, however, well to be cautious in accepting the view that Jan. 6 was everywhere the date assigned to the Baptism. Epiphanius' evidence on this point is important. In *Panar.* 51 (ed. Dindorf, ii. 482 ff.), he twice states that Christ was born on Jan. 6, and adds: καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, τῷ τριακοστῷ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνσάρκου γεννήσεως, τούτεστι κατὰ Αἰγυπτίους Ἀθὺρ δωδεκάτῃ, πρὸ ἓξ εἰδῶν Νοεμβρίων κ.τ.λ. [*i.e.* the Baptism was on Nov. 8]. The whole question will be dealt with under EPIPHANY, where the reasons which led to the choice of Jan. 6 for a Christian festival will also be discussed.

5. The method of reaching the date from the Gospels.—In Chrysostom and in Cosmas Indicopleustes the date of the Nativity is deduced from the statement in Luke. The argument is the same in both, and is stated at such length that it is not possible to give it in quotation. It is, however, quite simple. It is argued that the occasion of Zacharias' visit to the temple was the Feast of Tabernacles, and that the day of his vision was the Day of Atonement, on which alone the high priest entered into the Holy of Holies. Therefore the date of the vision was—according to Chrysostom—the end of the month Gorpiaios (*i.e.* September). Actually it would have been, on this reckoning, Gorpiaios 10. The conception of John the Baptist followed, and the conception of Jesus was (Lk 1^{26}) six months later, *i.e.* at the end of March, and the Nativity was therefore at the end of December (see Chrysostom: εἰς τὴν γενέθλιον ἡμέραν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ., ed. Montf. ii. 354; and Cosmas Indicopleustes: παραγραφὴ εἰς τὴν σύλληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου).

It is, of course, obvious that this exegesis is radically wrong: Zacharias was not the high priest, and the altar of incense was not in the Holy of Holies. It is scarcely less clear that the whole explanation is posterior to the institution of the feast, and was invented to prove, from the Gospels, a date which had already been chosen for other reasons. Whether those other reasons were simply the 'solar' argument or not cannot be decided; it can only be said that the 'solar' argument is the only one which is found in early Christian literature to account for Dec. 25.

6. Factors which tended to support the feast on Dec. 25.—There can be little doubt that the Church was anxious to distract the attention of Christians from the old heathen feast days by celebrating Christian festivals on the same days. On Dec. 25 was the *dies natalis solis invicti* or the *sol novus*, especially cultivated by the votaries of Mithraism. Moreover, the *Saturnalia* closed on Dec. 24.

(*a*) *The feast of the 'sol invictus.'*—It is not, in the absence of direct evidence, probable that the date was chosen in order to compete with this feast, though as soon as an equation began to be made between Christ and the sun, it was natural to

celebrate a Christian feast on the day previously consecrated to the sun. It is more likely that Christmas was first fixed by the reasoning given in the *de Pascha Computus*, and that use was afterwards made of the coincidence with the feast of the *sol novus*. The coincidence is adequately accounted for by the fact that the Christian was largely influenced by the idea that the Creation (and therefore the coming of the Redeemer) must have taken place at the vernal equinox; and, as soon as the coming of the Redeemer was taken to be the Conception rather than the Nativity, the latter date naturally fell on Dec. 25, which had been chosen for the feast of the *sol invictus*, because it was the time when the victory of light over darkness begins to be apparent in the lengthening of the day.

That the coincidence with the feast of the *sol invictus*, or *sol novus*, was made use of by Christians can be illustrated from many writers. Ps.-Ambrosius (*PL* xvii. 635 ff.) says:

'Bene quodammodo sanctum hunc diem Natalis Domini Solem Novum vulgus appellat . . . videamus igitur hic sol noster novus quo fonte nascatur,' etc.

Augustine (*Serm.* cxc.; *PL* xxxviii. 1007) says:

'Dominus . . . et diem quo nasceretur elegit . . . Nam et dies nativitatis ejus habet mysterium lucis ejus . . . ideo die natalis D. N. Jesu Christi et nox incipit perpeti detrimenta, et dies sumere augmenta. Habeamus ergo fratres solemnem istum diem, non sicut infideles propter hunc solem, sed propter eum qui fecit hunc solem'; and still more strikingly in *Serm.* cclxxxvii. [*PL* xxxviii. 1302], on the Nativity of John the Baptist, he says: 'Denique quia humiliandus erat omnis homo Christo, ac per hoc et Johannes; et quod exaltandus erat Deus homo Christus, demonstravit et dies natalis, et genera passionum. Natus est Johannes hodie [June 25]: ab hodierno minuuntur dies. Natus est Christus octavo calendas januarias; ab illo die crescunt dies.'

Prudentius, *Hymnus VIII. Kal. Jan.* (*PL* lix. 889), says:

'Sol jam recurrens deserit?
Christusne terris nascitur,
Qui lucis auget tramitem?' etc.

It will, however, be noticed that all these quotations are later than the institution of the feast, and this fact rather supports the view that the coincidence with the feast of the *sol invictus* was accidental, though naturally soon made use of.

(*b*) *The Saturnalia*.—It has sometimes been thought that Christmas was intended to replace the Saturnalia. This is, however, very improbable, because the coincidence of date is not perfect, and, in the second place, there seems to be little evidence that Christian writers connected the two feasts, though later many of the customs connected with the Saturnalia were preserved in connexion with Christmas (see below, CHRISTMAS CUSTOMS). Epiphanius, it is true (*Panar.* 51), says that the Saturnalia was held on Dec. 25 (an inaccurate statement), but it is merely an *obiter dictum* in the middle of a list of dates, and is quite deprived of importance by the fact that in the same passage he places the Nativity on Jan. 6. The possible connexion between Jan. 6 and a festival of Kore will be dealt with under EPIPHANY.

(*c*) *The date of the Nativity as influenced by the date of the Passion*.—In his *Origines du culte chrétien* (pp. 250–4), Duchesne suggests that both Dec. 25 and Jan. 6 can be explained as due to the view that Christ was conceived on the same day of the year as that on which He ultimately suffered. These were, he thinks, the traditional dates for the Crucifixion—April 6 and March 25. Circles which adopted April 6 as the date of the Conception naturally chose Jan. 6 as the date of the Nativity, and those which adopted March 25 chose Dec. 25. This theory is, however, not adequately borne out by facts. The *de Pascha Computus*, for instance, says that the Crucifixion was Apr. 9. It is, indeed, possible that it was held that, as Jesus suffered on a Passover, so also He was conceived (or born?) on a Passover; for, according to the Hippolytan cycle, the Passover fell on March 25 in the year of the world 5500.

There is also considerable evidence that March 25 was a favourite date for the Passion (so Tert. *adv. Judæos*, 8; and in the 5th and 6th cents. there were sects in Gaul who wished to make a fixed feast of Easter, and always celebrated it on March 27, and Good Friday on March 25). But there is no proof that the dating of the Nativity really depended upon this theory, and the fact that Christmas has always been a fixed feast seems to be against it.

With regard to Jan. 6 there is less to be said in favour of Duchesne's theory. He can quote only a Montanist sect in Asia Minor, of whom Sozomen (*HE* vii. 18) says that they celebrated Easter on April 6, because they reckoned that, since the world was created on March 25 at the equinox, the first full moon was a fortnight later—disagreeing with the usual chronology, which thought that the moon was full at its creation. Duchesne supposes that this is a remnant of a wide-spread belief, and that, in combination with the idea that the Conception and the Crucifixion fell on the same day, it explains the date Jan. 6 for the Nativity. But this does not seem satisfactory. Jan. 6 for the Nativity is a widely spread tradition, and, if it were really bound up with a theory that Apr. 6 was the day of the Crucifixion, one would expect more evidence than that of an obscure Montanist sect.

7. Conclusion.—In conclusion, it may be well to glance back once more at the main problem of this rather confusing mass of evidence. The problem may be stated thus: Was the observance of Dec. 25 universally preceded by the observance of a Feast of the Nativity on Jan. 6, or is this true only of the East? As was stated at the beginning, Usener takes one side and Duchesne the other. Duchesne's theory certainly gains in probability from the fact that all the early Western chronological systems point to Dec. 25 (either directly or through March 25) rather than Jan. 6. This, of course, does not affect the question whether there actually was a feast, but only the date which was likely to have been chosen, if there was one. There is, indeed, singularly little, if any, evidence in the West for Jan. 6; and this supports Duchesne. Thus the question narrows itself down to this: whether the sermon of Liberius really implies Jan. 6 as a Feast of the Nativity or not. If it does, Usener's theory must win; if it does not, Duchesne's view is sufficiently supported by the chronological arguments to have superior claims. Further consideration is also desirable as to the exact importance of the fact that Dec. 25 is in Rome bound up with S. Maria Maggiore, and Jan. 6 with the older Basilica of St. Peter.

LITERATURE.—J. Bingham, *Orig. et antiq. eccles.* (1840), bk. xx. cap. 4; H. Usener, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Bonn, 1889), pt. i. 'Weihnachtsfest'; P. de Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, iv. (Göttingen, 1891), 241 ff., 'Altes und Neues über das Weihnachtsfest'; L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*[3] (Paris, 1902; Eng. tr., *Christian Worship*, 1903); G. Rietschel, art. 'Weihnachten,' in *PRE*[3], to which reference may be made for a very full list of older literature; F. C. Conybeare, 'The History of Christmas,' in *AJTh*, Jan. 1899; S. Bäumer, 'Das Fest der Geburt des Herrn in der altchristlichen Liturgie,' in *Der Katholik*, lxx. (1890) 1–20.

KIRSOPP LAKE.

CHRISTMAS CUSTOMS.—Most of the Christmas customs now prevailing in Europe, or recorded from former times, are not genuine Christian customs, but heathen customs which have been absorbed or tolerated by the Church.

The cradle of Christ (*præsepe*), the characteristic object of reverence in Roman Catholic churches on Christmas Eve, is explained by Usener ('Weih-

nachtsfest,' p. 283) as borrowed from the cult of Adonis, the cave where the child Adonis was born being adopted for Christian cult by the Empress Helena, and later (335) richly endowed by the Emperor Constantine. But if the 'adoration in the cave' be a mere heathen invention, it was at all events adopted by Christianity as early as Mt 2 (cf. Lk 2[7]). If not, this usage has its own origin, and was later combined with the custom known from the cult of Adonis.

This adoration of the cradle is the only important ceremony of the Roman Catholic Church proper to Christmas Eve, the other parts of the *vigilium*, fasting, etc., being common to all Catholic festivals.

The presbyter Alsso's treatise (dating, at the latest, from the 15th cent., and edited in 1889 by Usener) on Christmas customs in Bohemia shows us how popular customs in later times came to be connected with Church ceremonies and explained as Christian symbols. The monk mentions some explanations of these customs 'with which the devil has inspired his children': *e.g.* that the customs of the baking of white bread, the cutting and distributing of apples, and the wrapping of the fruit trees in white cloth, are to be observed in order to ensure a lucky year and a good harvest.

Few of the Christmas customs have been consecrated by the Church in that or some other way; most of them exist outside the Church, and have become 'holy' to the Christian mind only through an outward connexion with the feast days, the majority of them falling in pre-Christian times in those winter-days; others of various origin have been attracted to this greatest feast of the winter. The Christmas feast has inherited these customs chiefly from two sources—from *Roman* and from *Teutonic* paganism; we can therefore discern a *Southern* and a *Northern* stratum underlying the Christmas observances.

The **Saturnalia** in Rome provided the model for most of the *merry* customs of the Christmas time. This old Roman feast was celebrated on 17-24 December.

'The time was one of general joy and mirth. . . . During the festival, schools were closed . . . ; no punishment was inflicted. In place of the toga an undress garment was worn. Distinctions of rank were laid aside; slaves sat at table with their masters, or were actually waited on by them, and the utmost freedom of speech was allowed them. Gambling with dice, at other times illegal, was now permitted and practised. All classes exchanged gifts, the commonest being wax tapers and clay dolls. These dolls were especially given to children' (Frazer, *EBr*[9] xxi. 321).

A good deal of this old Roman merriment is retained in the carnival (*q.v.*): the mummery, the fancy dress, the pointed hat (originally the hat of the free man, which slaves were allowed to wear during these days, now known as the 'fool's cap'), the universal teasing and mockery, and the *confetti* (formerly true grains of wheat or barley). Christmas inherited the general merriment in a more restrained form (excessive only in eating and drinking): games, giving of gifts (especially to children), abundance of sweetmeats and, as more ceremonious elements, burning of candles and bathing before the festival. We also note that the Christmas-time, like the Saturnalia, lasted at least seven days.

The *Northern* type of Christmas customs is found in the Teutonic **Yule** feast, well known from Icelandic sagas as well as from Greek and Latin chronicles. Procopius (6th cent. A.D.) describes a feast in the extreme North ('Thule'), at the returning of the sun after an absence of forty days. This may have been in the region of the midnight sun. In Southern Scandinavia, as in Germany, the festival seems to have been observed about the winter solstice; but we are not able to state the actual date of the **hoggunott** (as the holy night has been called), the dates of Snorre and the sagas being evidently influenced by the Christian calendar (Feilberg, *Jul*, i. 85 f.). At any rate, the feast was celebrated in the darkest time of the year, and at a period which was regarded as the end of the old year or the beginning of the new.

We know from the sagas that the **julblot**, the great sacrifice of midwinter, was offered 'for a good crop' (*til grоðrar* [*Heimskringla*, p. 3]), 'for the year's luck, and for peace' (*til árs ok friðrar* [*Flateyar saga*, i. 318, 8]). The hints given by the Bohemian Alsso are on the same lines; and the cult of Froy [Frey], especially practised at Yuletime, points in the same direction, Froy being the god who bestows rain and sunshine, fertility and growth, 'the god to be invoked for fertility and peace' (*Gylfaginning*, ch. 27). The *julgalti*, the pig offered to Froy on that occasion, has probably some connexion with the fertilization of the earth; in later customs the (Danish) *julgalt* was, at all events, a pastry baked particularly for the Christmas table, the crumbs of which were put in the earth together with the seed. The *julnisse* (Danish, a ghost possibly of a deceased farmer, at least wearing his garment), if not fed with porridge on Yule night, spoils the harvest or hurts the cattle. Several of the present-day games, rhymes, and riddles at Yule-time prognosticate the events of the year: the weather, the harvest, the prospects of the girls, fortune and misfortune, death, etc. Vaticinations of this kind are ordinarily the later and attenuated form of earlier magical proceedings. In a Danish Christmas hymn (by Grundtvig) the angels, if kindly received in the houses, prophesy 'a good year for the seed and grains slumbering in the field.'

Besides these rites and ideas pertaining to fertility, we observe a different stratum in the Teutonic Yule customs. As Yule-time is the darkest period of the year and the end of the calendar, it is particularly threatened by demons, especially the demons of the air. The *asgardsreid*, the 'wilde Jagd' of the god Odin or Frigga, followed by the *valkyrias*, hunting the souls, is heard in the roaring of the storms and the passage of the birds. Odin himself, as a Yule demon, was called *Jolnir*, 'the Lord of the Yule.' Monsters and evil spirits from the under world roam about during these nights, menacing and injuring human beings. A similar monster created by the popular fancy is the *Gryla*, a man-eating female demon with a long tail. In the Christmas jokes of later times these demonic figures seem to have been transformed into comic ones. The Scandinavian *julebuk* wore, until modern times, a devilish mask and horns, although the monster had the friendly mission of bringing gifts to the children.

This idea of the walking of evil spirits on the Yule nights has probably led to the adoption of a series of customs and beliefs, not originally Teutonic, which have left their stamp, nevertheless, on the mediæval and modern popular Christmas, viz. in the notion of houses being haunted by the ghosts of their former occupants. The notion is familiar in Persia and Greece, where the deceased members of the family were thought to visit the living ones at a certain season—February or March—always on intercalary days (see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Iranian], i. 455). This belief has passed from antiquity into the Roman Catholic Church, which had the technical name *mundus patet* for it. 'All Souls' Day' (2 Nov.) was the day chosen by the Church for this cult of the dead; but the popular customs relating to the idea have accumulated round Christmas-time, and seem to have changed the whole festival into a systematic arrangement for a good reception of the friendly guests. The cleaning of house and stables, the slaughtering and brewing, baking and cooking, bathing and dressing, the burning of candles, the serving of

the supper—all the preparations of the busy time before Christmas to the moment of departing for church on Christmas Eve—have now an additional purpose: when the house is left, the dead come to visit and to scrutinize it, to see if all be in order, and then they take their meal from the ready table (cf. Alsso, iv. 170 f.: 'ut in noctibus veniant dii et comedant'), eating and drinking only the immaterial part of the meal. In Northern Sweden the peasants prepare a special table for these visitors; and accounts of some persons who have seen the dead on this evening in the house or in the church, where they also have their service, are well known in Germany and Scandinavia. The fertility of the year is made to depend on the good reception of the dead. In the Church hymns they sometimes take the shape of angels, or their functions are attributed to the angels (Feilberg, in his Danish book *Jul*, has collected a large number of these features of the Christmas festival).

The *English* Christmas customs are not deeply imbued with this animistic belief, but keep more of the traditions of the Saturnalia. As briefly described by an English writer (in *EBr*[9] v. 704), the joyful character prevails:

'It was the custom on Christmas eve, after the usual devotions were over, to light large candles and throw on the hearth a huge log, called the Yule Log or Christmas Block. At court, and in the houses of the wealthy, an officer, named the Lord of Misrule, was appointed to superintend the revels; and in Scotland a similar functionary used to be appointed under the title of the Abbot of Unreason, till the year 1555, when the office was abolished by Act of Parliament. The reign of the Lord of Misrule began on All-Hallow eve, and lasted till Candlemas day. The favourite pastimes over which he presided were gaming, music, conjuring, dipping for nuts and apples, dancing, fool plough, hot cockles, blind man's buff, etc. . . . The favourite dishes for breakfast and supper at this season were the boar's head with an apple or orange in the mouth and set off with rosemary, plum pudding, and mince pies. The houses and churches were decked with evergreens, especially with mistletoe.'

This mistletoe is generally considered to be a remnant of Celtic religion, possibly a relatively modern revival rather than an old survival. The use of evergreen at Christmas-time is elsewhere rather modern. The German *Weihnachtsbaum*, a fir tree, cannot be traced further back than the 17th cent., and it was not in general use before the end of the 18th. In Scandinavia, where it is now quite as frequent as in Germany, it was unknown until the beginning of the 19th cent.; about the end of the same century it was carried to France by German families. Probably it was adopted at first through analogy with the *Maienbaum*.

The etymology of the word 'Yule' is not clear, and its original meaning is therefore very uncertain. Falk and Torp (*Etymol. Ordbog*, 1903) adduce Old Norse *jól* (neut. plur.); Anglo-Sax. *geoh(h)ol, géol* [**jehwla* and **je(g)wla*]; Indo-Germ. **jegelo*, akin to Lat. *jocus* (from *joqo-*); later (and through the German), Fr. *joli*, Eng. 'jolly,' Ital. *giulivo*. Uhlenbeck (*Etymol. Worterbuch der Sanskritsprache*, art. 'Yaic') has a more distant derivation from Skr. $\sqrt{}$*yaic*, 'to invite' (invitation of guests or of ghosts [?]).

Cf. also preceding article.

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EDV. LEHMANN.

CHRONOLOGY.—Chronology determines the time of the occurrence of past events in terms of the periodic movements of some of the heavenly bodies; as, for example, the day and the year, the former being the length of time the earth takes to make a complete revolution on its axis, and the latter the time it takes to complete its annual circuit round the sun. In order to make these mathematically precise units available for human chronology, it was indispensable to fix some starting-point, generally some momentous event in the history of a people, from which the dates of subsequent events were to be measured in so many days, or years, or centuries, or cycles. The working of this method in historical times may be illustrated by the phrases *Anno Domini, Anno Urbis Conditæ*, the former being the commencement of the Christian era, now used throughout Christendom, and the latter the year from which the Romans dated their recorded transactions. In this way the occurrence, recurrence, and succession of events are investigated and arranged, not only in the order of their chronological sequence, but with precise relationship to a fixed landmark in the stream of time. But, as this method is applicable only to the historic period, it became necessary to devise some other means of computing time, if it was desired to have any knowledge of what took place on the globe prior to the later stages of human civilization.

For the materials on which this new departure in chronological research is founded we are indebted to the science of Geology. The first significant step towards success was the recognition of the importance of superposition among the stratified beds of sedimentary rocks, the lower strata being necessarily older than those above them. A careful comparison of the heterogeneous objects contained in these beds has now led to such astounding results, that geologists are enabled to lay down, as it were on a chart, the progressive modifications which have taken place in the flora and fauna of bygone ages, as well as many of the concomitant physical changes which the world has undergone. The manner in which these correlated results come under the standards of mathematical chronology will be described when we come to discuss the details of the system.

As above defined, these two chronological systems naturally fall to be classed as *Absolute* and *Relative* Chronology; and we shall now proceed to examine their respective materials with sufficient fullness to give a general idea of their value as bringing to our knowledge memorials of the past history of man and his civilization.

i. **Absolute chronology.**—There can be little doubt that the earliest chronological units to attract the attention of mankind were the day, the year, the month, and the seasons; but, as the preservation of any records implies a certain knowledge of the art of calculating the periodic movements of the earth and the moon, it is evident that human sociology had made considerable progress before the year and day had been adopted as regular standards for the measurement of time. Indeed, it would have been almost impossible to transmit the memory of past transactions, with any degree of accuracy before the invention of letters and of the art of writing, so that the overlap between evanescent traditions and the development of historical records forms a wide borderland almost impermeable to Absolute Chronology, and made accessible to it only after much recondite research.

1. The solar *day* is the time that elapses between the sun's leaving the meridian and his return to it, and hence, owing to the obliquity of the ecliptic, the length of the day is continually varying. Moreover, the regular alternation of light and darkness, heat and cold, during the period produces a marked effect on the whole of the organic world. Not only mankind, but even some of the higher animals, regulate their actions in full confidence in the recurrence of its normal changes. In Britain and some other European countries, the day is reckoned to begin at midnight; but among the

ancients it began either at sunrise or at sunset. The Romans called the period between sunrise and sunset the natural day, and divided it into 12 *horæ*; but, since this interval varied from day to day, it is obvious that the Roman hour was correspondingly affected. The division of the day into 24 hours of equal length dates, however, from a very early period.

2. The cycle of 7 days, known as a *week*, was used by Hindus, Assyrians, Babylonians, and other Eastern peoples; and among the Jews the seventh day had a special religious significance assigned to it (see SABBATH). The close approximation of 7 days to a quarter of the lunar month may have suggested the origin of this period in social life, but it is regarded by the priestly writer of Gn 2^3 (cf. Ex 20^{11}) as a memorial of the story of the creation of the world. The days of the week were first named after the seven heavenly bodies then known, viz. Saturn, Juppiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, the sun, and the moon; but, as now written in the English language, four of these names have been transformed into the Germanic equivalents of the Latin divinities which they respectively represent.

3. The moon, owing to her appreciable motion in the heavens and the variable phases of her illuminated surface, must have been an object of human interest at all times. As a unit of time, she has also played a conspicuous part by her *monthly* revolutions round the earth. Each revolution, counting from one new moon to the next, constitutes a lunar or synodic month, and measures 29 days, 12 hrs., 44 min., and 3 seconds.

4. The exact length of the *year* is the period which elapses between the sun's leaving either tropic and his return to the same position. This is called the tropical, or solar, year, and comprehends the twelve calendar months, as well as a complete rotation of the four seasons. Its mean length is 365 days, 5 hrs., 48 min., and 51·6 sec.; and it is generally considered as beginning on 1st January and ending on 31st December. In earlier times, however, its duration was variously estimated. At first 12 lunar months were supposed to be a near enough approach to the course of the seasons; but, being short by 11 days of the solar year, the discrepancy soon became apparent, and the 11 days had to be somehow distributed among the 12 lunar months. The Egyptians, who were early acquainted with the solar year, divided each lunar month into 30 days, and added 5 supplementary days at the end of the 12th month. The Jewish year consisted of 12 lunar months, a thirteenth month being from time to time added so as to make it, so far, correspond with the seasons and the solar year. The Greeks and Romans also adopted the 12 lunar months as the main divisions of the year, and had various artificial methods for adjudicating among them the surplus days necessary to make up the length of the solar year. The confusion thus caused in the social chronology of these classic countries continued till Julius Cæsar introduced the Julian Calendar, which assigned to the year 365 days, with a leap-year every fourth year. The first Julian year commenced with 1st Jan. 46 B.C.

It will be observed that the addition of a day every 4 years to the month of February was 11 minutes and a few seconds each year in excess of what was requisite to complete the solar year. This increment, being scarcely appreciable in a man's lifetime, remained undisturbed until it amounted, in A.D. 1582, to 10 complete days. By this time the discrepancy was causing great dislocation among the Church festivals, and hence Pope Gregory XIII., after careful study of the problem, undertook to rectify this anomalous state of affairs. Observing that in 1582 the vernal equinox fell 10 days earlier (11th March) than it did at the Council of Nice (21st March, A.D. 325), he decided to reduce the year by 10 days. Accordingly it was ordained that the then 5th of Oct. 1582 should be called the 15th. To prevent the recurrence of similar errors in future, it was further ordained that every 100th year should not be counted a leap-year, excepting, however, every fourth hundredth, commencing with the year 2000. As a consequence of these prospective adjustments, it is calculated that the difference between the civil and the solar year will not amount to a day in 5000 years. Roman Catholic nations in general at once accepted the Gregorian Calendar, but it was not till after A.D. 1700 that the Germans and other Protestant nations adopted the New Style, as it was then called. In 1751 an Act was passed in England for adjusting the year in accordance with the Gregorian Calendar, by which time the difference amounted to 11 days. In the few countries, like Russia, in which the Old Style is still in vogue, it is now necessary to add 13 days to the day of their month in order to bring it into line with current European chronology.

The time at which the year began also varied among the different peoples of antiquity, some—Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, and others—dating it from the autumnal equinox, while the Greeks, up to the time of Meton (432 B.C.), dated their year from the winter solstice. The Jewish civil year began at the autumnal equinox, but their sacred year was reckoned from the vernal equinox. The Romans were the first to count the year from the 1st of January, but it was a considerable time later before the other European nations followed their example. In France it was adopted in 1563, in Scotland in 1600, and in England in 1752. Previous to the complete adoption of this mode of reckoning there was much uncertainty as to the commencement of the year, the most common date being the 25th of March, as was the case with the ecclesiastical year.

5. Another chronological point with regard to which old-world nationalities differed was *the beginning of their respective eras.* Thus the Greeks dated their current events from the first Olympiad, *i.e.* the first celebration of the famous games at which the victor's name was recorded—a date which is generally taken to correspond with the year 776 B.C. From historical records we know that this era continued in use till the 304th Olympiad, *i.e.* A.D. 440. Among the Romans it was the date of the foundation of their capital (753 B.C.) from which they counted their years. The Babylonians reckoned their years according to the era of Nabonassar (747 B.C.). When, however, different nationalities began and ceased to count according to their respective eras is not easily determined with certainty.

The Christian era is supposed to begin with the year in which Christ was born, but there are different opinions held as to the precise date of that event.[1] This era appears to have been first introduced into Italy in the 6th cent., and to have extended into Gaul and Britain about the close of the 8th century. Its author (Dionysius Exiguus) adopted the day of the Annunciation (the 25th March) as the commencement of the first year—a mode of reckoning which, as we have seen, was long prevalent in European countries.

6. The *duration of time* was sometimes defined in terms of so many summers or winters; and Herodotus makes mention of a generation as a recognized chronological unit in his day. The custom of counting years from special Saints' days,

[1] It is generally held that the birth of Christ took place from 4 to 6 years earlier than our present system implies (*i.e.* in 6 or 4 B.C.).

or from the beginning of the reign of some famous king, increased the confusion of the chronological materials of the proto-historic period, and adds to the difficulty of deciphering absolutely correct dates from those which can be regarded as such only within a small margin of possible error. The fact that the day and the year are not aliquot parts of each other is the *fons et origo mali* of many of the perplexing intricacies of early historical chronology.

The Biblical account of the time which elapsed from the creation of Adam to the birth of Christ varies in a hopelessly irreconcilable fashion in different versions of the Scriptures. The Hebrew text assigns 4000 years to it, while the Septuagint reckons it at 6000 years.

Gabriel de Mortillet (in *Dict. des Sciences anthropol.*) tabulates the various estimates of the duration of this period by no less than 32 different authorities, from which it appears that the highest was 6984 years, and the lowest 3784 years — a difference of 3200 years.

ii. **Relative chronology.**—As already stated, this method deals, in the first place, only with the sequence of events, leaving their absolute antiquity to be determined from the collateral phenomena with which they were associated.

1. Among the multifarious contents of sedimentary rocks from which much of the evidential materials in this department of chronology are derived, *fossils* are the most important in supplying data for the interpretation of the history of the organic world. Mere sports of fortuitous circumstances, fossils were not intended either to instruct mankind or to be a permanent record of the forms of life in past ages. Yet such they have become in the hands of *homo sapiens*. A shell, a tooth, a petrified bone, or even the impression of an object long since disintegrated, often suffices to reveal the characteristics of genera and species now extinct. Throughout the æons during which the ever-changing manifestations of life have flourished on the globe, these footprints on the sands of time disclose the same story of successive scenes of organic life, each rising to higher ideals than its predecessor. New species were constantly appearing on the stage of existence, while others were hustled off in a relentless death struggle with their more highly equipped successors.

2. It is scarcely necessary to particularize the chronological problems suggested by the operations of wind, waves, running streams, etc., in excavating rocks and transporting the materials to distant localities. No one can help philosophizing on the stupendous results produced by such apparently trivial causes when operating for long ages. The gorge through which the river Niagara flows between the Falls and Queenstown, a distance of 7 miles, is believed by the most competent geologists to have been excavated by the disintegrating power of the water, facilitated in a portion of its course by some favourable conditions of the lower strata. Starting at the cliff at Queenstown, the waterfall has gradually receded to its present site. Now it is clear that, if we know the rate at which this recession is going on, we can approximately ascertain how long it has taken to excavate the entire gorge—a time which Sir Charles Lyell has estimated at 35,000 years.

3. But, however interesting these geological problems may be from an academic point of view, it is only when the stray *works of man* become blended with them, as, *e.g.*, when commingled with the contents of stratified beds of aqueous deposits, or with the gradually accumulated débris of caves and other inhabited sites of early man, that they claim the attention of anthropologists, on account of the number of well-founded chronological inferences to which they give rise. The products of man's hands, as disclosed by his progressive mechanical skill, have special characteristics by which they can be recognized in all their evolutionary stages, and are thus brought under the touchstone of Absolute Chronology. Fortunately, these past phases of civilization are not entirely obliterated, as, here and there, they have left traces behind them in the form of relics which, like instantaneous photos of shifting scenes, give glimpses of the past history of nations which can never again reappear on the stage of life. A combination of circumstances which would evolve a style of art that could be mistaken for that of any of the old world civilizations of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, or Greece would be as improbable as the re-appearance of extinct animals among the world's fauna of the future. Thus all the relics of the past have labels affixed to them which are legible to the initiated.

The following stratigraphical sequence from below upwards, the result of the ordinary laws of Nature, has been noted in the valley of the Forth, namely, estuary mud and clay, the decayed remains of a forest, a thick growth of peat, and, finally, cultivated land—this last change being due to the removal of the peat by human agency towards the close of the 18th century. During the process of removing this peat, some bronze vessels of pre-Roman types, a corduroy road of cut logs, supposed to have been constructed by the Romans, and the broken trunks of trees with their roots still *in situ* (one of which showed 314 rings or years' growth), were found on the surface of the underlying clay. Also embedded in this clay, but in different localities and at different times, were the skeletons of over a dozen whales, and associated with some of them were a few perforated deer-horn implements. The surface of these clays is now from 20 to 25 feet above present sea level (*PRSE*, vol. xxv. p. 242 ff.).

The circumstances in which these evidences of man's hand were intermingled with nature's operations leave no possibility of doubt that the land formerly under water has been raised 24 feet at least since the school of whales became stranded on the bed of the shallow firth which then extended for many miles to the west of Stirling; that man was contemporary with the cetacean catastrophe and even attacked the stranded animals with deer-horn implements; that, in consequence of the land upheaval, a portion of the raised sea-beach became the *habitat* of a great forest in which the oak predominated; that this forest was in full growth during the occupation of the district by the Romans; and that, subsequently, the trees succumbed to the inroads of growing peat, which, towards the end of the 18th cent., amounted to a thickness of 8 feet.

The Swiss antiquaries have occasionally attempted to deduce evidence of the age of their *habitations lacustres* by an investigation of the collateral changes which have taken place in the environment since they ceased to be inhabited. The materials for a chronological problem of this kind were found at the upper end of the lake of Neuchâtel, which the present writer has thus recorded:

'At the foot of Mount Chamblon, rather more than a mile from the lake (Neuchâtel) and not far from Yverdom, there are some deposits which the peasants have been in the habit of utilizing as fuel. Here in two spots, according to Mr. Rochat, the peat-cutters are reported to have met with piles and transverse beams with mortices. The tops of the piles were 6 to 10 feet below the surface. A flint arrow-head, two stone celts of serpentine, and a bronze bracelet were found in one of these bogs; and hence Messrs. Troyon and Rochat consider that there was a palafitte here—a supposition which involves the theory that the lake formerly extended to the locality. Nor is this theory without some evidence in support of it, as the amount of *débris* brought down by the Thielle is very great. On the supposition that the Roman city of Eborodunum, the ruins of which are now 2500 feet from the present shore,

was built on the lake in the 4th cent., Mr. Troyon calculates that the water of the lake would have been as far back as the site of the palafitte about fifteen centuries before the Christian era' (*Lake Dwellings of Europe*, 1890, p. 59).

4. Occasionally the rotation of the seasons has its traces stereotyped in the book of time so pronouncedly that they become legible, long afterwards, in terms of the ordinary units of Absolute Chronology. Thus trees growing in temperate regions have their age recorded in their structure by the well-known concentric circles, or annual growths. The horns of some animals also give similar indications of age. Such facts coming on the field of archæology are often utilized as giving evidence of sequence. Thus, a forest of great trees growing over a tumulus, or a kitchen midden, proves that any archæological remains found on excavating these sites are older than the trees. Again, some rivers, such as the Nile, which are subject to yearly inundations, leave behind them, each season, a thin layer of mud, from which it is manifest that the thickness of the accumulated layers in a given area is equivalent to the number of years which have passed since the inundations began to flow over that particular area.

A propos of the above statement, we may here note the well-known attempt of Horner to interpret the chronological significance of the intercalation of the works of man with the sedimentary deposits of the Delta of the Nile. As the result of excavations carried out at the statue of Ramses II. at Memphis in 1850, Horner ascertained that 9 feet 4 inches of mud accumulated since that monument had been erected, *i.e.* at the rate of 3½ inches in the century. He then dug several shafts in the vicinity of the statue; and in one of them, at a depth of 39 feet, he found a fragment of pottery which, according to the above rate of the increase of mud, would indicate the presence of man in the Nile valley some 13,000 years ago. In the light of recent archæological investigations in Egypt, this inference is by no means improbable, as Flinders Petrie dates the Neolithic Period in that country as far back as 7000 B.C. (see *Philos. Transac.* 1855-58).

5. Anthropological researches have developed two well-defined lines on which chronological investigations may be profitably conducted, both of which start from the attainment by man of the erect attitude. The evidential materials to be gathered from these different sources consist, in the one case, of some fragments of a few skeletons of former races, which, by some fortuitous circumstances, have hitherto resisted the disintegrating forces of nature; and, in the other, of a number of man's handicraft works, which, being largely made of such endurable substance as flint, are abundantly met with. The successive modifications which these respective materials have undergone during the lapse of many ages, though different in kind, are found to bear a decided ratio to the progress of human intelligence. Thus, taking the human skull at the starting-point of humanity as comparable with that of one of the higher apes, we know, from its fossil remains, that during the onward march of time it has undergone some striking changes, both in form and in capacity, before reaching the normal type of modern civilized races. Similarly, the artificial products of man's hands show a steady improvement in type, technique, and efficiency, commensurate with his mechanical skill and power of applying it to utilitarian purposes. Stray objects of both these categories are not unfrequently associated in the same place, thus proving their contemporaneity, as was the case in the *Grotte de Spy*, in Belgium, where two human skeletons, the skulls of which were of a peculiarly low type, were found associated with flint implements of the earliest known forms used by Palæolithic cave-men of Europe (*Archives de Biologie de Gand*, 1886).

Of the many arguments advanced in support of the great antiquity of man, perhaps the most convincing is that founded by Nüesch on the contents of the rock-shelter of Schweizersbild, in Switzerland. This locality seems to have been a constant *rendezvous* for bands of roving hunters from the Palæolithic period down to the Bronze age. Nüesch, the explorer of the shelter, has expressed the opinion, founded on the relative thickness of the deposits and the character of the fauna represented in them, that the antiquity of its earliest human relics cannot be less than 20,000 years. The present writer has elsewhere epitomized the nature of the evidence on which this conclusion was based, as follows:

'According to Professor Nehring, who has made a special study of the animals now inhabiting the arctic and sub-arctic regions, those characteristic of the former are—Band-lemming, Obi-lemming, arctic fox, mountain hare, reindeer, and musk-ox. With these are frequently associated a number of animals of migratory habits, such as northern vole, water-rat, glutton, ermine, little weasel, wolf, fox, and bear. Now the extraordinary fact was brought out, that, of these fourteen species, only the Obi-lemming and the musk-ox were unrepresented in the lowest relic-bed of the Schweizersbild. The latter was, however, found in the *débris* of the Kesslerloch cave in the vicinity. It appears that the Band-lemming (*Myodes torquatus*) and the arctic fox are the most persistent animals of the arctic fauna, so that the presence of the bones of these two animals in the *débris* of this rock-shelter was alone sufficient to prove that the climate of the period was of an arctic character. In the upper portion of this deposit, relics of new animals, indicating a change to a sub-arctic climate, began to appear, and had their greatest development in the next succeeding layer.

The result of careful analysis of the contents of the other deposits showed that this arctic fauna became ultimately displaced by the true forest fauna of the Neolithic period. Among the newcomers were the badger, wild cat, hare, *Urus*, *Bos longifrons*, goat, and sheep; while, of those represented in the Palæolithic deposit, a large number was absent. Thus both the arctic and sub-arctic fauna had given way to a forest fauna, and, synchronous with these changes, the Palæolithic hunters and reindeer vanished from the district' (*PRSE*. vol. xxv. p. 98).

In the above chronological problem the natural phenomena, which stand in correlation with 20,000 years, consist of a complete transformation of an arctic climate with its characteristic flora and fauna to a temperate climate with the forest fauna of Neolithic times.

6. The application of *astronomical science* to the unravelling of the mysteries of the Megalithic monuments of pre-historic times is a promising innovation on the field of Relative Chronology. It was first stated by Sir John Herschel, in 1839, that the angle at which the entrance to the Great Pyramid slopes is such that, at the time of construction, one looking directly from the bottom of the long entrance could see a bright star of Draco on the meridian, and so near the true North Pole that it would be regarded as such. Accepting the correctness of this supposition, it is calculated that the date of construction of the Pyramid was 3440 B.C.

Recently Sir Norman Lockyer has made an effort to ascertain the date of Stonehenge by applying to it the same astronomical data which he and Penrose had used with 'sun-temples' in Greece and Egypt. On the hypothesis that Stonehenge was a sun-temple, and that its builders were in the habit of laying out the summer solstice for religious purposes by placing one or two monoliths in line with the altar and the rising sun, the antiquity of this mysterious monument becomes a mere astronomical problem, the solution of which, however, is conditional on the materials still present in the ruins being capable of supplying the necessary correct data. It is interesting to state that, from the recent measurements and calculations of Sir Norman Lockyer, the date of the construction of Stonehenge is announced to be 1680 B.C., with ± 200 years as a possible margin of error (see *Stonehenge and other British Stone Monuments Astronomically considered*, London, 1906).

The above sketch is merely intended to serve as a general exposition of the chronological methods hitherto adopted in elucidating the past. Once the student gets among materials anterior to the use of coins and well-authenticated historical documents, he has to depend largely on supplementary methods of investigation. It is therefore deemed

unnecessary in this article to go beyond general principles, as the descriptive details of the chronological methods and different eras prevalent among foreign nations, ancient and modern, will be more appropriately discussed in such articles as CALENDAR, STARS, TIME, etc. ROBERT MUNRO.

CHRYSIPPUS.—Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus—this was the order of succession among the early Presidents of the Stoic school. Yet Chrysippus (282–209 B.C.) is usually regarded as the *second* founder of the school, according to the saying, 'Had there been no Chrysippus, there would have been no Stoa.' This, however, must not be taken too literally. For, on the one hand, the distinctive doctrines of Stoicism originated with Zeno; and, on the other hand, the contributions made by Cleanthes, on the lines of these fundamental doctrines, were neither few nor unimportant. What gives to Chrysippus his peculiar place is the fact that he was the dialectician in chief of the school—the redoubtable debater, aggressive and untiring, whose keenness, versatility, and acuteness, defensively and offensively applied, as well as his genius in formulating and systematizing, won for the school a fame that it never lost. Moreover, by his fondness for arguing both 'against' and 'for' a position, he stimulated opponents (such as Carneades) to active thinking, and furnished them in part with material for their adverse criticism.

Of the life of Chrysippus not much is known. The son of Apollonius, he was born somewhere about 282 B.C., perhaps at Tarsus, but more likely at Soli, in Cilicia. He was small in stature. On doubtful authority, his original occupation is said to have been that of a racer. Coming to Athens, at a date unknown, he attached himself as a pupil to Cleanthes, and threw himself eagerly into the study of the Stoic system, becoming ultimately, on the death of Cleanthes, the head of the school. His reputation for learning among his contemporaries was very great. He was noted for intellectual audacity and self-confidence; and his reliance on his own ability was shown, among other things, in the repeated request that he is represented as making to Cleanthes, 'Give me the principles, and I will find the proofs for myself.' He was extremely active as a controversialist, breaking a lance with Diodorus the Megaric over the question of the possible and the necessary in judgments; arguing with the Academics on the attainability of truth, and with the Epicureans on the structure of the Universe and the nature and standard of morality; and, while he defended and elaborated the Stoic cosmology and theory of knowledge, he developed the science of Logic (taken over, in the first instance, from Aristotle) in various directions, and, in his dialectical zeal, revelled in formal reasoning to an extent and in a manner that might have dismayed even a mediæval Doctor. His writings were voluminous (more than 705, it is said); but, if we may trust Diogenes Laërtius, they were not particularly original.

In contrasting him with Epicurus, Diog. Laërt. says that the works of Epicurus, also very *many* in number, were characterized by the fact that they were independent productions, emanations from his own brain (οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει), containing no extracts or quotations from other writers, whereas the works of Chrysippus were made up in great part of citations from other authors. Apollodorus, 'the Athenian,' puts it even more strongly. 'For,' says he, 'if one should take away from the books of Chrysippus all the matter furnished by others, his paper would be left empty' (Diog. Laërt. vii. 3).

This is clearly a prejudiced and exaggerated characterization, and must be received with caution. From what we know from other sources, we must credit Chrysippus with genuine originality, and must accept him as a dialectical force of an exceptional order. There is general consent, however, that he was diffuse and obscure in his utterances and extremely careless in his style, and that his repetitions and appeals to authority were tedious. But that does not imply that he was not a man of really subtle and penetrating genius; and it is undoubted that he came to exercise a commanding authority over others. His subtlety is widely attested (see, *e.g.*, Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.*, *passim*); and Epictetus, among others, bears testimony to his unique authority (*Diss.* i. 17, *Enchir.* 49), while Horace (*Sat.* II. iii. 44) pays him the compliment of designating Stoicism 'the school and sect of Chrysippus' (*Chrysippi porticus et grex*). If, moreover, we look at the later Stoical writers, such as Seneca, we find that their allusions to and quotations from Chrysippus far outnumber those from other Stoic masters. There is no doubt that, in the Stoic school itself and among the various philosophic sects of ancient Greece and Rome, the name of Chrysippus was one to conjure with. Even the fact that his opponent Carneades, of the New Academy, could frankly admit that 'had there been no Chrysippus, there would have been no *me*,' bespeaks his supreme influence; and it is further significant that, when writers like Plutarch, Galen, and Alexander the Aphrodisian wish to attack Stoicism, it is Chrysippus that they choose as their chief adversary.

1. Logic.—Great as was the dialectical skill of Chrysippus, and outstanding as was his work in developing and elaborating the Stoic Logic, his intellectual subtlety was liable to be perverted in two separate directions—fancifulness and juggling with words.

We see an example of the first of these in many of his allegorical interpretations of Greek mythology, the flimsiness of which was acknowledged even by representatives of the Stoic sect itself. Seneca, for instance, in his *de Beneficiis* (i. 3), speaking of Chrysippus's allegorizing of the three Graces in relation to benefits, says that he 'fills his book with these follies, so that he speaks exceedingly little about the reason of giving and receiving and restoring a benefit; nor does he graft the fables on to his discourse, but, on the contrary, grafts the discourse on to the fables.' And, immediately after, he excuses his temerity in criticizing Chrysippus, on the plea that 'Chrysippus is an exceedingly great man, but a Greek, and his subtlety is very tenuous and blunted, and is apt to turn round upon itself; and, even when he seems to give effective treatment of anything, he pricks but does not penetrate (*pungit, non perforat*).'

On the other hand, Chrysippus was not above quibbling and sophistic reasoning. Like the other Greeks of the time, he delighted in intellectual puzzles ('the Heap,' 'the Liar,' etc.) and in verbal conceits. Thus, for example, he reasoned: 'if you say anything, it comes through your mouth; but you say "a waggon"; therefore, a waggon comes through your mouth' (Diog. Laërt. vii. 11). Much else of the same kind seems to have amused his fancy or exercised his ingenuity.

Nevertheless, Chrysippus made his mark in Formal Logic. He analyzed speech, he contributed to the doctrine of Definition and the handling of names or terms, he treated judgments or propositions in all their forms in great detail, he expended much energy in refuting (his opponents said, excogitating) fallacies, and in syllogistic reasoning he had the peculiarity of regarding the hypothetical syllogism as the fundamental type of inference.

In that part of Logic known as Theory of Knowledge, he worked with no little distinction, placing the criterion of truth in sense-perception and common notions (αἴσθησις and πρόληψις), and especially emphasizing the assent of the mind (συγκατάθεσις) as a leading factor in objective perception.

With the name of Chrysippus is closely associated the Stoic doctrine of the Categories. This is an attempt to face the metaphysical question of the nature of Reality, and it is considerably different from the doctrine of Aristotle. Beginning with Being (τὸ ὄν) or Something (τί), it went on to consider how this was determined. It must be taken as the permanent substratum or basis (ὑποκείμενον) of essential qualities (τὸ ποιόν), and, thus viewed, is implicated in changing states (τὸ πῶς

ἔχον), and, consequently, in varied relations (τὸ πρός τι πῶς ἔχον). There are thus not ten categories, as with Aristotle, but only four—viz. (1) subject or substratum; (2) qualities (essential); (3) the non-essential qualities belonging to the object taken in itself, designated 'manner of being'; and (4) the other group of non-essential qualities, those qualities that the object possesses through its relation to other objects. Moreover, these four categories are not, like the ten of Aristotle, an enumeration of *summa genera* each of co-ordinate value with the others, but are arranged in a definite scheme, or graded system, in the relations of super-ordination and subordination, the order being a point of great importance, 'the second presupposing and attaching to the first; the third presupposing and attaching to the first, *plus* the second; the fourth presupposing and attaching to the first, *plus* the second and [the] third' (Grote, *Aristotle*,[2] p. 102).

2. Physics.—Here, too, Chrysippus was no mere echo. Like his predecessors, he was particularly insistent on the subordination of Physics to Ethics; and he occupied himself greatly with the exposition and analysis of the Universe, and such subtle topics as motion, time, and space. But, while adhering to the Materialism that characterized the Stoic school, he toned down the crude doctrine of his master Cleanthes, which maintained that, in sense-perception, the action of the object on the mind of the percipient was by means of actual dints, like that of a seal upon wax. He regarded the process as one of qualitative change or mental modification (ἑτεροίωσις ψυχῆς). Again, he was a doughty upholder of the doctrine of Fate, which seemed to follow from the reign of law which characterized Nature; and he identified Fate (εἱμαρμένη) with Providence (πρόνοια), holding that 'whatever is in accordance with providence is also fated, and, reversely, whatever is in accordance with fate also comes under providence.' He argued bravely, and in many ways, for the existence of God.

One of his favourite arguments was a peculiar modification of the cosmological proof, or argument from causality—viz. 'If there is anything that man cannot produce, the being who produces it is better than man. But man cannot produce the things that are in the world—the heavenly bodies, etc. He, therefore, who produces them is man's superior. But who is there that is superior to man, except it be God? Therefore, God is' (Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* III. x. 25).

His conception of Cause was that of the Stoics generally—viz. efficiency or productive agency; but, in handling Fate, and in the interests of human responsibility—that is, with a view to rescuing the freedom of the will from necessity—he made a distinction between causes that are 'complete and principal' (*perfectæ et principales*) and causes that are simply 'accessory and proximate' (*adjuvantes et proximæ*). And he maintained that, when we say that all things happen by Fate, the meaning is that they happen not from antecedent causes of the complete and principal kind, but from accessory and proximate causes (Cicero, *de Fato*, xviii.).

In this connexion, he used the particularly suggestive illustration of a cylinder or a top. A cylinder, when set moving, has its own peculiar motion; but it needs to be moved from without. The proximate cause is this extrinsic impetus; but that does not determine how the cylinder shall continue its motion. This latter is specific to the cylinder itself, on account of its form. So with the will of man. It is not independent of pre-existent causes, but these do not determine it—they only put it in action; the result is dependent on its own specific nature—on the man's character.

On the principle of natural causation, also, he was a strenuous upholder of divination; and on this built a further proof of the existence of God. If God is (he reasoned), He must have the power of prediction in divination, through omens, etc.; and if, as matter of fact, we find that such prediction takes place, then God is. It needs only a slight adaptation to modern notions to apply this to Scripture prophecy or to any accredited manifestation of the Deity to men. He had a view of his own, too, regarding the future existence of the individual soul. According to him, only the souls of the wise have immortality, and their immortality is not unending life, but duration till the Great Conflagration.

3. Ethics.—Stalwart logician though he was, Chrysippus gave the chief place in the Stoic scheme of the sciences to Ethics; in other words, Ethics was to him, as to Zeno and Cleanthes, the supreme and all-important science; and Logic and Physics, great in themselves, were only subsidiary. Accordingly, he interpreted the fundamental Stoic formula, 'Live agreeably to nature,' in relation indeed to the Whole or Universe, but also with a special reference to *human* nature. 'Our individual natures,' he said, 'are all parts of universal nature. Wherefore, the chief good is to live in accordance with nature, which is the same thing as in accordance with one's own nature and with the universal nature' (Diog. Laërt. vii. sect. 53). Now, human nature is, in its very essence, ethical. So Socrates had taught, and Chrysippus accepted it. Ethics, therefore, with Chrysippus, has a psychological foundation, and it runs up into Metaphysics and Theology. Man is akin to the Divine, emanating from the primal fire or ether, which, though material, is the embodiment of reason; and he should comport himself accordingly. He has freedom, and this freedom consists in emancipation from irrational desires (lust, riches, position in life, domination, and so forth), and in subjecting the will to the reason. On this account Chrysippus laid the greatest stress on the worth and dignity of the individual man, and on his power of will; and, as the passions or emotions (πάθη) are the disturbing element in right judgment, he gave a particularly full handling of the emotions on the basis of psychology. On the subject of Virtue, he peremptorily refused to allow pleasure to have anything to do in determining its value; virtue is self-sufficing, and needs no extraneous reward. This, however, did not prevent him from realizing that practice and habit are necessary to render virtue perfect in the individual—in other words, that there is such a thing as moral progress (προκοπή), and that character has to be built up. This was a point that later Stoicism fully developed; and, indeed, a good many of what are often regarded as the later ethical distinctions of Stoicism are to be found, in germ at least, in Chrysippus.

Nobly did Chrysippus wrestle with the problem of evil (pain and sin) in the world, and he reached the luminous conclusion that evil is good in disguise, that it is the condition and the means of moral progress, and is ultimately conducive to the best: joy and sorrow, pleasure and pain, adversity and prosperity, are parts of one harmonious whole, and each has its existence thereby justified.

This he expressed in a notable figure, by comparing evil with the coarse jest in the comedy. Such a jest is not to be commended on its own account, but it has a function in its special setting and improves the piece as a whole. 'So, too, you may criticize evil regarded by itself, yet allow that, taken with all else, it has its use' (Plutarch, *adv. Stoic.* 14).

He saw, moreover, that the perfection of the Universe (a dogma in the Stoic teaching) was not incompatible with the drawbacks and inconveniences that we find in Nature. On the contrary, Nature aims at producing things beautiful, as well as things useful, and, therefore, certain consequences of an inconvenient kind must follow.

Take, for instance, the human head (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* vi. 1, 3 f.). As the head is necessarily constructed of small and delicate bones, nothing can prevent its being liable to be easily broken. That is but a 'by-product' (κατὰ παρακολούθησιν, *per sequellas quasdam necessarias*), incident on the material used and the end to be served.

Teleology and Optimism were both articles in his creed. But he had the Stoic dislike (the dislike, at least, of the early Greek Stoics, who were markedly under the influence of Cynicism) of conventionality in Ethics. And so, without fear, he pushed the Stoic doctrine of 'indifferent' things (ἀδιάφορα) to its extreme logical conclusion. *Theoretically*, he saw no reason why people should not marry their mothers, or their daughters, or their sons; or why they should not turn cannibals.

In himself, Chrysippus is typical of Stoical *individualism.* His self-confidence, his sturdy independence, his arrogancy even, and his high ethical ideal showed his appreciation of the worth of the individual soul and the need of aiming at personal perfection. Yet such individualism was not incompatible with altruism and an appreciation of social duties. On the contrary, it is only in a social atmosphere, and by having respect to the interests and welfare of others, that the individual can secure his own interests and develop himself. Society, Chrysippus would allow, must nourish and protect the individual, but it must not swamp him: it demands his services, but it cannot coerce his will. Hence, Chrysippus stands forth as a robust ethicist of the early Stoic type—self-contained and rugged; unimpassioned, straightforward, contemptuous of compromise and of half measures.

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CHRYSOSTOM. — See ANTIOCHENE THEOLOGY.

CHTHONIAN DEITIES.—See EARTH-GODS.

CHUHRAS.—The Chuhras of the Panjāb and Central India (known also as Lāl Begīs, followers of Lāl Beg [see below]) were, until a comparatively late period, an unnoticed race; but the fact that many of them are becoming Christians has made them better known, and created an interest in their history and religion. It was observed by Ibbetson, in the Panjāb Census Reports, that the religion of the Chuhras is nearer Christianity in its principles than any other religion in India. Briefly, these principles are as follows:—

There is one God; sin is a reality, man is sinful; there is a High Priest, who is also a Mediator, to whom they pray; sacrifice is part of the worship of God; the spirit of man at death returns to God; there will be a resurrection of the body; there will be a day of judgment; there are angels, and there are evil spirits; there is heaven, and there is hell.

The Chuhras have no temple, but only a dome-shaped mound of earth facing the east, in which there are niches for lamps that are lighted by way of worship. When a shrine is made to Bālā Shāh, their Mediator, it is consecrated by peculiar rites. They dig a hole in the ground, and in it place a gold knife, a silver knife, a copper knife, the head of a sacrificed goat, and a coco-nut, all bound up in 1¼ yard of red cloth. Having levelled the ground, they make an altar of mud, in which are formed three niches for lamps. These lamps are filled with oil, lighted, and placed in the niches, after which the goat's flesh is cooked and eaten, part being distributed to the poor. A *chela* (= disciple, or *gyānī*, *i.e.* one versed in mysterious lore) performs the priestly function, but they all partake together. On Thursdays they worship at this shrine. The order of the ceremonies is as follows: A basket of cakes, made of flour, butter, and sugar, is placed on the altar. The sacrifice of a fowl, a goat, or an ox is offered at some distance from the shrine; and melted butter and sweet-smelling gums, such as camphor, are burned. This is called *hom.* This done, the priest sprinkles the people with whey, to signify refreshment, and with water also from a cup he sprinkles them for blessing. Five pice, which are placed in the melted butter, become the priest's portion. The people stand before the shrine, while the priest recites in Panjabī some such rhythmic invocation as the following:

> 'O God, O God!
> God's will be done!
> May the gift of the hand avert evil!
> May He have mercy on all!
> We call on the One True Name,
> The Great Shāh Bālā.
> At Thy door there is supply for all.
>
> What did they use in the first age?
> Standards of gold,
> Cushions of gold,
> Horses of gold,
> Cloth of gold,
> Shops of gold,
> Vessels of gold!
> When the great and bountiful Lord comes mounted,
> Bring the keys, and open the door of the temple;
> Behold the face of the true Lord!
> If the Master come not to the rites,
> They are not complete, O believers.
> Say, believers, All are saved.'

The congregation say, 'Amen!'

In this manner the silver, copper, and earthen ages are celebrated. The praise of Bālā is next recited. He is described as one who, before the world was created, adored the Name of God, until he issued forth as a teacher of mankind. Now his flag, his red flag, flies high in heaven between both worlds, and they pray to him: 'For the sake of thy son Bāl Bambrīk, have pity on the black race.'

Again the congregation say 'Amen!' and they seat themselves. The incense is then burned, and the sweet cake, with the flesh of the sacrifice, is distributed and eaten. Some is set apart for the dogs and the crows.

They are now ready to sing, to the accompaniment of drum and cymbal, the Attributes of God. In these the creation of man is described:

> 'Praise God, the true Original, who sat
> On waters dark, contemplative. He first
> Of yielding clay, with care and woondrous art
> As sculptor wise, began to mould the face
> And features, form and limbs, of Adam. There
> The image lay all lifeless still, without
> Or sense or motion, when to the entrance door
> Of this new mansion God led up the soul.
> The voice of God said, "Enter." "Nay, I will
> Not enter there," the soul cried fearfully,
> "In house so dark I will not, cannot live."
> He said, "A promise I do make—a day
> Will come when I will set thee free, and take
> Thee to Myself again." Thus urged, the soul
> Obedient entered.'

In due course one of the four sons of Brahmā, who had become incarnate, bearing away a dead cow, becomes thereby impure, and is excommunicated, with the promise that in the fourth age he will be restored to caste. The name of this fourth son, Jhaumpra, seems to be one of a series of names given to incarnate priests or teachers, and Bālā,

one of them, is described as having come from heaven for the sake of religion. He performed miracles, obtained gifts from heaven for his followers, including the heavenly inheritance, and instituted the rites of religion. One of the hymns contains the following:

'He comes to the world, the tenth incarnation.
Then only shall we worship rightly the name of the Lord.'

In the closing prayer God is thus addressed:

'I hang on Thy Name as a child on the breast.
Creator of all, none dandled Thee. Thou hast never been nursed.
Thou hadst neither sister nor brother, neither father nor mother.
The angels of God will come and break man's skull with a hammer.[1]
The future is written—what can father or mother do?
None has escaped death. But the One Name of God is True, Omnipresent.
In Thy house there is no want.'

Their assurance of the resurrection is embodied in those hymns that are recited on such occasions, *e.g.*:

'O worship Him at day dawn, who made the herbs and flowers,
Who waters field and greenwood with soft refreshing showers.
His garden blooms with roses, the gardener's wife is glad:
Around her burst the new buds, the bowers with leaves are clad.
Within this pleasant garden, a royal mansion stands,
The lamp that lights its hall was not placed by human hands:
A soul within appearing begins to sport and play,
As any happy child would on summer holiday.
But see, the house is darkened, the soul has taken flight
To God, who takes account of the deeds of sense and sight;
Alone, a homeless wanderer, she now is doomed to roam,
But at the resurrection the Lord will bring her home.
The body clad but sparely in garments poor and thin
Goes forth alike unfriended to wait the tomb within:
But that day fast approaches when God will souls recall,
There will be glad reunion, and God will keep us all.'

The closing words of the prayer are:

'O Bālā Shāh Nūri,
For the sake of thy son, Bāl Bambrīk,
Have mercy on the dark race.
Sādde Kūk tere agge
Terī Kūk dhur Dargāhe,
Our cry is to thee,
Thy cry reaches the presence of God.
Amen.'

Their High Priest and Mediator is known by various names—Bālā Shāh, Lāl Beg, Balmik, etc. Enough has been said to show the nature of the religion of this people. They have shrines, religious rites, and superstitions, making up such a form of religion as one might expect in a downtrodden and long-oppressed race, surrounded by the votaries of other faiths. In their hymns they freely compare their faith with the Hindu and Muhammadan religions, and claim pre-eminence for their own.

They bury their dead. The body is dressed and placed in the side of the tomb, in a receptacle carefully cut out, and is not laid in the bottom of the grave. The shoulder is placed towards the north star, and the feet to the east. Mourning for the dead is extremely and sadly impressive, one woman chanting the dirge and the other women following her, while they beat forehead and breast with their hands in time to the dirge. Nothing could be sadder. They wail:

'Night has fallen in the forest.
Go not unto that darkness
Whence there is no returning.

Let us take the Name of God,
He is worshipped everywhere.

God's angel of death comes,
And calls a man from the world.
Bring cold water,
The sleeping man must be bathed.

In the grave he is shown his real house,
That was not your real house, my friend.
This where you are now placed is your dwelling-place.'

[1] When a Hindu is buried, the skull is broken to free the spirit.

For a woman we have the plaint:

'I saw thee first in the marriage palanquin;
Go home now, thy time has come.

The cotton skeins are left in the basket,
The cotton is forsaken beside the spinning wheel.
In scanty dress, wife of the marriage bracelet,
Thou hast gone from the house.'

It is probable that, as the Chuhras are rapidly passing into the Christian Church, their religion will speedily be a thing of the past, but from what they at present believe it will be seen that they have been indeed like a child crying in the dark, stretching their hands out to God.

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CHURCH.—I. Origin and application of the word.—In slightly modified forms the word 'church' is common to all the Germanic tongues. Some early forms, like the O.H.G. *chirihha*, suggest a derivation from κυριακόν, 'belonging to the Lord,' 'the Lord's house.' Had the word 'church' entered through Ulfilas or any Christian teacher, that origin from a mere popular name for the Christian edifice would be incomprehensible. The source must then have been ἐκκλησία—the word sanctioned by long and universal usage as the name of the Christian society. So it was in all the Latin and, through them, all the Celtic tongues. But, if it be true that the word 'church' appeared in the Germanic speech in the 5th or possibly the 4th cent., *i.e.* before Christianity itself, it is easy to understand how the pagan German seized on the name for the building he robbed, rather than on the name for the fellowship he did not appreciate. Moreover, these marauders were much more likely to have picked up a word from the common speech like κυριακόν, than a word with high ecclesiastical associations like ἐκκλησία.

In addition to its original sense of 'the Lord's house,' 'church' is now employed for the service, as 'to attend church'; the clerical profession, as 'to enter the church'; the Church of Rome or of England in particular; the body of the Christian people, either in one local community, or in the world at large; or it may be an ideal conception embracing only true believers, either on earth only or also in heaven.

The associations of the word are still more perplexing than the meanings. It is only necessary to recall phrases like 'Church and State' or 'Church and Chapel' to understand why Hort should feel compelled to avoid it altogether and speak of the Christian *Ecclesia*. For his special purpose that method was defensible, but a general discussion should not shun the task of banishing vagueness and prejudice from common terms. Yet, as usage, not etymology, determines the meaning of words, we are concerned with the term 'church' chiefly as the equivalent of *ecclesia*. Ever since the Genevan revisers introduced 'church' in place of 'congregation,' 'church' means primarily the Christian society, and that is the subject with which we have to deal.

ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή, soon to embody all the differences between Judaism and Christianity, were originally so nearly synonymous that in the LXX both were used to tr. Heb. *qāhāl* (Nu 16[3] συναγωγή, Dt 31[30] ἐκκλησία). From Deut. onwards συναγωγή is almost always used for *'ēdhāh*, and ἐκκλησία for *qāhāl*. In Ja 2[2] συναγωγή is used for the ordinary gathering of the Christians for worship, whereas in Rev 2[9] and 3[9] (cf. 2[8] and 3[7]) ἐκκλησία is quite definitely applied to the Christian assembly, and συναγωγή to the Jewish.

This might seem to indicate that the chief reason why *ecclesia* came to be applied to the Christian community was that *synagōgē* was

appropriated for the Jewish. But *ecclesia* was already the more ideal conception. *Synagōgē* was only the local community, the visible congregation; the *ecclesia* was the ideal congregation of Israel.

Schürer (*GJV*[3] ii. 433) says: 'συναγωγή expresses only an empirical state of things, while ἐκκλησία expresses at the same time a dogmatic judgment of worth.' Sohm (*Kirchenrecht*, 1892, i. 16 ff.) finds that there was also a difference of tone in the use of ἐκκλησία compared with ἀγορά or σύνοδος, even in classical usage, while in later usage it stands for an assembly of the people as a whole, were it only in tumult. Still another cause for the preference of *ecclesia* is suggested by Wellhausen (*Evang. Matt.*, 1904, p. 84): 'The original Aramaic word *k'nishta* was applied to the Jewish as well as to the Christian community. The Palestinian Christians never made any distinction, but used it equally for Church and Synagogue. . . . In Greek ἐκκλησία is the more distinguished word, and it may be that the Jews of the Diaspora had already preferred it to συναγωγή, which had assumed a more limited and local sense, such as it did not have in the LXX. The Christians used it exclusively. The etymology according to which the ἐκκλητοί are the ἐκλεκτοί may have been before their minds.'

In Gal 1^{22} we find St. Paul speaking of 'the churches of Judæa which were in Christ,' as if the Jewish communities also might be churches. The expression 'all the churches of Christ salute you' (Ro 16^{16}), Hort interprets as all the Jewish Christian churches. It is much more probable, however, that here Paul means all the churches of Corinth, from which he was writing. In that case he does not use the descriptive title to distinguish the churches of the Christ from other kinds of churches; but, with the saying 'Is Christ divided?' still in his mind, he would show that he had persuaded all the sections to distinguish themselves no longer as of Paul or Apollos or Cephas. When he speaks of persecuting the Church, though it was the Church of Judæa, he no longer says, 'of Christ,' but in both passages (1 Co 15^{9}, Gal 1^{13}) 'the Church of God.' Here probably, as Hort suggests, there is a reminiscence of Ps 74^{2}, and therefore a conscious appropriation of the OT conception of the congregation which God had purchased of old. That Paul should have appropriated it for the church in connexion with his poignant sorrow for having persecuted it may indicate the personal experience which gave such intensity to his sense of the unity of all Christians.

Though we have the means of tracing only Paul's usage, he could not have been impressed by the conception had he not found it already existing in the Church. This is confirmed by Peter's speeches. From the beginning we find the Christians conceiving themselves as the body of the elect who, though then obscure and oppressed, were to be manifested with Christ at His glorious appearing.

A summary of all the uses of the term *ecclesia* in the NT is given by Hort (*Ecclesia*, 1897, p. 119). This freedom of use does not, however, indicate either vague or varied meaning. It shows rather that 'church' stood for one comprehensive idea which could have many special applications. The word was not first applied to the local communities and then extended to embrace the whole, but stood for the NT Israel, and was meant to assert that the essence of the whole was in every part. Wherever two or three were gathered together, there the Church was in all its power and dignity, in all the promise of the Kingdom of God, and in possession of the blessings of that Kingdom.[1]

[1] The credit of emphasizing this truth is due to Sohm: 'The faith of the Christian sees in every Christian assembly gathered in the Spirit, the whole of Christianity, the people of God, the total community. On that ground every assembly of Christians, whether small or great, which met in the name of the Lord, was called *ecclesia*, a national assembly of the NT Israel' (*op. cit.* 16–22). Kattenbusch approves, and adds: 'The words in Mt 18^{20} "for where two or three," etc., was valid everywhere and of the whole Church. The χριστός is the head of the σῶμα, and this σῶμα is the ἐκκλησία. The use of the plural ἐκκλησίαι is to be compared with the use of πνεύματα, as in 1 Co 14^{32} "the spirits of the prophets," though there was only one πνεῦμα. Each local community is an ἐκκλησία, not a mere συναγωγή, because it is a representation of the whole' (*Apostol. Symbol*, 1900, ii. 692).

2. The founding of the Church.—The community which regarded itself as the true Israel naturally made much of its OT foundations. Though the Apostles could not hand down all the preparation for understanding Christianity which came to them from Judaism, they handed on their reverence for the OT, so that, in the struggle with Gnosticism, respect for the OT revelation became a mark of the Church. This preparation consisted of two things: (1) Through the failure of national ideals, the old conception of racial unity among the Jews was slowly transformed into a religious bond. This religious conception, begun by the earliest prophets, was developed by the Exile, and finally reached its highest development among the Hellenistic Jews of the time of our Lord, to whom Hebrew had become a sacred tongue and Jerusalem a religious capital. (2) There was the development of a conception of God and of salvation which could not be confined to any merely external or national institution. At no time was the Jewish religion more nearly universal in its outlook or more missionary in its activities than in the time of our Lord; never was it nearer passing from the stage of a national creed into a Church.[1] To this spiritual preparation, not to the institutions of Judaism, Jesus linked His work; and the fact that Christianity was enabled to become a Church, while Judaism failed, was due primarily to the still more spiritual conceptions of God and of salvation which He brought into the world. That, in this sense of being its inspiration, Jesus created the Church cannot be questioned. It is, however, denied that He founded it in any other sense. That He ever founded it as an organization or even contemplated the continuance of His work in a permanent society is denied on three grounds: (1) that no authentic record of such a foundation exists in the Gospels; (2) that His relation to His nation was such that He could not have contemplated a religious society apart from it; (3) that His eschatological expectations were such that He could not have thought there was time or use for such an institution.

(1) *That there is no authentic record of such a foundation.*—Everything having to do with the Church as an actually existing society in the lifetime of Jesus is found in Mt., and is conspicuously absent from all the other Gospels. The word ἐκκλησία appears only in Mt 16^{18} and 18^{17}. The final commission in Mt $28^{19f.}$ is much more general in Lk $24^{47f.}$ and Jn $20^{22f.}$. The parables which speak of a mixed society (Mt $13^{25.\,47}$ $22^{3ff.}$), in so far as they appear in the other Gospels, have a different application. The night, when in Mt 13^{25} tares are sown, is in Mk 4^{27} the time when the seed springs. The good and bad in Mt 22^{10} are in Lk 14^{21} the poor, halt, maimed, and blind—moral wrecks but genuine converts. When Mt 16^{18} and 18^{17} are accepted as genuine, the word *ecclesia* is interpreted simply as 'community,' ideally in the former and locally in the latter,[2] and more frequently all these sayings are regarded as having been modified under the stress of a situation in which the Church was still looked on as the society of the Kingdom of God, but in actual fact was becoming very unlike it. On neither view do we find any ground for believing that Jesus founded a society with a mixed membership and governed by officers having external authority. This does not, however, determine that Jesus was not aware of the impulse

[1] Bousset's *Rel. des Judentums*[2] (1906) develops this idea in detail.

[2] Beyschlag (*NT Theol.*, Eng. tr., 1895, i. 162) and Hort (*Ecclesia*, p. 9) take this view. Holtzmann (*NT Theol.*, 1897, i. 212), Wellhausen (*Evang. Matt.* 93), and others deny the authenticity of both sayings.

He gave His followers to the creation, in some form, of a separate society.

(2) *Christ's relation to the nation.*—Had Jesus, as Gore maintains, all along had in view the foundation of the Church, and had His whole training of His disciples been to make them into the stable nucleus of this society, a society which He marked off by appointing for it solemn ceremonies, with a Divine sanction attached to its legislative decisions, with a hierarchy to keep it one, holy, and catholic, there could never have been any doubt from the first about its separateness from Judaism. Apart from the fact that nothing but the insistence of Paul and the leadings of Providence made the disciples recognize this separateness at all, the argument that Jesus regarded Himself as not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Mt 15^{24}) is quite unanswerable against such a founding of the Church.

Yet, if Jesus did not deliberately separate either Himself or His followers from Judaism, it is equally true that He deliberately created a spirit which He could not fail to see would go its own road. In Mk. we can even trace the stages of a growing alienation (1^{44} $2^{19-22. 23-28}$ 7^{1-5} 10^{2-9} 12^{28-34}).[1] The leading impulse from which this discontent sprang is apparent in all the Gospels. Primarily it was our Lord's doctrine of the heavenly Father as concerned with man as man, with the toiler, the outcast, the alien; the doctrine of salvation as acceptance of the Father's rule in His might, in the midst of the common life He has appointed. This involved a break with the old institution because its services were such as condemned the poor and the alien to a lower religious level and moral dependence, and because, having no relation to the common human need of God and the common human duty of seeing God in our daily life and our fellow-men, its requirements were as inadequate morally as they were burdensome ceremonially. When in the end He was charged with having said, 'I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands' (Mk 14^{58}), whether He actually said it or not, it expresses exactly what happened; and surely He could not have been blinder than His foes to the consequences of His work. Moreover, what could He mean by the saying, which all the Synoptic Gospels record, that new wine must be put in new bottles (Mt 9^{17}, Mk 2^{22}, Lk $5^{37ff.}$), if not that His gospel was likely to embody itself in new forms? His task was to inspire with the new spirit and to commit the form it should take, as He ever committed all things of the morrow, to His heavenly Father.

(3) *The relation of the Church to the apocalyptic expectation of the Kingdom of God* is a large and at present a burning question. In our Lord's lifetime, we are told, men expected not a Church, but the immediate appearing of the Kingdom of God, so that not Jesus but the belief in the resurrection created the Church.[2]

(*a*) It is argued that Jesus regarded the Kingdom as so near that nothing was needed to fill up the interval. He is supposed to have lived in a tense state of expectation that God would immediately bring the present world-order to an end, and at the close to have held a sacred meal with His disciples as a seal of their reunion forthwith in the Kingdom which His sufferings were to introduce. But in Mk 13^{1-13} we have a discourse, with every mark of genuineness, in which Jesus deprecates the expectation of a near end held by His disciples, warns them against false prophets, pictures them as a sufficiently visible company to be persecuted, declares that the gospel must first be preached to all nations, and promises salvation only to those who endure to the end. Moreover, tense apocalyptic expectation is not in the least degree the mark of teaching which is full of story and interest in men.

(*b*) It is argued that the introduction of the Kingdom is conceived by Jesus as so entirely a work of God that there could be no place for any society either to introduce it or to prepare for it. This point is far more important. The principles of the apocalyptic school of interpretation[1] are that the apocalyptic sayings in the Gospels are the most fundamental and reliable. But the elements in the Gospels which authenticate themselves are the quietness and leisure of mind and the true spiritual penetration of Jesus. These things no one was capable of inventing for Him; whereas the ascription of crude apocalyptic ideas, which many of His followers certainly held, any of them was equal to. Therefore, if the spiritual and apocalyptic ideas in the Gospels are contradictory, it cannot be the apocalyptic which are the more reliable. There is, however, a vital and fundamental truth of Christianity underlying the eschatological view, to which nothing of its spirituality needs to be sacrificed. There is a sense in which, to use Schweitzer's clumsy formula, 'the affirmative can issue only from the superimposed negation.' The victory over the world consists in being prepared to lose it, the blessed use of life in being poor in spirit, the possession of our souls in the judgment of ourselves as sinners and in self-surrender. Jesus founded His Church for the precise purpose of living under the conception that life is not good in itself, but good only when we overcome it through faith in a rule which God Himself will introduce. In short, He founded it as the society of the Kingdom of God.

Jesus did not, with the Catholic theologians, identify the Kingdom of God with the Church, or, with modern theologians since Schleiermacher, with the progressive amelioration of humanity. The Kingdom is, as Loisy expresses it, the realization of perfect happiness in perfect justice, and of immortality in holiness. The Gospel is not only the restoration of the individual soul to the love of the Father; it is also the assurance that this love will one day have its perfect manifestation. Many passages, scarcely to be interpreted as metaphorical, indicate that this belief had a setting in accord with the expectations of the time, but the proportion of things is wholly inverted when this is put first and the Fatherhood of God and the salvation of His children are put second. The Kingdom of God is present in Jesus Himself, so that the sons of the bride-chamber cannot but rejoice (Mt 9^{15}, Mk 2^{19}, Lk 5^{34}); and the whole NT is a witness to the amazing strength and joyfulness which sprang from contact with His spirit. Thus the Kingdom of God was something which needed to be prepared for, yet could not be accomplished by any preparation; something present now, yet in the end a regeneration solely by the finger of God. Cf. also art. KINGDOM OF GOD.

Precisely this conception created the Church and determined its ideal. It rests on the conviction that the true Divine order is ever ready to break into the world, if men will only suffer it to break into their hearts. It is the society of those who already realize the blessings of the Kingdom of God in their hearts—pardon, grace, joy—and are so sure that it will come in fullness that they can live as if it actually were come, and so can disregard the whole question of visible power,

[1] See an interesting discussion of this point in Ritschl's *Enst. der altkath. Kirche*², 1857, § 1.

[2] Weiss, *Die Schriften des NT*, 1907, i. 344.

[1] Schweitzer (*Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 1906, Eng. tr. *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1910) gives a full historical account of the apocalyptic interpretation.

organize themselves wholly on the basis of love, and leave all issues with God.

The founding of this society took place of itself. Only too soon the feeling of a corporation arose (Mk 9[38]). Not with the organization but with the spirit of His society was Jesus occupied. His followers were to be a sufficiently visible body in the world to be hated, and to stand for something so manifestly contrary to the received order as to be everywhere persecuted. Yet they were to stand also for something so deep-rooted in the human heart that souls prepared for them by God would be found in the least likely places. The society was not to be exclusive (Mk 9[39]), but was to esteem every kindness, to guard the weak, not to fear sacrifices, and, above all, it must avoid personal claims (Mk 9[39-50]). Service was to be the only title to authority, and the sole mark of authority was to be yet humbler service (Mk 9[35]). In Mt 23[8-12] the whole type of authority by which other societies were ruled was forbidden. It was a society of souls made one, and equal by all being taught of God.

The Apostles, therefore, so far from being a hierarchy in germ, were called 'disciples' because Jesus appointed them to be with Him (Mk 3[14], Lk 22[28]), and 'apostles' as envoys in connexion with a special mission (Mk 3[14]). If there was any official title, it was 'the Twelve,' and the only suggestion of office even in it is in the passage which speaks of their judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Mt 19[28], Lk 22[30]). Whether the passage is symbolical, or apocalyptic, or a mixture of both, it is used not to justify a claim to authority, but to require the renunciation of it. In Mt. it is followed by a parable requiring them to give a place equal to themselves to later comers; in Lk. it comes in in connexion with the requirement to be unlike those who exercise political power, and with the Master's own example of being One who serves. The Last Supper is interpreted in Lk. by connecting with it the strife about who should be greatest, and in Jn. by the washing of the disciples' feet. The symbolism is in the act, not the materials, and it says the same thing about the true order of the Church. It is, in accordance with our Lord's constant method, a parable in double form, with some deepening of meaning in the second member. Both forms speak of His sufferings and the Kingdom of God. It is the final embodiment of the contrasts in the Sermon on the Mount, in which the poor in spirit inherit the Kingdom of God. It speaks of the power to lose one's life for His sake and the gospel's, and to find it again in fellowship and joy and peace. Instead of being a rite which turns the officers of the Church into sacrificing priests, it seals all Christ's followers into an equal fellowship, wherein the cross, the direct opposite of all human power and authority, was the one source of might and dominion. This spirit, and not any ecclesiastical supremacy, He impressed upon His Church with the most solemn words and deeds.

3. The Apostolic conception of the Church.—It is of the first importance to know how those who received this conception from Jesus proceeded to put it into practice. What He actually left behind Him was a society in which no one counted anything that he possessed his own, and which occupied itself with prayer, fellowship in the breaking of bread, and evangelizing. This was the first uncontaminated attempt to realize the spirit of One who had a common purse with His disciples, to whom privilege was only a call to humility in service, who found the religious sphere in the common life amid common men, and who made love to God and man the sole law of His Kingdom. The persistence of this spirit appears in the total absence of ritual precept in any of the Apostolic writings, and the unfailing fervour with which they urge charity, brotherly kindness, and love. From that spirit the idea of the unity of the Church as one universal body drew its power, and from that it also followed that the bond was not sought in any form of subjection of one person to another, or of one community to another.

If the Church was not created, it was at least continued, by the belief in the Resurrection. Believers were thereby made conscious that the power of the world to come was working in the present world-order. By having the sense of a direct relation to God through the spirit of Jesus, they were set free from fear of the Law and all other fears. They were 'saints'—not meaning morally perfect or even morally advanced, but spiritual in the sense of being related to God and wrought upon by His Spirit. The Apostolic doctrine of the Church is that it consists entirely of saints so understood. They are the spiritual who judge all things (1 Co 2[15]). Yet this most personal possession, this direct regard to God and refusal to be judged of any man, is the secret of all unity, for there is only one Spirit and only one Head. Because Paul can say 'the head of every man is Christ' (1 Co 11[3]), he can also say that 'we, who are many, are one body in Christ' (Ro 12[5]); and Peter can speak of 'a spiritual house' because through the Lord it is composed of 'living stones,' of 'a holy priesthood' (1 P 2[5]), and, still more strongly, of 'a royal priesthood' (2[9]).

Our Lord must have chosen the Apostles very badly if they did not, especially at the beginning, prove themselves in some sense leaders, and if they were not prepared in any crisis to assume responsibility and face danger; but He must have chosen them equally badly for His purpose, if they used this position to make themselves a dominant class within the fellowship. What we find is that, as they had had special opportunities, they were in a special sense witnesses; that they made suggestions, but from the first submitted them to the community (τὸ πλῆθος); that one of their earliest suggestions involved the surrender of the power of the purse; that they were soon content to be witnesses and missionaries to the scattered gatherings of Christians throughout Palestine; and that presently the Church entered upon new tasks without any Apostolic suggestion at all. Soon we fail to trace any corporate Apostolic influence, and find only the personal influence of two or three of them. Even these Paul speaks of as persons whose actions are not at all guaranteed by their office (Gal 2[6]), and to whom he would not for a moment surrender 'the liberty which we have in Christ Jesus.' Finally, we find them making an arrangement which deposed them for ever from any universal authority they may ever have exercised collectively or individually, because it withdrew from their influence the whole Gentile community.

The supreme work of the Apostles was to maintain the spirit of humility which was the real bond of the Church, and it was in this task that Peter was truly chief. He no longer girded himself and walked whither he would, but stretched forth his hand for others to gird him (Jn 21[18]). If we judge from 1 Co 3[22], he even accepted Paul's rebuke in Christian humility. That, and not any authority of office, was the power which overcame every barrier of race and language, of caste and religious prejudice, and which made all believers feel themselves one in Christ Jesus. Nor was Paul different. He says of himself: 'Not that we have lordship over your faith, but are helpers of your joy: for by faith [*i.e.* your individual faith] ye stand' (2 Co 1[24]). He expects submission for the common good, but it is only such as he himself renders (2 Th 3[7-9]). Nothing could be more impressive

than the absence of any appeal to external authority—to his own authority, to the authority of the Apostles or of Apostolic tradition, to the rule of elders or bishops, to anything indeed but the spirit of love—in the crisis about which he writes in 1 Cor., when both the unity and the purity of the Church were at stake. What he ordains in the Church is only an appeal to weigh well what others have found good (1 Co 10^{15}). He might come with a rod, but it is not of ecclesiastical discipline. It is only the opposite of love and a spirit of meekness (4^{21}). Finally, he closed his appeal with the great lyric on love (ch. 13), the only final solution he pretends to offer. Whatsoever office may have been in the Apostolic Church, it was always subordinate to that ideal.

Just as little was there any official subordination of one community to another. In many cases the local community could have been nothing but the meeting of the two or three in private houses. Even in Jerusalem the elders seem to have met in the house of James (Ac 21^{18}), which probably means that they had no public meeting-place. The Christians at Ephesus definitely withdrew from the synagogue to the school of Tyrannus (Ac 19^{9}), but probably even there the church did not long continue to exist as one congregation in one place. From Corinth, Paul sends the greetings of 'all the churches of Christ' (Ro 16^{16}), and they were sufficiently different in type to wish to call themselves by different names (1 Co 1^{12}). This freedom of assembly and indefiniteness of organization we find Ignatius still combating in the beginning of the 2nd century.[1]

All the assemblies, however, were to walk *κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν* (2 Th 3^{6}), which was not a body of doctrine, but a type of Christian conduct. They followed common customs (1 Co 11^{16} 14^{33}). No community was to proceed as if Christianity had begun with it or were to end with it (1 Co 14^{36}). The ministry of the Word, Baptism, and the Eucharist existed in all churches, and all ascribed them to the appointment of the Lord. This ministry depended not on appointment to office, but on the recognition by the congregation of a *charisma* (v.^{29}); and this gift was not for the edification of the local community only, but for the whole Church, valid wheresoever it was recognized. It was fundamentally a prophetic office, a power to make known God's will, and, therefore, was truly the foundation of the Church. The eldership seems to have been a more definitely official appointment, as it apparently belonged not to individual gatherings, but to the whole Christianity of a place.[2] It may have had its origin in the very attempt to maintain unity of spirit and co-operation when actual unity of fellowship became impossible. The local church could thereby take common action, and give expression to their sense of interest in one another and in the whole body of Christ. Fellowship by writing and travelling, mutual help, consultation, and regard for each other's opinion characterized all the Christian assemblies. Yet the only relation between two Churches which we have any means of tracing—that between Jerusalem and Antioch—shows how little it was official. The Church at Antioch was anxious to carry the Church at Jerusalem with it (Ac 15^{2}), and was overjoyed at the sympathy received from the mother Church (v.^{31}), but it is equally evident that the younger society had no intention of being overruled by the older (Gal 2^{3}). Moreover, the very fact that Paul continued to seek an understanding with the Church at Jerusalem shows that he did not regard it as claiming the rights of a metropolitan Church to direct the policy of its inferiors.

The Apostolic Church was thus wholly compacted in brotherhood and at the same time profoundly individual. That combination was made possible by a gospel which was at once the most personal of all possessions and the mightiest force to break down self-regard. This sense of having pardon and grace, inward peace and future hope, marked the Church off from the world, and yet made it a power in the world. What Paul says of the Jew who is a Jew inwardly (Ro 2^{29}), and of the Gentiles who have the law written in their hearts (v.^{15}), shows that there was no such exclusive view as *nulla salus extra ecclesiam*, but there was a glad sense of possessing in a special degree a salvation which made it a joy to call others into a fellowship in which even the publican and the harlot could find their souls, and so attain to the liberty of the children of God which could be under no tutelage. In this society the Apostles themselves wrote and spoke simply as those who most fully recognized the blessings which constituted its brotherhood.

4. The Catholic idea of the Church.[1]—In the later NT writings a change of idea makes itself felt. Some discover it in Ephesians. There, it is said, we have Paul's metaphor, but not his meaning. Christ is the head, not, however, as the inspiring spirit of each member, but as part of the body. In 5^{25}, the Church, not the individual, is the object of justification. Further, this headship is no longer related to the Kingdom of God and interpreted through faith, but is mystical[2] (vv.$^{29-32}$). As the process Paul found so powerless in the Jewish society is not likely to have satisfied him simply because it was wrought through the Christian society, the Epistle cannot be authentic, if this view is correct. But it is easy to infer too much from a figure of speech. The members of the Church are those who have been chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world, to be holy and without blemish before Him in love (1^{4}), who have a spirit of wisdom and revelation in the [individual] knowledge of Christ (v.^{17}), who by lowliness and meekness keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and are one body because there is one Spirit (2^{2-4}). Nor is unity, the starting-point, to be gained by submission, but is the result of each attaining to a full-grown manhood (4^{1-16}).

In the Pastoral Epistles, however, the Church is 'pillar and ground of the truth' (1 Ti 3^{15}). Faith is not a renewing trust in God through Jesus Christ, but acceptance of right Church doctrine (1 Ti 1^{10}, Tit 1^{1-4}). The Christian ethic is based on how men 'ought to behave themselves in the house of God' (1 Ti 3^{15}), and the heretic is a vessel of dishonour (2 Ti $2^{20f.}$), the whole conception of honour and dishonour being far away from Paul's conception of a body in which the uncomely parts have the more abundant comeliness (1 Co 12^{23}). Finally, in 2 Ti 2^{21} Jesus is no longer *κύριος*, but *δεσπότης*. It is difficult to escape the impression that we are here in the atmosphere of a later generation.

The post-Apostolic Church was essentially Gentile, but a Judaic type appeared in it for the simple reason that it had not had the benefit of the spiritual preparation of Judaism. The sense of the Father who is mightier than all sin and evil, and who works a spiritual deliverance through relating us directly to Himself and His purpose of love in Jesus Christ, gave place to a fear of sin and evil greater than the sense of God's might to overcome them. The apocalyptic hope was no longer the sense that the meek shall inherit the earth,

[1] *ad Magn.* 4, *ad Eph.* 20, etc.

[2] This is most certain regarding the Church of Jerusalem (Ac 11^{30} 15^{4} etc.); but we can hardly suppose that there continued to be only one society, as there was one eldership, in Ephesus (Ac 20^{17}) and Philippi (Ph 1^{1}). This important fact no one known to the present writer has made any use of.

[1] Compare the following two articles.

[2] Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* ii. 254 ff.

but became material, and finally disappeared before the hope so to serve God as to merit heaven at last. God was mainly Ruler and Judge, and Jesus primarily a Saviour from hell to the bliss of heaven.

This result is neither mysterious nor discouraging. The same process which had been required for the few to understand Christ is also required for the many. Thus there must be an ever-recurring discipline of the Law, because, though every believing soul is from the first under the influence of the Spirit, for the perfection of His work every soul also needs a 'fullness of the time.' The leaven, therefore, has to disappear into the meal until the whole be leavened. The fellowship of believers founded on Christ, governed only by love and nourished by helpful interchange of spiritual gifts, did not vanish from the earth, but has remained as a leaven working in all the various legalisms that have arisen—the early Catholic, the Orthodox Eastern, the Roman, the Protestant. That being seen, the rapid growth of Catholicism is easy to understand. The conditions are always there, for, as Sohm says, the natural man is always a Catholic, and that does not cease to be true though he call himself a Protestant. He still likes material guarantees, and would rather not trust anything to God that can be managed by man. The essence of it is that an institution with official rule seems a better security than a fellowship with Divine gifts. So long as that continues, man needs and introduces for himself what Paul calls the schoolmaster of the Law—a thing that may be lower, but is continually necessary.

The Apostolic Church was founded on the Apostles and prophets, the interpreters of the mind of God, and it consisted of the saints who, being spiritual, were judges of this interpretation. The Catholic Church was founded on the bishop, the official representative, at first of Jesus Christ Himself, and afterwards of St. Peter among the Apostles. The result was an order which no longer needed to pass through mutual humility and love, in which the first needed no longer to be last in order to rule, in which the presence of the Spirit in each believer gradually lost significance, and which ultimately replaced the idea that the potentiality of the Kingdom of God was present where two or three were gathered together, by the idea that 'where the bishop is, there is the Catholic Church.'[1]

In the first form of the Apostles' Creed the article on the Church is simply *ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν*. This Kattenbusch[2] interprets to mean an earthly community of the heavenly city. Two streams, he says, unite in the idea of holiness. First, there is the NT conception that it is to be of God; but to be of God and to be morally holy are one. The religious and the moral requirements are thereby united in love. Secondly, there is the heathen idea that what is holy is mysterious, awe-inspiring. As the heathen idea preponderated, the whole empirical manifestation of the Church came to be regarded as the direct creation of the Spirit, as miraculous, mysterious, heavenly. Both elements persisted in the Church, but the wonderful came to be put first and the ethical second. Not till many centuries afterwards was the term 'catholic' added in the Creed, for, though the expression is found already in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*,[3] it there still means *καθ' ὅλου*, the Church in its wholeness, the Church in the sense that it was complete in the assembly of the two or three. Gradually the religious sense sank into the empirical, till in Cyprian we find it is simply the actual great Church (cf. CATHOLICISM). The view that the Catholic Church in that sense was the one channel of Christian truth and the one sphere of salvation, had been developed largely by the Gnostic controversy.

5. Eastern, Roman, and Protestant doctrines of the Church.[1]—(1) The most important document for understanding the Eastern Orthodox Church view is the treatise of Athanasius *On the Incarnation of the Logos*. The whole Greek doctrine of salvation is summed up in his phrase (liv. 3), *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐνηνθρώπησεν ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν*, 'For He [Christ] became man that we might become Divine.' In accordance with Neo-Platonic ideas, the Logos is the diffused Reason of God. With the aid of this conception Athanasius interprets the Incarnation as the sacramental presence of God in our humanity. It is a symbol which is also a reality. Through this sacrament in our humanity death is vanquished by the restoration to our nature of the lost Divine substance. On that conception of salvation was based the idea of the Church as primarily a mysterious hierurgical saving institution. In the *Catechism of Philaret* the Church is defined as 'a Divinely instituted community of men, united by the orthodox faith, the law of God, the hierarchy, and the Sacraments.'[2] It is characteristic of its view of itself that the orders of the priesthood in the Eastern Church are not hierarchical as with Rome, but hierurgical, each higher order being endowed with a superior mysterious natural force for administrating the mysteries. This Church claims to be Catholic. Yet not largeness of view, but only failure to realize any world mission, prevents this Church from understanding 'catholic' in the same sense as Rome, *i.e.* as equal to a universal and exclusive claim.

(2) Unlike the Eastern Church, the Roman Catholic Church has not been able to rest, without question and without theory, on its assurance of identity with the Church founded by Jesus and His Apostles.

Its historical theory is that it was founded on the rock of St. Peter's office—a visible society divided from the first into hierarchy and people. Its task is conceived as the continuation of the Incarnation in the exercise of Christ's threefold office. Its marks are Apostolicity, Unity, Catholicity, Holiness. This last mark is not understood in the Puritan sense, but in the sense that the Church possesses the means of making holy, succeeds with some of her members, and is a sphere marked off for all from heathen and sinners. Its Catholicity is exclusive, 'Roman' and 'Catholic' being equivalents. This is a recognition of its world mission, though a material and even worldly recognition. Here primarily the Church is conceived as a hierarchical saving institution, not hierurgical as is the Eastern. The cause of the difference was mainly the practical and juridical temper of the Roman Church. God was primarily the Lawgiver and Judge, and salvation was His acquittal.

Many elements of progress appear. While tradition was exalted, the Roman Church had no wish to be hampered by it. The final development, the infallibility of the Papacy, is a device both for securing tradition and for manipulating it. Then the concern of the practical and juridical temper is universal sinfulness, not merely universal mortality. Salvation is not, therefore, mere infusion of a supernatural life, but is a life meriting God's approval. Jesus, as the legal mediator between God and man, must be man as well as God. Hence the historical Jesus never became for the

[1] Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.* viii. 2.
[2] *Apostol. Symbol*, 1894-1900, ii. 681 ff., and *Confessionskunde*, 1892, i. 456 ff.
[3] Dedication, and viii. 1.

[1] For a statement of the doctrine of the Church from the Anglican and Roman Catholic standpoints respectively, see the following two articles, and cf. CHRISTIANITY, VIII. *f.*
[2] Schaff, *Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches*, p. 483.

West the mere symbol He too often was for the East.

Two influences largely determined the form in which this temper manifested itself. The first was the German invasion, which brought constitutional ideas to an end, and provided a wholly uncultivated people, who received Christianity implicitly on authority. The task of disciplining these people was a justification as well as a cause for the development of the Roman type. The second was the influence of Augustine. In his age it was natural that he should make much of the visible organization of the Church, as it seemed the only security for any kind of order, civil or ecclesiastical. But he wove into it the conception of the congregation of saints, so that religious and ecclesiastical ideas were indistinguishably mingled in the concept of authority. Something of the religious order was thereby saved, even in the very act of clothing the official order with power. While it was an evil that penitence, pardon, grace, love should have their security in the hierarchy and not in the Spirit of God, it was good that they remained in some way the centre of religious interest in the Church. Moreover, the various influences which Augustine strengthened in the Church—Neo-Platonic and Christian, mystical and hierarchical, evangelical and legal—have created many types of piety, and it is not the least promising element in the Roman Church that, even after the Reformation has removed much perilous material, these influences are still in ferment.

(3) The Protestant conception of the Church goes back to Augustine's idea of the *congregatio sanctorum* as the elect. The first to give it expression was Wyclif: 'Quod nullum est membrum sanctae matris ecclesiae nisi persona predestinata.' Its unity is in God's all-embracing operation on the one hand, and in love on the other. Through Hus, Wyclif's influence passed to Luther. The conception of the elect was in Luther the purely religious assurance of being wholly chosen by God's love and redeemed by God's grace. God was to him essentially the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, by forgiving men's sins, restores them to Himself, gives them His Spirit, and enables them to turn this common life into a true holy service. The treasure of the Church is this gospel of forgiveness, which is manifested alike in word and sacrament. Where this gospel is, God cannot fail so much that His true Church should not in some measure exist. The power to call forth faith, and thereby pardon, and to expose the meaning of unbelief, is the true power of the keys, the source of all right Christian authority in the Church. Neither the continuity nor the validity of the Church depends on the clergy, who are only the necessary expression of the priesthood of all believers, but on the existence of a true believing Church wherever the word of God is rightly preached and the sacraments rightly administered. To Luther the Church is also 'Catholic,' but he returns to the early meaning, and makes 'Catholic' equal to 'Christian.'

Lutherans speak of the 'Church strictly so called and the Church generally so called,' while the Reformed speak of the 'Invisible and the Visible Church.' Neither expression conveys very precisely what is meant. It is not a question of more or less definiteness of speech; nor is the true Church invisible in the sense that it has no manifestation. The actual Church is a community of mixed membership, but in principle, nevertheless, the Church is the community of believers. That is not to be understood in the sense that all wicked persons and hypocrites can or ought to be cast out of it, but only in the sense that these persons do not add anything to the meaning of the Church, and that the Church of believers, however few, met in Christ's name, has all the promises and all the power of Christianity in its midst, is the Church according to its wholeness, and from that power the presence of others does not take anything away. This Church of believers alone is the Church Catholic or Universal.[1]

The marks, therefore, of the Church, according to the Protestant conception, are (1) that it has unity in Jesus Christ as its one true Head; (2) that its one sufficient treasure is the gospel of grace, manifest in word and sacrament; and (3) that its one necessary official is the organ of the priesthood of all believers.

Into that conception a new legalism speedily returned, taking one form in Lutheranism and another in Calvinism. The Lutheran form was akin to the Eastern, and the Calvinist to the Roman; and in this respect the Anglican was of the Lutheran type. Both Lutheran and Calvinistic forms were caricatures of their gospels, the Lutheran of salvation as freedom through pardon and grace in the common secular life, and the Calvinist of salvation as being called through pardon and grace to serve the glory of God. The Lutheran, when he felt the need of relying on the compelling force of organization, readily fell back on the secular arm, and accepted a quiescent State Church; the Calvinist as naturally sought his force in the organization of the Church itself, and very readily came into conflict with the State in consequence. Hence we have on the one hand strenuous persuasives like Five Mile Acts, and on the other an infallible legal code in the Scriptures. In both cases right principles of Christianity lie obscured and perverted, and that which obscures and perverts is the same in both—the lack of faith, the wish to trust as little to God as possible, the desire to walk by sight, and by faith only when we cannot help ourselves.

Against this veiling of the truth in flesh it is vain to be angry. Till man is wholly spiritual it will be God's necessary way with him. We may not even despise, neglect, or fail to serve the organization. At the same time, it must ever be held, like the body, as subject to the soul, something that must ever be dying that the soul may live. Hence we have to recognize the significance of God's providential dealing in once more breaking down the discipline of the Law by division, criticism, and even unbelief. Out of this ferment a new phase of the Church's life must surely issue, and a new vision of the gospel, and then possibly a new and, we trust, a more spiritual incarnation of it in outward form, one in which there will be at once more freedom and more spiritual power.

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[1] This conception finds expression in all the Protestant creeds. It is very fully stated in *The Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, 3 and 4: 'At ecclesia non est tantum societas externarum rituum, sicut aliae politae, sed principaliter est societas fidei et Spiritus Sanctus in cordibus, quae tamen habet externas notas ut agnosci possit, videlicet puram evangelii doctrinam et administrationem sacramentorum consentaneam evangelio Christi. This is the Church which alone is the body of Christ, is renewed, governed, and sanctified by His Spirit, is the pillar of the truth and the Kingdom of God.' But the same conception is equally found in the Reformed Creeds, *e.g.* in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, Art. XIX., where the Visible Church is described as a congregation of faithful men, *i.e.* it is in principle a society of believers. Then follow Luther's marks by which it becomes visible, expressed almost in Luther's words, that 'the pure word of God be preached and the sacraments be duly administered.' The reason is that, wherever the means of grace exist, we cannot doubt God's power to use them to call into existence a true Church or fellowship of believers.

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JOHN OMAN.

CHURCH, DOCTRINE OF THE (Anglican).[1]—**1. Relation of the Christian to the Jewish Church.**—The Christian Church, though it could not have its actual character before the Incarnation, grew out of, succeeded, and took the place of, the Jewish Church. In the providence of God, the Jewish nation had a special vocation and special privileges and gifts. The race was chosen to be the peculiar people of Almighty God, and in consequence of this choice the Jews held a position which belonged to no other nation. They possessed clearer and fuller knowledge of God than was found elsewhere. They had a system of worship marked by special sanctions, and affording special ways of approaching and holding communion with God. In the Divine purpose the possession of those privileges and gifts was designed to enable the Jews to be a witness in the world to God and His truth; to be the means of bringing others within the sphere of fuller blessings than they for the time had received; and to prepare themselves—and through themselves mankind—for the Incarnation.

2. The Christian Church founded by Christ, and formed by the Holy Spirit.—It was one part of the work of Christ to found the Church. The idea of the Church which underlies the Epistles of St. Paul, the aspects of it which are presented in the Acts of the Apostles, the existence of sacraments which are referred back to the institution of the Lord, the notion of the Church which is suggested by the parable of the Mustard Seed occurring in all three Synoptic Gospels (Mt $13^{31f.}$, Mk 4^{30-32}, Lk $13^{18f.}$) and the parable of the Leaven occurring in both the First and the Third Gospels (Mt 13^{33}, Lk $13^{20f.}$), and the discourses in the Fourth Gospel (Jn 14–16), as well as passages which are peculiar to the First Gospel (Mt 16^{17-19} 18^{15-20} $13^{24-30.\ 36-43}$ 25^{14-30}, cf. Lk 19^{12-27}), combine to indicate that the Church was designed and founded by Christ; and the obvious pains taken by Him in the choice and training of the Apostles accords with this. Thus, as a result of the ministry of Christ, there were at the time of the Ascension a general body of believers, and the smaller company of the Apostles. This nucleus of the Church was filled with the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost, and the gifts, of which there had been some anticipatory possession through the acts of the Lord Himself (Jn 20^{19-23}), became endued with power for their actual use. Through this pouring forth of the Holy Spirit the whole Christian body received the specifically Christian life of union with Christ, the distinctive personal indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and the characteristic Christian sonship to God; and the ministerial powers in the Apostles were made effective for their work in the Church.

3. The Church a visible society.—The idea of the Church as a visible society is found consistently throughout the NT. The whole conception of the Christian community in the Epistles, in Acts, and in the Apocalypse is incompatible with any other idea. The general standpoint of all four Gospels, no less than particular parables peculiar to the First Gospel (Mt $13^{24-30.\ 36-43.\ 47-50}$), indicates that this idea goes back to, and was derived from, the teaching of Christ. As seen both in the NT and in later history, the Church has an ordered life of outward organization as well as of inward and spiritual power. To prayer and sacraments and worship and rules of conduct alike there is an outward as well as an inward side. There is an ordered ministry, with external rites and limitations, no less than with an inner call and an inner life.

4. The union of the Church with Christ and the Holy Spirit.—A characteristic element in the teaching of St. Paul is that aspect of the Church by which it is presented as the temple of the Holy Spirit and as the bride and body of Christ (Ro 12^{5}, 1 Co $3^{10.\ 11.\ 16}$ $6^{15.\ 17}$ 10^{17} $12^{12.\ 13.\ 27}$, 2 Co 6^{16} 11^{2}, Eph $1^{20.\ 22.\ 23}$ $2^{5.\ 6.\ 20-22}$ $4^{11.\ 12.\ 15.\ 16}$ 5^{23-32}, Col $1^{18.\ 24}$ 2^{17-19}). The Church, on this presentation of it, is made up of living persons, all of whom are individually members of Christ and shrines of the Holy Spirit. As such they compose the mystical body of Christ, of which He is the Head—the mystic bride, who, as a pure virgin, is espoused to Him. This presentation is closely connected with the doctrine of the sacraments. Christians are made members of Christ and shrines of the Holy Spirit in their baptism. The life of Christ, made theirs by baptism, is continuously maintained and strengthened through their reception of the Holy Communion.

5. The Church not limited to those now on earth.—The Church, thus viewed as the body and bride of Christ and as the temple of the Holy Spirit, is not to be limited to those members of it who are now living on earth. It includes also the members who are now invisible—the holy dead, and those who have yet to be. It is of this whole body, comprising both the visible society and its invisible members, that Christ is the Head. The visible society is the body and the bride and the temple, but it is so only by virtue of its share in the life of that larger community which embraces Christians of past ages, of the present, and of the future. The gifts and privileges of the visible society are real and actual, but the fullness of their power is manifested only in the universal life. A view of the Church which forgets the past and the future, and limits its vision to the present, must necessarily be impoverished and distorted. A clearer realization of this truth might have done something to prevent the mistakes involved in the Papal idea of the Church, with its postulate of a visible head on earth; and fuller attention to it might well lead Eastern Christians to reconsider their opinion that any who are not in external communion with them are out of communion with the Church.

6. The Church One.—The enlarged form of the Nicene Creed, as recited in the Liturgy, contains the words, 'One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church' (see Liturgy of St. Chrysostom: εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν; *Missale Romanum*: 'et Unam Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam'; English Book of Common Prayer: 'And I believe One Catholick and Apostolick Church').[1] In this phrase the word 'One'

[1] By the request of the Editor this article has been written as a doctrinal statement, not as an historical investigation. Consequently any quotations are made as illustrations only, not for the purposes of proof, which would require a fuller and more detailed treatment. For a different standpoint, see the following article.

[1] The word 'Holy' may have been omitted in this Creed in the Book of Common Prayer by an accident, or through the

describes the first of the 'notes of the Church'—the note of Unity. By virtue of it, each separate congregation of the Church, the collection of congregations in any place, the aggregate of these in any country, and the whole number throughout the world make up one Church. The essential elements in this Unity may be stated, in accordance with the teaching of St. Paul (Eph 4[4-6], 1 Co 10[17] 12[12-27]), as being the common worship of the one God, the common holding of the one faith, the common possession of the one sacramental life, the common aim at the attainment of the one hope, and the common indwelling by the one Spirit. Of all these elements there is the fullness which appertains to the life of the whole Church, since it includes the holy dead, together with those now living on earth and those who are still unborn. In regard to that fullness, the visible society of the Church now on earth strives towards an ideal of Unity which it does not here realize in fact. The closer the approximation may be, the greater is its perfection in respect of Unity. But the note of Unity is not lost because the approach to the ideal stops short of reaching it. Yet there is a minimum below which a religious body cannot sink without loss of this note. There are essential features in each element of the note which may not be abandoned. The essentials of worship, or of the faith, or of the sacraments can be lost as well as impaired; and, if they are lost, the note of Unity cannot survive them. This aspect of Unity is known as objective or organic Unity. It affords the outward means whereby the Church is maintained in union with Christ its Head. As so doing, it is essential to the life of the Church. It is distinct from that subjective Unity of external inter-communion which, though of high value and usefulness, is not of the essence of the Church. The organic or objective Unity of the Church is at the present time the common possession of Roman Catholics, Eastern Christians, and members of the Anglican Communion, since they all share in whatever is essential to the preservation of it. But the subjective Unity of any of them is limited to that within their own bodies, since they are out of external communion with, and are outwardly divided from, one another. The idea that the Unity of the Church is wholly unseen, simply the union of heart and soul and will of those who are spiritually united to God, fails to do justice to the requirements of the visible society which the Church on earth is. On the other hand, to maintain that a necessity of Unity is external inter-communion having its centre in the Pope of Rome fails to allow for the lack of Scriptural and historical basis for a view of the Papacy which makes outward adherence to it an essential part of the Church's life.

7. The Church Holy.—The word 'Holy' is the second of the four words in the description of the Church as 'One Holy Catholic and Apostolic.' Thus Holiness is the second of the 'notes of the Church.' The Holiness which is a note of the Church is the organic or objective Holiness which is constituted by the doctrines and laws and sacraments and aims of the Church as Holy. As such, like organic or objective Unity, it is essential to the life of the Church, and must be distinguished from the subjective Holiness which is in the lives of individual members. The organic or objective Holiness would fail in its purpose if it were not used to promote subjective Holiness; but the conception of the Church which is involved in its being a visible society, and in St. Paul's recognition of the whole Christian society in any place as holy, while condemning sins committed by members of it (*e.g.* 1 Co 1[1. 2] with chs. 5. 6), and in the general rejection of such ideas as those of the Donatists, is contrary to any notion that subjective Holiness is a necessity if the Holiness which is an essential note of the Church is to be preserved. The Church is rightly described as Holy even if some of its members are sinful, as the ignorance of some members of a University does not hinder that University from being rightly described as learned, and the poverty of some members of a city does not hinder that city from being rightly described as rich (see A. P. Forbes, *A Short Explanation of the Nicene Creed*[3], 1883, p. 278 f.).

8. The Church Catholic.—Catholicity is the third of the 'notes of the Church,' as specified in the description, 'One Holy Catholic and Apostolic.' As applied to the Church, the word 'Catholic' is the opposite at once of particular and of heretical. Thus it denotes both universal and orthodox. A well-known passage in the *Catechetical Lectures* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (xviii. 23) sets out an expanded explanation of the sense in which the term has been applied to the Church:

> 'The Church is called Catholic because it extends throughout all the world from one end of the earth to the other; and because it teaches universally and completely all the doctrines which ought to come to the knowledge of men concerning things visible and invisible, heavenly and earthly; and because it brings into subjection to godliness the whole race of mankind, governors and governed, learned and ignorant; and because it treats and heals universally every class of sins that are committed in soul and body, and possesses in itself every form of virtue which is named, both in deeds and in words and in every kind of spiritual gifts.'

According to this expansion of universality and orthodoxy, the Church is Catholic as being for the whole world, as teaching the whole truth,[1] as ruling all kinds of men, as healing all kinds of sin, and as containing all kinds of virtue. The aim set before the Church by the word is the expansion and strengthening of Christ's Kingdom on earth, and the preservation of the true faith. The ideal suggested is that of complete universality, complete teaching of perfect truth, complete efficiency of service in extirpating sin and promoting virtue. The entire accomplishment of the ideal is not to be anticipated outside the perfected Kingdom of the future. But the Church would fail to preserve the note if it were to allow, as a part of permanent life, anything inconsistent with complete universality, or the whole truth, or entire success in dealing with moral life.

9. The Church Apostolic.—The fourth and last of the 'notes of the Church' is that of Apostolicity. The term 'Apostolic,' as applied to the Church in the Creed, affirms that the Church is descended from the Apostles by a due succession. Its historical meaning in this connexion may be illustrated by two passages in St. Irenæus and Tertullian. St. Irenæus writes:

> 'We can enumerate those who by the Apostles were appointed bishops in the Churches, and the successions of them (or their successors) even to our own time' (*Hær.* III. iii. 1; cf. IV. xxvi. 2, xxxiii. 8).

Tertullian, writing while still a member of the Church, says:

> 'If any dare to connect themselves with the Apostolic age that they may appear to have descended from the Apostles because they have been under the rule of the Apostles, we can say, Let them then declare the origins of their Churches, let them unfold the succession of their bishops, so coming down from the beginning with continuous steps that the first bishop may have had as his consecrator and predecessor one of the Apostles or of Apostolic men who none the less remained in the communion of the Apostles. For in this way

compilers following a Latin form of the Creed which did not contain it (see *CQR*, July 1879, pp. 372–383; Dowden, *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book*[2], 1902, pp. 104–106). In either case there is no doctrinal significance in the omission, since the Apostles' Creed in the Morning and the Evening Prayer contains the word.

[1] That is, the truth concerning faith and morals. Ultimately, in the heavenly Church, truth of all kinds will be proclaimed. In the present life, the teaching of, *e.g.*, physical science is not part of the Church's official task, though gradual approximation to such instruction, as showing the harmony of all truth, may come within its sphere.

the Apostolic Churches bring down their accounts, as the Church of the Smyrnæans goes back to Polycarp, who was appointed by John, and as the Church of the Romans to Clement, who was consecrated by Peter' (*de Præsc. Hær.* 32).

The Church, being a visible society, an organic body, a social community, needs the signs of transmitted authority which are found in an ordered succession. In the words in which St. Clement of Rome gave expression to the general sense of Christian thought—

'the Apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God, and the Apostles are from Christ. Both therefore came of the will of God in the appointed order. . . . They appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe' (*First Ep. to Cor.* 42).

Moreover, the life of the Church, being a sacramental life, needs the inward transmission which corresponds to the handing on of the outward signs of authority. The spiritual gifts which the sacraments are the means of conveying need the pledge and guarantee of an ordered ministry. As seen in history, this ordered ministry depends on episcopal ordination. The strong probability that an episcopal ministry was, in one form or another, a part of the system of the Church from the days of the Apostles must be viewed, not simply by itself, but in connexion with the certain fact that, whatever doubts and obscurities there may be as to certain details in the history of the ministry, the ultimate judgment of the universal Church settled down to regard the main stream of episcopal succession which had marked Church life from the earliest times as the plan of Divine appointment concerning the means for the security of the Divine gifts. Thus, an episcopal ministry descended from the Apostles is the guarantee of the Apostolicity of the Church.

10. The Church the teacher of truth.—The teaching office of the Church may be stated under three heads: (1) *The basis is Holy Scripture as the inspired Word of God.* The office of the Church is to state, collect, systematize, and explain the teaching contained in the Bible. Doctrine lacking Biblical foundation and support must stand outside the teaching which the Church gives authoritatively as the representative of God. (2) *The Church is the custodian of the tradition which has been handed down from the days of the Apostles.* The concurrent testimony of different parts of the Church as to doctrine which they have received by inheritance supplies that form of universality which is the sign of a genuine tradition. Thus, in the last quarter of the 2nd cent., St. Irenæus, taking the Church of Rome as a central and convenient witness to the tradition from the Apostles—a witness to which he adds that of the Churches of Smyrna and Ephesus—speaks of the tradition which is from the Apostles being therein preserved 'by those who are from every quarter' (*Hær.* III. iii. 2); and, almost at the end of the same century, Tertullian refers to the test of Apostolic truth as being the agreement of that which is taught by the Apostolic Churches (*de Præsc. Hær.* 36). (3) *The Church as the living home of the Holy Spirit is, as a teacher, very much more than a witness to the past.* The inherited Scriptural and traditional truth may from time to time need fresh expression. Meaning always inherent in it may need to be drawn out and expanded and enforced as the course of history is unfolded. The inherited truth itself may call for the denial of what would destroy it, or for the affirmation of its rightful consequences. The whole body of the Church is indwelt by the Holy Spirit; and the permanent utterances of the whole body are the expression of His voice. The utterances of the Church may take different forms, and may possess different degrees of definiteness and of authority. A comparison of writers of different dates and localities may show that the teaching which they express is neither merely temporary nor merely local, or it may exhibit differences at different times or in different places, or the idiosyncrasies of individuals. The history of a Council may show that, even if by its constitution it was representative of the whole Church, its decisions were not in accordance with the real and permanent mind of the Church; or that, even if not fully representative of the Church in constitution, it expresses what the whole Church was prepared to accept as its definite and permanent mind. The Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia (A.D. 359) were in constitution representative enough, yet they failed to affirm doctrine which the whole Church regarded as vital; the 'Robber Council' of Ephesus (A.D. 449) was convoked to be a General Council, and it declared what the whole Church declared to be heresy. On the other hand, the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381), which was Eastern only, gave decisions which the whole Church ultimately received, and from which it cannot be anticipated that the Church will ever go back. The value of Conciliar approval or condemnation, or of the testimony of writers, or of inferences from practice or worship, lies not in these in themselves, but in the extent to which they are the genuine expression of the real mind of the universal Church; and a decision as to this extent must often require much investigation of the past or much patience in waiting for the verdict of time.

11. The Church the home of sanctification.—The Church is the Divinely appointed sphere for the bestowal and reception of the gifts of grace. In it are to be found the means of forgiveness and of holiness. The Church, as the body of Christ and the temple of the Holy Spirit, affords access to the Divine operations for the good of man. It gives opportunity for that common prayer and worship which have high approval from our Lord. It provides, by an ordered system, for the needs of the whole life of man. Holy Baptism is the means of conveying the forgiveness of original sin and any actual sins already committed, and of implanting in the soul, through the gift of the Holy Spirit, the germs of all true spiritual life. Through Confirmation there is new strength and the fuller operation of the presence of the Holy Spirit. In the Eucharist are the means of maintaining and renewing the union of the Christian with the life of Christ, the special Eucharistic presence of Christ by virtue of the consecration of the bread and wine to be through the power of the Holy Spirit His body and blood, and the centre of the sacrificial life and worship of the Church in the pleading of His manhood thus present and communicated in the Sacrament. Absolution is the appointed instrument by which those who have sinned since their baptism, and have repented and are desirous to amend, may receive the forgiveness of their sins through the application to their souls of the merits of the passion and death and life of Christ. The Unction of the Sick is a remedy against the weakness in body and soul which accompanies illness, a means for the reception of bodily and mental benefit and spiritual grace. By Holy Orders are provided the needed ministry for the Church's work and the preservation of the Apostolical succession. In Matrimony, family and home life and the relations of man and woman are secured against sin and brought under the operations of the grace of God. Through this whole system the earthly sojourn of man is afforded Divine protection and help and blessing,

and is made to be a school for his right development in all parts of his being.

12. The Church in relation to Scripture and history and human needs.—The historic Church is found to-day in the Eastern, Roman, and Anglican Churches, each of which preserves those features of life which are essential to the Church's being. Those features which are common to them all maintain the principles of the Church life which Holy Scripture records, and which are seen to have received embodiment in history. Further, the Church supplies what human needs demand. It is the sphere in which the ideas of Christian truth and morality are preserved and receive their due presentation for each successive age, as the State is the sphere for the retention and growth of social and political ideas. Thus making provision for the preservation of the thought and maxims which differentiate the Christian religion, it affords scope for the true development of individual Christians. As the existence of the State is necessary if the individual is to realize and give effect to his social and political capacities, so the Church is needed if the Christian is not to be maimed in his personal character and work. An isolated man is incapable of full human life, and an isolated Christian necessarily lacks something of Christianity. To live the complete Christian life, to participate in the full Christian worship, to possess and actualize the full Christian knowledge, requires membership in the Christian society. And it is not any kind of society which can properly supply the needs thus indicated. The episcopal ministry, which is the mark down the ages of the historic Church, and at the present time the common possession of Easterns, Roman Catholics, and Anglicans, is much more than a part of outward organization. It is the link whereby the society which possesses it is connected with the past history and present life of the Church; and it affords the possibility of that complete sacramental system which is the covenanted means of the union of Christians with the Lord and head of the Church.

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DARWELL STONE.

CHURCH, DOCTRINE OF THE (Roman Catholic).—**1. General view.**—The conception of 'the Church' (*Ecclesia*), as it meets us in the writings of the mediæval scholastics, and as we find it expounded by their Roman successors with greater precision after the controversies of the Reformation period, differs substantially from that put forward by any body of Christians who reject Papal authority. In the Roman communion, according to the most generally received definition—that of Bellarmine (†1621)—the Church is described as 'a body of men united together for the profession of the same Christian faith and by participation in the same sacraments, under the governance of lawful pastors, more especially of the Roman Pontiff, the sole Vicar of Christ on earth.' As will be seen, this definition at once excludes the idea of a multiplicity of Churches, almost as the belief of ancient Israel excluded the idea of a multiplicity of Gods. If Roman theologians permit themselves, as they do, to speak of the Greek Church or the Anglican Church, the term is not used univocally but analogically, much in the same way as the Decalogue of old proclaimed, 'Thou shalt have no other Gods before Me.'

The idea of the Church summarized in the above definition has been reached by a process of argument similar to that indicated in the preceding article (§§ 1–3). Using the Gospels simply as historical documents and without reference to their inspired character, the Roman theologian, as a first stage in his logical edifice, infers that the man Jesus Christ, whose life is narrated therein, manifested His intention to establish and leave behind him a body of followers forming a visible society. To this body He promised heavenly protection and aid. The 'Holy Ghost' would teach them all truth, and He Himself would abide with them for ever (Mt 28^{20}). A predominant position in this organization was given to the Apostle Peter, who not only was bidden to feed the sheep and lambs of Christ (Jn 21^{15-17}), but was declared the rock upon which the Church was to be built (Mt $16^{18f.}$). To him also were given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and it was promised that the gates of hell should not prevail against the Church so founded. Now, in point of fact, so the argument proceeds, there is one body which throughout succeeding ages has verified this description. It has consistently proclaimed itself the heir of these promises. It has exercised uninterruptedly the power of binding and loosing. Alone among all rival organizations it claims that miracles not less stupendous than those recorded in the Gospels have been, and still are, wrought by its saints. Taking these facts and combining them with the wonders performed by Jesus Christ, and, above all else, with the fact of His resurrection from the dead, as also with arguments drawn from the propagation and history of Christianity and the moral reformation it has introduced into the world, the Roman theologian deduces the supernatural character of the whole institution. The Church's commission to teach, he infers, is Divinely authenticated. Henceforth we are justified, and indeed bound, to accept her pronouncements, whether she formulates creeds, determines the Canon of Scripture, or proclaims her own right to regulate the administration of the Sacraments. When her Divine Founder said, 'He that heareth you, heareth me,' the words were addressed not only to His immediate hearers, but to their successors for all time.

2. Dogmatic definitions.—It is, then, from the Church's official definitions that we may best gather an idea of her own claims and functions; but it is not to be assumed that the chronological order of these definitions affords any sort of guide to their relative importance. The doctrine, for example, of the Divine inspiration of Scripture is an important doctrine—it is especially so to those communions which make the Bible the sole rule of faith—but the question of inspiration was never formally defined until the Council of Trent in the 16th century. All must admit that for many ages previously the belief had been handed down as a mere matter of Christian tradition. The formal definition of Papal supremacy and infallibility as a dogma of faith was pronounced for the first time in the Council of the Vatican (1870), but it was held by the Fathers of the Council that this, like other dogmas, implicitly formed part of the deposit from the beginning. Without attempting to debate the matter here, it may at least be pointed out that the primacy of the Holy See, of which the infallibility dogma is the logical outcome and

climax, is by no means obscurely shadowed in the very earliest ages of Christian history. We have, for example, the authoritative tone of the letter addressed by Pope Clement to the Church of Corinth about A.D. 95; and again the famous passage of St. Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 3) which describes the Roman Church as the rallying point of all other Churches 'on account of its more excellent principality' (cf. on the text of this passage the *Revue Bénédictine*, Oct. 1908, p. 515 ff., and Jan. 1910, p. 103), not to speak of numerous other indications in St. Cyprian, St. Chrysologus, and other early writers. Be this as it may, the Vatican Council of 1870, in its constitution headed 'On the Church of Christ,' judged it necessary

'for the custody, safety, and increase of the Catholic flock to set forth, according to the ancient and constant belief of the Universal Church, the doctrine to be believed and held by all Faithful concerning the institution, perpetuity, and nature of the sacred Apostolic primacy, in which consists the force and solidity of the whole Church.'

In accordance with this programme, the Council makes the following pronouncements: (i.) St. Peter was constituted, by our Lord, Prince of all the Apostles and visible Head of the whole Church militant, invested not merely with a primacy of honour, but with a true and proper jurisdiction. (ii.) The authority confided by our Lord to St. Peter to ensure the perpetual stability of the Church must of necessity have been meant to pass to his successors, the Roman Pontiffs. (iii.) In accordance with primitive tradition and the express decrees of the Council of Florence,

'the Roman Church, by the design of God, has the supremacy of ordinary power over all other (local) churches, and this power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, which is truly episcopal, is immediate; and pastors and faithful of every rite and rank, whether singly and separately or collectively, are bound to it by the duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, not only in things which pertain to faith and morals, but also in things which pertain to the discipline and rule of the Church spread over the whole world, so that by preserving unity of communion and of the profession of the same faith with the Roman Pontiff, the Church of Christ is one flock and under one Chief Pastor.' [1]

(iv.) The Vatican Council declares

'that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when, in discharge of his office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, he defines, in virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, is, through the Divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, endowed with that infallibility with which our Divine Redeemer willed that the Church should be furnished in defining doctrine of faith or morals; and, therefore, that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves and not in virtue of the consent of the Church.'

Other pronouncements of a more or less dogmatic character may be found in earlier decrees of Councils, notably that of Florence (1438), and in the Bulls of Popes like Gregory I. (†604), Nicholas I. (†867), and Boniface VIII. (†1303); but it is to be noticed that, in the much discussed Bull *Unam sanctam* of the last named, only one dogmatic definition is contained. This merely affirms that all men are subject to the Roman Pontiff, the context indicating that the matter of their salvation is here alone in view. The opponents of Boniface loudly protested that the Bull claimed for the Pope direct power over the State in temporal matters. There was even then a difference of opinion about the lawfulness of such a claim. No doubt many writers on the Papal side upheld the more extreme view, and mediæval authorities generally admitted without question that at least an indirect authority over princes and their temporal concerns belonged to the Holy See, but it would be an error to suppose that the acknowledgment of the Pope's direct jurisdiction over the civil government of States has at any time formed a necessary part of the Roman doctrine *de Ecclesia* (see Hergenröther, *Catholic Church and Christian State*, Eng. tr. vol. i. ch. i., and vol. ii. ch. xi.).

3. **Notes of the Church.**—It appears clearly, from the Vatican definitions and from other Papal pronouncements of the centuries preceding, that, since the divisions of Christendom introduced by the Reformation, the Church has laid more and more stress upon the note of *Unity*, and has more accurately explained that note by insisting that it involves of necessity the recognition of the authority of Christ's Vicar to teach and to legislate. Without this authoritative living voice, it is maintained, the continued existence of the Church as one ordered Society is impossible. Reason and experience alike prove the tendency of such a body to disintegrate into a chaos of contending sects. Every theory of the Church must involve 'certain essentials of worship, or faith, or of the sacraments' (see preceding article, § 6), which cannot be lost without forfeiting membership. But who can pronounce what these essentials are, except some voice which speaks with recognized authority? Nor would it be allowed that this requirement of union with the earthly Head of the Church is in itself new. The tone of St. Cyprian in his *de Unitate* and in his *Letters*, of St. Augustine in his discussion with the Donatists, or of Pope Pelagius II. (†590) in dealing with the Istrian schismatics (see Mansi, *Concilia*, 1901–09, ix. 892 ff. and 897 ff.), is, so the Roman theologian contends, precisely analogous to that of Catholic writers at the present day. Further, in regard to the note of *Catholicity*, it is part of the Roman position to lay much stress upon the actual diffusion of the Church throughout the world—a universality *de facto* as contrasted with the universality *de jure*. This, again, seems to be justified by an appeal to the Fathers, but it is needless to debate the point here. Finally, the Roman conception of the note of *Sanctity* naturally lays stress upon the claim that the Catholic Church has at all periods, even those of the greatest corruption of morals, been the fruitful mother of children who, by their heroic virtue, by their devoted zeal in preaching the gospel to the heathen, and by miracles attested after judicial investigation by competent tribunals, have proved their acceptance with God and have been raised to the honours of canonization.

4. **Other characteristics.**—From the conception of the Church as a complete, permanent, and ordered society, the government of which was entrusted to the Apostles and their successors, the consequence is deduced that, besides their *magisterium*, or commission to teach and define, the rulers of the Church, and primarily the Pope, are vested with a coercive jurisdiction and with the power of Orders. This latter function consists in the power of imparting a spiritual consecration, under circumstances conditioned partly by the original institution of our Saviour and partly by the enactments of the Church. Upon the observance of these conditions the validity of the Sacrament may depend, and in the eyes of a Roman Catholic theologian the Apostolicity of the Anglican communion is compromised by the defect of Orders owing to the inadequate Ordinal of the Edwardine Prayer Book. As for the coercive jurisdiction, this seems to be attested by many passages of the

[1] The whole history of the Canon Law in the Middle Ages establishes the antiquity of this claim. The Pope, as F. W. Maitland has pointed out in his *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* (1898, p. 104, and *passim*), was 'the universal ordinary.' This right to step in and supersede the jurisdiction of the local bishop was uncontested, and was constantly exercised. There was no judgment of any spiritual authority from which an appeal did not lie to the Holy See. It was debated, indeed, in the 15th cent. whether it were not possible to appeal from the Pope to a General Council; but the same chapter of the Vatican 'Constitutio de Ecclesia Christi' now clearly states that a General Council is not to be looked upon as an authority above the Pope and capable of revising his decisions.

New Testament (*e.g.* Mt $18^{17f.}$, 2 Th 3^{14}, 1 Co $5^{3ff.}$, 2 Co $10^{5f.}$, Ac $4^{18ff.}$ etc.), and by the practice of the first centuries. And here comes in the much misunderstood 'pre-eminence' claimed for the Church over the State, the pre-eminence amounting fundamentally only to this, that, where duties plainly conflict, the spiritual is to be accounted higher than the temporal—in other words, God is to be obeyed rather than man. Hergenröther puts the matter well. Such a pre-eminence is, he urges, by no means destructive of civil authority.

'For the superiority of the Church over the civil power is only called forth practically when the latter is no longer within its own province, when the interests in question are not purely civil, but have also a religious character. In its province the civil power is fully independent as long as it does no injury to religion. The Church does not demand a recognition of her superiority over the State for the promotion of the personal and temporal interest of her rulers, but only for the maintenance of the truth revealed by God, which is for the true interest of the State and the Christian people' (*op. cit.* i. 14).

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that all mediæval theories of the relations of Church and State were framed upon the hypothesis that the subjects of any monarchy in Christendom had of necessity received Catholic baptism, and were therefore members of the Church. It was only in the course of centuries that theologians came to recognize a state of things under which a Christian people could be conceived to reject Papal authority in good faith and without culpable apostasy (see on all this matter Tanquerey, *Synopsis Theol. Fundamentalis*, pp. 514–536; and cf. Leo XIII.'s Encyclical *Immortale Dei*). We may note, further, that the axiom 'extra Ecclesiam nulla salus,' which seems to be as old as the time of Origen (*Hom.* iii. *in Josue*), is now, in view of the many Christians who are known to be born and baptized without any immediate means of coming to the knowledge of the 'true Church,' no longer interpreted with the crude literalism that sometimes prevailed in past ages. It is now universally held that those who without fault of their own are not members of the body of the Church may nevertheless belong to its soul ('pertinent ad animam Ecclesiae'), provided they seek to know the truth, possess faith and charity, and are contrite for the sins they have committed. Of other technical distinctions similar to that here made between the body and soul of the Church, it will be sufficient to note the contrasted terms *ecclesia docens* (the teaching body, *i.e.* the Apostles, and the bishops and priests who are their successors) and *ecclesia discens* (the learners, *i.e.* the general body of the faithful); also the division of the whole Communion of saints into the *ecclesia triumphans* (the souls of the blessed in heaven), the *ecclesia militans* (the Church militant on earth), and the *ecclesia patiens* (the souls suffering in purgatory).

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HERBERT THURSTON.

CHURCH ARMY.—The Church Army was founded in 1882 by the Rev. (afterwards Preb.) Wilson Carlile. It is an incorporated Society consisting (1910) of many thousands of members, about 800 paid officers (evangelists and mission-sisters), chosen from the working classes, and a staff at Headquarters numbering over 200. Many of the Headquarters staff, including the founder, are honorary. Its work is evangelistic and social, and is organized in a number of different departments. It has for many years past obtained much recognition and support from its effective manner of dealing with the failures of life, the wastrels, the criminal classes, and the unemployed. The Society may be said to have won the hearty approval of the country at large, and the goodwill not only of the bishops and clergy, but of nearly all leading philanthropists. It has repeatedly been referred to in terms of commendation in Government reports and blue-books, particularly in the annual reports of the Prison Commission and in the report of the Royal Commission on the Poor-law.

The founder of the Society was in 1881 curate of St. Mary Abbot's, Kensington, under the Rev. Ed. Carr Glyn (afterwards Bishop of Peterborough). He had for a long time had it much at heart that the Church should utilize the powers of its working-men members, who had hitherto had practically no scope for evangelistic work. His first essays were at Kensington; and in the year 1882 he organized the Church Army and began work in Vauxhall and Wandsworth, with a small staff of working-men officers and a few personal friends. The movement soon showed that it had the element of growth in it, and before long it became necessary to have a regular Training Home. There are now at work about 420 evangelists (called 'Captains'), and 370 mission-sisters. These last were a later thought, when it appeared that the work of women was almost as much needed as that of men. The sisters are not, generally speaking, what are called 'trained nurses,' but they have all had some experience in one of the London hospitals and in the Society's own dispensary, and have certificates for first aid. A certain number of them have gone through a full course in maternity, and hold the C.M.B. certificate. They are capable working-women, such as parish clergy need for visiting, for holding simple meetings, and for assisting the poor in cases of sickness and difficulty. In all cases the clergy engaging officers or sisters guarantee their salary, and agree to give them the scope which the Society asks in the way of services of which they are in sole charge, subject to the incumbent's orders. Each year about 60 men and 60 women are trained in the Society's Training Homes in London for the work. There are at the present time workers in many fields—foreign missions, police-court, and other forms of home missions and otherwise—including numbers of men in Holy Orders, who have gone through Church Army training, and have worked with the Society for some time.

Not very long after the establishment of the Society, the question became pressing as to how those to whom the gospel was preached could be helped physically. Many were hungry and destitute; many were idle beggars. The problem was how to help without hurting them. The answer was found in the system of *Labour Homes*, which are now scattered over the United Kingdom, most of the large cities having at least one. Each is under the care of a working-man evangelist and his wife, called the 'Father' and 'Mother' of the Home. These titles they are expected to justify by exercising the most potent influence for reformation—the power of Christian sympathy and friendship.

In almost every case the applicant is at first put to wood-chopping, the most convenient work to test a man's willingness. When he has proved himself fit and willing, he is passed on to different kinds of work. Some of the Labour Homes have proved themselves self-supporting, or nearly so. The average length of stay in a Home is between 3 and 4 months. The inmates are well fed, and have beds with clean white sheets, each having a separate cubicle when possible. A man's work is sufficient to pay for his board, but not in most cases for rent and salaries. Each man is credited with the proper market value of his work, reckoned as piecework, 6s. a week being charged for his board and lodging, a small sum given him as pocket-money, and the balance paid to him in cash on his leaving the Home. As a rule the Homes do not receive men suffering from disease, or over 45 years of age. All sorts come to the Homes, and a large proportion of them are men whose downfall is due directly or indirectly to drink.

One of the most encouraging branches of work is that connected with prisons and prisoners. An evangelist visits the prisons periodically, and offers the Society's help to men about to be discharged. A large number of the most satisfactory cases dealt with in the Labour Homes are men from prison, particularly those who have had only one sentence, though old offenders are also reclaimed. Such as these are surprised and grateful to find that a brotherly hand is stretched out to help them up from the depths. Officers with special qualifications take missions from time to time in all the convict prisons, and all the London and most other local prisons, with marked success. A number of workhouses throughout the country are thrown open to the Church Army for visiting and for missions; and reformatories, industrial schools, and training ships are also visited, with the best results to their inmates.

Many experienced officers have been appointed probation officers under the Probation Act; offenders, especially young ones, being committed to their care by the magistrates instead of being sent to gaol; and this branch of work has been particularly fruitful in saving youths from a life of crime. The Society has four special Homes for dealing with lads, two of them being used for young first offenders.

The Old Clo' departments for men and women do a most useful work. The clothing and other articles sent by the public to the Church Army are distributed by these departments among the Homes, and among poor people and families who come for help. To avoid pauperization the articles are sold at a nominal price.

Missions in barracks conducted by Church Army evangelists are welcomed by the military authorities, and a beginning has been made towards similar missions in the navy.

The Church Army's work on behalf of the unemployed has attained very large proportions, and it is impossible to do it justice in the space at disposal. It may be classed under two heads: the work at the King's Labour Tents and similar institutions, where single homeless men are enabled by a moderate task to earn food and lodging in decent surroundings (in connexion with which branch an Open-all-night Rest is opened during the winter); and the Queen's Labour Depôts, and numerous similar depôts throughout the country, where married men with families are enabled to earn a scanty though sufficient livelihood for their dependants while they are out of work, the wages in this case being paid in cash. The principle is strictly observed of giving relief by way of remuneration for work, not by way of free gifts, whether in money, food, or shelter, these being found fatal to the independent spirit of the recipients.

The League of Friends of the Poor occupies an important place in Church Army work. This League consists of men and women of more or less leisure and means, banded together to give *personal service* to the poor by the method of each member becoming responsible for one poor family, to whom the member is expected to act as a kind, judicious, and sympathizing friend. No money is allowed to be given, but with that restriction the members are at liberty to use their own discretion in the means adopted to help, the central organization being always available for advice and support. The effect is found to be remarkable, both upon the befriended and their 'friends.' To many of the latter it has supplied quite a new interest in, and outlook upon, life and the problems of poverty.

An offshoot from this League is the Boys' Aid department, whose aim is to get hold of lads in danger of sinking into hooliganism, unemployment, and possible crime, and, by introducing them to one or other of the numerous organizations for the benefit of lads to be found in almost every parish, to provide as far as possible for a life of good citizenship. A certain number of these lads are emigrated to Australia.

The Church Army also sends men and families to Canada in suitable cases, every precaution being taken that those selected for assisted passages are such as will make useful self-reliant immigrants. The emigrants are expected to repay the sums advanced for passage-money, etc.; and it is found in practice that the very great majority of them do well in Canada, and are able without difficulty to make their re-payments by the stipulated instalments. The class chosen are those who, while respectable and industrious, have been unable for some reason or another to make a success of life at home. For the purpose of testing and training single applicants for emigration, and for selected inmates from the Labour Homes, the Society has a Farm Colony of nearly 800 acres in the north of Essex.

The Society has nearly seventy Mission-vans, veritable houses on wheels, continually perambulating throughout the dioceses of England and Wales and one Irish diocese, many dioceses having two vans at work, and some as many as four. Each van is occupied by an evangelist, with one or two assistants, going from village to village, halting for ten days or a fortnight at the request of the parish clergy, and holding missions in halls or the open air, visiting the people and distributing pure literature. For larger places, the Pioneer Department does work similar to that done by the vans in villages. Evangelists sent out by this department hold missions in crowded parishes, preaching in tents, halls, or the open air; and at times united missions are held, covering the whole of some moderate-sized town. The same department has charge of the missions which are periodically held on the seashore in certain holiday resorts, and on race-courses; also those to fruit- and hop-pickers and harvesters. In all these undertakings the Church Army works hand-in-hand with the clergy, never entering a parish or institution without the goodwill of the incumbent or chaplain.

So many-sided is the work of the Society that it is somewhat difficult to choose any one branch for separate mention. There is, however, one effort which, although not one of the most extensive, is yet so full of pathos and human interest that it is impossible to pass it by. When a man is sent to prison, the community ensures *him*, at all events, shelter and food sufficient to support life. Too often

the wife and little ones, who suffer for the sins of the husband and father, are left to starve or to enter the workhouse. This means breaking up the home; and the future of the children, already marred by the taint of the father's sin, is further clouded by the workhouse shadow. The stories which the Church Army could tell of the hunger and cold, leading to all sorts of sickness, which some of these poor creatures will endure rather than break up the home are heartrending in the extreme. The Society has a special branch for searching out and ministering to prisoners' wives and children, relieving their immediate necessities, and providing work to enable the mother to feed the little ones and to tide over the evil time until the bread-winner is set at large. For this purpose the Society has spacious workrooms, with a crèche for small children attached, in a pleasant part of London. The effect of this work is often twofold. Few indeed are the prisoners, bad though they may be, who do not feel gratitude when they hear that the Church Army has done something for the wife and children; and many a poor sinner has been so touched by what has been done in the name of Christ that it has been to him the turning-point from darkness to light.

The Women's Social department works on the same lines as that which is concerned with men, with necessary modifications. It has a number of Homes for Women and Girls in London and the provinces, the principles of earnest Christian sympathy and giving relief and help in return for work being strictly observed. Laundry-work and needle-work are naturally the staple industries. Useful Rescue work is also carried on. The same department has Boarding Homes for women in business, Clubs, and other institutions. There are also three Homes for Women Inebriates, where the inmates, while taught to rely on the Divine power for deliverance from their enslaving vice, are medically treated, with good results in many cases.

Another department conducts a Dispensary and Medical Mission for Women and Children, the patients being attended by women physicians. The same department has several Fresh Air Homes in the country and by the sea, where poor, ailing, over-tired women from the slums are received with their children. Church Army sisters needing rest and change are also cared for in these Homes.

The *Church Army Gazette*, a ½d. gospel paper for working-people, has a circulation of upwards of 100,000 weekly. It is printed, in common with the *Church Army Review* and the whole of the Society's other printing, at the Church Army Printing Works at Cowley, near Oxford, which are thoroughly equipped with the latest machinery, and constitute an effort towards bringing industry back into the green fields.

The Society has many other branches, but it is impossible to mention more than a few of these—the Banner and Art department, which executes all manner of plain and artistic needle-work, and gives employment to the better class of women from the Homes; the work-room for unemployed women: the Lantern department, with its 100,000 lantern slides on sale or hire, dealing with all sorts of subjects, sacred and secular; the Book department, which sells something like 400,000 publications, large and small, religious and secular, during the year; and the Princess Club, for factory girls.

Although the Society has developed from small beginnings into the wide ramifications of the present day, it remains essentially now what it was at first—a working-men's mission to working-men. This is the cause of its being, and this is its justification.

W. CARLILE.

CHURCH (British).—The British Church, whose history it is proposed to outline, may be regarded as extending from the introduction of Christianity into the island to the time when the Roman mission under St. Augustine, having converted the Saxons or English, created a new Church which anathematized the ancient Church of the land. The causes of the rise and overthrow of the British Church will be included in our survey.

For about a century and a half before Christianity could be regarded as definitely established in Britain, the country had formed part of the Roman Empire. It had, therefore, the advantages of a regularly constituted authority, with an administration founded on fixed principles. And although the principles, especially in their judicial aspect, were, on many points, different from those of the religion of Christ, the relation of the province to the Empire, and its consequent association with the older provinces, proved beneficial to the diffusion of the Christian religion in many ways.

No missionary's name is connected with the introduction of Christianity into Britain. In this it does not differ from many other countries. For instance, we do not know who first preached the gospel in South Gaul, or in Carthage and other places in North Africa—places in which there were churches long before the end of the 2nd century. But in the history of the evangelization of Ireland and non-Roman Britain (the land to the north of the wall of Hadrian), several centuries later, we find names of men who propagated the faith—Nynias, St. Patrick, and Columba. Not so in Britain; the first preacher's name is not known. Incidentally we may notice that the Christianizing of Britain was due largely to its occupation by the Romans.

I. The British Church from its earliest appearance to the coming of monachism.—The earliest apparent indication of the presence of Christians in Britain is to be found in the *adv. Judæos* of Tertullian, written about A.D. 206. Writing of the people who had believed in the Christ, he enumerates all those who had seen the vision of Pentecost (Ac 2^{8-11}), also the Gætuli, Mauri, Hispaniæ, Galliæ, and last of all mentions 'places in Britain which, though inaccessible to the Romans, have become subject to Christ' (ch. vii.). The passage, it must be allowed, is rhetorical in setting, but is it too rhetorical for the conveyance of truth, of what was known to the writer as fact? We observe that, of all the nations named, *the only people respecting whom a detail of contemporary historical fact is added are the Britanni.* Certain parts of Britain, he says, had not been reached by the Romans—a statement recognizing the difficulties encountered by the generals who preceded the Emperor Severus (208). These would be well known at Rome and Carthage. As Tertullian is describing what he knew to be fact, in the first part of the passage, we infer that he had reliable information respecting the second. There were Christians in Britain before 206, just as there was a Church at Carthage long before Tertullian became a member of it. V. Schultze writes as follows:

'The celebrated reference in Tertullian to Christians is hardly mere rhetoric. There could scarcely fail to be some Christians in the island, probably in the 2nd cent., as in other places which the Romans conquered. In a garrison of 30,000 men, having a large number of officers, and certainly no small number of persons who, with this or that motive, betook themselves to Britain, there were, as a matter of course, Christians to be found' (*Gesch. des Untergangs des griech.-röm. Heidentums*, Jena, 1887-92, ii. 120).

We may with some confidence infer that Britain had seen Christians and Christian Churches in the interval between 180 and 200. The earliest Christians were immigrants who used the Latin tongue for worship and teaching. The Christianiz-

ing of Britain was the work of these immigrants. From the older provinces there came into the island skilled workers of all classes, physicians, and schoolmasters; many of these would be of the type described in the Letter of the Churches at Vienne and Lyon (Eus. *HE* v. 1)—Vettius Epagathus, Alexander the Phrygian physician, 'well known as a man of apostolic grace,' Attalus, 'a person of distinction,' and others. How far the Roman garrison, with its three great centres at Caerleon on Usk, Chester, and York, may have aided the beginning and the propagation of Christianity is a question very difficult to answer. The oldest *Acta*, it may be said, are those of soldiers, and Tertullian (*Apol.* 37) speaks of 'the men of yesterday' as now 'filling the very camps' (*castra ipsa*). Many soldiers were certainly Christians, and Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma*, 1894–99) speaks of the court and the camp as 'active proselytizing centres.' Britain must have benefited by their presence.

We may here refer to the traditions, falsely so called, which meet us in historical literature. Works containing materials for the study of these are the following: Ussher, *Britann. Eccles. Antiquitates*, 1639; Haddan-Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., 1869–78, Append. A, pp. 25–6; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 1886–92, p. 102; John of Tynemouth, *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, ed. Horstmann, 1901, ii. 78; William of Malmesbury, *de Antiq. Glast. Eccles.*, ed. Hearne, 1727; Phillimore, 'The Triads' (Welsh), in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. vii.

(1) The legend of the British Bran is self-contradictory, and the real *Triads* contain no allusion to him in relation to the Introduction of Christianity.

(2) A visit by St. Paul to Britain has been inferred from the reference to Spain in Ro 15[24. 28]; and a phrase in Clement's *Ep. to the Romans*, *καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών*, 'having come to the limit of the West,' would fittingly apply to Rome itself, as the context implies, by its reference to the Apostle's martyrdom in the next clause. The idea of a visit by St. Paul to Britain is an inference, and a weak one, not a tradition.

(3) Another instance of weak inference is the contention that St. Peter came to Britain. It is based on a letter from Innocent I., which speaks of St. Peter as constituting priests 'over all Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, *and the interjacent islands*.' It would be difficult to find Britain among these.

(4) Later writers make mention of Simon Zelotes, and of Aristobulus as Arwystli Hen, but they must be pronounced undeserving of any credence on these points.

(5) There are other two legends, one English, the other British: (*a*) The English legend is connected with the founding of Glastonbury, and appears for the first time in the writings of William of Malmesbury, who describes a very early charter which gives the British name *Ineswitrin*. In the history of the church of Glastonia he also speaks of the place as called by the natives *Yniswitrin*. This might mean the 'island or the monastery of Witrin.' William states that he takes his story respecting the Apostle Philip and Joseph of Arimathaea from Freculphus. Two stories are thus blended by him: that of the ancient island or monastery of Witrin, and the legend of Philip and Joseph. The latter is to the effect that Philip sent Joseph of Arimathaea to Britain 'in the sixty-third year from the Incarnation of the Lord.' The disciples with Joseph settled at Ynis Witrin, and experienced kindness from the king. The third king from him became a Christian. He was Lucius or Lles ap Coel, Coel being the second king. (*b*) The British legend represents a British prince bearing the name of Lucius as sending a letter to Eleutherius, the bishop of Rome, requesting to be made a Christian by his command. The story given by William that Glastonbury was the cradle of British Christianity is evidently post-Norman, while the British legend is certainly as old as the 6th century. On the date of the oldest MS of the *Liber Pontificalis* on the story of Lucius and its appearance in the *Liber*, see p. cii. in Duchesne's edition.

It is difficult to accept the view advanced in Haddan-Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 25, which makes the record belong to the time of Prosper, and connects it with attempts at Papal authority over Britain, and equally difficult to accept the view of Zimmer (*The Celtic Church in Brit. and Irel.*, Eng. tr. 1902, p. 2) that it was 'invented towards the end of the 7th cent. by a representative of Rome, in order to support him in his claims against the Britons.' Such purposes appear entirely foreign to the short notice of the *Liber Pontificalis*. This story is also given by Nennius and Beda, though with some modifications, both writers evidently depending upon a copy of the *Liber*.[1]

Nennius (*Hist. Brittonum*, 22) falls into the confusion of placing the conversion and baptism of Lucius under Pope Eucharistus. There was no Roman bishop of this name, or of the name Euaristus, as five MSS read. The dates in Beda and Nennius are plainly impossible when we have regard to that given for Eleutherius, *i.e.* A.D. 174–189. This account is narrated with characteristic enlargements in the *Book of Llandâv*, and in the *Hist. Regum Britanniæ* by Geoffrey of Monmouth. It may be observed that the whole story is absent from the pages of Gildas, who does not know, apparently, of any one in particular as connected with the introduction of Christianity into Britain. Harnack explains the whole as a transcriptional error. The king was not a British prince, but Abgar IX. of Edessa, whose full name was Lucius Ælius Septimius Megas Abgarus IX. The scribe was misled. A full notice of this conjecture is found in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxiv. p. 393, where, on the whole, the view is accepted. Yet it may have to wait for fuller elucidation.

[1] Bede, *Historia*, i. 4; *Chronicle*. The former gives a date that must be earlier than 169, the latter places the conversion of Lucius in 180.

Christianity brought to men a knowledge of one God as opposed to polytheism, with its idolatrous and bloody sacrifices and official pomp.[1] The *Epistula ad Diognetum*, which is the most striking Christian pamphlet of early times, gives a vivid conception of the Christian life about the year 150. It has been described as belonging to the heroic period; its words have not yet lost their power. Britain, then beginning to be Christian, began also to know men who had reached the ideas and feelings portrayed in this *Epistula*.

When Christianity came into Britain, probably some time before A.D. 200, important developments had secured a lasting place in the Church. The very name *Catholica Ecclesia* had acquired a meaning which renders the description 'Universal Church' somewhat inadequate. It had come to imply doctrine also, which, within a certain range, was uniform; it implied, further, a particular form of Church life which was approximately identical in all communities. Neither the doctrine nor the institutional form of the Church was quite fixed, though more or less definitely formed. Thus, long before the Christian community had begun its work in Britain, its ministry had developed almost uniformly in other parts—in Italy, Spain, Gaul, the Rhineland, and particularly in Africa, before Tertullian even had become a Christian. Its ministry consisted of a chief pastor who was called bishop (*episcopus*), aided in the offices of worship by others of a second rank named presbyters (*presbyteri*), while the less distinctive parts of the ritual and the charities of the brotherhood were administered by deacons (*diaconi*). This was the kind of Church that existed—possibly the only kind that could have existed—in Britain about A.D. 180–200. The British bishop, it should be remembered, was bishop of the *one* church in which he laboured, doing the work usually done to-day in every communion by the minister of a church. No diocesan bishop, during the centuries extending from those early times to the 10th or 11th cent., was evolved in the Church of Britain; presbyters there were in it, entrusted with functions which, after a time, only bishops could perform in the majority of churches. At first the Church in Britain was similar in all things to other older Churches; but, whereas these, in course of time, adopted new ways, the British Church clung conservatively to ancient customs, and so came to be regarded as a reprobate Church.

Our knowledge of the characteristics of the Early Church in Britain is of necessity inferential, for from native and direct sources there is hardly any information to be gained on these points. The barrenness of those sources will be evident when it is mentioned that not a single name is known to history except St. Alban until we come to the three bishops who in 314 travelled from York, Lincoln, and London to the Council of Arles. And after that date we meet with no representatives of the Church until we come to Pelagius, Palladius, and St. Patrick. The inscriptions even bear no trace of Christianity until the 6th cent. has begun.

The language which the Church in Britain employed for worship, for solemn ordinances, as well as for teaching, was Latin. In course of time, terms

[1] For an account of the heathenism of Britain, see artt. CELTS, DRUIDS.

from that language came to be used by the British people, and modern Welsh still contains a large number of Latin words. The immigrants, in addition to their Latin speech, brought over copies of the Latin Bible. This was of necessity in the version called Old Latin, and it obtained so strong a hold upon the mind and heart of the Church here that it continued in vigorous use three and a half centuries later.

Besides the Scriptures in Latin, the newcomers carried to their new home that short summary of doctrine which they called their *Symbolum*. This, probably, was the old Roman creed, or an older and simpler form of it—which in its more complete and fixed form was called the Apostles' Creed.[1] They must also have brought with them the mode of conducting public worship, consisting of common prayer, reading of Scripture, and sermon. Converts were admitted into Church communion after preparation as catechumens, and by the solemn rite of baptism. The Britons understood Augustine when in 603 he spoke of the rite 'by which we are regenerated unto God'—an expression that is found as early as Justin Martyr (about 150), and soon after in Latin terminology. There were at a very early period *interrogations* made of each person at his baptism, in the tenor of the articles of the Creed: 'Dost thou believe with thy whole heart in God the Father Almighty? I believe,' etc. etc.[2] Another rite, regarded as a part of baptism, was named Chrism or Confirmation (*q.v.*). In course of time it became separated from baptism, and was relegated to the bishop as his own special function; in Britain, however, it continued as a rite which could be performed also by the presbyter (if not by the deacon) who conducted the baptism. The Eucharist, regarded as the most solemn ordinance of the Church, was probably celebrated as in other Churches; it was presided over by the bishops alone, and took place at the second part of the service, to which none but *fideles* were admitted. Besides Sunday, the weekly sacred day of the Christians, Easter was regarded as an annual festival commemorating, earlier than 200, the Resurrection of the Lord. There were diverse ways, even in the West, of fixing the day on which the celebration should take place, and probably Britain had no uniform method of calculation until the year 314, when it adopted the then Roman mode of computation.

In this brief description of what prevailed in most, if not in all, countries, we see the Church of Britain about A.D. 200. There were in it, as well as in other facts not yet named, the seeds of bitter, harassing divergences. These did not develop, however, until four hundred years had passed by. A period of British life—internally undisturbed—may be said to extend from about 200 to about 600. It is probable that, with the exception of the local persecutions from Trajan to Marcus Aurelius, warfare against the Church as an institution was carried into Britain, for the first and only time, in the persecution called forth by the Edict of Decius in 250, or that of Valerian in 257. This time of trial showed, to borrow the words of Gildas, 'bright lamps of holy martyrs,' of whom he names three—Alban of Verulam, Julius, and Aaron of Caerleon ar Wysc or Urbs Legionum.

By most writers these martyrdoms are placed under Diocletian (from A.D. 303), owing to a false reading and wrong understanding of Gildas in his *de Excidio Britanniæ*. The best reading—*ut conjicimus*, 'as we conjecture'—proves that Gildas himself did not know the exact time. St. Alban, Julius, and Aaron were probably victims of the fierce blast which swept over Britain under Decius or Valerian, rather than under Diocletian. A careful reading of the chapter in Gildas creates the impression that it is a fragment of an ancient *Passio* or *Acta* of St. Alban. We find an account of St. Alban and the two other martyrs in Gildas' *de Excidio Britanniæ*, ch. 10, written about 540 (Cymmrodorion Soc. ed.); Bede, *Hist. Eccles. Gentis Anglorum*, written before 735; Constantius, *Vita Germani* (one of Bede's sources), written about 480. There were two families of the texts of the *Passions*; a copy of one, the 'Turin' text, came to Gildas, while Bede used an exemplar of the 'Paris' text. For full information respecting these texts, see W. Meyer, *Die Legende des hl. Albanus, des Protomartyr Angliæ, in Texten vor Beda*, 1904, and the review of his book in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxiv. p. 397.

[1] The differeoces hetween tbe Celtic form and the Continental are set out at leogth in the *Antiphonary of Bangor* (ii. 21, ed. Warren, 1893-95), and by Burn in *Niceta of Remesiana* (1905).

[2] See Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, 1858, p. 106; Achelis, 'Canons of Hippolytus,' *TU* vi. 4.

During the decade 286–296, Britain under Carausius and Allectus was practically independent; the Gallo-Roman Empire, recognized by the troops in Britain, lasted from 259 to 273. We are thus carried to the time of Valerian, or to the peaceful measures of Galerius (260), under whom, being a half-usurper, persecution was scarcely possible. Constantius carried on no persecuting severities.[1] We infer, therefore, that the persecution under which St. Alban and the two citizens of Caerleon, 'together with many others of both sexes,' suffered was the fierce onslaught of Valerian or Decius on individual Christians and on the Church in its collective existence. There can hardly be an escape from the conclusion that this period, 251 to 260, was the only time when the Church of Britain was persecuted. Alban was not the *first* martyr in Britain, as reputed; he was one of three, but had the good fortune to be glorified in the *Passio*, written in Gaul, not in Britain, and also by Gildas and Beda, and in the *Vita Germani* of Constantius.

British representatives were present in the Council at Arles in 314, summoned by Constantine to decide upon a grave difference that had arisen in Africa; but its Canons, like those of every Council, concerned the whole Church. There travelled thither, as the names are given in Mansi, from the Corbey MS: (1) Eborius episcopus de civitate Eboriacens provincia Britannia; (2) Restitutus episcopus de civitate Londinensi provincia supradicta; (3) Adelfius episcopus de civitate colonia Londinensium (MS Lindunensium; this correction must be made); (4) exinde Sacerdos presbyter, Arminius diaconus. Many signatures make it evident that numerous presbyters and deacons took part and voted in the Council—a striking fact. From York, from London, and from Lincoln respectively, Eborius (a name that became *Ifor* in the British tongue), Restitutus (whose name took the form *Rhystyd*), and Adelfius, with the presbyter and deacon, went to share at Arles in the work of framing the Canons, twenty-two in number. The Canons generally deal with the ordinary regulations and difficulties of pastoral work, and imply a great change in respect of discipline when compared with the old austerity (*antiqua austeritas*). But the first of them seems to be evidence of variance in the customs with respect to the celebration of Easter—a point that became so vital later, as deciding the relations of the British and Anglo-Roman Churches. It was in this Canon decided to observe the feast on 'one day and at one period,' *ut uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur*. As most of the Churches already held their Easter on the Lord's Day—the day of His Resurrection—this decision was of importance chiefly on account of its second clause. Rome in that age calculated its *time* of holding the sacred feast on a cycle of 84 years. Alexandria, with all the Churches of the East, had adopted the old civic cycle of Athens, called the Metonic cycle, and calculated upon a basis of 19 years. The point of chief importance is that the British bishops carried over the Roman 84-year cycle, with its high prestige, and

[1] Lactantius, *de Morte Persecutorum*, 24; Eus. *Life of Constantine*, cf. *HE* viii. 13–15, ix. 2, x. 5–7.

the Britons clung to it with the tenacity of a strong reverence for their fathers. Rome, on the other hand, went through several changes until it finally ended with the adoption of the Alexandrian calculation. Easter was a movable feast derived from the Jews, whose year was lunar, and its date was fixed by the first full moon of spring; as the lunar year is 11 days shorter than the solar, each full moon of Jan. 1 in any year is 12 days old on Jan. 1 of the following year. Many efforts had been made to find a system indicating the time when sun and moon should again have the same days. This interval, called a cycle, at Rome was 84, at Alexandria 19 years. Henceforth the British Church observed this Roman cycle, of which its bishops heard at Arles in 314. Cf. CALENDAR (Christian).

We have no reason to doubt that the Britons were orthodox, like the West generally, in their attitude during the great controversies which resulted in the faith of Nicæa respecting the Divinity of the Son, and in the Christology of Chalcedon. It is interesting now to read the book that was read by many in Britain—a book of deep thought and moderate opinion, viz. the *de Synodis*, written by Hilary of Poitiers, and addressed to, among others, the bishops of the provinces of Britain. This book, apparently, had prepared the minds of the Britons and others to oppose the religious tyranny of Constantius at Ariminum (359).

There is a point which is worthy of special notice, viz. that, in the 4th cent., forms of ritual and creed, differing as they did from those which became fixed later, were to be found in places widely apart throughout the Empire. For instance, the article in the Ancient Creed on the Church reads almost the same in the *Symbolum* used at Remesiana beyond the Adriatic as in that of the Churches of Gaul (where Faustus wrote), Britain, and Ireland. In Britain and Ireland their Creed taught men to say: 'I believe *that there is* one Holy Catholic Church,' not as in other places: 'I believe *in* the Holy Catholic Church.' It is possible that along the great military road, on which Remesiana lay, and which reached Milan through Aquileia, developed forms of ritual might travel from Constantinople without touching Rome. From Milan as centre these would reach the Irish Bangor, and Faustus, bishop of Riez in South Gaul. We have in this hypothesis, if true, an explanation also of the element of truth in the old contention that Christianity had come to Britain from the East. Eastern peculiarities there were, but they had come not directly, but in the way described above.[1]

Pelagianism (*q.v.*) is sometimes represented as a current issuing from Britain; this, however, was not the case. Its original home was Rome, and its motive was a protest against Augustine's doctrine of sin and grace. Pelagius was a Briton; this is the evidence of all who speak of him, with the apparent exception of Jerome. The best way of understanding the life of Pelagius, and the relation of Britain to him, is to regard him as one of the many who made their pilgrimage to the East in order to know and learn the 'way of holiness' that was so spoken of in all parts as practised by 'the saints' in Egypt and Asia Minor. There were others who must have been drawn from Britain eastward and to Rome from the same motives as Pelagius. One of these was Palladius, a strong follower of Augustine.

The Pelagian controversy continued after the death of Pelagius in the far East, probably not long after 418, and even after the death of Augustine (430). At last, by the instigation of Boniface and Celestine (422–432), bishops of Rome, Imperial edicts were issued against the Pelagians. They were exiled from Italy. It is known that Pelagius had a host of warm sympathizers at Rome, and it would not be surprising if many of his own countrymen should be amongst them. These men, 'enemies of grace,' would naturally return home, and, as Prosper says, 'take possession of the land of their birth.' Agricola and his father Severianus, if among the exiles from Rome, would answer this description; but we see by the *Pelagian Letters* which Caspari has edited, that there were other Pelagians in Britain, and the doctrine may have been spreading. Agricola, we are told by Prosper, was corrupting not individuals but *Churches*, so that there must have been no small influx of Pelagianism into Britain. Palladius, whom we regard as a Briton, succeeded in securing the intervention of the Roman bishop Celestine, who sent over Germanus of Auxerre in order to put an end to the heresy. Prosper's *Chronicle* opposite the year 429 records:

'Florentio et Dionysio Coss. (= A.D. 429): Agricola Pelagianus, Severiani Pelagiani episcopi filius, ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione corrupit. Sed ad actionem Palladii diaconi papa Coelestinus Germanum Antisidorensem episcopum vice sua mittit, et deturbatis hæreticis Britannos ad catholicam fidem dirigit.'

Prosper, it should be remembered, was in Rome at this time and closely associated with Celestine; therefore his narrative commands especial credit.

There is, however, another witness who must also be consulted, viz. Constantius, the author of the *Vita Germani*, who wrote his book about the year 480.[1] The *Vita*, as we find it in Haddan-Stubbs, is proved to be largely interpolated; Wilhelm Levison has thoroughly examined it, and we turn to his work for full information respecting the book and its author (*Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xxix. [1903]). Constantius was one of those literary men made known to us in the letters and poems of Sidonius Apollinaris, and it was to him that Sidonius dedicated his *Letters*. Constantius informs us that Germanus, who to this day has been called in the British tongue *Garmon*, made two visits to Britain in order to oppose Pelagianism there; on the first of these he was accompanied by Lupus, bishop of Troyes. The *Vita*, however, relates further that an embassy was sent from Britain to inform the Gallic bishops that the Pelagian heresy was rapidly taking possession of the people, and that the earliest possible succour should be given to the Catholic faith. A Synod was held, and Germanus and Lupus were solicited to undertake the mission to Britain. The two bishops entered upon their work with energy, and succeeded in their task. The *Vita Germani*, written with a charm of style which made it exceedingly popular, is throughout full of miraculous incidents. This was the fashion of the time. But we are dependent upon the narrative of the *Vita* for all that occurred during the stay of the bishops in Britain—the visit to the grave of St. Alban, the Hallelujah victory, etc.

Many attempts have been made to reconcile the two accounts, that of Prosper and that of the *Vita*, but the statement of Prosper's *Chronicles* that Germanus was sent to Britain by Celestine as his representative (*vice sua*), and at the invitation of the British deacon Palladius, seems to be such as must be accepted; the embassy from Britain and the Council are, it is quite probable, due solely to the imagination of Constantius. The *Vita Lupi* is good evidence that Lupus accompanied the great bishop in this mission to Britain. It adds one special detail, viz. that the journey was made in

[1] Burn, *Niceta of Remesiana*, p. lxxviii.; Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 1889, p. 83; Barns, *JThSt*, July 1906, p. 501.

[1] *AS*, Juli vii. pp. 202–21. From the *Acta* the text is given in Haddan-Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. i.

winter. Germanus came to Britain in 429, about the same time as the English, at the invitation of Guertigern, began their occupation of the island. This information we gather from the *Historia Brittonum* by Nennius. Germanus, or Garmon, remained in the memory of the British as the man who had saved the faith of the Church when threatened by a flood of Pelagianism, as the builder of monasteries, and as the great teacher of saints. But their reverence was enhanced by the belief that he had been a strong helper against the Saxons.

A few names appear before us about this time. One of these is Fastidius, a British bishop who wrote, some time between 420 and 430, a book to a widow named Fatalis, on *The Christian Life*, and another on *The Preserving of Widowhood.* In reality there is but one book known to us. The tractate has been erroneously described as containing Pelagian passages. It reminds one of some chapters in the *Imitatio* of Thomas à Kempis.

'Men sin egregiously,' it says, 'when they believe that God is the avenger not of sin but of heresy. . . . A Christian is he who extends pity to all, who in no case is ruffled by injury, who allows not a poor man to be oppressed if he be present . . . who has made himself poor to the world that he may become rich unto God.'

Fastidius insists on the necessity of obedience as well as faith, for a good life. His letter to the widow, a noble type of Christian womanhood, places clearly before us the idea of the Christian man as entertained in Britain about 420.[1]

Another name that comes into view is Faustus. He was born in Britain, but was taken by his mother in early life to the monastery of Lerins. Maximus was then abbot of Lerins; on his appointment in 433 to be bishop of Riez, Faustus succeeded him as abbot, afterwards succeeding him also as bishop of Riez. He was acquainted with Sidonius Apollinaris, who describes his mother as holy and one who inspired reverence; 'to be introduced to her was as if Israel had introduced him to Rebecca, or Samuel to his mother Hannah'—a lady whose piety may be compared with that of the widow to whom Fastidius wrote, and both as examples of British piety. She took over her son to share in the discipline and saintliness of the communities at Marseilles and Lerins. Sidonius speaks in one of his letters of the books which Faustus was sending by the hands of Riocatus 'to your fellow-Britons.' Faustus is thus an instance of the early beginning in Britain of reverence for the monastic life.

Riocatus is another important personage. We meet him as the guest of Sidonius Apollinaris, being detained at his house because of the incursions of 'the barbarians' into Gaul. Riocatus is spoken of as bishop and monk (*antistes ac monachus*). He was then on his second visit, and was returning with a supply of books from Faustus. A stream of literature, copies of the Scriptures, tractates, etc., came to Britain from Lerins, an important literary centre. The visit of which we have spoken may have occurred between 460 and 470, though Riocatus might have been bishop many years earlier. In him we have evidence of monachism not only existing in Britain, but also favoured by the Church, or by some churches at least, since this man was bishop as well as monk. The friendliness between Faustus, who was a strong and fervid Semi-Pelagian, and Riocatus suggests the prevalence in Britain of Semi-Pelagian views.[2]

Of another—Nynias—we have information in Beda, who declares that he was a Briton. Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, in his *Vita Niniani*, written in the 12th cent., has preserved a few details. Nynias carried on missionary work in Northern Pict-land—in Caithness, in Sutherland, and even in Shetland. Ogham and other inscriptions testify to his activity. St. Patrick, until about the year 432, may be regarded as a Briton. In his *Confessio* he tells his story, and in the *Epistola* supplies a few details respecting his birth and his experience. The date of his birth may have been between 387 and 390. His death must have occurred about 461. His father was a deacon and a decurion, his grandfather a presbyter. It was not, however, until he had escaped from his captivity in Ireland and had dwelt some time at the monastery of Lerins, and afterwards for a longer period at Auxerre, that he was ordained bishop and sent as missionary to the Irish. Apparently there were no monks or monasteries in the parts where St. Patrick spent his early life; he learnt the ascetic way of life at Lerins. There is no need here to enter into any account of the labours which St. Patrick carried on as bishop among the Irish.

2. **British monachism.**—Monachism appears to have been one of the results of the visit of Germanus, and to be connected with the monasteries on the south coast of Gaul. Lupus, his youthful companion, had been at the monastery of Lerins. Riocatus, a British bishop and monk, held intercourse with Faustus, himself of British parentage, who had been abbot of Lerins; it is therefore quite natural to conclude that monachism came to Britain from South Gaul. Its home for the British was Marseilles or Lerins, neither of which monasteries was founded before about 410–15. British monachism may have been gradually making its way into the country about 420. It is stated in the *Life of St. Samson* that he restored a monastery which had been built by Germanus, *i.e.* in 429. We connect, therefore, the monachism of our island with the influence of Germanus, as well as with the impulse received from Marseilles or Lerins, or from both places.

There was thus introduced into Britain a new idea of the way in which moral perfection could be reached. It meant severe austerity, which, by mortifying the body, gave the spirit full play; it enjoined also the abandonment of the world's life, so as to secure full liberty for exercises of piety. Through monachism there was brought into the island a new spiritual force, and the monk clothed himself in a garb that was significantly symbolical of it. Its methods for the cultivation of spiritual discipline were prayer, reading, and meditation at fixed and stated hours. There seem to have been two types of monachism, to which the names 'Antonian' and 'Pachomian' have been given. Reminiscences of the former are frequent in the names of churches and parishes at the present day. For instance, *Llanddeusant* means a *llan*, or cell, for two monks; on the other hand, *Llanilltud* was a Pachomian institution, a monastery where many lived by one rule (*regula*).

The anchorite and the monk became rulers of the Church, the bishop and other members of the clerical order occupying a secondary position. Every *lanna*, *lann*, or *llan* was the cell of a recluse or a monastery, and such places covered the whole land. Even the Church at first was endangered by the abandonment of sacraments, and by the prevalence of new and unauthorized collective gatherings. Manual labour was undertaken by the monk, not for profit, but for his own moral discipline. The *Lausiac History* shows that such crafts as gardening, agriculture, smith's work, carpentry, fulling, weaving, tanning, shoemaking, and writing were practised in the monastery of Akhmim. From the earnings of such labours the monks provided themselves with food

[1] See Gennadius, *de Vir. Illust.* ch. 57; also Caspari, *Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten*, 1891, p. 352 ff. on *de Vita Christiana* (*PL*, vol. l.).

[2] Krusch, *Apoll. Sidon. Epistulæ et Carmina*, Berlin, 1895 [*MGH* viii. 157]; also Engelbrecht, *Studien uber d. Schriften d. Bischofes von Reii Faustus*, Prague, 1889, pref. p. xv.

and clothing, which were regarded as the common property of the community. The same system obtained in Britain, though on a smaller scale, as the *Life of St. David* shows. In the monastery founded at Tabennisi by Pachomius, all the monks were required to commit to memory the whole of the Psalter and the New Testament. This custom also prevailed in Britain, as we know from the quotations made by Gildas in the *de Excidio*. Even more extreme ascetic usages in the mortification of the body, borrowed from the Egyptian monasteries, were carried on by the monks in this island. The idea of monachism, it is evident, as regarded by the early British monks, was derived from Egypt. The biographer of St. David informs us definitely ('Vita S. Davidis' in *Cambro-British Saints*) that the saint imitated the Egyptian monks (*Egyptios monachos imitatus, similem eis duxit vitam*).

Two names appear in British tradition as prominent in the early days of monachism. There were, undoubtedly, others prior to them, whose names are not known. One of the two is Dubricius (Dyfrig), and the other Illtud, belonging to a younger generation; the period between 420 and 500 gives no names for history except the three —Dyfrig, Illtud, and Riocatus. The 'Life of Dubricius' in the *Book of Llandâv* is a very confused piece of biography. He is said to have been consecrated 'archbishop over all South Britain' by Germanus and Lupus, and his privileges were confirmed by 'Apostolic authority.' This account is contradicted by the narrative of Geoffrey of Monmouth, according to whom Dubricius was abbot at Heunllan, and afterwards at Mochros. Illtud was the first abbot of the place called after him Llanilltud, the term *llan* being a name given by the people to a monastery;[1] it now means 'parish church.' Illtud was a Briton, and through him monachism seems to have inspired high moral aims in a community of devoted disciples, among whom we find Gildas and St. David. Following the intimations of the older *Vitæ*, we are led to regard Llanilltud as an island, not a place in the midst of meadows and streams, as the British *Vita* suggests, and to conclude that the original Llanilltud must be the island called Caldy. It was not on the site of the present-day Lant-wit-Major (Llanilltud Fawr).

Contemporary with Illtud was Teilo, the founder and first bishop of Llandâv, who had been a fellow-disciple of St. David under Paulinus.[2] Another contemporary was Caradoc of Llancarvan. We have narratives respecting four eminent disciples of Illtud—Gildas, Samson, Paul Aurelian, and St. David. In each of these men we observe a remarkable change in monkhood. The monk, instead of being simply a recluse, becomes a public preacher. Gildas, from the Tyne in the North, travelled far to become a disciple of Illtud at Llanilltud in South Wales. In the eagerness of his devotion he seems to have exceeded the Tabennisiot monks. He committed to memory nearly the whole Bible, and acquired an intimate knowledge of the Christian literature of the West. The teachings of Illtud were carried by him to Ireland. The close of his life was spent in Brittany, in accordance with a long-cherished desire for the life of an eremite, his death occurring, according to the *Vita* and the *Annales Cambriæ* combined, on 29th Jan. 570. (Anscome, after a searching investigation, decides upon 554, which seems too early.) Besides the *de Excidio*, Gildas wrote *Letters*, of which fragments are extant; these show in him a remarkable trait—he writes as a man endowed with a moderation which a casual reader of the *de Excidio* would not expect to find.

An idea which seems to have possessed men in Britain finds conspicuous illustration in Samson. His supreme message may be seen in the words addressed by him to his father: *Tu, quidem, frater Umbraphel, peregrinus esse debes.*'[1] 'Thou must be a pilgrim' is for him and for many a constraining conviction. From Dumnonia he set sail for the land of his pilgrimage, settling at Dol, situated in that northern part of Brittany to which patriotic feelings towards the old home in Britain gave the name of *Dumnonia*. Paulus Aurelianus, or Pol de Leon, as he was later named, after a time spent as a solitary near his father's lands, crossed early to Brittany. He first settled on the island of Ushant, but afterwards in the Pagus Leonensis, where he built his *llan*, or monastery, and was created bishop. The spirit of Llanilltud made of him a missionary bishop and preacher.

The last to be named by us is David, or, as his countrymen called him, Dewi Sant. It ought to be superfluous to assert the fact of St. David's existence. This is made certain by the whole tone and character of the *Life* written by Ricemarchus at St. David's, where there were materials left since the saint's own time, and where Sulien, the biographer's father, the most learned bishop in all Britain, had lived. Beyond the short notice in the *Life of Paul Aurelian*, this *Vita* by Ricemarchus seems to be the source of all that has been written of St. David in Welsh poems and biographies of the Middle Ages, and in quite a library of books written later. The Welsh versions testify to its early popularity, but deal freely with it, making frequent omissions and changes. The *Vita* was a sermon for St. David's day; and the Welsh versions have given it more of the sermon's characteristics. That David was with Illtud we know for certain from the earlier Breton *Life of Samson* and the British *Life of Illtud*, but his teacher in the narrative of Ricemarchus was not Illtud but Paulinus. The spirit of Illtud, however, was in him, and he became a popular preacher, and by this, and by other ministrations of the pastoral type, he endeared himself to his people. Twelve monasteries in succession were founded by him; even Glastonbury is among these, and *Legminetre Monasteriun*, which is represented to be a nunnery, and is called in the version *Llanllieni*. Several companions followed him to reside at *Vetus Rubus*, the Welsh name for which Giraldus gives as *Hen Meneu*, and the Latin as *Vetus Menevia* ('Kambrice Hen Meneu, Latino vero Vetus Menevia'). It was at this place, both as abbot and as bishop, that his life was spent, his death occurring at a comparatively early age. To him, above all others, has gone forth the reverence of the Welsh people. Intimations of this reverence are not infrequent. At a great synod held at Brevi (afterwards called Llanddewivrevi) he was approached with profound marks of respect by delegates of the bishops there assembled, 118 in number, besides an innumerable multitude of presbyters, abbots, etc., and begged to abandon his place of retirement in order to preach to the people. Most reluctantly he complied, and preached as no other could. A second synod, to which the name Victoria is given, connected with St. David's name, was held, in which the decrees of the former were confirmed. These may be later echoes of him. We cannot be wrong in believing that the revival continued after the death of Gildas, the fearless reprover of princes and bishops, and of David, the great popular preacher. The names of several workers have been preserved.

We subjoin a Bibliography of the subject, with brief notes, dividing the whole into four classes.

I. Vitæ of probably Breton origin.—Those that we possess seem to have come from the Benedictine monastery of Fleury (Floriacum).

[1] *Book of Llandâv*, pp. 71, 120. [2] *Ib.* p. 99.

[1] Mabillon, *AS. O.S.B.*, i. 154; *AS*, Jul. vi. p. 582; *Anal. Boll.* vi. (*Vita* ii.); de la Borderie, *La Bretagne; RCel* v. 417.

(1) *Life of Samson*—*Vita S. Samsonis*, first printed in Mabillon's *AS*. See the Bollandists' *AS*, Jul. vi. pp. 573–91. Another *Life of Samson* is printed in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vi. De la Borderie places the substance of the older *Vita*, published by Mabillon, about A.D. 600–15, and gives the second *Vita* a date about 900 (see his *La Bretagne*, 1903, i. 560).

(2) *Life of Paul Aurelian*, or Pol de Leon—*Vita S. Pauli Aureliani*. See *AS*, Mart. ii. pp. 111–119. Another *Vita* is published in *Analecta Bollandiana*, i.; and the same from another MS by Cuissard in the *RCel* v. 417.

(3) *Life of Gildas*—*Vita S. Gildæ*, called *Vita* i., was written by the Monk of Ruis, a monastery in Brittany. *Vita* ii., by Caradoc of Llancarvan, was written probably four or five centuries later than *Vita* i. Both are printed in the Cymmrodorion ed. of Gildas.

(4) *Life of Briocus*. This is published in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, ii.

(5) *Life of Maclovius*, now St. Malo. The *Lives* of Maclovius, six in all, have been published by Plaine and de la Borderie.

(6) *Life of Winwalœus*, in French writers *Guennole*. The *Vita S. Winwalœi* is edited in the *Anal. Bolland.* vii. 117–249.

II. VITÆ, ETC., OF BRITISH ORIGIN.—The *Book of Llandâv*, or *Liber Landavensis*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, 1893. The vol. contains extracts from the *Liber Pontificalis* and from Beda, i. 6, 7, respecting Lucius Brittannius Rex and St. Alban, together with other sufferers from persecution. The compilation, which is really a chartulary of the Church of Llandâv, may have been drawn up about 1140–50; it contains a number of *Lives*.

(1) *Life of Samson*—a summary of Mabillon's *Vita*.

(2) *Lectiones*, or readings, from the *Life of Dubricius*.

(3) *Life of Teilo*.

(4) *Life of Oudoceus*.

The last two must be by the same author, who is also the writer of the *Life of Dubricius*, excluding the 'Lectiones' referred to. The whole four may be from the pen of the compiler himself.

III. CAMBRO-BRITISH SOURCES.—*Cambro-British Saints*, ed. in 1853 by W. J. Rees, contains:

(1) *Life of Brynach*—*Vita S. Bernaci*, from the MS Vespasian A. xiv.

(2) A British or Welsh *Life of Beuno*, from a MS 'in the possession of the Earl of Macclesfield,' compared with another in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford.

(3) *Life of Cadog, or Cattwg*—*Vita S. Cadoci*, from the Br. Mus. MS Vesp. A. xiv, p. 17, and collated with Titus D. xxii, p. 51. This *Life* is, in parts, a chartulary of Llancarvan, c. 63, agreeing with p. 176 of the *Book of Llandâv*. The *Vita* is by far the fullest in the vol., with a style superior to all the rest. The Scripture quotations are numerous and of special interest.

(4) *Life of Carannog*—*Vita S. Carantoci*, from Br. Mus. Vespasian A. xiv; evidently a sermon for the saint's day.

(5) *Life of St. David*: (*a*) *Vita S. Davidis*, from Br. Mus. Vespasian A. xiv, collated with Nero E. i. This *Life* was written by Ricemarchus (Rychmarch), who died Bishop of St. David's in 1096–97, and from it all other records of St. David seem to be derived. Another *Vita* of St. David was written by Giraldus Cambrensis, which simply repeats the older, containing no new matter beyond a few local points of detail. It is the same *Vita* as that of Ricemarchus. This fact reminds us that, when Giraldus wrote, about A.D. 1208, no more was known then at St. David's than we have at the present day. (*b*) A well-written Welsh *Life* also appears in this vol.; the same or a similar *Life* is also edited by J. Morris Jones, Bangor, in *Llyvyr Agkyr Llanddewivrevi*, 1346 (from the Jesus College MS 119), 'Hystoria o Vuchedd Dewi.' This Welsh *Life* is not quite a version, but a summary, abbreviated in parts, with not a few additions and changes. It is evidently a sermon, and worth reading.

(6) *Life of Gwynlliw*—*Vita S. Gundleii*, from Br. Mus. MS Vesp. A. xiv, collated with Titus D. xii; very confused, and of no value for us.

(7) *Life of Illtud*—*Vita S. Iltuti*, 12th century. Its agreement with the *Book of Llandâv* is frequently evident.

(8) *Life of Cybi*—*Vita S. Kebii*. The anachronisms in this *Life* are astounding; Cybi is connected both with St. Martin of Tours, who died in 400, and with King Malgwn of North Wales, whose death occurred in 547. Nothing in the *Vita* suggests any relation with Caergybi (Holyhead) except his sailing from Ireland for *Mona Insula*.

(9) *Life of Padarn*—*Vita S. Paterni*. In this *Vita*, again, we have a sermon for the saint's day. Padarn is made contemporary with David and Teilo, with whom he makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where the three are ordained archbishops. 'Britain,' according to the mediæval biographer, is divided into 'three episcopates,' corresponding to three kingdoms: the kingdom of Rein (or Demetia), where St. David was bishop; the kingdom of Morgant, with St. Elind (Teilo) as bishop; the third *apud dextrales Brittanos*, which stands for Ceredigion (*civitas Sancti Paterni episcopi*). The whole *Vita* is diffuse and confusing.

(10) *Life of Gwenfrewi*—*Vita S. Winefredæ*, a work of the 12th cent., which has been handed down in two dubious forms.

(11) *Life of Pedrog*—*Vita S. Petroci*, a *Life* soberly written and conveying real facts.

IV. VITÆ FROM IRISH SOURCES.—Two of these are contained in Rees's volume.

(1) *Vita S. Aidui* (Aidi ?), a name which interchanges with Maedocus (Madawe).

(2) We introduce here the *Vita S. Kentigerni*, by Jocelin (*c.* 1180), a monk of Furness; the *Life* describes the exile which led Kentigern, at that time Bishop of Glasgow, to visit St. David at Menevia, and afterwards to build a monastery on the river Elwy in North Wales, now called Llanelwy. On his return to Glasgow, he delegated his functions as abbot and bishop to his beloved disciple Asaph, or Asa, after whom the monastery, with its church, was named St. Asaph.

(3) *Vita S. Brendani*, from Br. Mus. Vesp. A. xix. There have been published several forms of his *Vita seu Navigatio*, containing sailor 'yarns' woven into the history of a saint. Bishop Moran's ed. is excellent.

(4) *Finian*, *Finan*, or *Vinnan* (Vennianus), Abbot of Clonard; *Vita* in Colgan's *AS Hiberniæ*, pp. 393–97. He became an Irish companion of David and Gildas at Kilmuine (Kilmynyw).

(5) *Corngall*, Abbot of the Irish Bangor; he connects North-Irish monachism with Britain, *i.e.* with David and Gildas.

Among these *Vitæ*, which are numerous, we class those that were written by the Armorican exiles, or their immediate followers, as the most reliable. Most of those designated British are late, and are really sermons intended to glorify the saint on his day. Those which are named Irish convey, in the majority of cases, accounts of a close relation with Britain, especially in the persons of David and Gildas.

3. The two churches which followed the conversion of the English.—St. Augustine, the Roman missionary, had asked the great Pope Gregory I., who sent him hither, as to the extent of his authority. He was instructed that he had no concern with Gallic bishops, 'but all the bishops of Britain we commit to thy fraternal care (*tuæ fraternitati*), so that the unlearned may be taught, the weak strengthened by persuasion, the perverse corrected by authority.' It was in virtue of this authorization that Augustine approached the Britons in 603, when there was no English bishop besides himself in the island. (If the conference was held in 604, there were two new bishops.) A claim of authority on his part they could not understand, as they were inexperienced in metropolitan rule. Every one of their bishops was bishop of his own congregation solely, and there was no corporate aggregate of such churches in respect of which an archbishop could exercise authority over any bishop. The first conference (*colloquium*) was unsuccessful. The British bishops demanded time. They could not, they said, without the consent and leave of their people, abandon ancient customs. The absence of archiepiscopal authority is patent in such an assertion as this. At the second conference Augustine reduced his demands to three: (1) the adoption of the Roman method of calculating Easter; (2) the assimilation of a certain part of the baptismal service, to which the name *complere* is given, to the Roman mode of administration; (3) that the Britons should join him in preaching to the English—a demand which had been made previously. Here we have a picture of monastic life—*very many learned* men came from the monastery of Bangor is y Coed, over which Dinoot (Brit. Dunawd = Donatus) was abbot. These men, previous to their meeting, sought advice from 'a holy and wise man who was wont to lead an anchorite life among them.' We catch a glimpse of the British monastery as a 'place of learning,' and of a solitary quietly settled near it who had the reputation of sanctity and wisdom. We observe that the terms used at the two conferences are 'customs' (*mores*) and 'traditions,' which the Britons cannot change. There is no question of doctrine. Above all, the Britons declare that they will not regard Augustine as archbishop (*neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros respondebant*). These refusals were the cause of the existence henceforth of two Churches in the land instead of one as previously. The chief of the customs which the Britons refused to abandon was their 84-year cycle for the calculation of Easter. There was an absurdity in this demand, because Rome itself, after many attempts to emend this same cycle, beginning with the doubts of 444 and 451, finally abandoned it in 525, adopting then the Alexandrian tables of Dionysius Exiguus. It is evident that the Britons would have done well to abandon their cycle, but it is here that the 'tradition' came in. While the Roman Church and the Anglo-Roman held that they retained the Easter estab-

lished by St. Peter, on the other hand British tradition traced their mode of determining Easter to St. John. How was it possible to put aside a custom that had its beginning with the Apostle 'who was worthy to lie in the Lord's bosom'? It was from him they had learnt to hold their feast on the 14th day of the moon though it were Sunday, and never to celebrate it after the 20th. As 'tradition' the British had certainly the advantage, but their system of calculation was inferior to the Roman, borrowed as this was from Alexandria. At the Synod of Whitby (664) the two modes came to a full debate between Colman, the third of the Irish missionaries who had done such service by their labours in North and Mid-England, and the indefatigable Wilfrid. The grounds of belief on either side had nothing to do with the merits of the two ways of determining Easter Day; belief was made to rest by both sides on an impossible basis of tradition (Beda, *HE* iii. 25). Moved by reverence for ancestors and for St. John, the Britons continued steadfast in their refusal; in the Anglo-Roman Church the subject was often discussed, several Synods being held for that purpose. Aldhelm (Abbot of Malmesbury, 675–705) in his letter to the king and bishops of Dumnonia pronounces the British to be, because of their refusal on this point, non-Catholic. 'The precepts of your bishops,' he says, 'are not in accord with Catholic faith.' So also Beda, for the same reason, excludes the British from the Catholic Church. It was an unhappy difference, and there was harshness on the British side.

The other usage mentioned by Augustine to which the British bishops and learned men adhered was in their celebration of Baptism. The archbishop employs the unusual expression 'that ye should *complete* the ministry of baptism'—*ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, iuxta morem sanctae Romanae et apostolicae compleatis.* The term is found in the *Life of St. Brigid.* A vision describes 'two priests clothed in white pouring oil upon the head of a girl, *completing the order of baptism in the usual way.*' *Complere* refers to the last act of the rite, *i.e.* to 'confirmation,' a function allowed only to bishops in the Roman communities (see as to Ireland, on the absence of 'confirmation' there, St. Bernard's *Vita Malachi*, ch. 3). This divergence in confirmation from the Anglo-Roman usage must have been a frequent cause of irritation. The British tonsure also is mentioned by Aldhelm and Beda (not by Augustine) as a custom to be condemned, though in the 4th cent. it was customary in most, if not all, countries. Biggs is of opinion that its sole object was disfigurement. In Britain it continued as a survival from earlier times. We need not endeavour to point out other causes of a difference and separation which extended over centuries. The labours of Aidan, Finian, and Colman, though they conformed with the British as to Easter, were appreciated and honoured even by the English archbishop and by the historian Beda; it might have been the same after Augustine's conference, but for his tact.

One cannot help being curious as to what became of this British Church. An attempt was made in the early part of the 9th cent. by Elvod of Bangor to bring about compliance with the Roman demands, but his efforts do not seem to have been successful. It is the British Church that we find in the *Laws* of Howel Dda (Howel the Good) about the middle of the 10th century. It may be that it was still in existence when Ricemarchus wrote his *Life of St. David* at Menevia, but, when Geoffrey of Monmouth was writing at Llandâv, and Giraldus at St. David's, it had ceased to exist. There was no British Church, certainly from the 12th century, probably from the 11th century. Another Church, the Anglo-Roman, had taken its place.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given fully in the course of the article. HUGH WILLIAMS.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—1. Anglo-Saxon times.—Britain, under the Romans, was part of a Christian empire, and its Church, with its organization, its saints, its doctrinal difficulties, grew up as part of the Holy Catholic Church. But with the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the West, Britain, as one of its outlying portions, was among the first countries to be isolated. During the 5th and 6th cents. barbarian tribes poured into the Empire—Goths and Lombards into Italy, Huns into Danubian lands, Vandals into Africa, Visigoths into Spain, and Angles and Saxons into Britain.

The British Church, thus cut off from the Church on the Continent, grew weaker and began to stagnate. In the neighbouring island of Ireland a different form of Christianity, not connected with the Empire, was, as the legends of St. Patrick show, both strong and active. The Irish Church rested not on episcopacy, but on monasticism, and, amidst much that was ill-organized and turbulent, there was fine enthusiasm and, above all, missionary zeal. The great Irish missionary, St. Columba, crossed over in 563 to Iona, and made that island an important centre of religious life and civilization until his death in 597. Meanwhile the British, and with them their Church, had been driven into Western Britain by the Angles and Saxons who invaded the island during the 5th and 6th cents., until by A.D. 600 the Western half of Britain was British, and the Eastern half Anglian and Saxon. The invaders were and remained heathen, for the British made no attempt to convert the pagan foes whom they abhorred.

From 590 to 604 Gregory I., a great ecclesiastical statesman, sat on the Papal throne. He had already combated Arianism in several Teutonic tribes, and he realized the greatness of the opportunity afforded him in Eastern Britain of converting the English straight from heathenism to orthodoxy. Accordingly, in 597, Augustine was despatched with a band of monks to Kent to begin a great English mission. He was wonderfully successful in Kent, and was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. The whole island was mapped out into dioceses by Gregory, who had a splendid faith in the future, though for the present only the sees of Canterbury and Rochester could be created. An effort was made through Paulinus to introduce the Roman form of faith into Northumbria, but after a temporary success the attempt failed. Another effort to unite with the British Church in the West also failed, through want of tact on the part of the Archbishop, and obstinacy on the part of the leaders of the British Church. Independently of Canterbury, the Roman form of Christianity was established in East Anglia and Wessex, and by 635, therefore, or about forty years after the coming of Augustine, Western Christianity, which looked to Rome as its head, was established in the South and East of England. But that was all; the British Church (see preceding article) still held aloof, and the North of England remained heathen.

This state of things lasted until after the middle of the 7th cent., but in the North of England great changes were taking place, for during civil war in Northumbria a fugitive prince fled to the monastery of Iona, and soon afterwards returned a Christian to his throne. This Oswald at once introduced Christianity into his kingdom, but naturally in its Celtic, not its Roman, form. He brought St. Aidan

from Iona to succeed where Paulinus had failed, and his work was so successful that, soon after his death in 651, not only was Northumbria Christian, but it had outlying missions in Mercia and Essex.

After the middle of the 7th cent., then, the problem that had to be settled was this—Should the Church of England be Celtic or Roman? The answer was given at the tho Council of Whitby (664). The discussion turned on the date for keeping Easter and certain other differences, but what was really at stake was the future of English civilization. The Council decided in favour of Roman Christianity, and that meant that the Celt, whose genius had been shown in mission work, was now to make way for the Roman, whose strength lay in organization. England was to look eastwards to Europe, not westwards to Ireland, for her civilization and religious development.

Almost immediately the Roman Archbishop Theodore came to carry out what had been decided upon at Whitby. He reorganized the Episcopate by dividing old and creating new sees. He instituted Church Councils to deal with the problems of the day, and he regulated the monasteries. Yet he was hindered a good deal by the able but erratic Wilfrid, who had done the Roman cause good service at Whitby, and had since become Bishop of York. Wilfrid found it difficult to submit to the re-arrangements of Theodore, and more than once had to flee the country and appeal to the Pope—a precedent which was to lead to difficulties in after years. But, in spite of hindrances, Theodore's work continued, and by the end of the 7th cent. the English Church was fully organized on a diocesan basis. More than this, an example of English unity had been set up in the Church which was to serve as a model for the State. Englishmen were still divided as Northumbrians, or Mercians, or men of Wessex. As Christians they were all one in the English Church.

Christianity at this time, in England as elsewhere, found its highest expression in monasticism. It was the Celtic form of monasticism which had spread from Iona into Northern England, with a discipline less stringent than that of Rome. The communities might be of men, or of women, or sometimes of men and women together, some of them married. The Celtic ideal aimed at retaining the separate individualities within the community, the Roman at the subordination of the individual to the life of the community as a whole. With the triumph of the Roman form of Christianity, there was an effort to supplant the laxer form of monasticism by the stricter Benedictine form. Of this movement Wilfrid was the champion, and it spread rapidly after the Whitby Council. In such monasteries the educational and literary work of the time went on. This found its climax in the work of Bede (673-735) at Jarrow, while Alcuin of York took across to the Court of Charlemagne the learning which he had gained in Northern England.

The Anglo-Saxon Church was also a missionary church. Its missionaries went about the Continent converting many Teutonic tribes who had remained heathen. Wilfrid himself was a missionary in Frisia, Willibrod went out from Ripon to continue the work, while Boniface, the greatest of these pioneers, went out from Wessex to Western Germany, and became Archbishop of Mainz.

During the two centuries after the Council of Whitby, the Church in England was gradually developing along the lines then laid down, and, in spite of some signs of weakness and decay, especially in Northumbria, during the early part of the 9th cent., it was an active, living, growing Church. But with the middle of the 9th cent. all this was changed. For several years Danish hordes swept over the country from the sea, spreading out from Scandinavia to Ireland, England, and Northern France. These Vikings were also the champions of heathenism, and savagely attacked Christian churches and monasteries, slaying the inhabitants and carrying off what they could find. They spread into Northumbria and Mercia, and even into Wessex, until in 871 Alfred became king, and stemmed the tide of invasion.

The Anglo-Saxon Church, laboriously built up during two centuries, had well nigh collapsed before the Danes. Churches and monasteries had been destroyed; priests, monks, and nuns had perished. Religion and learning were at a very low ebb. Alfred set to work, first to conquer the Danes, then to unite them with the English, and finally to revive the life of the Church in England. The year 878 was the year of decision. In that year the Danes were conquered and confined to the east of England, and they accepted Christianity. Alfred then did his best to rebuild churches and monasteries, to make good ecclesiastical appointments, and to restore learning and education. By his noble example and earnest zeal he restored the foundations of the Church on which his successors could rebuild. For half a century after Alfred's death (in 901) his successors were reconquering Eastern England—the Danelaw—and the process was completed by the great reign of Edgar (957-975). This was the climax of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. In the process of conquest Wessex had become England, and the King of Wessex King of the English. In the Church also a twofold process had been going on. The leaders of the Church, the bishops, had more and more become statesmen, and the chief royal advisers. The monastic life, on the other hand, had received new inspiration from the Cluniac revival on the Continent, through the French monastery of Fleury, whither several English churchmen had gone for inspiration and help. Stricter celibacy was enforced alike in monasteries and in cathedrals, and round this revived and disciplined monastic life gathered all that was best in the Church. The central figure in this movement was Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury (960-989) and chief adviser of Edgar. As statesman and ecclesiastic he gave the reformers his help, though he would not force the changes upon the unwilling. By example and authority much was done to rebuild the structure on the foundations restored by Alfred, but the reforms were never universal, nor did they last through the troublous days that followed Dunstan's death.

The earlier part of the 9th cent. saw the Church passing into a state of stagnation and decay. The renewed Danish invasions under Cnut had little direct influence, since Cnut adopted what he found, without introducing anything new, and the folly of his sons destroyed the hope of a Scandinavian Empire with its possibilities of wider influence for the Church. In the reign of Edward the Confessor the lowest ebb was reached. The saintly king chose his favourites from Normandy, the country of his exile, and, with his thoughts fixed upon the next world, neglected his kingdom in this. The real power passed to Godwin and his sons, and their policy was fatal alike in Church and in State, for their aim was insular, and they would have cut themselves off from much that was good on the Continent in their desire to realize a narrower form of patriotism. Reform was needed in the Church, but it was not from these English leaders that it was to come. On the field of Senlac the Anglo-Saxon monarchy met its doom, but the Anglo-Saxon Church was

saved from weakness and isolation by the new life there secured to it from Normandy.

2. The 12th and 13th centuries.—The Norman Conquest began a new era alike in Church and in State. The Normans were the most progressive race of the age, full of the old Viking energy, but ready to assimilate whatever was commendable in Western ideas. Under their rule England was to be no longer isolated, but brought, with the best in her old institutions, into close touch with European civilization. William the Conqueror was an able ruler, and at once impressed his strong personality on the conquered country; but the fact that he came under a banner blessed by the Pope gave the conquest additional importance for the Church, since in 1073 Hildebrand, the greatest of William's contemporaries, ascended the papal throne as Gregory VII. He did perhaps more than any other one man to influence the Church of the Middle Ages. His ideal was a theocracy, to be realized in the Catholic Church. Already the Cluniac revival had prepared the way by purifying the Church, as the Emperors of the middle of the 11th cent. had purified the Papacy. Already the doctrine of transubstantiation had placed the priest, who could actually bring into being his Divine Lord at the altar, on a higher plane altogether than that of the mere layman. Already the better feeling of Christendom was demanding the celibacy of the clergy, and a consequent devotion to the things of God. Now, therefore, in Gregory VII. the reformed Papacy, guiding a purified priesthood, was to control the world and realize the Kingdom of God on earth. It was a grand ideal, but, as carried out by man, it involved the long and often sordid mediæval struggle between Church and State for mere supremacy.

The high claims of Gregory had to be met by William. Both Pope and King were helped by the wisdom of William's archbishop, Lanfranc, a brilliant scholar, a wise teacher, and an earnest monk. He was a firm upholder of the new ideas, but a good servant of William; and he succeeded in bringing about a compromise which gave to England a revived Church without involving William in subserviency to the Papacy. Loyal Churchman though he was, William was a statesman first, and jealous of all encroachments on his power. 'Peter's pence' he would pay, but homage to the Pope he would not do, while no baron might be excommunicated, no Church Synod held, no Papal bull received, without the King's permission. The great question of investitures—Should the ecclesiastical or the secular authority appoint the bishops?—though so important on the Continent, was not a practical difficulty under William. He purified the English Episcopate himself, making good appointments, and removing Englishmen in favour of learned Normans. Sees were removed from the villages to the towns, and the supremacy of Canterbury was assured. Monasticism was revived, and the Cluniac revival allowed full scope. New monasteries were built, and the old were drastically reformed by Norman abbots. Everywhere the principle of celibacy was triumphant, and, though in the parishes those priests who had wives were not forced to put them away, still no priests were in future to marry. The distinction between the clergy and the laity, and the priest's sacerdotal power, were emphasized by the separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil courts, whereby all suits concerning the clergy were to be tried in courts where churchmen were judges and canon law was followed.

In the hands of three great men like Gregory, William, and Lanfranc, this settlement was good. But the question of investitures had some day to be decided, the independent existence of Church courts was sure some day to create difficulties, and the balance of power between King and Pope could not fail at some time to be upset. The next two hundred years saw these problems worked out.

The Conqueror had left a strong government, resting on the personal power of a strong man. William Rufus turned this into a despotism, and used every power over Church or State to satisfy his avarice. Bishoprics and abbacies were kept vacant, that the king might have their revenues, or were sold to the highest bidder. In a moment of penitence William appointed Anselm, Abbot of Bec (see ANSELM OF CANTERBURY), to the long vacant see of Canterbury. Anselm was the greatest scholar of his time, and a saint as well, but he showed no lack of firmness in opposing the tyranny of the King, and further strengthened himself by going in person to Rome to secure the support of the Pope. On the death of William (in 1100), his more politic brother Henry succeeded him, and the struggle was no longer between righteousness and tyranny, but between Church and State to ascertain their respective spheres. Anselm's own position had been changed by his presence at the Council of Rome in 1099, which had made stringent decrees against clerical marriages and also against lay investiture; and the settlement of the investiture question could no longer be avoided. Should the kings of England go on appointing the bishops as the Conqueror had done, or should the principle for which the Pope was fighting on the Continent prevail, and the bishops be appointed by the Church itself? After six years of struggle the question was settled in 1107, again by a wise compromise. The bishop was recognized as at once a baron owing allegiance to the King, and an ecclesiastic bound to obey the Pope. He was therefore to be elected by the Cathedral chapter, but this election was to take place in the King's chapel. He was then to do allegiance as a baron to the King, and afterwards to receive the insignia of his office as a bishop from the Archbishop or the Pope. The Church thus retained the forms which it desired, but the substance of power remained with the King, who could always control the elections.

The reign of Stephen increased the power of the Church, because of the chaotic weakness of the State. Thus it was the attack on certain bishops that ruined Stephen's cause; it was the Church that mediated between the rivals for the crown; and amidst the turmoil of civil war the great Cistercian revival was planting new monasteries in the desolate North, and quietly restoring to civilization the devastated tracts of Yorkshire.

Henry II. came to the throne in 1154. He had inherited from his grandparents a great Anglo-French empire, which he increased by his marriage, so that he was King of England and overlord of the western half of France. He was an able ruler, and realized that a strong government was needed throughout his dominions, and more especially in England, after the weakness of Stephen's reign. His schemes for a great empire failed, but in England the monarchy which he founded was so strong that it survived the follies of his sons. Its strength lay in the great system of common law which Henry built up, and in the very able civil service which he created to carry on his administration. But this very strength soon brought the monarchy into conflict with the Church, for their ideals were mutually exclusive. The monarchy stood for a national ideal, and to the King the independent power of the Church involved an *imperium in imperio*. The Church stood for a cosmopolitan ideal, and to the Pope the control exercised by the Crown was an unholy usurpation. The struggle was fought out on the question of

the independence of the ecclesiastical courts. Were the clergy, like the laity, to be under the control of the King's courts or no? On the answer depended, on the one hand, the success of Henry's government; on the other, the solidarity of the Church in England with the Church on the Continent.

Thomas Becket was the archbishop who championed the cause of the Church. As a clerk he had already shown capacity, and had risen to be Chancellor, and chief adviser and friend of the King. In 1160 Henry made him archbishop in the hope that he would bring the Church into subordination to the Crown. He soon found his mistake. As Chancellor, Becket had put the State before the Church; as Archbishop, he unhesitatingly put the Church before the State. The struggle came to a head when the treatment of clerical criminals was discussed in 1164. The Constitutions of Clarendon laid down that the King's courts should settle what offenders came under the jurisdiction of the Church courts, and should punish the condemned. Becket gave his consent, then recanted, and fled the country. After a weary exile he returned, only to be murdered by some of the King's over-zealous followers. For the moment Henry gave up the Constitutions, but in reality the supremacy of civil law and justice had been assured. The Church had the inspiration of Becket's martyrdom to set against this loss.

With the death of Henry II. the government passed successively to his two sons, Richard and John. Richard was out of the country nearly all his reign, and the official class created by Henry reaped the benefit. The reign gives an interesting side-light on the relation of England to one great movement in the mediæval Church—the Crusades. Twice over, in 1095 and in 1147, Europe had been stirred by the call to save the Holy Sepulchre from the infidel, but England had scarcely heeded the call either time. Now a third effort was made in 1190, and Richard of England took part in it; but still the English did not join, nor did they help in the Crusade which in 1204 seized not Jerusalem but Constantinople. Thus the whole crusading movement left England untouched, and the alienation of her one crusading king from the interests of his own country only brings this aloofness into greater prominence.

Under John the strong monarchy of Henry II. became a cruel despotism. John was an able man, but he was faced by two men abler than himself. One was Innocent III., who brought the mediæval Papacy to its highest pitch of greatness. The other was Stephen Langton, archbishop from 1208 to 1228. John, in carrying out his violent will, had trampled on every class in the community, and had sought also to crush the Church. When Innocent appointed Langton archbishop, John refused for years to receive him, yielding at last only in fear of rebellion and invasion. At once, when Langton came, he united the suffering Church and the angry nation under his leadership, and was largely responsible for Magna Charta in 1215. This alliance marked a new stage in the relation of Church and State. Henry II. had struggled for order, and Becket for privilege. Now John was struggling for despotism, and Langton was leading the way towards liberty.

Under Henry III. two great parties took shape. On the one side was the monarchy, which united with the Papacy. On the other was the nation, which drew closer to the national Church. The King, who was weak, easily led, and inclined to foreign favourites, allowed the Pope to plunder the Church in England if he might do the same. The Church drew closer therefore to Simon de Montfort and the party of reform, until the King's extravagance and misgovernment were held in check, first by Simon and later by Prince Edward. But, while politics was thus drawing nation and Church together, a great religious revival was doing still more for both, for the second quarter of the 13th cent. saw the coming of the Friars to England. Hitherto the highest religious ideal had been that of the monk, who wanted to withdraw from the world to save his own soul, and to pray for the world outside. St. Francis and St. Dominic showed that it was a higher ideal to go out into the worst places of the world, to save the souls of others. The Friars went everywhere. They raised the religious tone of the people, they captured the universities and guided scholastic philosophy, and they strengthened the cause of religion throughout the world. Neither King nor Pope could prevail against a nation learning its liberty, and a Church purified by a great ideal of self-sacrifice.

3. Later Middle Ages.—The end of the 13th cent. was important from two points of view: It was the time of the decline of the mediæval Papacy under Boniface VIII. (1294–1303), whose claims to universal power remained as imperious as ever, yet with ever less possibility of fulfilment. It was also the time when the English mediæval monarchy reached its zenith under Edward I. (1272–1307), who set himself to be a strong king, but with the loyal support of every section of the community. He gradually worked out the ideal at which Simon de Montfort had aimed, until a Parliament of three estates was brought into being in 1295; and, though for a time, in the midst of his struggle with internal difficulties and foreign war, Edward acted arbitrarily, he always sought to rule according to law, and to keep each part of the nation working towards the common good in subordination to the Crown.

This policy at once brought him into conflict with the Church at home and the Pope abroad. The clergy were hindering Edward by acquiring much land, which thus became exempt from the usual feudal obligations. Hence, in 1279, the Statute of Mortmain declared that no more land was to be alienated to ecclesiastical corporations. The old difficulty with the Church courts was reappearing. Accordingly, in 1285, the writ *Circumspecte Agatis* laid down that suits between clergy and laity which involved the possession of land were to be decided in the King's courts. The Church, in short, was checked as landlord and as judge. In 1295 she had the chance of controlling her own destinies more effectively when summoned to the Model Parliament as one of the three Estates, but the chance was thrown away because the clergy preferred to separate from the Parliament and vote their own taxes in Convocation. It was a great mistake, and meant that in the next two centuries the Church in its isolation grew less and less able to influence the country.

Behind the clergy stood the Pope, and Boniface and Edward were soon in conflict over the ceaseless question of the boundary between the spheres of the sacred and the secular. Edward had taxed the clergy severely; therefore in 1296 there appeared the bull *Clericis Laicos*, which forbade the clergy to pay taxes to the King. Loyalty to the Pope and loyalty to the King were made incompatible; therefore Edward at once retaliated by outlawing the clergy, putting them, that is, outside all protection of the civil law. This brought the clergy to their knees, and they compromised by declaring that they offered the King certain voluntary contributions as individuals. The Pope had only succeeded in weakening the clergy and

making a breach with the King. Shortly afterwards he went a step further, and, declaring Scotland to be a fief of the Papacy, forbade Edward to invade it. This only brought from the Parliament assembled at Lincoln in 1301 a decisive repudiation of these papal claims, while in 1307 another Parliament, at Carlisle, after the death of Boniface, presented to the King a long petition against the papal encroachments.

During the 14th cent. religion was languishing in England. The most important cause of this was the condition of the Papacy during the seventy years' captivity at Avignon (1308–1378). During this time the Pope was the mere tool of the French King, and the moral and religious tone of the Papacy suffered enormously. When the Popes returned to Rome in 1378, it was only to produce a schism which lasted until 1417, with one Pope at Rome and another at Avignon. With the head of the Church in this condition, it was little wonder that the members suffered with it. For England the papal sojourn at Avignon was especially harmful, as this was the period of the Hundred Years' War with France, which began in 1337. The Pope was thus to a very special degree identified with the national enemies, and the unpopularity which had already shown itself enormously increased.

Another great cause of the decay of religion was the Black Death which swept through Europe in 1348 and 1349, destroying, it is computed, between a third and a half of the population. The normal conditions of life were upset; new relations between landlord and tenant, and between employer and employed, were suddenly created. There was the greatest difficulty in replacing the enormous losses among the clergy and in carrying on the ordinary religious life of the people. Parishes had to be supplied with whatever priests, if any, could be found; men, whether suitable or not, were too hastily turned into priests, and the usual standards of morals and learning among the clergy were greatly lowered. In the monasteries the losses had been enormous, and many of the monastic orders, and especially the Friars, never wholly recovered from the scourge. Monks and priests were thus suddenly removed, at the very moment when men's ideas of life in general were shaken by a vague but very real sense of fear before a disaster of such terrible magnitude. Lord and peasant alike often lacked the usual ministrations of the Church, and these things told heavily on the religious life of the country throughout the rest of the century.

The unpopularity of Pope and clergy steadily increased. It was against the Pope at Avignon that the two famous statutes of *Præmunire* and *Provisors* were directed. The aim of the Statute of *Provisors*, in 1351, was to defend the rights of patronage against the undue claims of the Pope, and all papal nominations were declared forfeit to the crown. The Statute of *Præmunire*, in 1353, was meant to check the judicial powers of the Pope, and it declared that any one who took out of the realm lawsuits whose cognizance belonged to the King's courts should be outlawed and forfeit his goods. These two statutes together were a serious blow to the power of the Papacy over England.

The leaders of the clergy in England were also unpopular. Various songs and poems of the time attacked them, and twice over (in 1341 and in 1371) an effort was made to break through the hitherto unvarying custom of putting the administration of the Government into clerical hands. The clergy, however, were still able to hold their own in this by virtue of their superior education. At the head of the opposition to the Church stood John of Gaunt, and the leading ecclesiastic who suffered was William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester (1366–1404), whose name will always be remembered for his services to education in Winchester College and New College, Oxford. Gaunt's object was mainly political, but his attack is important as bringing into prominence the man in whom culminated all the opposition of the century to Pope and clergy alike. Born early in the 14th cent., John Wyclif went to Oxford while still very young, and about 1360 became Master of Balliol College. He became the centre of university life and of scholastic philosophy in the University, but his freedom of thought and speculation gradually brought him into conflict with the leaders of the Church. From 1363 until his death, in 1384, he held country livings, where he developed his ideas until they became no longer matters of academic discussion but sources of national inspiration. In him the growing feeling of discontent with the clergy and the Pope found its focus, and he has well been called the 'Morning Star of the Reformation.' To him Holy Scripture was the final authority for religious truth, and neither tradition nor the authority of the Church was to be acknowledged unless the words of Christ confirmed them. One outcome of this was his translation of the Bible from the Latin Vulgate, whereby the Scriptures were to become an open book for all who could read. But the clergy strongly opposed this popularizing of the secrets of faith, and the circulation of the manuscripts was rendered very difficult. Another great doctrine of Wyclif was that of the direct personal relation of man to God. This he expressed in the feudal terminology of the time in his dictum of 'dominion founded in grace.' God's grace gives the righteous man all things here and now, and there are no intermediaries between God and man. This involved certain consequences. A mediating priesthood was clearly contrary to the spirit of this doctrine, so Wyclif more and more attacked the clergy of all kinds. Then, in the hands of some of his less careful followers, the doctrine was developed into a defence of communism; for, if God gives the righteous man all things, this must include material as well as spiritual things, and therefore the poor may be encouraged to demand them from the rich. The received doctrine of transubstantiation, again, Wyclif declared contrary to fact and to logic, and taught a doctrine similar to that afterwards known as 'consubstantiation.' But the great link between Wyclif and the people lay in the stress which he laid on poverty as the rule of life for the clergy. Wealth was the bane of the Church, and he wished to sweep it away. The secular clergy had become rich and worldly; the monks, too, had fallen from their ideals and only cumbered the ground; but it was the Friars who were the subject of his most scathing satire, because they had fallen so utterly away from the ideal which came closest to that of Wyclif himself. An example of poverty was to be set forth anew by the 'Poor Priests' whom he sent out to preach his doctrines and to live out in their lives the purer Christianity which he sought to revive. It was these Poor Priests who turned Wyclif's teaching from Scholasticism into Lollardy.

For a while Lollardy spread as a revival of popular religion. The masses were touched by its earnest teaching and by its ideal of poverty; it penetrated even to the Court and the Queen, from whom it passed to Bohemia in the teaching of John Hus. It found expression in the popular literature of the time, and the ferment it created was not without its responsibility for the Peasants' Revolt in 1381. But it was not destined to last.

It was checked by the action of the Pope in the trial and excommunication of Wyclif in 1377. It was checked again in 1382, when a Council at London condemned his teaching, and a little later even the University of Oxford, the home and stronghold of his teaching, was forced to abjure his doctrines. The House of Lancaster completed the suppression when, in 1401, the Statute *De Heretico Comburendo* sentenced Wyclif's followers to the flames. A few suffered; many recanted. With the rigid orthodoxy of the new dynasty, and the disturbance of the times, the movement died away, and had little direct influence in bringing about the religious changes of the next century.

The 15th cent. was a period of collapse. The House of Lancaster secured itself on the throne by reviving the Hundred Years' War with France, and England was again embarked on the impossible task of conquering her neighbour. Nemesis came speedily in the utter exhaustion of the middle of the century, followed by the Wars of the Roses in the latter half. Alike under the Lancastrian lack of government and the Yorkist despotism the Church in England was becoming more and more unpopular. The higher clergy belonged to the aristocratic families and were out of touch with the people. The exhaustion of the nation was shared by the Church, and there was no enthusiasm, no religious zeal. The persecution of Lollardy had recoiled upon the Church, and now she suffered by her ultra-respectability and lack of enthusiasm. On the Continent things were little better. The Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel tried to reform the Church and the Papacy and failed, leaving the Popes more powerful in the second half of the century than before. Everywhere there was need of religious revival.

A few names stand out above the rest. Archbishop Chichele (1414–1443) was eager in the interests of education, and resisted the encroachments of the Pope. Cardinal Beaufort of Winchester proved himself a good servant of Henry VI., and upheld the dignity of the Church against the wild policy of the Duke of Gloucester. Gascoigne, Bishop of Chichester, was an able man, with original opinions which brought him into prison. But no one stands out as a great spiritual leader of men.

Yet the wind was stirring that was to breathe upon the dry bones. In 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and the Greeks were dispersed over Europe, taking their language with them. A little later, by means of the printing press, the new knowledge of the classics could sweep over Europe like a flood, and help to turn the Middle Ages into modern times. Scholasticism, the mediæval philosophy, was swept away, and instead truth was sought in the New Testament, and culture not in the Fathers but in the Classics. It was the Renaissance, the re-birth into new life; but that life was not complete until the mediæval Church had likewise been purified and developed by reform in its morals and progress in its doctrine. In this movement England played a leading part.

4. The Reformation.—The problem that was now to be solved was one of tremendous importance. How was the mediæval Church in England to be modified to meet the needs of the new age? A new dynasty was on the throne, and it was under the strong yet popular guidance of the Tudors that the Church was able to pass through the shock of religious upheaval.

Three great forces worked together to produce the English Reformation—the Renaissance, the King, and the Continental Reformation.

(*a*) In England the new learning had not produced the wild enthusiasm for classical culture which had come to Italy, or the profound moral discontent which was beginning in Germany; but the restoration of the Greek Testament produced a new zeal for religious education. Several colleges were founded at the universities, where the new learning might be taught. Such were Christ's and St. John's at Cambridge—both due to the liberality of the Lady Margaret Tudor, mother of Henry VII.—and Corpus Christi at Oxford, which was founded by Bishop Fox of Winchester. The Grammar Schools of later centuries began with the foundation of St. Paul's School in London by Dean Colet. The classics, and especially Greek, were to be taught in such schools and colleges, and the old ideas of Scholasticism were to be replaced by the simpler truths of the Greek Testament. Many men stood forth as representatives of the new ideas. There was Colet himself, who first lectured on St. Paul's Epistles in Greek at Oxford, and then continued his lectures in London while Dean of St. Paul's. There was his Oxford contemporary, Erasmus, afterwards Professor of Greek in Cambridge, who in 1515 gave to this movement its great inspiration by the publication of a carefully edited Greek text of the New Testament. There was Sir Thomas More, another contemporary of Colet at Oxford, who took his love of learning into his career at the bar in London, and in 1515 gave his ideas to the world in his *Utopia*. There was William Tindale, who tried to bring the New Testament within the reach of all by translating Erasmus' text into English. This step, however, was more than the leaders of the Church approved, and the book was publicly burned. Yet the movement continued, secretly leavening the opinion of the more thoughtful minds of the country and, through them, of other classes. The great need was for a strong leader, and that leader seemed to be found in Thomas Wolsey. He had been at Oxford at the end of the 15th cent., had risen to power under Henry VII., and had become the favourite of the young king, Henry VIII. His aim was to use the new learning and new education to transform the Church by reform from within, so that it might satisfy the needs of the new age. As Archbishop of York, Chancellor, and favourite of the King, he was strong enough, as he was foreseeing enough, to have carried out his ideal. He encouraged the teaching of Greek; he helped to endow the education of the clergy with fund gained by the suppression of effete monasteries; and he did something to reform the monastic orders. But all that he did, he did as the servant of the King, seeing in the exaltation of the royal power the best hope of a force strong enough to carry through reform.

(*b*) This was to forget the personality of the second great factor in the English Reformation—Henry VIII. He had come to the throne in 1509, young, handsome, full of love for the new learning, liberal minded, but already headstrong, impatient of rule. His power was enormous, for the nobility had been crushed in the Wars of the Roses, and his father had left him great wealth. It seemed as if he were just the monarch to support the progress of the new ideas, and at first all promised well. Suddenly a change came, and in 1527 the attractions of Anne Boleyn set his mind on the possibility of a divorce from the queen, Katharine of Aragon. There were difficulties about the original marriage, and normally the Pope might have been induced to grant a dispensation, but just now he was a prisoner in the hands of Katharine's nephew, the Emperor Charles V. When, therefore, Henry applied for a divorce, the Pope appointed two cardinals, one of whom was Wolsey, to try the case; subsequently he withdrew the trial to Rome, and at length, in

1534, declared the marriage valid. Meanwhile Henry took the matter into his own hands, and prosecuted his suit in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He obtained a verdict in favour of divorce in 1533, and at once acted upon it. Anne Boleyn became queen, Wolsey was disgraced and overthrown, and Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, took his place. Thus Henry had successfully thrust aside the jurisdiction of the Pope in one particular matter. Could he stop there?

(c) The third great force influencing the religious changes in England was the Reformation on the Continent. The mediæval Church had grown more and more out of touch with the better spirits of the age, and now revolt against it had taken definite form. In 1517 Martin Luther had raised his protest against the papal system of Indulgences, and had set forth his doctrine of Justification by Faith. Many of the princes of Germany and a large proportion of the people supported him, until at last, in 1530, Germany became divided into two great religious parties, and the Reformers made clear the articles of their faith in the Augsburg Confession. But two facts must be remembered about Luther: he was a national hero, and he was a conservative reformer. He would have kept all of the Church system and doctrine that he did not find condemned by the Scriptures. A more drastic reformer than Luther was Zwingli, who in Switzerland wished to remove from the Church all for which the Scriptures gave no authority. His work was to be done more fully afterwards by Calvin. The most violent reformers of all were the Anabaptists, who wished to reconstruct society and the Church upon a basis of uncontrolled individualism (see ANABAPTISM). All these movements were profoundly influencing European thought and religion; it was natural that England, which had been gradually prepared by the new learning, and had just been brought into direct conflict with the Pope, should now play her part in the great religious changes.

One force was, however, still lacking—public opinion. At present there was a vague and traditional hostility to the papal aggressions rather than any desire for positive change. The present impetus came only from the King, not from the people—from above, not from below; thus the English Reformation began as a political rather than as a religious movement. The Reformation Parliament, which sat from 1529 to 1536, began by facing the results of the divorce upon the relations of Pope and King, and it ended by throwing off all papal jurisdiction over the English Church. The first step was to secure the obedience of the clergy to the King, and, after both Convocations had placed themselves in the King's hands, Parliament passed, in 1532, the Act for the Submission of the Clergy, which declared that no new Canons could be passed by Convocation without the King's consent, and that those in existence must receive his approval. With the Church behind him Henry could now freely resist the Pope. In the same year, therefore, the Act of *Annates* or Firstfruits cut off a large part of the Pope's revenue from England. In 1533 the Act in restraint of Appeals completed the work of the Act of *Praemunire* by requiring questions on ecclesiastical matters to be decided by the Church courts in England. This involved the destruction of the papal jurisdiction over all matters in England, including, as we have seen, the King's divorce. So far the work was destructive. What was to come in place of the Pope? In 1534 the Act for the Election of Bishops secured that the Episcopal hierarchy should be appointed by the King, acting by *congé d'élire* through the cathedral chapters, and in the same year the Act of Supremacy declared that the King should be 'accepted and reputed the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England.' Thus the new form of the Church in England was to be Erastian rather than papal, but it was still part of the Catholic Church though separately organized.

What was now to be the relation of the new Head of the Church towards the monastic bodies? There were many points for Henry to consider. The monasteries were often rich, and Henry needed money. They represented a form of Christianity which had done its work and had now many abuses. They were, above all, the champions of the papal power in England, and as such were the chief opponents of the new policy. Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's successor, saw that to crush the monasteries was to ensure Henry's power in Church and State. Henry, therefore, determined on their destruction, and, by virtue of his new power as Head of the Church, appointed Cromwell his Vicar General to visit and report upon the monasteries in 1535. Commissioners were sent round, and pronounced that the monks were often guilty of immorality, that their finances were often in an unsound condition, that their discipline generally was bad, and that they practised religious trickeries. In 1536, therefore, a bill was passed for the suppression of monasteries with an income of less than £200 a year, and their revenues were diverted to the Crown. In 1539 the suppression of the larger monasteries was sanctioned, and such pressure was brought to bear that most of them surrendered to the King. The results were far-reaching. The Crown had removed its greatest opponents, and the Pope had lost his best champions. Henry was suddenly in possession of a vast amount of wealth, with which he was able to supply his needs without too frequent an appeal to Parliament. More important still was the creation of a new nobility, with wealth and estates granted from the monastic property; for these families were bound to be willing supporters of the policy to which they owed their existence, and stood henceforth as the link in ecclesiastical matters between the impetuous monarch and the still apathetic nation. Six new bishoprics were created, with monastic churches for their cathedrals, and this was all that was secured from the spoils for the Church. The peasantry, too, had lost a good friend—their almsgiver, their hospital, their kindly landlord—and it was not long before the place of the monastery had to be supplied in part by the Elizabethan Poor Law.

Another question faced the new Head of the Church. What was to be his attitude towards changes of doctrine? Henry had wished to be rid of the Pope's jurisdiction, but he had no real desire to separate himself from the doctrine of the Church. He had proved his orthodoxy when, in 1521, he had defended the Seven Sacraments against Luther, and he remained attached to the old doctrines to the end of his life, though, by the force of circumstances and by his own opposition to the Pope, he was at times obliged to allow advances in the direction of reform of doctrine. At his side was Thomas Cranmer, whose whole desire was for reform, but whose scholarly training would allow no hurried or extreme changes. Cranmer reverently maintained all that was good in the past, while rapidly assimilating what was best in the new ideas; he was willing to act in harmony with the Continental reformers, but not to be led by them; throughout, his scholarly instinct shrank from the turmoil of politics, and even led him to appear a time-server. The Ten Articles given to the Church in 1536, after the dissolution of the Reformation Parliament, were his work, but show clearly the influence of the

Lutheran Confession of Augsburg. They stand for a conservative reformation, keeping what was felt to be good in the old faith and doctrine, allowing the veneration of saints and the belief in purgatory, but giving up the doctrine of transubstantiation, and emphasizing the authority of the Scriptures and Justification by Faith. These articles were explained at greater length in *The Institution of a Christian Man*, a book published by royal authority in 1537. The final step was taken in the publication of the Great Bible in 1538, which was ordered to be placed in every church so that it could be read by all. The translation was based on that of Miles Coverdale, which had closely followed that of Tindale, whose efforts had been rewarded by execution at Antwerp in 1536.

But Henry now began to be frightened. He had no desire to throw in his lot with the Continental reformers, or to break with the Church in which alone he felt his salvation secure. He distrusted the schemes of Cromwell for an alliance with Lutheranism, and the tendencies of Cranmer towards doctrinal change, and suddenly the new movement was checked by the Statute of Six Articles in 1539, which restored the old Roman Catholic doctrine, and enforced it with the punishment of forfeiture and death. The reaction was complete when, in 1540, Cromwell was executed. Cranmer's hopes were checked; he could only wait his time in the coming reign. For the rest of Henry's reign little was done in the way of change, and in 1547 the King died. Yet the Reformation had begun. It was still a political rather than a religious movement, but the old foundations of faith had been shaken, and the knowledge of the Scriptures was spreading. The most important class in the country, the new nobility, were on the side of change; the average man was uncertain what was the right attitude towards the beliefs of his childhood, but the idea of change was repugnant, and the new movement was as yet neither popular nor national. England stood isolated. She had broken with the mediæval Papacy, and yet had held aloof from the Continental reformers.

For the next twelve years, however, Continental religious influence was very important in England. It was now the second generation of the Reformers, and the earlier immature views of the first generation had given place to more clearly thought out systems on both sides. The leading Reformer was John Calvin, who worked out his system of discipline and doctrine at Geneva, 1541–1564. He was no conservative like Luther, but would have swept the ancient Catholic Church away and substituted a new Protestant Church based on the doctrine of Predestination, with the Scriptures, and not the authority of the Church, as its source of truth, and with simplicity as the ideal of worship. On the other hand, the existence of Protestantism had led the Catholic Church to reform itself from within, and the Counter-Reformation had begun. The Papacy was no longer immoral, but zealous, earnest, and religious. The establishment of the Inquisition, in 1542, rooted out heresy in the more Catholic countries, and the foundation of the order of Jesuits in 1543 gave the Church its new army of loyal soldiers pledged to carry its influence wherever they were sent. The Council of Trent, which sat first in 1545 and again in 1562, set forth the creed of the Church, and stated clearly what its doctrines were. Nor was the Church without the help of the secular arm, for in the House of Hapsburg, which ruled in Germany and in Spain, she had a champion who was ready to help, and who in the person of Philip II. of Spain was more zealous in the cause of Rome than the Popes themselves.

The reign of Edward VI. is the story of the growth of Swiss influence on the Church in England. The youthful King was in the hands of his Council, of which Cranmer was an important member; while the Protector, Somerset, uncle of the King, used his influence to secure that Edward should be himself an ardent reformer. The extremists obtained more and more power. Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer were among the new bishops, and it was clear that the Church could not stay where Henry had left it. The issue of the two Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552 is the most important event of the reign. A book for the common worship of the Church was a pressing necessity, and Cranmer accordingly tried to meet the need in the Prayer Book of 1549. It retained much of the spirit and teaching of the old uses, and, though Lutheran influence was strong, it was allowed only within strict limits. It combined into the two daily services the old offices of the monasteries, it included the whole of the Psalter, and required the lessons to be taken from the Old and New Testaments only, while in the Communion Service the name 'Mass' and the idea of sacrifice at an altar were retained, though the doctrine of transubstantiation gave way to that of consubstantiation. But this book was too moderate for the extreme reformers who were finding their hopes realized in Calvin. Under their influence Cranmer issued a second Prayer Book in 1552, in which the Communion Service ceased to be a Mass and became a mere memorial feast celebrated at a table, while in the daily services the invocation of the Virgin and of saints, with many similar mediæval practices, was abolished. Simplicity of ritual and the removal of all superstition were the avowed aims; and, while the authority of Cranmer secured some continuity with the Catholic worship of the past, the efforts of the extremists brought the services as close to the practices of Continental reformers as possible.

In 1553 Edward VI. died, and under his sister Mary the Counter-Reformation dominated England. Mary's one aim was to undo all that had been done since 1529, for not only was she a Roman Catholic by conviction, but with the restoration of the old faith her mother's honour was bound up. Her marriage with Philip II. of Spain linked her to the Counter-Reformation in its most extreme form. She began by restoring the papal jurisdiction over England, and secured the support of Parliament for this, except on the one point of the restitution of the monastic lands. Then she set to work to root out the new opinions by persecution. Between 1555 and 1558 many reformers were put to death, and hundreds more fled to the Continent. Ridley and Latimer were burnt, and in the death of Cranmer at the stake Mary felt that her mother's disgrace was avenged. Yet she had failed to stamp out the new religion. Instead she had succeeded in doing for it what neither Henry VIII. nor Edward VI. had done—she had made it popular. The nation, hitherto largely apathetic, now saw that Roman Catholicism meant Spanish influence and the fires of persecution, and a new sympathy sprang up with the faith for which martyrs could die. With a wise ruler a reformed and national Church might now be possible.

Under Elizabeth (1558–1603) the religious settlement was made which has ever since been the basis of the Church of England. Elizabeth was the last and greatest of the Tudors. The daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, she inherited all her father's statesmanship and all her mother's vanity. She meant to rule, but she knew how to keep the support of her people. The position at home was throughout largely dependent on the state of affairs abroad. Philip of Spain had sought, while husband

of Queen Mary, to restore England to the faith, and still worked for that end in alliance with Mary of Scotland, a Roman Catholic and Elizabeth's heir to the throne. National union in religion as well as in politics now became vital, for in the presence of foreign complications the very existence of England was at stake, and religion and politics were so interwoven in the struggle of Hapsburg and Valois, Reformation and Counter-Reformation, that loyalty and conformity, treason and Roman Catholicism, were almost synonymous. Thus, though Elizabeth sometimes did what was unpopular, she was still all-powerful, because her people knew that she stood between them and the Counter-Reformation in the person of either Mary or Philip. Her ecclesiastical ideal, therefore, was primarily that of a Church sufficiently broad to satisfy the great majority of Englishmen, and, if men conformed outwardly to its requirements, she was very willing to leave their private opinions alone. She sought to avoid the extremes of either Edward or Mary, and to restore the Church as it had been at the end of her father's reign; and under her guidance the Church of England did emerge from the struggle as a *via media* between Roman Catholicism and Continental Protestantism, combining truths from each, but not satisfying the pronounced supporters of either. In doctrine Elizabeth herself leaned towards Roman Catholicism, but her advisers were mostly inclined to moderate reform. The religious leaders themselves were disunited. There were the Anglicans, who looked back to the ideals of Cranmer, and wanted the Church to be Catholic but reformed. Such were Parker, Jewel, and Hooker. There were also the men who were soon to be called Puritans, many of whom had been in exile under Mary, and now looked to Calvin as their leader, and wanted to see the Church break with its Catholic past and re-organized on a Presbyterian basis. Such were Cartwright, Knox, and Sandys. It is the divergence between these two groups and the Queen's inclination towards the former that give the clue to the history of the Church in her reign.

The basis of the Church was settled in 1559. The Act of Supremacy restored the headship of the sovereign much as it had been in the days of Henry VIII., but it claimed that the jurisdiction was ancient and had since been usurped. The Acts of the Reformation Parliament were revived, and the clergy had to take an oath to maintain the royal supremacy. Side by side with this went the Act of Uniformity, requiring the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., with certain modifications, to be exclusively used in the churches under strict penalties. The chief modifications were in combining the sentences of the two Edwardian Prayer Books at the Communion Service, and in retaining the vestments allowed in the first Prayer Book. The jurisdiction over the Church and the form of the public services were thus provided for. The consecration of Matthew Parker, a careful and able leader with the ideals of Cranmer, as Archbishop of Canterbury further secured the episcopal character of the national Church, and the care with which the ceremony was performed with full ritual emphasized the fact that the Church of England insisted on her catholicity and maintained the Apostolic Succession. This at once ruled out the Presbyterian ideal, and was a great blow to the Puritans.

There still remained the question of doctrine. What were the English clergy to teach, and what was the Englishman to believe? The different Churches which the Reformation had brought into being had already compiled sets of articles stating their beliefs; and in 1552 Cranmer had compiled the forty-two Articles setting forth the beliefs of the Edwardian Church. In 1563 these were modified and reduced to thirty-nine, which have ever since remained the expression of the Anglican faith. Their essential characteristic was the appeal to the Scriptures. They explained the truths of Christianity on that authority alone, and forbore to insist on anything that might not be proved from it. They were intentionally framed so as to fetter men's opinions as little as possible wherever the Bible itself was not positive in its teaching, but they laid down certain general principles as to ritual and church government. Convocation, however, passed them only by a single vote, and Parliamentary sanction did not follow until 1571. Then the conflict began as to the amount of obedience to them to be required of the clergy.

The means for securing obedience lay in the High Commission Court, a body consisting of the archbishop and certain assessors, through whom the Queen exercised her supremacy and secured the obedience of the clergy to the ritual and doctrine of the Church. The court had summary powers of jurisdiction, and often acted with a high hand; but, so long as it acted only against Roman Catholics, who were felt to be disloyal to the throne and in league with England's enemies, the action was popular. When it turned its powers against the Puritans, who were steadily increasing in numbers, it became more and more unpopular, until in the next century it was both feared and hated.

The Church Settlement once made, the chief interest of the rest of the reign lay in the relation of the Church to the extremists who were still outside. The Roman Catholics who remained in England were at first kindly treated by Elizabeth, as she had no wish to provoke the leaders of the Counter-Reformation; but when in 1568 Mary of Scotland, an ardent Roman Catholic, was driven from her throne and fled to England, the case was changed. Philip of Spain was too dilatory to act by himself, and was involved in troubles in the Netherlands; but Mary was now the centre of Roman intrigues in the heart of England, and Roman Catholicism and disloyalty to Elizabeth became more and more synonymous, as plot after plot was discovered to set Mary on the throne. In 1570 the Pope declared Elizabeth deposed, thus definitely making loyalty to the sovereign incompatible with faithfulness to the Church of Rome. In 1579 the Jesuits poured over from Douai to convert England, and increased the unpopularity of Roman Catholicism by its association with secret intrigue. In 1584 the assassination of William of Orange under Jesuit influence, and the reckless plots for the removal of Elizabeth in favour of Mary, made the very existence of the latter intolerably dangerous. In 1587 she was executed, and militant Roman Catholicism in England had lost its leader. There still remained Philip of Spain, who had hitherto waited for a rising in England before he would act. He saw that, if England was to be saved for Roman Catholicism, he must strike at once; and in 1588 the Invincible Armada set sail, only to be defeated, scattered, and utterly destroyed. With that great deliverance England's terror of Spain and Roman Catholicism was gone. England and her Church could afford to neglect the danger, the more so that in 1589 the Protestant Henry IV. ascended the French throne and brought the wars of religion in that country to an end. England only marred her triumph by a persecuting statute against 'Popish recusants' in 1593.

The relations of the Church with the Puritans followed a somewhat similar course. As the most zealous of the Reformers, the Puritans grew more and more dissatisfied with the compromise of Elizabeth's Church, and their opposition increased in vigour, though the necessity of loyalty to the

Queen in face of Roman Catholic intrigue kept it within bounds. They remained within the Church, but were severe critics of its teaching and ritual; it was through their influence that the Articles had with such difficulty passed through Convocation; and Parker's *Advertisements* in 1565, requiring the use of the surplice by the clergy in church, met with strong opposition. With the great leader, Cartwright, the discontent was more pronounced, and even the episcopal organization of the Church was questioned. In his *Admonitions to Parliament* (1572), Cartwright urged a Presbyterian form of government, and in 1582 he drew up a Book of Discipline, by which the Church was to be divided into synods and presbyteries, and the Prayer Book superseded by a Directory of Public Worship. Parliament, thanks to the influence of the Queen, rejected all these schemes, and subscription to the Articles was made more stringent than before. Finally, the Puritan opposition degenerated into libel, and the Martin Marprelate tracts of 1588 hurled scurrilous attacks at the triumphant bishops, who a little later, in 1593, secured themselves by a persecuting statute. Yet still the peace was kept, and the Puritan almost invariably remained a nominal, if dissatisfied, member of the Church, which, almost against its will, grew richer and stronger and broader for these very varieties of view. This breadth of outlook was seen in the writings of some of its leaders. Parker was himself a genuine scholar, and Whitgift was an able advocate of the Church; but in men like Jewel and Hooker the new Church found apologists of the first rank, the greatness of whose defence may be gauged by the almost unchanged value of their work. The plea was made good that the Church of England was Catholic, that it was reformed, and that the institution of Episcopacy and the authority of the Scriptures were both essential to her development.

In 1603 the great Queen died—lonely and majestic, the idol of her people to the end. She had brought the Church through the troubles of the 16th cent., and laid the foundations of its future development. She had satisfied the nation's need for a national Church, and left England the leading Protestant State in Europe. The troubles of the Church in the century to come were happily hidden from her eyes.

5. The 17th century.—The Elizabethan Church had been created at a time when the country was in danger, and patriotism itself required that the nation should oppose a united front in religious as in political matters. The sovereign who had created it was absolutely English, and her life was standing between her people and grave danger from without. In the 17th cent. the Church of the *via media* had to face the growing opposition of the two extremes under very different conditions. The stress of foreign danger was past, and it was no longer a want of patriotism, but rather a moral obligation, to make effective the long pent-up discontent with the national Church; while, further, Protestantism on the Continent was often in danger during the century, and the English nation, growing more Protestant by conviction, desired to play a part in the defence of its faith abroad. On the other hand, the Tudors, the most English of English dynasties, were now succeeded by the Stuarts, who remained foreigners in thought and feeling until they ceased to reign. The earlier Stuarts, especially, never understood their people, and they made the fundamental mistake of regarding the particular conditions of Church and State which had existed under Elizabeth as inherent in the nature of things.

During the century religious and political questions were still closely connected. The political ideal of the nation was liberty, and the class of landowners who were taking the place of the old nobility were determined to secure it. Against this the Stuarts opposed their political maxim of the Divine Right of Kings. This meant absolutism, and was therefore diametrically opposed to the national aspirations. In religious affairs the monarchy strove to maintain the Church as Elizabeth had left it, enforcing its Catholic and Episcopal nature and forcibly suppressing dissent. In return the Church preached passive obedience, and made the absolutism of the Crown a matter of faith. The result was that the dynasty and the nation were opposed both in politics and religion; the nation saw that the bishops were checking their religious hopes, and the King their political liberty; and more and more Puritanism gained ground among the political leaders. The Church was making the mistake of depending upon the King rather than upon the people, and was therefore inevitably involved in his disasters.

At the outset both Roman Catholics and Puritans expected much from James I. (1603-1625). The Roman Catholics saw in him the son of their late leader, Mary of Scotland; the Puritans looked to him as king of the country where their Presbyterian ideals were triumphant. But the enforcement of the recusancy laws soon showed the Roman Catholics that James was determined to maintain the attitude of Elizabeth, and the discovery in 1605 of the Gunpowder Plot to blow up James and his Parliament and to secure a Roman Catholic successor served only to justify their increasingly severe treatment. This continued for the rest of the reign, except during the King's negotiations for a Roman Catholic wife for his son, when he was forced to relax the laws in particular cases. The Puritans, too, were quickly undeceived. The 'millenary' petition which they presented led to the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, which was to decide whether the Church should make any concessions in the direction of Puritanism. The attitude of James and the bishops proved harsh and uncompromising, and the Puritans had to wait many years for their desired changes in doctrine and ritual. But there was one lasting result of this conference. A new translation of the Bible was ordered, and in 1611 appeared the Authorized Version, which has moulded English thought and literature ever since. It was a priceless gift to the real religion of the people. In 1617 Puritanism was again repulsed by the King's issue of the Book of Sports, which encouraged games on Sundays after morning service, for in their eyes this degraded the holiness of the Sabbath. It was over foreign affairs, however, that the King made himself most unpopular with their party, for it was in this reign that the great Thirty Years' War broke out in Germany. Protestantism, which for sixty years had lived at peace with Roman Catholicism, had now, in 1618, come to blows with it, and the Protestant leader, James's son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, was being thoroughly beaten. Here was England's opportunity to fight in defence of her religion. National feeling was deeply stirred, and Parliament wished to strike a decisive blow against Roman Catholic Austria. But James held back, and tried instead a futile series of negotiations. At his death the breach between Puritanism and the monarchy had grown wider, and with this new factor, that Puritanism was not now a dissatisfied minority, but was beginning to represent the majority.

With the reign of Charles I. (1625-1649) came the climax of the struggle. Was Elizabeth's settlement final, or was it to be superseded by a Church basing its teaching and administration on Calvinism? It was a mighty struggle, for the leaders on

both sides fought with an intense conviction of the justice of their cause. Charles himself was loyal to the Church and an enthusiastic admirer of it; but he did not understand the Puritans, and was never wise enough to know when to yield. Earnest and high-minded himself, he ruined all by his obstinacy, and his very loyalty to the Church dragged it down with him in his ruin. At the King's side stood Laud, made Bishop of London in 1628, and Archbishop in 1633. He was the guiding spirit of Anglicanism; his ideal, like that of Cranmer and Parker, was the maintenance of the Catholicity of the English branch of the Church. To him Puritanism represented merely a breach with the past of the Church, and schism from the one corporate whole. He saw the surest guarantee for the guarding of this Catholicity in uniformity of outward worship, and therefore set himself to crush out all that tended to irregularity of ritual. He declared that the Thirty-nine Articles were to be taken literally, and might not be construed to spell Calvinism. He required the holy table to be placed at the east end of churches, and railed in, that the Eucharist might be more decently celebrated. He reformed the cathedrals, and set the example of a daily, well-conducted service at St. Paul's. He had a great ideal, worthy of fulfilment, but he was not the man to carry it out. He was too overbearing, too interfering, too little in sympathy with the nation. Above all, he incurred fear and hatred by his development of the powers of the High Commission Court, where all offences against his requirements received summary and drastic punishment. Puritanism stood aghast. To it this meant not Catholicity, but Romanism; not government, but persecution; and, as such, it was to be thrust aside by voluntary exile, if not forcibly resisted. Besides this, Charles was governing arbitrarily during these years (1629–1640) without any Parliament, and it was again Laud who was his close adviser. If once the opportunity arose, Laud would now find that it was Puritanism, and not Anglicanism, that had the nation behind it. In 1637 such an opportunity came. The Scots rose as one man against the attempt to assimilate Presbyterian Scotland to Episcopal England; and, when Charles and Laud tried to punish them, their weakness was at once apparent. In their need of an army, they were forced to call the Long Parliament into being in 1640, and with the meeting of that famous Parliament it seemed as though Laud's work were to be undone for ever. He was at once impeached and imprisoned, and in 1644 he was executed.

For some time the battle raged round Episcopacy. A bill for its abolition failed to pass in 1641, for the country at large desired modification rather than abolition. But in 1642 war broke out between Charles and the Parliament, and, with a view to obtaining the help of Presbyterian Scotland, Parliament abolished Episcopacy in England, and in 1643 made the Solemn League and Covenant, which established Presbyterianism in its place. Then, when the Civil War went on and Charles was struggling with the Parliament and the army, the Westminster Assembly of Scottish and English Puritans (1643–1647) was drawing up the scheme for making the Church of England Presbyterian. It was the ideal of Cartwright realized. The Articles were modified, and all clergy were required to take the Covenant. Instead of the Prayer Book a Directory of Public Worship was drawn up, and church government was handed over to ministers, elders, and deacons arranged in various assemblies. The doctrines of English Presbyterianism were set forth in the Longer and Shorter Catechisms. All Laud's system was thus superseded by his triumphant opponents, who now had their committees in various districts to punish the 'Malignants,' as they themselves had been punished by Laud. The various ornaments of glass and stone in the churches were consistently destroyed, and bare simplicity of ritual and worship was enforced. Anglicanism was wholly proscribed, and, under the storm which burst upon it, scarcely dared lift up its head. The weaker clergy subscribed, and the stronger lived in penury and hoped for better days.

Presbyterianism was not really an English product. It had been forced on Parliament by the need of the Scottish alliance, and it was supported by Parliament, but it never became popular with the nation. As the war went on, power passed from Parliament to the army and its leader, Oliver Cromwell, and Cromwell's aim was not Presbyterianism but Independency. He had been taught by the necessity of securing good soldiers, that, provided a man was religious, the form of his religion did not so much matter. His ideal, in short, was toleration, but within strict limits. The political exigencies of the time made it impossible to tolerate Roman Catholicism or Anglicanism, but independence of faith he could and did uphold. For five years (1653–1658) England was a Republic under a very strong dictator; Presbyterianism was its leading form of faith, but Independency flourished under many forms. The one essential was piety, and it seemed as though the time had at last come when the tenets a man held mattered less than what he really was. Cromwell felt that it was his mission to establish God's Kingdom on earth in the rule of the saints, and in 1653 he secured a Parliament of such saints, only to find them too unpractical for the needs of good government. Within the Church he abolished subscription to Articles, and substituted a general engagement to be true and faithful to the government established. But some kind of test for ministers was found necessary, and so Boards of Triers were set up, who had to inquire into the fitness of candidates and eject the unsuitable from their cures. Sometimes there was persecution, and the Anglican clergy were little better off under Cromwell than they had been under the Parliament. Among the mass of the laity an outward appearance of piety became as necessary as good manners in other times. It was a high ideal, but Cromwell made two mistakes. The country was not peopled with saints but with sinners, and, that being so, it was vain to force piety on them by the power of the government. The attempt could only produce hypocrisy in many who pretended to be religious, and disgust in others who longed for the days of freedom and pleasure. With the death of Cromwell in 1658 his work collapsed. The rule of his son was a failure, and the Restoration of 1660 was the only alternative. Cromwell had dared grandly and failed grandly. Puritanism as a religious and political system had been tried and found wanting, but as an influence on the lives and thoughts of Englishmen it has lived on ever since, and has definitely left its mark on the religious element in the British national character. The Reformation, as Elizabeth left it, had been popular and national, but it had not perhaps touched the deepest side of the life of the individual, while Laud's earnest efforts had been focused upon his ideal for the religious corporate life of the nation. But henceforth the spirit of personal earnestness was to enrich those who remained loyal to the Church of England, as truly as those who differed from it.

With the Restoration of Charles II. (1660–1685) the Church of England came to its own again. The reaction from the rule of Puritanism was overwhelming, and the late unpopularity of Crown and Church was succeeded by a wild outburst of loyalty

to both. It seemed as if the last twenty years were to be blotted out, and the work of the Church might be taken up where Laud had laid it down. This was, indeed, the attitude of the leaders of the Church, who were now restored to power; and there was, too, a feeling of triumph after their years of humiliation, as they realized the support of the nation now rejoicing in its release from over-zealous religious control. This was also the desire of Lord Clarendon, Charles's Prime Minister. To him the Church was the nation regarded from the religious point of view, and dissent from its requirements must be punished. Persecution, however, was the name which those who suffered gave to this policy, and their cause was soon championed by Lord Shaftesbury, who sought to secure some measure of toleration. For this he saw only one means—the exaltation of the royal power as a counter-balance to the Parliament, which was so uncompromisingly Anglican. But Charles was scarcely the man to play an important religious part. Indolent and pleasure-seeking, loving power, yet wise enough to know when to yield, he was quite willing to grant toleration by his own royal power, but his eyes were fixed only on the Roman Catholics, while Shaftesbury was thinking of the Puritans. Parliament would have no toleration at all which threatened its own power, and so for the present all schemes failed.

For the next thirty years the struggle between Puritans and Anglicans was not merely continued, with the positions reversed, but an old difficulty in new form was facing the Church of England in the revival of militant Roman Catholicism. It was no longer Spain that gave England cause for alarm, but France under Louis XIV. He had become King in 1643, and tried to make France the foremost country in Europe, and Roman Catholicism its religion. England, whose Puritanism had left her zealously Protestant, watched him at first calmly, then with growing distrust, as the suspicion gained ground that Charles was at heart a Roman Catholic, and secretly in league with Louis. Then the danger, which seemed to have ended with the Armada, became once again a very real thing to Englishmen, and a terror of Roman Catholicism swept over the country.

Immediately after the return of Charles II. a Parliament was called, which swept away all the Acts passed since 1642, and restored Anglicanism. The Episcopate was revived, and in 1661 the Savoy Conference was held to consider any alterations in Church or Prayer Book desired by the Puritans. Practically all the changes suggested were refused, and, although the Prayer Book issued in 1661 in the form in which we now know it contained some alterations, these were not in a Puritan direction. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity required its use in all churches throughout the country, and enforced subscription to the Articles from all the clergy. This was decisive, and Puritanism left the Church rather than obey. Under Elizabeth or Laud it had remained a dissatisfied minority within the Church, but since 1640 it had been in power and it could no longer return to the old position. So those clergymen who could not obey seceded from the Church, and modern Nonconformity, outside the Church, had begun. Clarendon next turned upon the seceders, in a series of repressive statutes. The Corporation Act in 1661 had already excluded Nonconformists from local government; in 1664 the Conventicle Act suppressed under severe penalties all religious meetings which did not use the Prayer Book, and in 1665 the Five Mile Act forbade any Nonconformist minister to be found within five miles of a town. It was a sad revenge for Anglicanism to take, and the Church was to suffer later. Charles and Shaftesbury tried to check this by the issue of a royal Declaration of Indulgence in 1662, but the opposition of Parliament was so strong that it had to be withdrawn.

But by 1670 the Church had more to do to defend herself from fear of the Roman Catholics than to persecute the Puritans, for in that year Charles and Louis made the Treaty of Dover, to fight the Protestant Dutch, and—though it was not known at the time—to restore Roman Catholicism in England. As his part of the bond, Charles issued a second Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, but this time, Shaftesbury, in face of the danger from Louis, realized the King's aims and turned against him. The Test Act was passed by an anxious Parliament in 1673, requiring all officers in army, navy, or civil service to take the Holy Communion according to the Anglican rite. Charles recoiled, but suddenly the storm burst forth in greater fury than before. In 1678 a Popish Plot was said to be discovered, which threatened the nation with a Jesuit invasion and the assassination of the King. A panic seized the nation, and any hope that Charles may have had of converting it to his own faith vanished. In the excitement a bill to exclude James, the Roman Catholic brother of Charles, from the throne was brought before Parliament by Shaftesbury, but this was too bold a stroke, and the resentment which it provoked for various reasons was strong enough to enable Charles to dissolve Parliament in 1681. When he died in 1685, the monarchy was all the stronger for the reaction from the unworthy panic after the Popish Plot and the failure of this attempt to tamper with the succession. But with the accession of James II. (1685–1688) the worst fears of the nation were quickly revived. An avowed Roman Catholic was on the throne, and Louis in the same year gave England a hint of what militant Roman Catholicism could do in his revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had secured toleration for the Huguenots. When James proceeded to try to force his religion upon the country which had now been Protestant for a hundred years, the nation prepared for the struggle. Parliament refused to allow James to dispense with the Test Act. The efforts of James to force Roman Catholic officers into the army, his high-handed appointment of Roman Catholic Fellows to Oxford colleges, and, above all, his requirement in 1688 that the clergy should read from their pulpits his Declaration of Indulgence brought matters to a climax. Seven Bishops petitioned against the reading of the Declaration, and when brought to trial for treason were pronounced not guilty. The sequel to the trial was the invitation to William of Orange to come and save the country. Before him James fled, and in 1689 William and Mary ascended the throne.

During the hundred years since Elizabeth's settlement, each of the three great parties had thus sought to master the Church, and, national though the Church might be, the lesson of the century was that no one form would command the allegiance of the whole nation, and the great problem which remained unsolved was the right attitude of the Church to those who dissented from it. What the 17th cent. had taught was that persecution was not the right method to adopt. Triumphant Anglicanism under Charles I. and Charles II. had persecuted Puritanism and Roman Catholicism, only to be persecuted in its turn. Triumphant Puritanism had persecuted when its opportunity came, and the wild reaction of the Restoration was the result. For a moment Roman Catholicism had tried to force itself upon the Church and beat down opposition. It had only been driven out. Enforced conformity had been found to fail, and toleration by royal prerogative

had failed too. If the Church of England was to survive as the national Church, the right attitude towards dissent must soon be found.

6. The 18th century.—The Revolution of 1688 brought about entirely new relations between Church and State. The Church, which had been teaching Passive Obedience to the Lord's Anointed, was in a difficult position, for the Lord's Anointed was in exile because he was a Roman Catholic, and William III., his successor, ruled not in virtue of Divine right but by a Parliamentary title. Again, in William the supremacy over the Church was held by one who was not of its communion, but a Calvinist more in sympathy with the Puritans. All political power, further, was for some time in the hands of the Whigs, who were supported by the Dissenters, and were unfavourable to the old claims of Anglicanism. Both monarch and parliament therefore were at last ready to consider the demands of those who were dissatisfied with the Church, and the Church itself was too uncertain about its loyalty to be in a position to offer much resistance. Thus the gift of William III. to the nation was toleration.

William's own views were in favour of comprehension. The administration of the Church might be so widened as to comprehend the Dissenters, and the distinctive tenets of Anglicanism be so modified as to satisfy Puritanism. Neither Parliament nor Convocation would agree to this; therefore the only path was that of toleration. Dissent must be recognized and legalized as a body outside the Church, and the fact of the secession of 1662 became a recognized basis of the religious life of England. This was the meaning of the Toleration Act of 1689, which exempted from attendance at church all persons taking an oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns and making a declaration against Popery. They might meet for religious worship as they pleased, provided they subscribed to the articles which did not deal with the distinctive doctrines or ritual of the Church. It was a great step forward, but it was some time yet before the new principle was understood. Thus, during the last four years of Queen Anne, Anglicanism was again triumphant in the support of the Queen. In 1710 a sermon preached against the Dissenters by Dr. Sacheverell gave expression to the reaction, and more than one act was passed to exclude them from all share in administration or education. But these acts were repealed in the first year of George I.'s reign, and the principle of toleration held good, at least as regarded worship. The Corporation and Test Acts still excluded Dissenters from local government and the civil services, but during the 18th cent. these acts were evaded by annual bills of indemnity for those who disobeyed them. The acts remained on the Statute book, however, to mark the supremacy of the national Church.

The predominant party in the Church during the century from 1689 to 1789 was the Latitudinarian. The more zealous Anglican could not reconcile it with his conscience to take the oath to the new King, and therefore seceded from the Church as a Non-juror. This was a great loss to the Church, depriving it of much spiritual energy which it sadly needed in the following years. Latitudinarianism desired to avoid the heat of the last hundred years, and to show the reasonableness and breadth of the Christianity taught by the Church of England. The way was being prepared for this under William III. and Anne by men like Tillotson and Tenison, but it was not until after the accession of the House of Hanover in 1714 that the real era of Latitudinarianism began. Then for two generations or more there seemed little in the Christianity of the Church of England to distinguish it from natural religion, and enthusiasm and religious commotion were kept out at all costs. With this idea before them Walpole and Queen Caroline made their appointments and guided the Church. Two results followed. One was that more and more the Church lost its hold on the nation at large, for there was no appeal to the emotions, and the cold reasonableness of the faith put forward produced apathy among most who heard it. Never was there a time when religion in England was at a lower ebb, or when vice was coarser and more shameless. Yet the other result was that the stress laid on the head rather than on the heart as the seat of religion produced an extraordinary body of Christian learning. It was the great age of Anglican apologetics, and book after book appeared dealing with the cardinal doctrines of Christianity and Anglicanism. The opposition, too, was great, but orthodoxy won all along the line. It is this intellectual triumph which gives the Latitudinarian era its importance. The struggle raged mainly round the doctrines of Revelation and the Divinity of Christ, and round subscription to the Articles. Revelation was denied by the Deists, of whom the most important was Matthew Tindal. His work, *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, was designed to show that all the truths of Christianity were to be found in natural religion, and so far as it taught anything new it was false. There was no place for any special revelation. Many men wrote against the Deists, but their work was put into the shade by Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature* (1736). In this Butler took the Deist's standpoint that there was a God who was an intelligent Author and Ruler of the universe, and showed that the difficulties which were alleged against any particular revelation of Himself were only analogous to those found when men sought to find Him through the works of Nature. The great guide in religion, as in life, was not certainty but probability. The *Analogy* was an immediate and abiding success, and Deism never recovered from the blow. Later in the century some opponents of Christianity took an atheistic attitude, but atheists were never in England the force they were in France.

The controversy concerning the Divinity of Christ was of course a struggle among Christians. It dealt with the fundamental question at the very root of Christianity which had, indeed, been settled by the defeat of Arianism, but had come up again in every age. The controversy arose after the publication in 1695 of John Locke's treatise, *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, in which he showed that, while the New Testament was the basis of Christianity, there were in it none of those later definitions of Christ's personality found in the creeds. The greatest champion of Arianism was Samuel Clarke, Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, who, in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712), set forth that the Father alone was Supreme God, and the Son a Divine Being only in so far as divinity was communicable by this Supreme God. Daniel Waterland, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, was the chief champion of orthodoxy, and in a series of works between 1719 and 1734, in vindication of Christ's Divinity, he showed that Christ must be all that orthodoxy claimed, or He must be mere man, and that every middle position which would make Him neither truly Divine nor merely human was impossible. The logical outcome of the position of his opponents was Unitarianism.

Out of this controversy arose the resistance to requiring subscription to the Articles. Could Articles of Religion framed in the 16th cent.

really be held as binding in the 18th? The struggle began with Hoadly, a favourite Court preacher, and Bishop of Bangor, and so is often known as the '**Bangorian Controversy.**' He urged, in a book written in 1716, that the only necessity for a clergyman was sincerity, and that Articles and tests were useless and reactionary. This produced many replies and a condemnation from Convocation. The general feeling of the Church was strongly against Hoadly, for it was felt that in this struggle much was involved that was vital to a Church which cared intensely for its Catholic inheritance from the past; and Waterland, in the case of Arian subscription (1721), put forcibly the dangers of trifling with the Articles. In the middle of the century many others wrote against the burden of subscription, and several clergymen openly avowed that they subscribed without literally believing the doctrines involved. In 1772 a petition was presented to Parliament in favour of the abolition of subscription, but it failed, for the movement was still only that of a small minority, and the Church as a whole felt that the faith once delivered to the saints must be preserved by the existing tests for those who were ordained to teach it. One serious result followed the condemnation of Hoadly by Convocation, for that body was at once prorogued by the Crown and did not sit again for a hundred and thirty years. During that time, therefore, there was no organized body which could speak for the Church. Individual bishops or clergymen might publish their opinions, but the Church as a whole was left voiceless.

In the minds of the thoughtful few such controversies strengthened the position of the Church, but they hardly touched the mass of the nation. With the peace that followed the Hanoverian succession and the rule of Walpole (1720–1742), England developed in prosperity and population, but the Church did not expand to meet the new needs. Enthusiasm had been ruled out, and now it was precisely this enthusiasm that was needed to make religion appeal to the mass of Englishmen. It was to satisfy this need and to touch men's lives by an appeal to heart rather than head that Methodism arose.

Methodism was the outcome of the life and work of John Wesley (1703–1791), and it was the greatest religious fact of the 18th century. John Wesley was brought up as a member of the Church of England, and became earnest in his religious life while a young Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. After some experience of the colonies, he came under the influence of the Moravians in 1738, and was convinced of the truth of the doctrine of conscious conversion. 'Ye must be born again' was henceforth a cardinal point in his teaching, and he set to work to preach this doctrine and the necessarily enthusiastic life of devotion to God in Christ which must result. This brought him into conflict with the Church, which hated emotional religion. The pulpits were closed to him, and gradually Wesley was forced to realize that the Church had cast him out.

He had gathered together into societies those who were converted, in order that in each parish they might meet together for mutual help and comfort. Such societies were meant to help spiritual life within the Church, but instead of this they were persecuted and driven into separation, until they became, not its support, but its rival. But while the followers of Wesley found that the Church repudiated them, the nation realized its need of the gospel of which the Church had lost sight and which the Methodists claimed to preach. To the neglected masses of the nation, therefore, the Methodists went, and once again religion came to touch their hearts and lives, and their roughness and their evil living gave place to piety and the fear of God.

There was little difference from the Church of England in actual doctrines; the difference lay rather in the relative emphasis laid upon them. To the Methodist it was momentary conversion rather than baptism that was regarded as the beginning of the Christian life; it was the sermon of edification rather than communion that was the centre of the common services. The more the Methodists increased and realized their mission, the more their organization developed, and with it their rivalry with the Church. The Class-meeting as the foundation of their membership, the Love-Feasts and Fellowship meetings, their tickets of membership from the minister, their lay preachers and superintendents all tended to make their organization so complete that, when Wesley died in 1791, the secession was only a matter of months.

The greatness of Wesley's influence is seen in a comparison between England and France. In France the leaders of the Revolution cast off religion altogether, and the instability and lawlessness of the years that followed were the result. In England, when the time of upheaval came, the masses had been touched by the religion of the Methodists, and they remained on the whole godly and law-abiding. The effect of Methodism upon the Church was no less important. The Evangelical Revival was the direct result of Wesley's work, and that revival became the dominant influence in the Church at the beginning of the 19th century. Yet the loss was enormous, for the schism has only widened with the years, making the outward unity of the Church in England ever more difficult to realize. For this, however, the blame must attach to the Church and not to Wesley.

It was thus, then, that the Church of England passed through the hundred years following the Revolution of 1688. Outwardly the century seemed dull and uninteresting, but an age which saw toleration become an actual fact, even though within strict limits, which saw the truths of Christianity once again stated in a way that silenced opposition, and which saw a popular revival of religion that has influenced the labouring classes to this day, was an age which enriched, ennobled, and enlightened both the nation and its Church.

7. The 19th century.—The thirty years which followed 1789 saw the direct effect of Wesley's work in the Evangelical Revival. A deeper sense of religion came back into the everyday life of churchmen, and the apathy of the preceding century was exchanged for a quickened zeal in the service of God. The revival is connected with many honoured names. Its leader was Charles Simeon (1782–1836), who, as Fellow of King's College and Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, was the teacher of hundreds who went out to become clergymen throughout England. There were also men like John Newton, Vicar of Olney, and John Venn, Rector of Clapham, who gathered round him such a powerful congregation that it was known as the Clapham Sect. There was Bishop Porteous of London (1787–1809), who was in favour of the new opinions, but did much to steady the enthusiasm of some of the clergy. Among the laity were men like William Wilberforce, who was a member of Venn's congregation at Clapham; William Cowper, who lived at Olney and composed some of the most beautiful hymns of the time; and Robert Raikes, who founded Sunday Schools at Gloucester; while Hannah More, by her writings and personality, wielded a strong influence over the upper classes.

No rigid line can of course be drawn as to the

extent of the power of Evangelicalism. Roughly speaking, it may perhaps be said that, as Methodism proper touched the working classes, Evangelicalism appealed to the middle classes, the shop-keeper, and the business man. The two movements together brought back to the bulk of Englishmen that enthusiasm in religion which the earlier 18th cent. had decried. In many and many a household an earnest piety was the result. The aristocracy stood largely aloof, but the future of England lay with the classes to whom religion had again become a real thing.

Two other characteristics of Evangelicalism must be noticed. One was its individualistic nature. Its essence was the devotion of the individual to his Divine Lord, and the new life which resulted from it, rather than any idea of the corporate life of the whole body of Christians. It did immense good in thousands of individual lives throughout the Church, but it did little directly towards furthering the common life of the whole, of which those individuals were members. In many cases it even weakened the idea of the Church, for often the more earnest of the Evangelicals found the principles of the Methodists more congenial than the restrictions of the Church, and many therefore became Nonconformists. But in spite of this limitation the good effect of this individual religious zeal was incalculable. The other characteristic of Evangelicalism was its philanthropy. One after another of its leaders was distinguished for his zeal in the practical service of mankind. The abolition of the slave trade and of the possession of slaves will always be associated with the name of William Wilberforce. The foundation of the National Society in 1811 was largely connected with the Evangelicals, and marked their interest in the beginning of elementary education. The work of John Howard in prison reform was helped on by members of this school, while closely allied to these efforts was the foundation of two societies which have been of inestimable benefit in the service of humanity—the Church Missionary Society in 1799, and the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804.

The great Reform Bill of 1832, which marks an epoch in the constitutional development of England, was also of immense importance in the history of the Church. Reform was in the air, and old institutions which could not justify themselves must be emended or removed. Reform as applied to the Church had already meant much. In 1823 the Corporation and Test Acts had been repealed, and so the Nonconformists had been put on a civil equality with Churchmen. In 1829, against the most violent opposition, and amidst the wildest excitement, the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act had been passed, and Roman Catholics also received equal civil rights. But the Church was still established; it was still the recognized Church of the nation. In that fact lay at once its strength and its weakness.

In the next few years the Church had to pass through an important crisis in its existence. For more than a hundred years the spiritual ideal of the Church as a corporate body with a Divine life had been obscured. The Latitudinarians had forgotten it, and the Evangelicals had thought rather of the religious life of the individual. So far as the Church was thought of, it was thought of by most men as the Establishment, whose existence and power depended on the support of the State. When, therefore, in 1832 the nation suddenly awoke to the duties and responsibilities of self-government, was it possible that the Church of the nation should remain content with no higher an ideal than Erastianism? The answer to that question was the Oxford Movement. In 1833 a group of Fellows of Oxford Colleges met together and determined to emphasize the Divine basis of the Church of England as a branch of the Catholic Church throughout the world, by publishing a series of *Tracts for the Times*, which should deal with the main points in her teaching and administration. They were men of great power and learning. Newman was at Oriel and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Pusey at Christchurch, Hurrell Froude, William Palmer, and John Keble were at Oriel, and Isaac Williams at Trinity. For eight years the *Tracts* continued to appear, and men began to realize that religion was not merely a matter for the individual, but that the Catholicity of the Church of England was a fundamental fact. The Elizabethan reformers and Laud had known this, but, because it had since been forgotten, the ideal of Catholicity and the fact of Roman Catholicism had become confused in the minds of Englishmen at large. In 1841 the crisis came. If the English Church were Catholic, what really was the relation of her Thirty-nine Articles to the doctrines of Roman Catholicism? Were they antagonistic or similar? In the famous Tract 90, Newman laid stress on the common Catholic doctrines of the two Churches, and the Tract was accordingly condemned by the authorities of the University of Oxford. A great outcry was raised throughout the kingdom, and not only was Tract 90 condemned, but all the others were branded as 'Popish' and disloyal to the Church of England. The series was at once stopped, and the leaders of the movement began to split into two parties: the one felt more and more that the Catholic position of the Church of England was unsound, and that the only true Catholic Church was that of Rome; the other held to the original position of the writers of the Tracts, and clung to their own Church as also of Divine origin. The schism was complete when in 1845 Newman and many of his friends seceded to the Church of Rome.

In spite of this disaster, the Tractarian movement has done immense good to the Church of England. It has restored the lost sense of its corporate unity and Divine basis. The later movements of the century, with their remarkable development of Church life, received their impetus from this revival at Oxford in the thirties. These movements are connected with the work of the Church at home, its treatment of ritual and intellectual questions, its expansion abroad, and the growth of self-government.

(*a*) The enormous industrial and political changes which transformed the nation during the 19th cent. produced corresponding changes in the organization and administration of the Church. The basis of this development was the quiet growth of life in the ecclesiastical unit, the parish. The ideal of common Christian life has been high, and to realize it churches have been built, parish-rooms founded, and clubs and societies and meetings of all kinds started in connexion with the church of the parish. All this is familiar now, but it was the growth of the 19th century. It has been carried out at some cost, for the zeal for organization has sometimes grown at the expense of other valuable sides of spiritual life. There has been a great expenditure by churchmen on these new forms of work, and the financial help of the Ecclesiastical Commission has been invaluable. Since the formation of this Commission in England in 1836, the revenues of the Church have been ably administered and grants made for the increase of the revenues of poor benefices, for the provision of curates, and for building new churches. Much of its help has been given only on condition that voluntary help was forthcoming, thus affording a great means of developing the liberality of individuals.

The changes in national life brought the Church face to face with new social problems. Parliament was doing its best to solve these problems by measures like the Poor Law, the Factory Acts, and measures for the control of housing; and churchmen played their part in securing these reforms. A notable little band of men about the uneasy times of 1848 were known as the Christian Socialists, led by F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and Thomas Hughes. In later times has come the growth of University Settlements, which have helped to bring the rich into closer contact with the poor; and the growth of school and college missions has done much to keep the young in touch with great social needs while their education is going on. The Oxford House in East London, and the Eton, Harrow, Winchester, and Rugby missions are only typical of many similar efforts elsewhere. There is also the wider work of such organizations as the Church Army (*q.v.*) for the lowest classes, and the Church Lads' Brigade to touch the boys of the working classes. But the most important relation of the Church to social questions is the quiet work going on in every parish throughout the kingdom, where the clergy and their helpers relieve the wants of poverty and organize remedies to meet it.

Another form of social work is education. Here, too, the Church was active throughout the century. No national system of elementary education existed before 1870, but the Church had endeavoured to meet the need by the provision of schools in many parishes, where the doctrines of the Church as well as secular subjects should be taught. The National Society was founded for this purpose in 1811, and by 1833, when the first government grant was made, it had provided nearly 700 schools. By 1870 there was accommodation in such schools for over a million and a third children. The Act of 1870 set up a new type of school, the Board School, in which no denominational teaching was allowed, and the two types of school have existed side by side ever since, the activity of the Church enabling it to maintain its old schools and erect new. When, in 1891, elementary education was made free, there was a considerably larger number of children in Church Schools than in Board Schools, and, though the proportion is now gradually being reversed, there was still more than half the number of children being educated in Church Schools at the end of the 19th century. Nor must we forget the quiet educational work of the Sunday Schools in each parish, where week by week thousands of children are trained in the Anglican faith. Besides this relation to elementary education, the Church has immense influence over secondary education, for most of the public schools are governed by churchmen. The wealthier classes are thus trained as members of the Church, while the atmosphere of the older Universities, though far freer than it was, is also to a large extent Anglican. The training of the clergy themselves has also been greatly improved by the foundation of Theological Colleges in many dioceses.

The culmination of all this activity at home has been the growth of the Episcopate. At the beginning of the century there were still but twenty-six bishops, as there had been at the Reformation, and an increase was almost unthought of. But with the Ecclesiastical Commission a re-arrangement and an increase of dioceses began. The diocese of Ripon was created in 1836, that of Manchester in 1847, those of St. Albans and Truro in 1877, and since then seven new sees have been created, and others are in contemplation. The Episcopate has been further increased by the creation of suffragan bishops, who are attached to the diocesan bishops as their assistants, and are indispensable for the more populous dioceses. The first of these was consecrated in 1870, and there are now twenty-eight. As against this increase in activity must be set off the apparent check to the Church in Ireland by its disestablishment in 1869. But, though this roused great opposition at the time, it has on the whole been an advantage to that Church. For it was never the national Church as it is in England, and its greater freedom and power of self-control, coupled with the good administration of the funds placed at its disposal, have made it more active and efficient than before.

(*b*) During the 19th cent. the Church has been face to face with new forms of truth, and intellectual problems of new kinds have been thrust upon her. Natural science raised new questions as to the nature of the material universe and its relation towards God, while historical research introduced a new science of textual criticism, and at first it was difficult for the Church to adjust her doctrines to these newer forms of truth. In 1859 appeared Darwin's *Origin of Species*, which seemed, with its theory of evolution, to controvert the received ideas about creation. In 1860 the famous *Essays and Reviews* were published, with the hope of helping more thoughtful men to see that the new forms of truth were not hostile to Christian teaching. But the book met with a storm of abuse. Convocation condemned it, bishops and clergy alike declaring it heretical. Two of the writers were prosecuted and condemned in the Ecclesiastical Courts, though they were acquitted by the Privy Council. The question of the inspiration of Scripture was raised in an acute form when, in 1862, Bishop Colenso of Natal published *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined*, attacking the received Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Colenso was condemned by a Committee of Bishops, and excommunicated by the Bishops of South Africa as a heretic, for the opinions set forth in this and other writings. But gradually this attitude of resistance changed. A new generation of leaders arose, who tried to assimilate the new ideas and not to reject them. Men like Westcott, Lightfoot, and Hort at Cambridge, and Sanday, Driver, Gore, and Illingworth at Oxford, were setting the intellectual position of the English Church once again on a sure basis. The Revised Version of the Bible in 1881–5, did much to settle doubts as to the new criticism. The appearance of *Lux Mundi* was as heartily welcomed as that of *Essays and Reviews* had been condemned thirty years earlier. But the upheaval in religious opinion had been great, and instead of the unquestioning orthodoxy current at the beginning of the 19th cent., a more strenuous and thoughtful faith was now required of clergy and laity alike.

(*c*) At the beginning of the century the ritual of the services in the churches was very plain and sometimes almost careless, and one result of the Tractarian Movement was a desire to restore to the services more dignity and ritual. The love of Catholicity led some to desire to restore such vestments as seemed to be allowed by the Ornaments Rubric of Elizabeth. To others the importance of the Eucharist needed an emphasis which it had lost. To others a variety of vestments and an ornamentation of the East end of churches were the first requisite towards more reverence. Hence in some churches great changes were introduced into the services, and the difficulty was that, in cases of protest, the ultimate jurisdiction lay with the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a body of lay judges which those who made the changes scrupled to obey in such matters.

The English Church Union was founded in 1859 to maintain and defend the newer forms of ritual, and some of its members suffered prosecution. Certain test cases raised different points as the century went on. In Liddell's case (1857) the ornaments of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. were declared legal, and if a ritual addition were merely subsidiary to the service it might be used. In 1869, however, in the Purchas case, vestments and the eastward position were declared illegal. Meanwhile a Ritual Commission sat from 1867 to 1870, in order to deal with the whole question, but it led to no practical results, though in 1874 the Public Worship Regulation Act was passed, handing over decisions in ritual questions to a single lay judge. The Ridsdale case came before such a judge in 1875, but on appeal in 1877 the Privy Council ruled out most of the recent ritual as illegal. In 1890 the case of the Bishop of Lincoln was brought, not before a Privy Council of laymen overriding lower ecclesiastical courts, but before an ecclesiastical court consisting of the two Archbishops. Their decision, therefore, was regarded as final. The judgment allowed the eastward position at the Eucharist and other moderate points of ritual, and has ever since afforded a basis of agreement for the majority of churchmen.

(*d*) The expansion of the Church abroad has been even more striking than that of the Church at home. For centuries the idea of advance into the colonies had been very little realized, for there was a strong feeling against the extension of the episcopate outside England, for fear of a possible schism. The possibility of extension into heathen lands was hardly contemplated. The rapidity of the growth of the Church outside England, therefore, during the 19th cent. has been extraordinary. A few isolated clergymen had been working in New England in the 18th cent. under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but it was not until after the revolt of the American colonies that the episcopate was extended to that continent. In 1784 Samuel Seabury was consecrated Bishop of Connecticut by three Scottish Bishops, and in 1789 the first Bishop of Nova Scotia was consecrated. The beginning of the episcopate in the United States and in Canada was thus made; and there are now ninety-seven bishops in the States, and twenty-three in Canada. The English colonial episcopate has since spread to all the colonies as a sign of the life of the Church. In 1836 William Grant Broughton was made first Bishop of Australia, in 1841 George Augustus Selwyn of New Zealand; and now there are twenty-seven dioceses where then there were two. The first Bishop of South Africa was Robert Gray, sent out to Cape Town in 1847. His diocese has since become ten.

The extension of the episcopate into heathen countries is the best test of the missionary zeal of the Church. India is of course the first link between England and non-Christian countries. The first Bishop of Calcutta, Thomas Middleton, was consecrated in 1814, and was succeeded in 1823 by Reginald Heber. Gradually the episcopate extended, and, in spite of the opposition of the East India Company as long as it existed, missionaries to the natives as well as chaplains to the English multiplied. There are now eleven dioceses. In Northern and Central Africa the growth of missionary work has been no less marked. The work along the Niger in the West, in spite of all the difficulties of climate, the remarkable development of Uganda in the east, the mission founded in Central Africa by the Universities at the appeal of Livingstone, have all led to the foundation of missionary dioceses doing pioneer work. These now number eight. In China the first bishop was appointed in 1849, and there are now six sees, while in Japan and Korea there are five. Behind all this growth of the episcopate in a hundred years lies the quiet zeal which sends out missionaries, builds churches, and continually pushes the Church's frontier a little further on. In missionary work the Church Missionary Society has been the most prominent, in colonial work the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

(*e*) All this expansion of the Church outside England and the growth of activity at home have produced new methods of organization and self-government. In the earlier part of the century a few leading bishops like Kaye of Lincoln, Blomfield of London, Van Mildert of Durham, and Philpotts of Exeter guided the ecclesiastical policy. But this was more and more felt to be unsatisfactory, and the need of the revival of Convocation became obvious. One man especially gave expression to the demand for this—Samuel Wilberforce, made Bishop of Oxford in 1846. By his activity and that of others the Convocation of Canterbury was revived in 1852, and that of York in 1856. Each of these formed the representative body for the Church in its province, and once again, after more than a hundred and thirty years, the Church had found its corporate voice. The two Houses of bishops and clergy were strengthened by the addition in 1886 of a House of representative laymen for the Southern province, and in 1890 for the Northern. In 1905 the six Houses began to sit together once a year as a Representative Church Council for discussion. Interest in matters affecting the Church has been increased by the formation of Diocesan Conferences in each diocese, where many matters of local importance have been settled. In 1867 there was held the first meeting of the Lambeth Conference, when all the bishops of the Anglican Church who could come were gathered together to discuss common problems. This has been followed by a similar gathering every ten years since. In 1867 there were seventy-six bishops present; at the last, held in 1908, there were two hundred and forty-two. The meeting of 1908 was preceded by a Pan-Anglican Congress, with representatives from every Anglican diocese throughout the world. The complexity of the government of this expanded Church of England has produced a great variety of means for discussion and counsel, but the basis of control is still the authority of the individual bishop of each diocese, acting in accordance with the requirements of the Prayer Book. In England the Church remains established, and the power of the bishops is limited by Acts of Parliament, but abroad the bishops are freer, and the mutual reaction of the two sets of conditions is helpful.

The history of the Church of England is a long story, but her vitality was never greater than it is now. For more than thirteen centuries the Church has been bound up with the life of the nation, receiving much and giving much. It has maintained its continuity with the past, and can hand on its priceless gift of Catholic doctrine and a historic episcopate. It has not been without its shortcomings, and different bodies of Nonconformists have arisen at different times because of these deficiencies, and have reminded the nation of forgotten sides of truth. There are signs that what was once hostility between different Christian Churches is becoming mutual respect for differences.

The future is full of promise for such a Church as this. It has become an Imperial Church, witnessing the expansion of its branches in the great free dominions which are so closely linked with England. It has become a missionary Church, bearing its Gospel all over the world, and ready to lose itself in the growth of national Churches in heathen lands. The Church of a free people, it

carries to an ever-widening circle of mankind the message that the truest liberty is the service of its Divine Master, Jesus Christ.

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CHURCH OF IRELAND.—See EPISCOPACY.

CHURCH OF ROME.—See WESTERN CHURCH.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—See PRESBYTERIANISM.

CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM.—See SWEDENBORGIANISM.

CIMMERIANS (Κιμμέριοι).—In Homer (*Od.* xi. 13 ff.) the ship of Odysseus is described as coming to

'the limits of the world, to deep-flowing Oceanus. There is the land and city of the Cimmerians, shrouded in mist and cloud; and never does the shining sun look down on them with his rays, neither when he climbs unto starry heaven, nor when again he turns earthward from the firmament, but baleful night is outspread over miserable men.'

The use of the phrases *δῆμός τε πόλις τε* and *δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι* shows that the Cimmerians are regarded as real men, living in organized community—not like the Cyclops, for example, who have no cities or other apparatus of civilized life (Hom. *Od.* ix. 112, *τοῖσιν δ' οὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βουληφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες*). As the poem now stands,[1] the home of the Cimmerians must be supposed to lie somewhere in the far West or North-west, on the edge of the world on that side, by the hither shore of the Ocean-river which forms the material limit of the Homeric world, where also is naturally imagined to be an entrance to the world of Shades. The Cimmerians are thus pictured as an outpost of humanity, and as such they must battle with conditions unknown to the rest of mankind—their lives are spent in a perpetual darkness which to all other life would be fatal (*ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι . . . νὺξ ὀλοή*). Just so, in actual fact, does man on the outskirts of the habitable area of the earth—on the 'roof of the world' or in the polar regions—find the forces of Nature arrayed against him in the most hostile fashion. The characteristics of the outermost fringe were based to a certain extent on observation and report.

Pendants in some sort to the Cimmerians are various other groups on the verge of the world, such as the Læstrygonians (*Od.* x. 82 ff.), among whom 'the goings of night and day are hard together' (*ib.* 86, *ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἤματός εἰσι κέλευθοι*); but these also, in spite of their cannibalism,[2] are in a sense civilized—possessing a walled town (*αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον*), and an assembly-place (*ἀγορή*), just like the most civilized Greeks. Against this, the expression 'not like men but like the Giants' (*Od.* x. 120, *οὐκ ἄνδρεσσιν ἐοικότες, ἀλλὰ Γίγασιν*) has nothing to say, describing merely their stature—men so far away must needs be different in some respects from ordinary folk.[1] Herodotus, again, mentions the Hyperboreans, 'men who live at the back of the North Wind' (iv. 32, where, however, he expresses his disbelief in their existence).[2] It is an old observation that in these Cimmerians of Homer we have a dim and distorted tradition of the long Arctic night[3] (cf. the statement of Herod. iv. 25, that in the far North are men who sleep for six months of the year), while the account of the Læstrygonians embodies a vague report of the midnight sun within the Arctic Circle, or at any rate of the long summer days and short nights of northern lands (cf. Tac. *Agric.* 12, 'nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas'). That some dim report of such features of the North should have reached Greek lands as early as the second or even the third millennium B.C. along the trade route or routes by which Baltic amber came to the Mediterranean is not impossible (see Waldmann, *Der Bernstein im Alterthum*, 1883).

The ancient treatment of the Cimmerians is after a double fashion, corresponding to the double character which they assume in the poem. On the one hand, they are a mythical people associated with the land of spirits, having but a feeble hold upon reality. Hence by some (as by Silius Italicus, xii. 130 ff.) they were put actually in Hades, and this idea of them led to the creation of a variant name Cerberii (Κερβέριοι).[4] This mode of treatment begins and ends with the purely fanciful. On the other hand are found various rationalistic explanations, which may be arranged in the following ascending order of significance:—

(1) On the lowest level of such explanations is the variant title *χειμέριοι ἄνδρες*, 'Men of the Wintry Lands,' or Κεμμέριοι, 'People of the Mist.'

(2) When the scene of the Nekyia was located in later times by the shores of Lake Avernus in Italy, the Cimmerians also were removed thither, and the pseudo-rationalism of the imaginative Ephoros, who was never at a loss, found an explanation of the Homeric description, according to which the Cimmerians were subterranean folk who lived partly by mining and partly by oracle-mongering (Strabo, p. 244, *εἶναι δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔθος πάτριον μηδένα τὸν ἥλιον ὁρᾶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔξω πορεύεσθαι τῶν χασμάτων*). This theory, so far at least as concerns the habitat of the Cimmerians, has been revived by Victor Berard (*Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, 1902-03, ii. 311 ff.—in which he tries to show that the *Odyssey* is based upon a Phœnician *Periplus*, or *Mediterranean Pilot*, and that the Homeric localities are verifiable in their minutest details).

[1] It is clear, from the absence of any reference to the Cimmerians by Circe in her instructions to Odysseus in *Od.* x. 508 ff., that this passage about them is a late addition (cf. Deimling, *Die Leleger*, 1862, p. 58). But this does not affect the statements and conclusions of this article.

[2] But are not the two lines 116, 117, *αὐτίχ' ἕνα μάρψας ἑτάρων ὡπλίσσατο δεῖπνον· | τὼ δὲ δύ' ἀΐξαντε φυγῇ ἐπὶ νῆας ἱκέσθην*, an interpolation?

[1] Cf. the marvels of the far North as given by Herodotus—his goat-footed men, and one-eyed Arimaspians (iv. 25 and 27), his long-lived Æthiopians of the South (iii. 114): the breast-eyed, and dog-headed tribes (iv. 191) are left quite doubtful, and perhaps are not classed as human. The stature of the Læstrygonians has suggested that their prototypes were a Celtic or Germanic people (Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 1901, i. 368 ff.).

[2] But others know more about them, *e.g.* Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 16, *δᾶμον Ὑπερβορέων . . . Ἀπόλλωνος θεράποντα* (cf. *Pyth.* x. 30), and Æsch. fr. 183. These folk on the edge of the world gradually become credited with all the virtues. See Rawlinson's note on Herod. iv. 32, and cf. art. HYPERBOREANS.

[3] Cf. Berger, *Mythische Kosmographie*, 1904, p. 15.

[4] Eustath. *Com. in Hom.* 1670. Cf. Schol., *ἔνιοι δὲ γράφουσι χειμερίων· οἱ δὲ Κερβερίων, ὡς Κράτης. ἢ νεκροῖς, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἠρίοις κεῖσθαι. τινὲς, τῶν νεκρῶν, παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἔρα κεῖσθαι.* Aristoph. (*Frogs*, 186 f.) makes Charon call *τίς εἰς τὸ Λήθης πεδίον . . . ἢ 's Κερβερίους, ἢ 's κόρακας, ἢ 'πὶ Ταίναρον*—a parody of the cries of Attic boatmen; so Soph. fr. 957 N. For Κεμμερίων, see Hesych. (*κέμμερον γὰρ λέγουσι τὴν ὀμίχλην*).

(3) Among the names connected with the wanderings of Odysseus in the West, that of the Cimmerians alone has a firm hold upon reality, for the existence of Cimmerians on the northern shores of the Euxine and in Asia Minor is and was a known historical fact. Strabo, anxious for the credit of Homer's geographical knowledge, averred that the poet had been fully aware of the true place of his Cimmerians, but had transposed them to the West for his story's sake (p. 20, πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ ζοφώδη μετήγαγεν οἰκείως εἰς σκοτεινόν τινα τόπον τὸν καθ' ᾅδην, χρήσιμον ὄντα πρὸς τὴν μυθοποιίαν); and, moreover, had deliberately pilloried them for the evil they had wrought in Asia Minor even before his time (p. 149, τάχα καὶ κατά τι κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων ἔχθος πρὸς τὸ φῦλον τοῦτο, cf. pp. 6 and 61). Strabo herein was indeed correct in the main—more correct than Bérard, whose theory ignores both the existence of the historical Cimmerians of the Euxine and the non-existence of any trace of their name in the neighbourhood of Cumæ, besides taking no account whatever of the wholesale transportation of the Odyssean adventures from the Pontus region to the West (see Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, 1884, p. 163 ff.). This transference, however, is a cardinal fact in the history of the *Odyssey*.

'It was when the compass of the Euxine was still unknown, . . . that the tale of the wanderings of Odysseus took form. . . . In the *Odyssey*, as we have it now, compounded of many different legends and poems, this is disguised; the island of Circe has been removed to the far west, and the scene of the Descent to the Underworld translated to the Atlantic Ocean. But Circe . . . belongs to the seas of Colchis; and the world of shades beyond the Cimmerians is to be sought near the Cimmerian Bosphorus' (Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, i. 92=p. 89 of small edition).

Briefly given, disregarding chronological questions, the part played in history by the Cimmerians was as follows (cf. Strabo, p. 494): Inhabiting the regions round Lake Mæotis (*Azov*) on the northern shore of the Euxine, to which their name still clings in the modern *Crimea*, they were driven forth by a Scythian (Mongolian ?) people, the Scoloti, who came from the steppes of Asia (Herod. iv. 6). They crossed into Asia Minor, either by way of the Danubian lands, or, as Herodotus says, by the Caucasus (iv. 12); for, on the one hand, they are found in association with Balkan tribes—Treres, Edones, and Thynians; on the other hand, they seem to make their first appearance in the eastern parts of Asia Minor. Cimmerian hordes under Tiušpa were defeated by Esar-haddon[1] (about 680 B.C.); but, thus thrown back upon Asia Minor, they sacked Sinope, overthrew Midas, the last king of Phrygia, and attacked Gyges of Lydia, who sought the help of Assyria. Gyges became the vassal of Ashurbanipal, but, having himself defeated the invaders and sent two of their chieftains bound to Nineveh, he repudiated Assyrian suzerainty. A second inroad of Cimmerians ended in his death and the sack of Sardis (657 B.C.). The great shrine of Artemis at Ephesus was burnt by them, and Magnesia on the Meander was destroyed (Strabo, p. 647). An echo of all this in its later phases is heard in the fragments of the poems in which Kallinos of Ephesus stirs his countrymen to their own defence—'the host of the Cimmerians is at hand, who do mighty deeds' (Strabo, p. 648). He calls upon Zeus 'to remember the fair thighs of bulls which Ephesus had burned, and to have compassion on her.' 'Are ye not ashamed,' he cries to the young men, 'to sit still as if ye abode in peace, when war has seized upon the whole world?' These terrible inroads (cf. Herod. i. 6, οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν πολίων ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἁρπαγή) seem to have inspired the artist who, a generation or two later, painted the sarcophagus from Clazomenæ now in the Brit. Museum. On it we see the mounted barbarians swooping down with enormous swords, great quivers, and curved Scythian headgear, while alongside run fierce hounds (A. S. Murray, *Terra-cotta Sarcophagi in the B.M.*, 1898). During the reigns of Ardys II. and Alyattes III., successors of Gyges, these terrible invaders seem gradually to have melted away without leaving a trace, unless we ascribe to their influence something of the frenzied rites of Ma, the fierce goddess of the Cappadocians (see Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, 1890, p. 242)—analogous to those of the so-called Artemis worshipped among the Tauri of the Crimea, who seem to have been the remnant of the Cimmerians.

Bury has explained 'the motive for placing the Cimmerians by the shores of Okeanos and associating them with the land of ghosts' in his article 'The Homeric and the historic Kimmerians' (*Klio* vi. [1906] 79 ff.). He points out that in Denmark and Scandinavia there was current, probably from very early times, a legend that the spirits of dead men were rowed across to the island of Brittia, opposite the mouths of the Rhine (Procop. *de Bell. Goth.* iv. 20, ed. Haury, ii. 589 ff.). By Brittia (Βριττία), Britain was meant, though the Greek historian[1] did not understand this (cf. Gibbon, *Decline*, iv. 157, ed. Bury, whose later article corrects his note there). Cf. BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Teut.).

Now, the historian and traveller Poseidonios (2nd cent. B.C.) acutely conjectured that Κιμμέριος was simply Κιμβρικός, and that the Cimmerians were an offshoot of the Cimbri (Strabo, p. 293, Κιμμερίους τοὺς Κίμβρους ὀνομασάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων). That the Cimmerians were indeed associated with the north is proved by a passage in the Orphic *Argonautica*, which describes the voyage of the Argo from the Euxine, and mentions the Cimmerians in the far north on the way to the 'Iernian Islands' (=the British Islands; see Bury, *op. cit.* p. 85, note 3, quoting *Orph. Arg.* 1120, ed. Abel, and verses 1166, 1181); this part of the poem probably preserves a tradition of the 6th cent. B.C., if it is not still older.[2]

'But however this may be, we have sufficient data for bringing the Homeric Kimmerians into relation with the historical Cimbrians. The Kimmerians are stamped as a people of the north, dwelling on the shores of ocean, close to the world of ghosts. A people of identical name, the Cimbrians, fulfil the first two conditions; and a fable of the world of ghosts on the shore of Ocean has come from their neighbourhood' (Bury, *op. cit.* p. 86).

The knowledge of these northern Cimmerians (Cimbrians) and of the Island of Ghosts in the ocean may have come to the Homeric world from Gaul by the medium of Phœnician traders who visited its northern shores.

'The older Odysseus story, in which the Euxine was the theatre of the adventures, mentioned the Kimmerians (of South Russia); when the scene was transferred to the West, these eastern Kimmerians became the Kimmerians of Ocean, who were known from Phœnician report, and the place of the Nekyia was thus at once determined' (Bury, *op. cit.* p. 87).

It may be, however, that the story travelled eastwards *overland with the Cimmerians themselves*, they being, in fact, Cimbrians, as Poseidonios had guessed; and this is the simpler hypothesis. The Cimmerians, who are to be classed ethnologically in the Thracian group, may have been not pure Thracians but northern immigrants ruling over a conquered population (cf. Ridgeway, *op. cit.* i. 396 ff.). But, quite apart from the truth or falsity of the equation Cimmerians=Cimbrians, Bury has shown that 'the Homeric Kimmerians and their

[1] They are the Gimirrai of the Assyrian texts. See G. Smith, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, 1871, p. 64 (quoted in full in Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 465). Sayce, in his *Com. on Herod.*, 1883, i. 6, points out that what Eusebius calls the first capture of Sardis, which he dates 1078 B.C., is really a tradition of the conquest of Ionia by the Hittites (see also p. 427). Consult also Gelzer, 'Das Zeitalter des Gyges,' in *Rheinisches Museum*, 1875, p. 230 ff.; E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterth.*, 1884 ff.; i. 543 ff.

[1] According to Bury, Procopius probably derived his information from Heruls in Constantinople.

[2] The poem as it stands is of late Roman date. See Gruppe in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Orpheus.'

setting have a double relation, on the one hand to the Κιμμέριοι of the east, on the other to the Cimbri of the north-west' (*op. cit.* p. 88).

LITERATURE.—Engelmann's art. 'Kimmerier,' in Roscher [is of little worth]; U. Höfer, *de Cimmeriis*, Belgr. Progr. 1891. The works quoted deal chiefly with historical points; to them may be added K. Neumann, *Die Hellenen im Skythenlande*, Berlin, 1855; A. v. Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1889-94, iii. 431; E. H. Berger, *Myth. Kosmogr. der Griechen*, Leipzig, 1904; J. von Prášek, *Gesch. der Meder und Perser*, Gotha, 1906-1910, i. 112 f. W. J. WOODHOUSE.

CIRCUMAMBULATION.—This term is used to denote the custom of walking round objects or persons for the purpose of influencing or honouring them. The custom is observed, with a religious or magical signification, among the most diverse peoples, particularly among the Indo-Europeans. In India the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* enjoins walking round the offering, holding a burning coal in the hand.[1] The *Gṛhya Sūtras* require the young Brāhman, at the time of his being initiated, to drive three times round a tree or a sacred pool.[2] Other Sūtras enjoin any one who wishes to build a house to go three times round the site, sprinkling it with water, and repeating the verse of the Rig Veda, 'O waters, ye are wholesome.'[3] Among marriage ceremonies the *Laws of Manu* order the bride to pass three times round the domestic hearth;[4] it is the seventh step in this walk that makes the union irrevocable. Circumambulation also figured in the funeral ceremonies and the sacrifices of the Pitris. The *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta* tells that the pyre on which lay the body of Buddha took fire of its own accord when the five hundred disciples had walked round it three times.[5] Even at the present day, for the Hindus, circumambulation round certain sacred spots has the effect of blotting out sins (cf. further *PR* i. 10 f.) It was the same with the Buddhists who, long before our epoch, had constructed round their *stūpas*, or eminences containing relics, circular galleries to serve for the circumambulation of pilgrims. The Buddhists of Tibet and Japan have preserved this custom. At the side of roads in Tibet they build walls, or *manis*, on which they write an invocation, in order that passers-by may walk round it.[6]

Among the Greeks circumambulation is already described by Homer, who shows us Achilles making his squadrons and his chariots pass three times round the body of Patroclus (*Il.* xxiii. 13). Dancing often occurred in the worship of the Hellenic gods, and it generally included circular movements. The rhythmical movements of the dancers took place around altars, the performers turning first from east to west (*strophe*), then from west to east (*anti-strophe*). 'You cannot find a single ancient mystery in which there is no dancing,' wrote Lucian (Περὶ ὀρχήσεως, xv. 277). But it is not always easy to decide whether we have to do with real circumambulation or simply with a circuit rendered necessary in order to regain the starting-point. Certain rhythmical dances around the altar of Dionysus seem, indeed, to be circumambulation, as also does the dance of the Curetes around the cradle of Zeus.[7] At Athens the name of *amphidromia* (ἀμφιδρόμια) was given to the custom of carrying the newborn, at a running pace, around the family hearth.[8] It is worthy of notice that quite recently, among the Esthonians, the father had to run round the church during the baptism (for another explanation of this custom, see above, vol. ii. p. 648).[1]

Among the Romans, in the celebration of marriage, the bridal pair passed round the family altar, while the *flamen dialis* pronounced the sacramental formulæ. This rite may be compared with the Brāhman ceremony referred to above, and also with the custom observed on the same occasion in certain villages in Scotland and Germany, whereby a procession round the house or the church has to be made either by the cortège of the bride or by the bride and bridegroom. The same rite is still observed in marriages celebrated by the Orthodox Greek Church.[2] In ancient Japan, the future pair walked round the central pillar of the house.

Among the Celts and the Gauls the custom of going round an individual whom it is desired to honour in an especial way, or who is believed to be invested with surpassing holiness, appears already in poems anterior to the Christian era.[3] Plutarch narrates that the Gaul Vercingetorix, before surrendering to Cæsar, walked three times round the chair on which his conqueror sat (*Cæsar*, xxvii.). St. Patrick is described as consecrating the site of the cathedral of Armagh by a sunwise procession about it, and a century later Scattery Island was similarly hallowed by St. Senan. In like fashion, the *Cathach*, or 'Battle-book,' of the O'Donnells 'was always borne three times right-hand-wise round their army before battle, to assure victory; it was so employed as late as the fifteenth century'; and 'even at this day, the Irish people, when burying their dead, walk at least once, sometimes three times, round the graveyard, sunwise, with the coffin.'[4] In Scotland, in the last centuries, it was sometimes the physician who moved around the sick person to relieve his sufferings (as is described by Sir Walter Scott in *Waverley*), sometimes the parishioners who did so around their minister, now and then the members of the family or friends who passed round an individual on the point of starting on a journey. Sometimes on the last night of December people made three circuits round a field, or a house, or a boat, holding a torch or a lighted wisp of straw in their hands, as in the Brāhman ritual. In the Hebrides processions took place, and perhaps still take place, round the cairns and ancient tumuli.[5] There also funeral processions went three times round the church or the churchyard—a custom which is found likewise in Ireland, Holland, and Germany. The liturgy of the Greek Church is particularly rich in circumambulation. The Roman Catholic Church also uses it in the consecration of churches, in the enthroning of bishops, and in other exceptional ceremonies. Here, then, is a rite which, devised by our distant pre-historic ancestors, is still celebrated before our eyes in official liturgies and in popular customs, after having passed through at least three successive religions.

It would be premature to conclude that circumambulation is solely an Indo-European rite. In ancient Egypt we hear frequently of statues or symbols being carried round temples and cities. The point is whether a religious significance was attached to the circular nature of these processions.

[1] *SBE*, vol. xii. p. 145. [2] *Ib.* vol. xxix. p. 210.
[3] *Ib.* vol. xxix. p. 213.
[4] *Ib.* vol. xxv. p. 295, vol. xxix. pp. 279, 382.
[5] *Ib.* vol. xi. p. 129.
[6] For Tibet, see W. Simpson, *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel*, London, 1895, pp. 29-32; for Japan, Constance Gordon Cumming in *Scribner's Monthly*, 1881, p. 733.
[7] Emmanuel, *La Danse grecque antique* (Paris, 1896), pp. 201, 255, 295, 302, etc.
[8] Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*[3] (Paris, 1879), p. 53.

[1] Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. Stallybrass, vol. iv. p. 1845.
[2] *Westph. Sagen*, quoted by Pictet, *Origines indo-européennes*, 1859-63, vol. ii. p. 499; Forbes Leslie, *Early Races of Scotland*, 1866, vol. i. p. 131; H. C. Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of Græco-Russian Church*, 1868, p. 153; W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, 1905, p. 90.
[3] J. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom* (Hibbert Lectures for 1886), p. 567.
[4] Joyce, *Soc. Hist. of Anc. Ireland*, 1903, vol. i. p. 301 f.
[5] For Scotland, see Constance Gordon Cumming, *From the Hebrides to the Himalayas*, 1876, vol. i. p. 210; A. Mitchell, *The Past in the Present*, 1880, p. 79; Sir Walter Scott, *The Two Drovers*, etc.

Muhammadans walk several times round certain sacred places, notably the Ka'ba at Mecca; and Oriental Christians perform the same ceremony round the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. A more decisive fact, so far as concerns the Semitic race, is related by Robertson Smith, on the authority of Nilus. In the most ancient form of sacrifice among the Arabs, the participants march three times round the altar on which the victim lies ready to be slain, and sing as they go.[1]

Most savage peoples, especially the Redskins, the Australian aborigines, and the Negroes, take part in religious dances, in which there are circular movements; but these do not fall within the category of circumambulation unless they take place around an object or a being which serves at the same time as centre and as goal, or unless it is clear that a particular virtue is attached to the direction of the movement.

What is the object of circumambulation? Almost in every instance in which an explanation is given, it is represented as a rite intended to ward off sinister influences or to abstract propitious influences, in the interest either of those who perform the circumambulation or of the person or the thing placed in the centre. By an extension of meaning it has come to assume the general significance of a talisman, of something to bring good fortune. However, there is ground for making a distinction, at least in the case of the Indo-Europeans, according as circumambulation is performed towards the right hand, that is to say, from the east to the west passing by the south (in the manner of the progress of the hands of a watch), or in the opposite direction. The first alone brings good luck; among the Brāhmans it bears the name *pradakṣiṇa*; among the Latins *dextratio* (for example, in the ceremony of marriage); among the Celts, *deiseil* or *deasil* (all words which most etymologists derive from the same original root, which means 'the right'). The circuit in the opposite direction is called in Sanskrit *prasavya*, in Celtic *cartuasul*, most frequently translated by 'withershins.' The Latins characterized this manner of circumambulation as *sinister*, in the double meaning of the word ('ill-omened' and 'left'). It is generally considered as a process of black magic, in connexion with the ideas of malign influence, misfortune, and death. Along with prayers recited backwards, it constitutes the great weapon of sorcerers in Celtic and German countries. To go three times round the church *withershins* figures, in Scotland, among the rites of the witches' assembly.[2] According to an Irish tradition (*RCel* xv. 315), 'there was a sacred well at the foot of Side Nechtain (now Carbury Hill in County Kildare) on which none were to look save four privileged persons, on pain of some dreadful personal injury. But the lady Boand ridiculed the prohibition, and, going to the well, walked contemptuously thrice round it left-hand-wise: whereupon the well burst up round her, and broke her thigh-bone, one hand, and one eye. She fled in terror eastward; but the water pursued her till she arrived at the seashore, where she was drowned. Even after that the water continued to flow so as to form the river Boand or Boyne, which took its name from her.'[3] Among the Brāhmans, in sacrifices offered to ancestors, the officiating priest begins by going round three times by the left, and not till then does he perform three turns by the right. This anomaly is thus explained in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*: 'The reason why he again moves thrice round from left to right is that, while the first time (*i.e.* while performing the *prasavya*) he went away from here after those three ancestors of his, he now comes back again from them to this, his own world; that is why he again moves thrice from left to right.'[1]

The same contrast, explained in the same way, occurring likewise in the course of a funeral ceremony, is found in the Latin poet Statius's description of the funeral rites celebrated in honour of the son of Lycurgus. The warriors begin by going round the pyre three times *by the left* with their standards reversed as a sign of mourning:

> ' . . . . lustrantque ex more sinistro
> Orbe rogum . . . .'

Then, at the command of the augur, they retrace their steps, this time by the right, in order to efface their mourning and the sinister omen:

> ' . . . . luctus abolere, novique
> Funeris auspicium . . . .
> . . . . dextri gyro'[2] . . .

Perhaps it is for the same reason that, in the burial services of those Catholic Churches which follow the Roman ritual, the priest goes round the bier by the left. William Simpson has suggested a similar explanation concerning the systematic variations in certain cases of circumambulation among the Arabs.[3]

Up to this point we have not expounded the primary reason and general motive of the practice. As Mannhardt has shown in the case of other similar customs, circumambulation is a solar charm. The *pradakṣiṇa* represents the daily march of the sun, which, in our hemisphere, rises in the east, passes thence to the south, and sets in the west. This is what the Brāhman ritual tells us clearly: while the Brāhmans perform the *pradakṣiṇa*, says the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 'they think "Sunwise this sacred work of ours shall be accomplished," and therefore they again walk thrice round sunwise.'[4] It may be asked whether, in the same way, the treble repetition of the circuit is not connected with the idea of the traditional 'three steps' of Viṣṇu, the god of the sun. In Scotland also the primitive signification of the rite has never been lost sight of. *Deasil* and *sunwise* have remained synonyms. 'The propitiation,' Sir Walter Scott writes in the *Two Drovers*, 'consists, as is well known, in the person who makes the *deasil* walking three times round the person who is the object of the ceremony, taking great care to move according to the course of the sun.' Long ago, Plutarch, describing the Egyptian ceremony known as the 'Search for Osiris,' in which, at the time of the winter solstice, the image of a cow was carried seven times round the temple, states as a reason that 'the sun in winter arrives at the winter solstice only after seven months,' and he adds, 'they believe that by this observance they make the sun favourable to themselves and honour it.'[5] The Japanese used to say that, if they marched against the sun when attacking an enemy, they would be going against the will of Heaven.[6] Did they follow this rule in the Russo-Japanese war?

The instinct of imitation, however, is not the only force at work, especially in the origin of the rite. There was here an application of sympathetic magic—the idea, still so wide-spread among primitive peoples, that by imitating a phenomenon its recurrence can be assured or at least facilitated. The Navahos of Arizona, at the winter solstice, perform a magical dance in which a dancer, wearing a star on his head, turns about holding a representation of the sun at the end of a stick.

[1] Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 1889, p. 320.
[2] Jules Baissac, *Les grands Jours de la sorcellerie*, 1890, p. 219.
[3] Joyce, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 284.

[1] *SBE*, vol. xii. p. 425.
[2] *Thebais*, vi. 215, 216, and 221–223.
[3] W. Simpson, *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel*, p. 133.
[4] *SBE*, vol. xii. p. 442.
[5] *De Isid. et Osir.* 52.
[6] Aston, *Shinto*, p. 240.

'This seems to represent,' explains a witness, 'the climax of the ceremony, which not only celebrates the winter solstice, but which has, as its special object, to compel the sun to stop his southern flight.'[1] In the ceremony of the *Hako*, celebrated by the Pawnees in order that the tribe may increase in number and strength, they make the circuit of the lodge four times at sunrise and at sunset, going round the sacred fireplace, from West to North and back to the West by the East, muttering all the time that they follow the rays of the sun which bring life. These four circuits, explained one of them, represent the four paths down which the lesser powers descend to man.[1]

When once the regular march of the sun was identified with circumambulation by the right, it was natural that the reverse, circumambulation by the left, should be identified with the reversing of the normal course of Nature, and, in consequence, should be associated with the ideas of malign influence and death or evil, like all the ceremonies of the Liturgy, when they are executed backwards.

GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

CIRCUMCISION.

Introductory (L. H. GRAY), p. 659.
American (L. SPENCE), p. 670.
Egyptian (G. FOUCART), p. 670.
Jewish.—See 'Semitic.'
Muslim (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 677.
Semitic (G. A. BARTON), p. 679.

CIRCUMCISION (Introductory).—The term 'circumcision' is applied, in its strict sense, to a wide-spread surgical operation for the ablation of the male prepuce, and also, with a looser connotation, to simple incision of the prepuce, or even to two operations on the female genitals—clitoridectomy and ablation of the *labia minora* (the so-called 'female circumcision'). The operation on males is very common, not only among many primitive peoples as well as among some which have attained a high degree of civilization, but even in modern surgery, where it is, of course, performed solely for sanitary and therapeutic reasons—an explanation which, though not uncommonly urged, is not wholly satisfactory in accounting for its ultimate origin or for its practice among primitive races. The corresponding female operation is far more rare, both surgically and as a rite.

1. *ANATOMICAL ASPECTS.*—(*a*) **Male.**—The male prepuce is a loose fold of skin, lined on the inner side with mucous membrane, covering the *glans penis*, at whose base (the *corona glandis*) it is attached to the penis; while on the under side of the organ it has a further union with the *glans* by a fold termed the *frænum præputii*. On the *corona glandis* open the *glandulæ odoriferæ*, which generate a sebaceous secretion called *smegma præputii*. In modern surgery the necessity for circumcision arises chiefly in case of phimosis, a condition, whether congenital or acquired, in which the prepuce cannot be retracted so as to uncover the *glans* (this condition often giving rise to retention of urine, balanitis from accumulation of *smegma*, calculous concretions, impotence, *prolapsus ani*, cancer of the penis, balanoposthitis, *herpes præputialis*, white chancre, and other complaints), or in hypertrophy of the prepuce.

In its characteristic form the operation of circumcision consists in drawing forward the prepuce (with proper precautions, as by a shield, to prevent any incision of the *glans*), which, when sufficiently protracted, is amputated, the flow of blood, which is relatively slight, being checked by some styptic. Among primitive peoples, as well as among Jews and Muhammadans, the wound is then permitted to heal; but in modern surgical practice a more complete operation is performed.

After the ablation has been effected, it will be found that the surgeon has removed only a circle of skin, while the mucous membrane lining the prepuce still tightly embraces the *glans*; this he slits up, by introducing the point of a pair of scissors at the preputial orifice; and then, trimming off the angles of the flaps of mucous membrane, and sometimes snipping across the *frænum*, he turns back the mucous membrane, and attaches it to the edge of the cutaneous incision by sutures, usually of silk or catgut. Union readily takes place by simple dressing.

The physiological change arising from circumcision, apart from obviation of the dangers of phimosis or the inconvenience of hypertrophy, is that the mucous membrane covering the *glans* becomes obdurated and approximates the character of epidermis, thus lessening liability to venereal and other infections.

(*b*) **Female.**—The organs involved in 'female circumcision,' which consists simply in the ablation of the parts in question (often, however, with subsequent 'infibulation' [see below, 3, *b*]), are, as already noted, the clitoris and the *labia minora*. The former of these is a small organ of erectile tissue, with a rudimentary *glans* and prepuce; it is, in fact, the female counterpart of the penis. The *labia minora* extend from the clitoris toward the *orificium vaginæ*, and merge on the one side into the *labia majora*, and on the other into the wall of the vagina. Both the clitoris and the *labia minora* are occasionally hypertrophic, not only with great frequency among the African Galla and Hottentots (giving rise, among the latter, to the curious 'Hottentot apron'), but even among Asiatics and Europeans. Surgical operation may consequently become advisable; and, in view of the excitability of the clitoris, it was often deemed necessary, until very recent times, to excise it in cases of erotomania—an operation now recognized as unscientific and useless.

2. *MALE CIRCUMCISION.*—(*a*) **Geography.**—Disregarding modern surgical circumcision, which, being entirely sanitary and therapeutic in purpose, does not here concern us, the operation may be said to be almost world-wide, with the exception of Europe and non-Semitic Asia. The Indo-Germanic peoples, the Mongols, and the Finno-Ugric races (except where they have been influenced by Muhammadanism) alone are entirely unacquainted with it.[2] It can scarcely have been practised in pre-Aryan India (obviously we have no data regarding pre-Indo-Germanic Europe), for there is no allusion to it in Sanskrit literature, and no trace of it in modern India, even among peoples untouched by Hindu civilization. The custom is best known popularly from the Semites, especially the Hebrews and Muhammadans, as well as from the ancient Egyptians and Colchians (the latter, according to Herodotus [ii. 104 f.], closely akin to the Egyptians), while something analogous was practised by some American Indians (for all these see the following sections). It is also

[1] George A. Dorsey, *Indians of the South-West*, Chicago, 1903, pp. 132, 171.

[1] Alice C. Fletcher, 'The Hako, a Pawnee Ceremony,' in the 22nd Annual Report of the *BE*, Washington, 1903, p. 134. Cf. vol. vii. of the same, 1891, p. 3[illegible]9; vol. viii. 1891, pp. 118, 120; vol. xi. 1894, p. 1[illegible]2.

[2] As a mere curiosity, mention may be made, in this connexion, of the very probable tradition, reported by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* i. 130), that Pythagoras, while in Egypt, underwent circumcision, that he might be reckoned among the higher classes, and be initiated into the esoteric wisdom of the Egyptians.

observed, at various ages, among many African and Polynesian peoples, who will here be particularly considered.

A convenient summary of the geographical distribution of non-Semitic circumcision is given by Andree (*AA* xiii. 74): 'Die Westküste [von Afrika] nebst Hinterländern gehört ihr—geringe Unterbrechungen ausgenommen—vom Senegal bis Benguella. Die Kaffernvölker mit Ausnahme der Zulu beschneiden, ebenso fast alle Ostafrikaner, die Galla jedoch ausgenommen. Sie herrscht auf Madagaskar, bei den christlichen Abessiniern, Bogos und Kopten. Im Herzen des schwarzen Erdtheils ist sie von den Monbottu und Akka geübt. Fast alle Eingeborenen des australischen Continents, die Südwestecke ausgenommen, haben die Beschneidung; sie kommt vor in Melanesien, die Papuas von Neu-Guinea abgerechnet. Unter den Polynesiern fehlt sie den Maori. Vereinzelt ist sie bei nord-, mittel- und sudamerikanischen Stämmen anzutreffen. Nach einer flüchtigen Schätzung sind es 200 Millionen Menschen, der siebenter Theil aller, die sie ausüben.'

(*b*) Varieties.—The most rudimentary form of male circumcision is a simple gash of the prepuce. This seems to be especially characteristic of the American continent and the Pacific islands, being found among the Totonacs of eastern Mexico and probably among the Mayas, as well as among the Orang Benua and in Tahiti, in the Marquesas, Waihu, Tonga, Samoa, Kunaie, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and the Nitendi Islands. In similar fashion, insection of the back of the prepuce is practised among some Australian tribes, and especially in East New Guinea and other Melanesian districts, as in Tanna (one of the New Hebrides) and in Fiji, while in Tonga the operation is performed by the simple process of tearing the prepuce with the fingers. Among the Somali, Masai, Wajagga, and a few of the Kikuyu, a similar cut is made on the upper part of the *glans*, and the resulting flaps of skin are permitted to hang from the *frænum*. In the Aarau Archipelago and in Seranglao the upper part of the prepuce is pinched off (for the motive in these territories see below, under (*m*) ι). Among the Tatars a wedge-shaped piece is excised from the prepuce; and an Arab tribe between Abu Arish and Hejaz not only ablate the prepuce, but also make an incision in the skin on the upper side of the penis extending the entire length of the organ, and, in addition, abscise a portion of the skin of the lower part of the abdomen. In Jewish circumcision there is a noteworthy deviation, which has a special reason. The original rite was doubtless simple ablation of the prepuce; but, with contact with classical civilization, the desire not to be different from the uncircumcised Greeks who surrounded them in the gymnasia led the Jews to resort to the operation of epispasm, by which ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίαν (1 Mac 1[15]; cf. 1 Co 7[18], Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1, and the Talmudic passages cited in *JE* iv. 93; see also the 'Semitic' section below; for a description of the operation, which is now scarcely performed, 'except possibly to restore loss of substance from accident or disease' [E. M. L.], cf. Celsus, xxv. 1). To obviate the possibility of such concealment of Judaism, the Rabbis, probably after Bar Cochba's war (early 2nd cent. A.D.), made *peri'ah* (exposure of the *glans*) an indispensable requisite to valid circumcision. In this operation,

'after the excision has been completed, the *mohel* ["circumciser"] seizes the inner lining of the prepuce, which still covers the *glans*, with the thumb-nail and index-finger of each hand, and tears it so that he can roll it fully back over the *glans* and expose the latter completely' (Friedenwald, in *JE* iv. 99).

By far the most remarkable operation complementary to circumcision is the *ariltha*, or *mika*, characteristic of Australia, and normally performed about a year after circumcision proper. This is defined as 'sub-incision of the penis, so that the penile urethra is laid open from the *meatus* right back to the junction with the scrotum' (Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 263). This operation, as performed in the Boulia district, is described as follows by Roth (*Ethnolog. Stud.* p. 178):

'While the man on top [the lad being held supine on the ground] holds the penis firm and tense with both hands, the actual operator, seated on the ground in front, makes a superficial incision, through skin only, extending from the external *meatus* down to near the scrotal pouch in a line with the median *raphé*; a deeper incision is next made with the same stone knife along the same line as the first, and, starting from the external orifice, opens up the canal as it is pushed onwards. The extent of the wound is apparently inconsistent. I have observed it varying from a little over half an inch in some cases, to a gash opening up almost the whole of the penis as low down as half an inch from the scrotum, in others.' Among the Yaroinga of the Upper Georgina district 'the operation consists of two vertical cuts into the urethra extending from the external orifice, with a third independently transverse one below, the resulting flap of skin being allowed to take its own time apparently in subsequently rotting off down to the transverse cut' (*ib.*).

Among the Bani Chams actual circumcision is no longer practised, though it is represented ritually by a mock ceremony, performed by the head priest with a wooden knife, and connected with name-giving (see above, p. 345).

(*c*) Disposal of the ablated prepuce.—According to a Talmudic tradition, the tribe of Levi, which alone during the Exodus observed the obligation of circumcision, piled up the ablated foreskins in the wilderness and covered them with earth, a practice which later became general (Kohler, in *JE* iv. 93). Among the East African Wakikuyu the prepuce is buried in the ground in front of the boy just circumcised; while the African Bara father throws it into the river. From fear of its being used in black magic the Turks bury the prepuce as they do parings of nails, etc., and from a like motive the Amaxosa Kafir boy carries away his prepuce and buries it in a sacred spot. On the West Coast of Africa the prepuce, soaked in brandy, is swallowed by the boy operated on; the Arabs of Algiers wrap it in a cloth and put it on a tree or animal, which then becomes the gift to the operator; and the Hova of Madagascar wrap it in a banana leaf, which is given to a calf to eat. Among the Wolof, on the other hand, the prepuce is dried and carried by the lad circumcised, the object being the promotion of virility.[1] The Sakalava of Madagascar formerly made the operator swallow the prepuce which he had just ablated (the prepuce of the crown-prince is still swallowed by his uncle in Madagascar), but at the present time the foreskin is shot from a gun (a practice also observed by the Antankarana of the same island), or is fastened to a spear which is thrown over the house of the lad's father; if the spear falls sticking in the earth, it is a good omen. The triangular pieces excised by the Tatars are given to the boys' mothers, who wrap them in cloth and keep them; but, if the mothers are dead or absent, the pieces are often simply thrown away. Among the Australian Urabunna the stomach of each elder brother is touched with the foreskin, which is then placed on a fire-stick and buried without special ceremony or further attention (for a somewhat similar usage, probably Midianitish rather than Hebrew, and apparently performed under exceptional circumstances, see Ex 4[24f.], and cf. 'Semitic' section of this art. p. 679).

It is in Australia that precautions are most generally taken in disposing of the ablated prepuce. The northern Arunta bury it, together with the blood caused by the operation; at Fowler Bay it is swallowed by the operator (compare the former usage of the Sakalava); among the southern Arunta the younger brother swallows his elder brother's prepuce to make himself strong and tall;

[1] Cf. the wearing of the penis of slain warriors by the victors among the people of Mowat to increase the conqueror's strength by the courage of the dead; the eating of the genitals of beasts killed among some North American Indian tribes, these parts being torn with the teeth, never cut with an edged tool; the making of the testicles, heart, and liver of slain enemies into a broth and war-paint in South Africa; and the Central Australian usage of administering blood from the genitals in case of severe illness (Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 106 f.).

the Kakd associate with women after circum-string it they are forbidden to marry before they around the brother's neck 'to keep folds gener-away'; the Anula bury it beside a pool ... lia. the water-lilies grow; and the Warramunga put it in a hole made in a tree by the witchetty grub, to increase the number of these edible delicacies. Among the Unmatjera,

'the boy puts his severed foreskin on a shield, covers it up with a broad spear-thrower, and then carries it in the darkness of night, lest any woman should see what he is doing, to a hollow tree, in which he deposits it. He tells no one where he has hidden it, except a man who stands to him in the relation of father's sister's son' (Frazer, *Independent Rev.* iv. 211; cf. the disposal of the ablated *labia* in Java [below, 3 (*c*)]). The reason alleged for this custom is that, 'according to tradition, the early mythical ancestors of the tribe placed their foreskins in their *nanja* trees, that is, their local totem centres, the trees from which their spirits came forth at birth, and to which they would return at death' (*ib.*; for Frazer's deductions from these Australian practices, see below under (*m*) κ; and for a somewhat similar Javanese custom in connexion with female circumcision, under 3 (*c*)).

Finally, among the Yaroinga of the Upper Georgina District, the blood shed in circumcision is drunk by the women of the tribe as a strengthening draught (cf. below, 3 (*b*)).

(*d*) **Tabued foods.**—The tabu of certain foods during the period immediately following circumcision is recorded only sporadically. Bread may be eaten, and fresh milk drunk, among the Muhammadans of Bosnia, but the drinking of water unhallows the rite. Among the Australian Urabunna the jew lizard (supposed to create sexual desire, and always forbidden to women) is tabu at this time, as are opossums, snakes, echidnas, and all lizards at sub-incision in Central Australia. Some rudimentary traces of hygiene may be present in the tabu of meat in the Congo Basin and the region east of Loanda to the kingdom of Muata Jamwo, as well as in the prohibition of pork in Wydah and the coast region of West Africa.

(*e*) **Instruments employed.**—Circumcision is, as a rule, performed with the ordinary iron or steel instruments (particularly razors) in common use among the peoples practising it. Exceptions are not, however, unknown. There are distinct records among the Hebrews of the use of hard stone (the 'flint' [צֹר] of Ex 4[25] [although in this case the sudden exigency of the occasion does not absolutely require the assumption of a survival of primitive usage] and Jos 5[2f.]), which was also employed by the ancient Egyptians, as well as by the American Totonacs, the modern Alnajas of Abyssinia, and the Australians, and sometimes in Morocco. Post-Biblical Jewish tradition also permits the use of glass or of any other cutting material excepting reeds (Ploss, *Das Kind*², i. 347 f.). In Tonga, besides the simple tearing of the prepuce with the fingers (already noted), a splinter of bamboo or a mussel shell may be employed; and 'the Marolongs of South Africa used a "fire-stone" (meteorite), but now circumcise with an assegai' (Jacobs, in *JE* iv. 97). In Central Australia there is a tradition that circumcision was performed by means of a fire-stick before the introduction of stone knives, but that the practice was discontinued because of the excessive mortality resulting from the use of the sticks (Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 394); and among the Bani Chams a wooden knife is used in the mock ceremony which represents the ritual survival of Muhammadan circumcision.

(*f*) **Who are circumcised.**—Among nearly all peoples that observe circumcision it is requisite for at least every male to submit to the operation if he is to enjoy full tribal rights (cf. below, *k*); illustrations of this, as among the Hebrews, are too obvious to need citation. In a few cases, however, there is divergence from this general rule. In ancient Egypt, circumcision was restricted to priests and warriors (but see CIRCUMCISION [Eg.]), and it "inoculated" against the other, by being "inoculated" with each other, in view of the more permanent alliance of wedlock.' Attention is called below (*m*) to the Kikuyu fear of the consequences one pers... ...nal congress; and, in like fashion, ...tribes believe that both ...lations as soon as may ... die. After circum... ...ht of intercourse ...; and similar ... Senegal; ... circum... ...with

An interesting case ... cision may be witnessed in so... 'It has come up from Ambrym ... as a prevailing custom, and not ve... age, whenever the boy's friends choose ... not a mark of initiation and has no reli... character; it is a social distinction. . . . The ... the custom, for it is not a rite, has come across ... wards to the Southern New Hebrides' (Codrington, ... Oxford, 1891, p. 234).

(*g*) **Who circumcise.**—In primitive conditi... of would naturally be some near kinsman who wou... perform the operation of circumcision. Among the early Hebrews this was apparently the head of the household or the father (Gn 17[23ff.]), though in case of special necessity it might perhaps be performed even by the mother (cf. possibly Ex 4[25]; 1 Mac 1[60] is not decisive in view of v.[61]; for a divergent view, see the 'Semitic' section of this art.), while a leader or man of importance might also cause it to be performed (Jos 5[2ff.], 1 Mac 2[46]). In later times, however, the rite was performed by a specially trained man, usually called *mohel* ('circumciser'). In Nias, in the Malay Archipelago, it is likewise the father who circumcises; but in Nukahiva, in the Marquesas group, on the contrary, the father is the one person who is debarred from performing circumcision. From the Heb. use of חֹתֵן (lit. 'circumciser') and חָתָן (lit. 'circumcised') in the senses of 'wife's father' and 'daughter's husband' respectively, it would appear, since these terms first occur in connexion with Midianites (Ex 3[1] 4[18. 25f.], Nu 10[29], Jg 1[16] 4[11]) and Sodomites (Gn 19[12. 14]), that among these two peoples circumcision was performed by the future father-in-law. From these passages the words חֹתֵן and חָתָן seem to have passed into the Heb. vocabulary with an entire loss of their original meaning, connoting merely 'father-in-law' and 'son-in-law' respectively (*e.g.* Dt 27[23] [feminine], Jg 15[6] 19[4f. 7. 9], 1 S 18[18], 2 K 8[27], Neh 6[18], Jer 7[34], Jl 2[16]). The most respected member of the family is chosen by the Antankarana of Madagascar, and among the Mandingo of West Africa the village elders perform it. The priest is the operator in Morocco, Samaria, Western Mexico, Tahiti, the Sandwich Islands, the Marquesas, and Easter Island, as well as among the Totonacs, as is the head priest in the mock survival among the Bani Chams, and the 'witch doctor' among such African tribes as the Masai, Wanika, and Wakikuya. Too much cannot, however, be safely deduced from the choice of priests as circumcisers, for Andree (*op. cit.* p. 75) rightly calls attention to the fact that 'among primitive peoples the priest and the physician are commonly united in the same person, and the operation falls within the domain of the latter.' In Persia, Turkestan, and Upper Egypt the barber (with *quasi*-surgical functions like his mediæval European confrère) takes the place of the priest; and in Samoa, as among the African Wakamba, Wanika, and Kikuyu, a paid professional (somewhat analogous to the Jewish *mohel*) officiates. The smith is the circumciser among the West African Sarakolese, and in Kita (French Sudan; cf. the blacksmith's wife as the circumciser of girls in the same districts, below, 3 (*f*)); and in Samoa cases are even reported in which boys circumcise each other. Among the Falashas, three old women perform the operation (cf. the occasional circumcision by women among the ancient Hebrews); and perhaps the most remarkable officiant of all is the common executioner, who is the circumciser among the Sakalava of Madagascar. Among the Australian Unmatjera the father-in-law (apparently like the Midianites

observed, at various ages, among many African and Polynesian peoples, who will here be particularly considered.

A convenient summary of the geograph…ormed by the non-Semitic circumcision is giver's brother.
'Die Westküste [von Afrika], and in whose presence.—
geringe Unterbrechungen circumcision it is usually per-
Benguella. Die Kaffern… presence of persons of the same
den, ebenso fast all… e
nommen. Sie hen…vidual operated on, and generally
Abessiniern, R…ed place (on *tabu* of this nature cf.
Erdtheils ist
Eingebor…' *op. cit.* p. 297 f.). Almost the only
ausge…ce of exception to this rule in the case of
Melte circumcision is among the Central African Manuema, who perform the rite in the presence of women. At the same time, as just noted, women operate among the semi-Judaized Falashas (no definite conclusions can be drawn, in the present writer's opinion, for normal Hebrew usage from Ex 4[25], 1 Mac 1[60f.]). The Totonacs circumcised in the temple, and the Hebrews in the father's house, although 'as early as the Geonic time the ceremony had been transferred from the house of the parents to the synagogue, where it took place after the service in the presence of the whole congregation' (Kohler, *JE* iv. 95). In the Congo region, on the other hand, circumcision is performed in a special hut. Previous to circumcision, various preparatory trainings, of brief duration, are often required, as among the Australians. These do not, however, materially affect the character of the rite, and come more properly under the head of initiation (*q.v.*; cf. also art. AUSTERITIES, particularly 2, 8 (3–4)). Except among the Jews, and possibly among the Totonacs (in view of the fact that they circumcised in their temples), distinctly religious ceremonies in connexion with circumcision are extremely rare, being recorded only in the case of the New Caledonians and the Fijians.

(*i*) **Age when circumcision is performed.**—It is a significant fact that circumcision, whatever explanation may be alleged for it, is almost invariably performed before or at the age of puberty, or at latest before marriage. The sole exceptions to this rule occur among the Hebrews, where peculiar conditions caused such violation of the general principle. Abraham and his household were naturally uncircumcised until the Divine covenant had been formally instituted by God, this taking place when Abraham was 99 years old (Gn 17[23ff.]; in the light of this no particular deduction can be drawn from the fact that Ishmael then happened to be 13 years of age); proselytes and persons intermarrying with the Hebrews would naturally be circumcised after attaining puberty (cf. Gn 34[14ff.], Ex 12[48]). By far the most noteworthy passage in this connexion is Jos 5[2-9], which states that 'all the people that came out of Egypt . . . were circumcised: but all the people that were born in the wilderness by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, them they had not circumcised.' This younger generation Joshua circumcised after crossing the Jordan. The passage may well be taken as it stands, though the 'critical school' seek, without due consideration of the early age at which circumcision is performed among many peoples (see below), to see in it an implication that the primitive Hebrews practised the rite, like numerous other tribes, at the age of puberty, 'the circumcision of young warriors at that age signifying the consecration of their manhood to their task as men of the covenant battling against the uncircumcised inhabitants' (Kohler, *op. cit.* iv. 93). And the fact that even Moses neglected to circumcise his son (Ex 4[25]) was very probably due to his Midianitish marriage, since the Midianites, like the Sodomites, apparently performed the rite shortly before marriage (see above, (*g*), and below, (*m*) *β*).

'While the man on top [the lad b…ing held s… …e various
ground] holds the pe… …ll is p…th bo…ed may be
actual oper…as follows: t.

…cision after birth: Totonacs (eastern Mexic… and probably Mayas.
8 days: Jews, Samaritans, Abyssinians, South American Guamo, Otomaco, and Saliva (Orinoco region).
Multiple of 7 days: South-Western Arabs.
1–2 months: Wazegua of East Africa.
Before the end of the first year: African Ovaherero.
As soon as the child can walk: Washambala.
2–8 years: Muhammadans of Kashgar.
2–10 years: Muhammadans of Turkestan.
3–4 years: Masai, Usambara (East Africa), Persian Muhammadans (the last never later than 13).
4–5 years: Karakurtchins (Central Asia).
5 years: Aneityum (New Hebrides), Muhammadans of Algiers (the latter never later than 7).
5–8 years: Nias (Malay Archipelago).
5–10 years: Upper Egypt.
6–8 years: Kabyles.
6–13 years: Turks.
7 years: Swahili.
7–8 years: Akkra (Gold Coast).
7–10 years: Tanna (New Hebrides).
7 years and later: New Caledonia.
8 years; Bakwiri (Kamerun), Tahiti.
8–10 years: Somali, Kafirs, Congo Negroes, Samoa.
Before 10 years: Muhammadans in general.
10–12 years: many South American tribes.
12 years: Ewe (West Africa), Limo lo Pahalaa (Celebes).
12–13 years: Ishmaelites, Sarakolese (West Africa).
12–14 years: Mandingo (Sudan).
12–16 years: Wydah and coast region (West Africa; sometimes as late as 20).
14 years: Ancient Egypt, Bambarra, Kafirs, Bechuana, Fiji.
14–16 years: Angaardi (Murchison River, West Australia).
15 years: Bani Chams (ritual survival performed as a mock ceremony).
15–16 years: Wolof (Senegambia).
16–17 years: Wakikuyu (East Africa).
When the first hairs appear on the face: many South Australian tribes.
Puberty: Melanesians in general, Nukahiva (Marquesas), Wakamba, Wanika (both between Lake Victoria and the coast), Amaxosa, Basuto.

These specific years can, of course, be taken only as approximate; and divergent years are sometimes recorded by different observers for the same people, as for Akkra (7–8 years and 12–13), Masai (3–4 years and puberty), Kafirs (8–10 years and puberty), and Tahiti (8 and 14 years). In at least some cases part of the discrepancy may be due to the custom of performing circumcisions *en masse*, as among the Masai, Wanika, Wakikuyu, Mandingo, Sarakolese, and Bechuana, as well as in Kita, the Congo basin, and Tahiti.

(*j*) **Effect on legal and social status.**—Generally speaking, in the words of the anonymous contributor on the African Banaka and Bapuku to Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien* (Berlin, 1903, p. 40 f.),

'ohne Beschneidung ist der Mann kein Mann, er ist schwach, nichts; er wird beschimpft, verlästert und sogar verbannt; er geht einsam umher, kann keine Frau bekommen. Nur der Beschnittene ist ein rechter Mann, der erbberechtigt ist und arbeiten und fechten kann.'

Thus the child passes, on circumcision, from the harem or from the society of women to that of men, among the Turks, Malays of Menangkabau, Papuans, Nias, Hovas of Madagascar, and African Swahili, Wakikuyu, Basutos, Kafirs, and Mandingo; and he now also, as in Upper Egypt, enters upon religious life. The rite is occasionally connected with the giving of a permanent name to the child, as among the Jews (cf. Lk 1[59] 2[21]), many South Australian tribes (as the Dieri, near Adelaide), and the South American Tecunas (on the Upper Solimoes, in Brazil), as well as in the mock ceremony among the Bani Chams. Only after circumcision can the youth marry among the African Masai, Wakwafi, Penhls of Futa-Jallon, Bechuana, and Diakite-Sarakolese, as well as in Bambuk, Angola, and Kita, among the Hebrews (cf. Gn 34[15-17]), and apparently among the Midianites and Sodomites (see above, (*g*)). Among the South Australians along the Peake River, youths

can indeed associate with women after circumcision, but they are forbidden to marry before they have been sub-incised, a rule which holds generally wherever *arıltha* is practised in Australia. Conversely, women refuse to have intercourse with uncircumcised men among the Bafiote of the Loango Coast, while the Bakwiri women of Kamerun believe that physical harm would result to them from sexual relations with such men, and in Old Calabar lack of circumcision in either sex is ground for divorce. The uncircumcised are excluded from society generally by the Wanika of East Africa; and the Mombuttu, Bongo, and Mittu of Central Africa refuse to eat with those who have not been circumcised. 'Uncircumcised' is a term of insult, not only as applied to the Philistines (Jg 14[3] 15[18], 1 S 17[26. 36] 31[4] etc.), but also among the South Australians and in Rook Island. Before circumcision a child is ritually unclean among the East African Amaxosa; and the Masai, Wakwafi, and Kikuyu consider iron implements tabu to the uncircumcised, which, in view of the sanctity attaching to this metal among primitive peoples, is certainly a significant fact.

Only after circumcision can the Malinka and Bambarra, along the upper Niger, bear arms or have a voice in the council; and not till then has a Peuhl or a Basuto the right and duty of taking part in warfare. In Kita, in the French Sudan, an uncircumcised man can, it is true, bear arms, but he is debarred from all rights of inheritance; and, in like manner, inheritance is conditional on circumcision among the Masai, Wakwafi, Damara, Hambo, and Wanika; while the Damara reckon a man's age from the time of his circumcision, not counting the previous years at all. In view of all this, it is not astonishing that, just as 'uncircumcised' is a contemptuous epithet among some peoples, as noted above, so circumcision is a mark of proud distinction among Jews, Mombuttu, etc., and is even restricted to certain classes among Aztecs, Egyptians, and Melanesians (see above, (*f*)); while, though circumcision is not universal in Madagascar, no one who has not undergone the operation can become either a soldier or an official.

(*k*) **In connexion with other initiation rites.**—Attention has been called by Post (*Grundriss der ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg, 1894–95, ii. 36 f.; cf. also art. AUSTERITIES, 8 (3), for further literature) to the fact that those peoples who perform circumcision at the age of puberty not infrequently combine it with usages distinctive of formal declaration of, and initiation into, manhood. Among the Kafirs and Bechuana the lad just circumcised is flogged until the blood flows, all the while being admonished of his duties; and the Bantu squirt cayenne pepper on the wounded penis. The young Basuto, for three months after circumcision, remain away from home, receiving instruction in all that they must henceforth observe as men; while among the Mandingo the newly circumcised rove at will for two months from village to village, exempt from all labour, and everywhere dancing and singing, their hosts welcoming them with all good cheer. Elsewhere, as among the Peuhls, in Darfur, and on the coast of Guinea, those who have just undergone circumcision may with impunity violate the usual regulations governing sexual relations and property rights (for African details of these adjuncts to circumcision, see Post, *Afrikan. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg, 1887, ii. 291–293).

This licence, at least so far as sexual relations are concerned, is admirably explained by Crawley (*op. cit.* p. 309 f.) as being a 'trial' of one sex by the other, 'as if the preparation necessitated putting it to the test; and thereby each sex is practically "inoculated" against the other, by being "inoculated" with each other, in view of the more permanent alliance of wedlock.' Attention is called below (*m*) to the Kikuyu fear of the consequences of the first sexual congress; and, in like fashion, many Central African tribes believe that both sexes must sustain sexual relations as soon as may be after initiation, or they will die. After circumcision, Kafir boys have the right of intercourse with any unmarried woman they wish; and similar customs prevail along the Congo and in Senegal; while, in like manner, 'immediately after circumcision a Ceramese boy must have intercourse with some girl, it matters not with whom, "by way of curing the wound." This is continued till the blood ceases to flow' (Crawley, citing Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 139).

(*l*) **Opposition to circumcision.**—The Jews alone, with their rigid adherence to circumcision and their haughty attitude toward all others than themselves, have had to bear the brunt of opposition and ridicule because of a rite that was, to the nations surrounding them, distinctively characteristic of them; and the 'curti Iudaei' were the objects of the sneers of the Græco-Roman world from Horace (*Sat.* I. ix. 70) onward (cf. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au judaïsme*, Paris, 1895). Far more serious to the Jews than mockery were the efforts made, though in vain, by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac 1[48. 60f.]) and Hadrian (cf. *JE* vi. 135) to suppress circumcision, together with all other distinctive features of Judaism. The same intense hatred of circumcision is manifested by the Mandæans, who will not admit Jews to their number, though Christians are permissible proselytes; and who, in the case of a Mandæan forcibly circumcised by Muhammadans, only with extreme reluctance received him again, condemning his descendants to perpetual isolation from their fellowship, and forbidding them to marry Mandæans (Siouffi, *Études sur la religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens*, Paris, 1880, p. 72, note 3).

A controversy early arose in the primitive Church, as is well known, regarding circumcision, the Hellenistic party denying its necessity, and the Judaizing faction affirming it (cf. Ac 11[2] 15[1. 5] 21[21]). St. Paul, however, though he himself had been circumcised and had, under Jewish pressure, performed the rite on St. Timothy (Ph 3[5], Ac 16[3]), and though he was far from depreciating it (Ro 3[1ff.]), decided that it was unessential, at least in the case of Gentile converts (Ac 15[19ff.]; cf. Gal 5[2-4]). Indeed, he regarded the mere presence or absence of physical circumcision as equally immaterial (Ro 3[30f.] 4[9ff.], 1 Co 7[18f.], Gal 5[6] 6[12ff.], Col 3[11]), since the only true circumcision was spiritual (Ro 2[25ff.], Ph 3[3ff.], Col 2[11ff.]), the Pauline attitude being here closely akin to that of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 4[4] 6[10] 9[26]; cf. Dt 10[16] 30[6]). Though under divergent circumstances divergent modes of procedure might be advisable (cf. Ac 16[3] with Gal 2[1ff.]), St. Paul's one principle being that he 'might by all means save some' (1 Co 9[19ff.]), he maintained that the guiding principle here must be personal honesty of conviction as to what was right for each particular individual (cf. Gal 2[11ff.]), he himself feeling most keenly that he was entrusted with the 'gospel of the uncircumcision' as St. Peter was with the 'gospel of the circumcision' (Gal 2[7-9]).

The final victory in the struggle rested with the Gentile Christians, who advocated uncircumcision, and only one or two of the early heresies retained it. To these belong the Judaistic Ebionites (see EBIONISM), who boasted of their possession of circumcision as being 'the sign and stamp of the prophets and of the righteous,' even as it was of Christ Himself, basing their own practice immedi-

ately on Mt 10^{25} (Iren. *Hær.* xxx. 26); while a similar attitude was taken by Cerinthus (cf. the passages cited by Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 414), who, despite the conclusions of Peake (above, p. 320), must at least in this respect have been what he is usually considered, a Judaizing Gnostic.

In the later history of the Church, circumcision is seldom a problem. Nevertheless, the Third Council of Toledo (8 May 589) found it necessary to prohibit Jews from purchasing Christian slaves, enacting that any Jew circumcising such a slave (on the basis of Gn $17^{12f.}$) should forfeit him; and this canon was incorporated by Recared in the *Leges Visigothorum* (ed. Zeumer, Hanover, 1894, p. 305 [=XII. ii. 12]) in the words, 'ille autem qui Christianum mancipium circumciderit, omnem facultatem amittat et fisco adgregetur.' The official pronouncement of the Roman Church on the subject is given in the bull of Eugene IV., *Cantate Domino* (4 Feb. 1441), which, after affirming that the requirements and ceremonies of the old Law, however proper for their time, have been abrogated by the coming of our Lord and the Sacraments of the NT, continues:

'Omnibus igitur, qui Christiano nomine gloriantur, praecipit omnino [sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia], quocunque tempore, vel ante vel post baptismum, a circumcisione cessandum; quoniam sive quis in ea spem ponat sive non, aine interitu salutis aeternae observari omnino non potest' (Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*10, Freiburg, 1908, p. 247).

But the most astonishing attack on circumcision has come from the Jews themselves. This attitude arose chiefly in connexion with the problem of the reception of proselytes. As early as the first half-century after the destruction of the Temple, the *tanna* Joshua ben Hananiah pleaded that proselytes might be exempt from the rite (*JE* x. 223); but the question was not broached again until 1843, when the extreme radicals of the Frankfort 'Verein der Reformfreunde' declared circumcision optional. This naturally evoked vehement protests, even from non-conservative Jews, and for the time the movement failed. In 1869, however, the Reformed leader, Isaac M. Wise, proposed the admission of proselytes without circumcision; and this usage, being officially sanctioned by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, held at New York in 1892, is now generally followed by Reformed synagogues (for further details, see *JE* iv. 96, 216, x. 357, 359).

(*m*) **Origin and motives of circumcision.**—To account for the origin of circumcision the most divergent theories have been proposed, some worthless, and others at least partially satisfactory. The names of the rite, so far as their etymology is clear, add little to our knowledge. Of these perhaps the most significant is the Arab. *ḫatana*, 'circumcise,' as compared not only with Arab. *ḫatuna*, 'to become akin to some one through his wife,' but especially with Heb. חֹתֵן, 'wife's father,' חָתָן, 'daughter's husband,' 'bridegroom,' and חֲתֻנָּה, 'wedding,' 'marriage' (see on these words above, (*g*)). The Arab. *ṭahhara*, 'to circumcise,' and *taṭhīr*, 'circumcision,' however, properly mean only 'to purify' and 'purification,' which may, as Kohler (*op. cit.* p. 93) suggests, 'indicate the later religious view.' The Syr. *gar*, the ordinary verb for 'circumcise,' means simply 'cut,' and may be compared with the Gr. and Lat. περιτέμνω and *circumcido*, lit. 'cut around.'[1] A number of African terms are given by Andree (*op. cit.* p. 64), but their precise connotation is unknown to the present writer. The exact meaning of the common Heb. term מול is disputed, though, according to Haupt (*AJSL* xxii. 250 f.), it is 'a denominative verb derived from *mōl*, "front" = *māl* = *ma'āl*, from אול, "to be in front"; cf. Arab. أوّل, "first" . . . The verb *mūl*, "to circumcise," is a privative denominative meaning "to remove the front."' Among the Muhammadan Malays the rite is called *buang malu*, 'casting away of shame'; while 'in the Gaelic version of the Travels of Sir John Mandeville, where the Scripture account of Isaac and Ishmael is given, the term "heathen baptism" (*baistedh Genntlidhi*) is applied to circumcision' (Joyce, *Social Hist. of Anc. Ireland*, London, 1903, i. 235).

It is a curious fact that few peoples practising the rite have any legend or theory as to its origin. When questioned, they generally reply that they do not know why they do it, or say that 'it was done by our fathers,' the latter reason being assigned even by the natives of Goazacoalco in southern Mexico (*NR* i. 666).

Even so mild a legend, evidently pointing to the introduction of the custom from some other tribe, as that found among the Basuto (Ploss, *Das Kind*2, i. 364), forms an exception to the general ignorance. 'Once upon a time some one came who sought to induce them to accept circumcision. Since, however, they first wished to be assured that it would not cause their death, they made the test on a stranger; and, when they saw that he suffered no harm, they then accepted the rite.' In this connexion, allusion may be made to a curious belief and practice, now abolished, of the Kikuyu of East Africa (Cayzac, *Anthropos*, v. 317). The first time that a newly circumcised youth has sexual relations with a woman, it results in the death of one or the other (on the perils of sexual intercourse according to primitive psychology, especially for the first time, see above, (*k*), and cf. Crawley, *op. cit., passim*). Accordingly, those who have just undergone the rite assemble in bands of fifteen or twenty, and, surprising some old woman in a lonely place, abuse her, and finally knock out her brains with a stone, her death freeing the youths from all peril. For a like reason newly circumcised girls have intercourse with an uncircumcised child; but this child, not yet being considered a human being, is not subsequently killed.

The various suggested explanations of the origin of circumcision may now briefly be considered.

(*α*) *Hygienic.*—This explanation is a very old one, being recorded by Herodotus (καθαριότητος εἵνεκε· προτιμῶντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι, ii. 37) for the ancient Egyptians, but specifically alleged among modern peoples only by the Samoans.[1] The theory has the support of so able a scholar as Steinmetz (*op. cit., passim*), but the lack of hygienic concepts among primitive peoples renders the hypothesis extremely improbable; and its acceptance in the popular mind is doubtless due to modern surgical reasons for its performance.

(*β*) *Preparation for sexual life.*—This theory has far more in its favour, in view of the wide-spread practice of circumcision at the age of puberty (for examples, see above, (*i*)). In addition, this view is supported by the etymological connexion between Arab. *ḫatana* and Heb. חָתָן, etc. (see preceding col.); and it is alleged to have been the original cause among the primitive Hebrews by Barton (*Sem. Origins*, London, 1902, pp. 100, 280 f.), though it seems to the present writer that he is incorrect in pressing Gn $34^{14ff.}$ and Ex $4^{25f.}$ in this connexion, the one passage being better explicable as requiring circumcision before amalgamation (in other respects as well as in marriage) with the Hebrews, and the latter being the excited, or perhaps angry, exclamation of a Midianitish woman, who was probably familiar with circumcision just before marriage, and had, perhaps, induced Moses to postpone the rite for this very reason (cf. above, (*g*)). Still less is Barton justified in explaining Jos $5^{2ff.}$ as referring to 'the marriageable young men.' Some of these men were, indeed, doubtless just at the marriageable age; but others (cf. vv.$^{5-7}$) must have been far beyond the age of puberty. Yet the theory is at least partly correct.

[1] In hot countries the penis is peculiarly liable to disease from retention of *smegma* behind the *glans*, therefore to 'cut around' and to 'purify' may have had a reference to hygienic considerations, and have become a religious observance (cf. next paragraph).—[E. M. L.]

[1] I think also that something of the same reason dictated the operation of male circumcision with the idea of discouraging masturbation.—[E. M. L.]

It was, and is, a preparation for sexual life in so far as it is a preparation for the duties and privileges of manhood in general (cf. below, λ, μ); and the hypothesis receives some support from what was apparently the practice of the Midianites and Sodomites (see above, (*g*)).

The theory here considered has been learnedly advocated by Ploss (*op. cit.* i. 368 f.), who sees in it an attempt to correct nature, and, by averting phimosis, to ensure offspring for the person operated on. The frequent performance of the rite long before puberty he interprets as 'an effort to guarantee the child a posterity as numerous as possible' (for another explanation, see below, λ, μ). The desire to correct nature receives a striking exemplification among the modern Arabs, who 'declare that only in man is an impediment like the foreskin found, and wonder how it is possible for reproduction to occur among uncircumcised Christians' (Barton, *op. cit.* p. 101, citing Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, i. 341, 410); and Rosenbaum (*Lustseuche im Alterthume*, Halle, 1839, p. 366 f.) similarly held that circumcision was designed to promote fertility.

(γ) *Obviation of peril from sexual relations.*—This theory is defended by Crawley (*op. cit.* p. 137 f.). Denying that circumcision either prevents disease or had any real sanitary idea as its basis, though, 'when the religious habit became rational, the fallacy of sanitary intention in circumcision became prominent, and may often have been the reason for the continuance of the practice,' he holds that

'the last factor in the principle . . . is one very closely connected with contact, and applies especially to such practices as circumcision. The deleterious emanation from strange or new things is identical in theory with human emanations, not only from strange or unhandselled beings, but from characteristic parts of such, and in later thought, from such parts of one's own personality. This dangerous emanation is any physical secretion religiously regarded, and its retention is prevented by cutting away separable parts which would easily harbour it. . . . This primitive notion is the same with those of personal cleanliness and of the removal of separable parts of a tabooed person. . . . When the part is cut off, there result the ideas, first of securing the safety of the rest by sacrificing a part, . . . and secondly, of sacrificing such part to a deity so as to consecrate the rest, by making it less "impure" or "*taboo.*" . . . Circumcision and artificial hymen-perforation thus originated in the intention both to obviate bylo-idealistic danger resulting from apparent closure, and to remove a separable part of a taboo organ. . . . This removal also explains the practice of excision. The other ideas follow later, and the safety both of the individual and of those who will have contact is the more necessary because that contact is with the other, the dangerous sex.' It is thus that he explains the Hebrew and Egyptian view of circumcision as cleansing; while 'Sir A. B. Ellis infers that circumcision amongst the Yoruba and Ewe peoples is a sacrifice of a portion of the organ, which the god [Elegbra, a phallic deity] inspires, to ensure the well-being of the rest.'

(δ) *Test of endurance.*—This interpretation is maintained by Zaborowski ('Circoncision, sa superstition en Afrique,' in *L'Anthropologie*, vii. 653–675, 'De la Circoncision des garçons et d'excision des filles comme pratique d'initiation,' in *BSAP*, 4th ser., v. 81–104), and, at least in Africa, his view receives a certain degree of confirmation through the connexion of circumcision with undoubted endurance tests (cf. above, (*k*)).

In Arabia, also, circumcision is associated with a test of endurance. During the performance of the mutilation practised by the Arabs between Abu Arish and Hejaz (described above, p. 660a), the person being operated upon is required to hold in his hand a lance, with its butt resting on his foot; he must not betray the slightest expression of pain, or allow the lance to quiver. Similar rules are found elsewhere, notably in Australia.

All this, however, is scarcely sufficient to make circumcision an endurance test *par excellence*, since stolidity is an absolute requisite in many rites besides circumcision, especially those of any sort of initiatory character (cf. artt. AUSTERITIES, INITIATION).

(ε) *Tribal mark.*—This theory is defended for the Hebrews, at least in part, by Barton (*op. cit.* p. 98 f.), on the basis of Gn 17[10-12], Ex 4[24f.] 12[48], as being 'for a (or "the") token of a covenant' (לְאוֹת בְּרִית) between Jahweh and Abraham. To this it may well be objected that the concealment of the part of the body affected by such a mark renders this explanation improbable; yet there is no doubt, even granting this objection, that the possession of circumcision has operated, not only among the Hebrews, but also among many primitive peoples, to produce a heightening of tribal pride and consciousness of tribal unity, as is evinced by haughty contempt for all who are uncircumcised (cf. above, (*j*)). It must be admitted, however, that nowhere, except among the ancient Hebrews (if Gn 17[10-12] is really to be so interpreted; but see below under η), is such a concept of the meaning of circumcision apparently felt.

(ζ) *Sacrifice.*—This hypothesis seems best to explain the American forms of circumcision, especially among the Mexicans and Mayas (see 'American' section of this art.), and has been urged for the West African Yoruba and Ewe (see above, (*c*)); while a similar view has also been advanced to account for the obscure Ex 4[24f.], with the idea that the circumcision of Gershom ransomed either his life or that of his father, Moses, from the wrath of Jahweh. And Barton (*op. cit.* p. 100; below, p. 679; cf. Jeremias, in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrb. der Religionsgesch.*[3], Tübingen, 1905, i. 381) holds that the circumstances under which the rite 'is performed in Arabia point to the origin of circumcision as a sacrifice to the goddess of fertility, by which the child was placed under her protection, and its reproductive powers consecrated to her service.' The mere fact, however, that sacrifice is offered in Arabia in connexion with circumcision scarcely warrants us in assuming that the rite itself (except in America) is sacrificial in origin. Lagrange, in his *Études sur les religions sémitiques*[2] (Paris, 1905), modifies this theory by making circumcision a sacrifice of a part to save the whole—an explanation which is not altogether convincing. On the possible connexion of sacrifice and sanctification with circumcision, see below, ξ.

(η) *Sanctification of the generative faculties.*—This theory, which is closely connected with the one just discussed, is advocated, for example, by Valeton (in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *op. cit.* i. 402). The great champion of this view, however, was Gerland (*Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, vi. 28, 40 f.), who based his conclusions on certain Polynesian customs.

Among many Polynesians and Melanesians there was the greatest reluctance to permit the bared *glans penis* to be seen, though, in all other respects, what we should call modesty was conspicuous by its absence. Even those islanders who did not practise circumcision bound the prepuce tightly over the *glans*. In like fashion, the *glans* was thrust, in the Admiralty Islands, into the cleft of a snail-shell; on Humboldt Bay (New Guinea) little gourds were worn over the *glans*; the African Kafirs put little tufts of pepo or bits of leather over this part; the South American Bororoa Cabacaes (a Tupi tribe) thrust it into a wooden ring; and the New Caledonians cover it with a girdle which holds it against the abdomen, permitting the remainder of the genitals to remain in full view (cf., further, Gerland, *op. cit.* vi. 575 f.). For this reason, Gerland concluded that 'man schlitzte die Vorhaut auf, um den den Gottern besonders heiligen, lebenspendenden Theil nicht zu verhullen; man band ihn (aber wohl erst viel später, als sich polynesische Eigenthümlichkeit streng entwickelt hatte) wieder zu, um den Theil, der wegen seiner Heiligkeit streng Tabu d. h. den Gottern angehorig war, den Blicken der Menschen zu entziehen, damit kein Bruch des Tabu entstehe.' With this he further compares Gn 17[10-12] (for another explanation, see above, (ε)), and thus also he explains the tatuing of the *glans* among the Tongans and other Polynesians. The theory has met with little favour, being deemed too artificial (cf. Ploss, *op. cit.* i. 370 f.); yet it must be remembered that the genitals are distinctly recognized as sacred among at least some peoples. Only thus can one explain the early Hebrew rite of swearing with the 'hand under the thigh' of the person to whom the oath is made (Gn 24[2, 9] 47[29]), this part of the body being known to be that from which life proceeds (cf. Gn 35[11] 46[26], Ex 1[5], Jg 8[30], 1 K 8[19]). And it may be suggested that a similar feeling of sanctity was, at least in some cases, one of the factors that led to the almost universal tabu laid upon the genitals of both sexes (though especially of women, where the sense of property rights [see art. ADULTERY] also played an important part), and their consequent concealment, thus being possibly a partial explanation of the sentiment of modesty in regard to sexual matters. It must also be borne in mind that sanctification may here possibly be construed as the result of sacrifice (see preceding paragraph, and below, ν).

(θ) *Social distinction.*—This factor appears only among the ancient Egyptians, Aztecs, and a few

other peoples (see above, (*f*)); and the case of certain islands of the New Hebrides group suggests that, in some instances at least, a custom introduced from other tribes (cf. the Basuto legend quoted above, p. 664b) was adopted first, as new fashions generally are, by the higher classes, and then was gradually extended till it became universal among the people concerned. On this theory, the curious exemption of the highest chief in Tonga from the rite (above, (*f*)) would be explained by the theory that he was too august to be subject to alien customs. But this phenomenon is extremely rare, and there is absolutely no reason to suppose that circumcision was primarily restricted to any one class. Its performance on every Australian of the tribes in which it is practised at all, and the similar phenomenon in Africa, as well as the express command in Gn 17[10-14] 34[14ff.], Ex 12[48], all militate against such a hypothesis.

(ι) *To increase sexual pleasure.*—While Philo ('de Circumcisione,' in *Opera*, ed. Mangey, ii. 210) and Maimonides (*More Nebuchim*, xlix. 391 f.) maintained that the object of circumcision was to check lust, Burton (*Mem. of the Anthropolog. Soc.* i. 318) put forth the theory that 'removal of the prepuce blunts the sensitiveness of the *glans penis* and protracts the act of Venus.' This remarkable explanation can scarcely be taken seriously (for a much more plausible reverse reason, to discourage onanism, see above, (*a*)), though it was alleged by a native to be the reason for the semi-*ariltha* practised along the north-west coast of Australia (Miklucho-Maclay, *ZE*, 1880, p. 87). While the general attitude of Australians toward their women is scarcely such as to make this tender consideration of their feelings probable, such may, nevertheless, be a partial motive in regions where greater refinement (or perhaps degeneracy) exists. This is, according to Ploss (*Das Weib*[9], i. 569 f.), the reason for the pinching off of a part of the prepuce in the Aarau Archipelago and in Seranglao (cf. above, (*b*)).

With this Ploss compares the Dayak usage of piercing the *glans* with a silver needle, and, after the wound heals, of inserting in it small rods of brass, ivory, silver, or bamboo, the silver rods sometimes being perforated at both ends for little bundles of bristles. In similar fashion, the Alfurese of North Celebes, the Battas of Sumatra, the Javanese, the Chinese, and the Sudanese often bind various substances on the *corona* to increase the size of the penis, and so to augment its friction in the vagina; while like practices are also recorded for India (Schmidt, *Beiträge zur ind. Erotik*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 937 f.).

(κ) *Connected with belief in re-incarnation.*—On the basis of the Australian Unmatjera tradition recorded above ((*c*), *sub fin.*), Frazer ('Origin of Circumcision,' in *Independent Rev.* iv. 204–218) has put forth a theory which may offer a partial explanation of the rite, at least for Australia, though the present writer is not convinced that it is wholly satisfactory.

'If,' writes Frazer, 'as seems highly probable, such a custom as that recorded by the tradition ever prevailed, its intention could hardly be any other than that of securing the future birth and re-incarnation of the owner of the foreskin when he should have died and his spirit returned to its abode in the tree. . . . It might well be thought that a man's new birth would be facilitated, if in his lifetime he could lay up a stock of vital energy for the use of his disembodied spirit after death. That he did, apparently, by detaching a vital portion of himself, namely, the foreskin, and depositing it in his *nanja* tree or rock, or whatever it might be' (211 f.). In *ariltha* (see below, ν), likewise, 'this strengthening and fertilizing virtue of the blood was applied, like the foreskin at circumcision, to lay up a store of energy in the *nanja* spot, against the time when the man's feeble ghost would need it. . . . That portion, whether the foreskin or the blood, was, in a manner, seed sown in order to grow up and provide his immortal spirit with a new body when his old body had mouldered in the dust . . . the removal of a vital part of the person which shall serve as a link between two successive incarnations, by preparing for the novice a new body to house his spirit when its present tabernacle shall have been worn out' (214). In this connexion Frazer calls attention to Ezk 32[19. 21.24ff.] (cf. also Ezk 28[10] 31[18]), although these passages do not necessarily imply that the uncircumcised were debarred from resurrection, while the circumcised might again come to life (for folk-tales of the 'renewal of life in the dismembered dead' type, see *CF*, ch. iv.).

(λ) *Mark of subjection.*—The idea of Herbert Spencer (cited by Jacobs, *JE* iv. 98), that circumcision 'was a mark of subjection introduced by conquering warriors to supersede the punishment of death,' hardly deserves mention, much less discussion.

(μ) *Initiation.*—In by far the great majority of cases circumcision is, as the examples collected above imply, and as Jacobs (*op. cit.*) concludes, initiatory in character. In this way the theories that it is a preparation for sexual life, an effort to avert sexual peril, a test of endurance, and a tribal mark (above, β, γ, δ, ε) are all seen to be part truths, since all these factors, and more besides, are necessary for the complete life of manhood. It is, then, but natural that the rite should normally be performed about the age of puberty. At the same time, since the rite must be performed some time, it appears that, for various reasons (chiefly, perhaps, the realization that circumcision becomes more painful, and even more dangerous, the longer it is postponed), the operation frequently takes place long before puberty, and even, as among the Hebrews, Wazegua, Ovaherero, and others (for examples, see above, (*i*)), in tender infancy (for another explanation of early circumcision, see above, (*b*)). It is, as Andree (*op. cit.* p. 75) rightly says, 'most usually a socio-political act, performed at the age of puberty' (on the religious problems involved, see below, ξ).

(ν) *Ariltha.*—This operation, often called 'artificial hypospadias,' has already been described (above, (*b*)), as has Frazer's explanation of it (above, κ). It was formerly held, largely on the authority of Miklucho-Maclay (cf. Ploss, *Das Kind*[2], i. 358 f., ii. 422 f.), that the object of this operation was Malthusian, since the ejection of semen, taking place immediately in front of the scrotum, was alleged not to enter the vagina, so that the few men unoperated on were believed to procreate the entire offspring of the tribe. These conclusions are now known to be wrong.

In the first place, 'the natives, one and all in these tribes, believe that the child is the direct result of the entrance into the mother of an ancestral spirit individual. They have no idea of procreation as being directly associated with sexual intercourse [see art. Chastity, p. 479b], and firmly believe that children can be born without this taking place' (Spencer-Gillen b, p. 330). In the second place, the Australian mode of coitus (Roth, *op. cit.* p. 179), in which the man squats on his haunches, drawing the supine woman toward him, does secure the discharge of the semen into its natural receptacle.

It may perhaps be hesitatingly suggested, in lack of any better explanation, that the operation is designed to make the male genitals resemble the female, the opened *meatus* answering to the *rima pudendorum*, the flaps of *corpus spongiosum* to the *labia*, etc., while micturition is performed of necessity in the female position. This explanation is the reverse of that suggested by Roth (see below, 3 (*l*), ε), and bears a certain amount of analogy with the 'effeminates' of many American Indian tribes, who, after suffering atrophy of the genitals through excessive masturbation, etc., dress as women, and conduct themselves as such (cf. Waitz, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, iii. 113, 383; Fewkes, in *25 RBEW*, 1907, p. 31; *NR*, *passim*; Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 210 f). At the same time, analogous operations performed in Fiji, at various ages, and sometimes repeatedly on the same individual, are declared to be strictly therapeutic in intention (de Marzan, *Anthropos* v. 808 f.).

(ξ) *Conclusion.*—A survey of circumcision as a whole leads the present writer, at least, to conclude that there is no one cause that will satisfactorily account for every phase of the rite. One argument, and only one, of those cited above may be ruled out at once as worthless—the idea that circumcision was a mark of subjection (λ). Two others, that it was a mark of social distinction (θ), and that it was designed to increase sexual pleasure (ι), may explain a very few instances. The plea that it was hygienic (*a*) can, even if found empirically to be true, scarcely have been the original motive—the Egyptians, in their report to Herodotus, were too civilized to serve as credible narrators of primitive usage, even if they were not giving a rational-

istic interpretation which would commend itself to a foreign traveller (and the same thing may possibly hold of the Samoans). The hypothesis that reincarnation was aided by circumcision (κ) explains one curious tradition, and is not without analogous ideas elsewhere; but that it accounts for the rite as a whole seems very doubtful. The theory of sacrifice (ζ), from which may have developed that of sanctification of the reproductive powers and their tabu (η), even as the concepts of preparation for sexual life, obviation of sexual danger, endurance tests, and tribal marks (β, γ, δ, ε) are apparently combined in initiation (μ), has undoubtedly been a factor, if not *the* factor, among some peoples. And among the Hebrews the rite may have had the meaning of the sanctification of the reproductive organs to Jahweh, 'He who causes to be' (on the etymology of יהוה, cf. Barton, *op. cit.* pp. 282–285; see also Kittel, in *PRE*[3] viii. 533 ff., and the literature cited in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 218), as well as of initiation into the Hebrew community (cf. Gn 17[10ff.], Ex 12[48], and perhaps Gn 34[14ff.], though the last passage might be explained, on a strained hypothesis, as a ruse of the sons of Jacob to get the Shechemites into their power). From this point of view, the Hebrews would have had the most perfect idea of circumcision, as including both the great sources—sanctification of the sexual organs, and initiation.

It is even possible that, despite the variety of motives to which reference has already been made, all kinds of circumcision are ultimately reducible, not to two causes (sacrifice or sanctification of the reproductive faculties and initiation), but to one, sacrifice; since initiation, with its accompanying austerities, may conceivably be regarded as itself a sacrifice to the tribal deity to gain admission to the people whom he protects.

Is circumcision a religious rite? This is denied, except in sporadic instances, by Andree (*op. cit.* p. 75), and attention has already been called (above, (*h*)) to the extreme rarity of specifically religious rites in connexion with circumcision. Much depends, of course, on one's definition of religion; but, in view of the fact that among most primitive peoples religion is practically co-extensive with life, and still more in consideration of the ceremonies, such as feasts and the like, connected with the performance of the rite, the present writer strongly feels that in its inception, and late into its development, circumcision was essentially religious. This is self-evident among those peoples where circumcision is regarded either as a sacrifice or as sanctification of the genital organs (above, ζ, η). The religious explanation also seems to hold good if circumcision is considered as preparation for sexual life, as obviation of the perils connected with sexual union, or as initiation in general (above, β, γ, μ)—the three reasons for which, ostensibly at least, it is most generally performed. For to the primitive mind all matters connected with the reproductive functions and with their operations and results are essentially connected with religion, as Crawley has shown in his *Mystic Rose*; and all rites of initiation are likewise primarily religious (see INITIATION). If, as tentatively suggested above, even initiation is ultimately to be traced back to sacrifice, the religious origin of circumcision would be beyond question. Despite the lack of rites specifically declared to be religious in the majority of cases of circumcision, therefore, its origin seems to the present writer to be, under any hypothesis, religious; while survivals of primitive religious concepts are preserved even among peoples to whom the religious aspects of circumcision have become more or less blurred.

If it is difficult, and perhaps over-subtle in consideration of the mental equipment of primitive man, to deduce all circumcision from any single cause, it is impossible to derive it from any one centre. The attempt was, indeed, made by R. Hartmann (*Völker Afrika's*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 178), who held that circumcision originated in Africa, whence it spread, through the Egyptians, to the Semites and to Asia. Borrowing is, of course, found among some peoples (see above, pp. 661, 664), and may well have been more prevalent than is generally known (that the Africans have been widely influenced in this respect by Muhammadanism is obvious); yet the possibility of independent origin and of various reasons must also be reckoned with. That such independent development actually took place is proved beyond all doubt by the existence of circumcision in America and Australia, where no sane person would allege African influence.

3. *FEMALE CIRCUMCISION*.—(*a*) **Geography.**—The operation of female circumcision is, or was, practised in ancient Egypt; in Muhammadan Africa by the Gallas, Abyssinians, Waboni, Wassania, Wanika, Agow, Galfat, Gonga, Sarakolese, and the natives of Kordofan (Nubia), Balad-Sudan, and Sennaar and the surrounding districts; in non-Muhammadan Africa by the Susu, Mandingo, Peuhls, Masai, Wakwafi, some Bechuanas, and the natives of Bambuk, Sierra Leone, Benin, Akkra, Old Calabar, and Loango; in Asia by the Arabs (both ancient and modern), and the Kamchatkans; by the Malays of the East Indian Archipelago, and in almost all the islands of the Alfurese Archipelago; in America by the Totonacs (eastern Mexico), Chuncho, Pano, and Tunka (Peru), Tecuna (on the upper Solimoes, in western Brazil), and all the tribes on the Ucayale (north-eastern Peru); and in Australia by all tribes from the Urabunna in the south through the continent to the western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. To these must be added one sporadic occurrence in Europe—its adoption by the heretical Russian sect of Skoptzy ('circumcisers').

The practice of 'infibulation' (see next paragraph) has an even narrower range, being mainly restricted to north-eastern Africa, where it occurs among the Beja, Galla, Somali, Massaua, Sudanese, southern Nubians, and Danakil, as well as in part of Kordofan and in Sennaar. Outside Africa it is recorded among the Muhammadan Malays and the ancient Arabs; and it has been alleged to have been practised in Pegu in India, though this seems more than doubtful.

(*b*) **Varieties.**—The Totonacs of eastern Mexico merely made a simple gash in the *pudenda* with a silex knife; and the Abyssinians perform clitoridectomy with a stone. The normal operation, as now practised in Egypt, is, however, more elaborate, as is shown in the following description, quoted by Ploss (*Das Weib*[9], i. 265) from Duhousset:

'La circoncision consiste seulement dans l'enlèvement du clitoris, et se pratique de la manière suivante sur les filles de neuf à douze ans. L'opérateur, qui est le plus souvent un barbier, se sert de ses doigts trempés dans le cendre pour saisir le clitoris, qu'il étire à plusieurs reprises d'arrière en avant, afin de trancher d'un seul coup de rasoir, lorsqu'il présente un simple filet de peau. La plaie est recouverte de cendre pour arrêter le sang, et se cicatrise après un repos complet de quelques jours. J'ai vu plus tard, de l'aveu même des opérateurs, le peu de soin qu'on apportait à circoncire les filles dans les limites religieuses de l'opération, qu'on pratique plus largement en saisissant les nymphes à la hauteur du clitoris, et les coupant presque à leur naissance, à la face interne des grandes lèvres, dont les replis muqueux, qui nous occupent, sont pour ainsi dire la doublure, cachant les organes reproducteurs; ce qui reste des petites lèvres forme, par la cicatrisation des paroirs lisses, s'indurant et se rétrécissant, une vulve béante, d'un aspect singulier chez les Fellas circoncises.'

A further development of circumcision is found in the Australian custom of female introcision, or cutting open of the vagina. This is practised only among those tribes which also perform *ariltha*, or

sub-incision, of males (see above, 2 (*b*)). Here, as among the Pitta-Pitta and neighbouring tribes, a girl, on reaching the age of puberty, has her vaginal orifice enlarged 'by tearing it downwards with the first three fingers wound round and round with opossum-string'; while among the Ulaolinya and around Glenormiston an old man slits up a portion of the girl's *perinæum* with a stone knife, after which he sweeps three fingers round inside the vaginal orifice (Roth, *op. cit.* p. 174). This operation is immediately followed by compulsory intercourse of the unfortunate girl with a number of young men, while the resultant bloody semen is collected and drunk by feeble, sick, and aged men of the tribe as being strength-giving (cf. above, 2 (*c*)).

With female circumcision must also be considered the characteristically African operation of 'infibulation,' or uniting (either by simple union or by suture) the *labia* just after circumcision has been performed, only a small aperture being left for the discharge of urine and menstrual blood. At marriage the vulva is forcibly re-opened, additional laceration often becoming necessary at parturition; but in many cases the infibulation is repeated time after time, as when the husband is going on a journey.

(*c*) **Disposal of the ablated parts.**—On this only scant information is accessible. In Java the parts ablated are wrapped in cotton with a bit of curcuma and buried under a horse-radish tree (*Moringa pterygosperma*; should the Unmatjera custom of hiding the ablated prepuce in a *nanja* tree [above, 2 (*c*)] be compared in this connexion?). The drinking of the blood, etc., produced by the operation of introcision among the Australian Ulaolinya and around Glenormiston has already been discussed in the preceding paragraph.

(*d*) **Instruments employed.**—The usual instrument used in female circumcision is a razor or other steel or iron cutting-tool; but among the Totonacs, Abyssinians, and Ulaolinya, as noted above (*b*), the more primitive stone knife is employed.

(*e*) **Who are circumcised.**—Wherever the rite of female circumcision is practised, it seems to be performed on all the women of the tribe concerned; at least there is no certain record of its being confined to special classes, as occasionally occurs in the analogous usage of male circumcision (above, 2 (*f*)).

(*f*) **Who circumcise.**—Though one would naturally expect that female circumcision would be performed by women only, just as male circumcision is almost invariably performed by men (above, 2 (*g*)), this is not always the case. The priest was the operator among the Totonacs, as is the fetish-doctor in Loanda, while the barber officiates in modern Egypt. Among the Australians male operators are especially common. Thus, among the northern Arunta, the Ilpirra, and the Illiaura, circumcision is performed on girls by the mother's mother's brother; among the Warramunga, by the father's sister's son; among the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara, by the husband's father; among the Gnanji, by the mother's father; and by some old man among the Ulaolinya and around Glenormiston.

In the majority of cases, however, female circumcision is performed by a woman. Thus the wife of the priest operates in Seranglao and Gorong, as does the wife of the blacksmith among the Wolof and Sarakolese, and in Kita (French Sudan; cf. the smith as the circumciser of boys in the same districts, above, 2 (*g*)). Women professionally trained are employed by the Arabs; old women who ordinarily gain a livelihood as jugglers perform the operation among the Diakite Sarakolese; and it also falls within the province of old women among the African Masai, Wanika, Wakikuyu, and Wakamba, the Malayan population of the Alfurese Archipelago, and the Peruvian Chuncho. Among the Australians the rite appears to be performed but seldom by women, though among the Kaitish the operator is the elder sister.

(*g*) **Where performed, and in whose presence.**—Like the corresponding male rite, female circumcision is almost invariably performed in a secluded place, and the opposite sex is almost universally excluded. Only among the Australian Warramunga does this rule seem to be violated. There female circumcision is performed in the presence of all the men and women in the camp, except those who stand to the girl operated on in the relation of husband's mother and husband's mother's brother.

(*h*) **Age when female circumcision is performed.**—The same variations as to the age at which female circumcision is performed prevail as are found in the case of the rite on males (see above, 2 (*i*)). The table of the principal peoples is as follows:

8 days after birth: Abyssinians.
Soon after birth: Totonacs (eastern Mexico), Peubls (western Africa).
2 weeks after birth: Sarakolese.
A few weeks after birth: modern Arabs.
3–4 years: Somali.
3–10 years: Copts.
6–7 years: Malays, Javanese, etc.
6–8 years: Warangi.
7–8 years: modern Egypt.
7–10 years: Seranglao, Gorong.
8 years: Galla, Agow, Dongola (Kordofan).
9–10 years: Upper Egypt, Sulanese.
9–15 years: Celebes (Holontala, Bone, Boalemo, Kattinggola).
10 years: Chuncho (Peru).
10–12 years: Malinke and Bambarra (Manding district of French Sudan).
Before puberty: Mara (Australia).
14 years: Bamangwato (Bechuana stock), ancient Egypt.
14–15 years: Australia generally.
Puberty: Alfurese Archipelago, African Wakamba, Wanika Wajagga, Wakikuyu, Mandingo, Matkisse (Bechuana stock), Kafirs, Old Calabar.
8 days before marriage: Loanda.
Soon after marriage: Masai, Wakwafi.
Even after bearing children: Guinea, Swahili.

The principal ages for the operation of infibulation are as follows:

3 years: Sennaar, southern Nubia, Danakil.
6 years: Sudanese.
7 years: Harrar.
8 years: Muhammadan Malays, part of Kordofan.
8–9 years: Massaua.
8–10 years: Beja, Galla, Somali.

Female circumcision, like the male operation, is frequently performed *en masse*, as among the Mandingo, Bechuana, Amaxosa, Masai, Wanika, Wakikuya, and Wolof, as well as in Guinea and in Kita.

(*i*) **Effect on legal and social status.**—The legal and social effects of female circumcision are closely analogous to those resulting from the male operation (see above, 2 (*j*)). Not until the performance of the rite is the girl received among women (Chuncho of Peru); previous to it the Amaxosa regard a girl as unclean, and only after it do they and the Bechuana consider her mature. Accordingly, among the Masai and Wakwafi an uncircumcised woman cannot enter society, nor can she marry among the Basuto, Malinke, Bambarra, or Sulanese. Indeed, in the Sansanding States on the Niger it is believed that marriage would bring misfortune to an uncircumcised woman. Among the Gallina of Sierra Leone a girl at her circumcision receives the name which she is to bear for the remainder of her life; and only after the rite has been performed do those Muhammadans who observe it permit a woman to enter a mosque. Not until circumcision had been performed could a girl in ancient Egypt either marry or inherit property, and in Old Calabar lack of circumcision

in either sex constitutes ground for divorce. Among the Abyssinians 'uncircumcised' is a dire insult to apply to a woman, while 'uncircumcised woman' or 'son of an uncircumcised woman' bears a similar connotation among the Arabs.

(*j*) **In connexion with other initiation rites.**—A number of peoples combine female circumcision with other rites, such as feasts, etc., some of which imply that the whole ceremony is considered an initiation into maturity. Among the Bamangwato, girls at their circumcision are permitted to flog with thorns the boys of their own age, the latter being considered men only if they take this treatment cheerfully. Among certain Guinea negroes the three or four moons following circumcision were spent by the girls concerned in learning dances, songs, etc.; and in Senegambia the event was celebrated by a special feast.

(*k*) **Opposition to female circumcision.**—This has become a practical problem only in connexion with the Roman Catholic missions to Abyssinia in the 16th century. Deeming the rite a survival of paganism, the missionaries forbade it among their female converts, with the unexpected result that no Abyssinian would marry them. In this dilemma the missionaries were constrained to permit the continuance of the practice, after a surgeon sent to Abyssinia by the College of the Propaganda had formally declared the operation to be surgically necessary (Ploss, *Das Kind*[2], i. 380).

(*l*) **Origin and motives of female circumcision.**—(*a*) *Native reasons.*—These are far more abundant than in the case of male circumcision (see above, 2 (*m*)). Some are very general in scope, simply implying that the girl is no longer immature, but has attained years of responsibility. Thus the South American Pano consider a circumcised woman more capable and skilful in discharging her everyday duties. As a rule, however, the reasons alleged for the practice are connected with sex-functions. The Mandingo regard it as 'useful' and as promoting fertility; in Old Calabar it is performed as preparatory to marriage; and in the Alfurese Archipelago its object (as apparently also among the African Sarakolese) is to check sexual desire, especially before marriage. The Masai think that, if an uncircumcised woman should give birth to a child, both mother and infant would die; and the Swahili perform the operation in cases when all the children of an uncircumcised woman die, since it is believed that those subsequently born will live. Elsewhere the same peoples seem to have divergent reasons for the rite, as in Old Calabar and on the Cross River, where some alleged that circumcision was performed to promote chastity, while others said that it was done to avert a sort of mania from which women had previously often suffered (hysteria from unsatisfied sexual desire. —[E. M. L.]).

(*β*) *To check sexual desire.*—This reason, which is frequently alleged by primitive peoples themselves (see preceding paragraph), has been a ground for the operation, until recent times, in modern surgery (see above, 1 (*b*)), the clitoris especially, as corresponding in the female to the male penis, having been regarded as the centre of sexual excitement. This cause is assigned, for example, by Brehm and Russegger, and is by no means without justification.[1]

(*γ*) *To remove hypertrophy.*—In view of the hypertrophic development of the clitoris and *labia* among many peoples, whether congenital (as among the Egyptians, Abyssinians, Galla, Agow, Gaffat, and Gonga) or acquired through excessive onanism and sexual indulgence (as among the Malays), circumcision is sometimes performed by primitive peoples, as it may be in modern surgery. This hypertrophy may, to some, cause invincible disgust (as among the Abyssinians [see preceding section]); or the abnormal size of the clitoris may, as alleged by Bruce for Abyssinia, actually hinder sexual congress.

(*δ*) *Preparation for sexual life.*—This was the reason not only in ancient Egypt, but also in Old Calabar, and to this motive the desire to remove all hypertrophy of the female genitals (see preceding paragraph) must be considered subsidiary.

(*ε*) *Introcision.*—This operation, which, as noted above (*b*), occurs only in Australia, is obviously preparatory to marriage. Since it is performed only where *ariltha* is practised, it may perhaps be suggested that its purpose is to provide space for the sub-incised penis, which, when in a state of erection, flares out on either side of the *meatus*, while, the semen being discharged immediately in front of the scrotum, a larger orifice must be afforded if it is to enter the vagina.

This explanation seems to the present writer somewhat more probable than that of Roth (*op. cit.* p. 180), who suggests that the female rite of introcision was prior to *ariltha*, and that, as denoting fitness for, or experience of, copulation, it was later transferred analogously to the male. This theory is, however, opposed to all other phenomena connected with circumcision, since in every case the male rite evidently was first developed, the female practice being evolved by analogy, as would seem to be shown, not only by general probability, but by its far narrower range.

(*ζ*) *Infibulation.*—The meaning of this practice is obvious. It is designed simply and solely to prevent any sexual intercourse until the proper time for it arrives. It is for this reason that the Russian Skoptzy, to ensure perpetual virginity, perform the rite with particular sternness, sometimes ablating even the upper part of the *labia majora*, alleging, like Origen, Mt 19[12] as their Scriptural authority.

The name of the practice, which, however, but ill describes it, is borrowed from the Roman custom of fastening a *fibula*, or clasp, through the prepuce in front of the *glans* to prevent sexual intercourse, etc. (cf. Celsus, VII. xxv. 3; Martial, VII. lxxxii. 1, XI. lxxv. 8; Juvenal, vi. 73, 378; Tertull. *Corona Mil.* xi., *de Pudic.* xvi.).

(*η*) *Conclusion.*—In a sense, female circumcision, like its male counterpart (see above, 2 (*m*), ξ), may be regarded as initiatory; at least it is almost invariably sexual in design. It is, indeed, connected in a few instances with *quasi*-religious observances (see above, (*j*)), but even these scarcely militate against its general character. That it evolved much later than male circumcision there seems no reason to doubt; it is but a pale and limited reflex of male circumcision; and Crawley (*op. cit.* pp. 138, 309) is doubtless right in tracing it to the same origin as the analogous operation on the male.

Like male circumcision, again, female circumcision can be traced to no one centre, but evolved independently in Africa, Australia, and America.

LITERATURE.—Comparatively little of the large literature on circumcision is available for ethnological consideration, most of it being concerned either with the surgical or the Hebrew aspects, and no small amount being superficial defences of wild and morbid theories. A considerable quantity of the older material is collected in Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1860-77, i.[2] 121 f., ii. 111 f., 251, 390, vi. 28, 40 f., 560 f., 783 f.; and newer sources are furnished by accounts of travels and by such periodicals as *JAI*, *Anthropos*, etc. Among older works mention may be made of Salomon, *Die Beschneidung*, Brunswick, 1844, pp. 1-43; while Redmondino, *Hist. of Circumcision*, London, 1891, is a typical treatise to be shunned. By far the best studies are by H. Ploss, *Das Kind*[2], Leipzig, 1884, i. 342-394, ii. 423 f., 437 f., 440, 442-445; Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*[9], Leipzig, 1908, i. 261-277, 569; R. Andree, 'Die Beschneidung,' in *AA* [1880] xiii. 53-78; Spencer-Gillen[a], ch. vii.; Spencer-Gillen[b], ch. xi.; W. E. Roth, *Ethnolog. Stud. among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane, 1897, p. 170 ff.; Wilken, 'Besnijdenis bij de volken van den ind. archipel.,' in *Bydragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*

[1] This, in my opinion, is the principal reason for female circumcision among all savages. Woman's condition being generally that of a slave or beast of burden, the male wished absolutely to control cohabitation, and, realizing that women at certain times instinctively desired the approach of the male, acted accordingly with the desire of limiting the excitability of the clitoris.—[E. M. L.]

van Nederlandsch Indië, 1885. A considerable bibliography, especially from the surgical point of view, is given by Tomès, *Della Circumcisione*, Florence, 1895, pp. 67–71, and in *Index Catalogue of the Surgeon-Major's Library*, Washington, 1st and 2nd ser., *s.v.* 'Circumcision (ritual).' The special thanks of the present writer are due to his friend and physician, Ernest M. Lyon, M.D., of Newark, N.J., for kind assistance in regard to the medical portions of the present art.; his notes are indicated by the initials E. M. L. LOUIS H. GRAY.

CIRCUMCISION (American).—A mutilation analogous to circumcision was practised by some American tribes, either (1) as a symbolical sacrifice of sexuality and type of the surrender of the desires to the religious sentiments; or (2) as a partial sacrifice, symbolical of the sacrifice of the whole body, to a certain deity, which at the same time bound the individual to the god and to his tribal associates by a blood bond. Partial sacrifice was, indeed, common to nearly all the American tribes in one form or another, the Mexicans, Mayas, and Peruvians regarding it as an almost daily usage. Blood was drawn from the ears, nose, and other parts, chiefly for the purpose of smearing idols and small household deities, like the *tepitoton* of Mexico and the *conopa* of Peru. Gumilla noticed the rite of circumcision or an analogous practice among the tribes of the Orinoco, and Coreal asserts that the Nicaraguans and Yucatecans performed it, but whether as a personal or tribal sacrifice is not clear. Garcia states that the Guaycurus practised it, probably as a tribal custom to bring them more nearly into touch with some deity. Modern notices concerning circumcision are rare, although Mackenzie states (*Voyages*, p. 27) that the Hares and Dogribs (Athapascan tribes) possessed the rite as a tribal bond; but, as little is known of the mythology of the northern division of that family, the statement stands without later verification. In Mexico, among the Aztec priesthood, complete abscission or discerption of the virile parts was performed by some classes as a sacrifice of sexuality, and certain sects of nuns were mutilated in a similar manner. The latter practice had probably a remarkable origin. With the Mexicans, the god of fire, whose name was Huehueteotl, was supposed to govern the passions, and it was thought that therefore the undying fire sacred to him must be watched by unspotted virgins. Among the Mayas the sacred fire was regarded as a personification or deification of the generative faculties, and a poem translated from the Mayan immediately after the Conquest, and quoted by Count de Waldeck (*Voyage pittoresque dans le Yucatan*, 1838, p. 49), throws some light on the subject. It is supposed to proceed from the lover of one of the vestals, and refers to the mystical meaning of her office:

> 'O vièrge, quand pourrai-je te possèder pour ma compagne chérie?
> Combien de temps faut-il encore que tes vœux soient accomplis?
> Dis-moi le jour qui doit devancer la belle nuit où tous deux
> Alimenterons le feu qui nous fit naitre et que nous devons perpétuer.'

The knowledge that certain of the Indian tribes practised mutilation was made use of by numerous writers, along with other facts, in the attempt to prove that the American Indians were the lost ten tribes of Israel. But, as no exact knowledge of how the rite was or is performed is at hand, it is impossible to say in what way it is analogous to the Jewish custom. Such resemblances are based upon pure speculation, and have chiefly found their protagonists in those pseudo-scientific works which from time to time appear on alleged ethnological affinities.

There can be no doubt that, as elsewhere, circumcision in most parts of America was evolved from and regarded as a substitute for human sacrifice. In Mexico, where human sacrifice was never abandoned, sacrifice of a part of the body was known. In Peru, partial sacrifice had almost taken the place of full sacrifice, and blood was drawn from the noses of children only. At some festivals the blood of children was mixed with dough, eaten, and the dough rubbed against the door-posts of the houses, much in the same manner as the blood of lambs was splashed upon the door-posts of the Jews at the Feast of the Passover. Thus the evolution of the sacrifice of the part for the whole is evident in America as elsewhere.

LITERATURE.—B. Sahagun, *Hist. General de las cosas de Nueva España*, Mexico, 1829; Davilla Padilla, *Hist. de la Prov. de Santiago de Mexico*, Brussels, 1625, lib. ii. cap. 88; A. Mackenzie, *Voyages*, London, 1801, vol. i.; P. J. Gumilla, *El Orinoco illustrado y defendido*, Madrid, 1745; F. G. Garcia, *Origen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, 1729; L. Spence, *The Mythologies of Ancient Mexico and Peru*, London, 1907.; H. Ploss, *Das Kind*², Leipzig, 1884, i. 356 f., 377, 385; R. Andree, *AA* xiii. (1881) 72–74; H. H. Bancroft, *NR* i. 666, ii. 278 f., 679, iii. 439 f. LEWIS SPENCE.

CIRCUMCISION (Egyptian).—**1. Introduction.**—The question of circumcision in Egypt has always been one of great interest, since it involves three questions of a general type. First, there is the investigation as to whether, as has been affirmed at various times, it can explain, by a historical connexion, circumcision as practised by the Israelites. In the second place, it may, if carefully studied in its general bearings and in its details, help to elucidate the question of the Libyan, Asiatic, or Bantu origin of the primitive civilization of Egypt—a question much debated and still very obscure. Finally, from the more general view-point of the history of religion, we may allow that the great antiquity and long life of Egypt make Egyptian circumcision a good means of solving the problem of the original source and signification of this usage that is witnessed to in so many religious civilizations. Very little, however, was known with regard to this custom in Egypt before the rise of Egyptology in 1860; a great mass of new information was recovered between 1860 and 1900; while very important new documentary evidence has been discovered between 1900 and 1910, which enables us, up to a certain point, to get a comprehensive view of the whole subject.

2. Documentary evidence.—The documentary evidence, properly so called, is of the most varied kinds: (1) scenes representing the actual operation; (2) frescoes and bas-reliefs showing nude figures circumcised; (3) statues of the same; (4) Egyptian texts of the classical period understood to refer to circumcision, from a religious or historical point of view; (5) papyrus-texts of the Roman epoch relating to the practice of circumcision; (6) evidence of classical authors; (7) the mummies of kings, chief priests, and a great number of Egyptians of noble rank or affluent condition.

But we must avoid being deluded in actual practice by this enumeration. The variety of sources of information would appear to be an excellent basis for scientific study, but two facts detract greatly from their value: (1) Several of these classes of evidence reduce to a very small number of examples, either because we do not know any more about them at present (as in the case of the scenes of circumcision and the statues), or because the whole material at our disposal has not yet undergone methodical study (as in the case of the mummies). (2) Even in an apparently well-supported series, investigation leads us either to eliminate much of the information as of doubtful value (as in the case of most Egyptian texts of the Pharaonic period), or to draw conclusions that appear at first sight absolutely opposed to each other. Further, even supposing we are so far agreed to-day as to the antiquity of this practice, the phases of the actual operation, and, to a certain extent, the age at which it was carried out, still the two most important points are not settled: (*a*) Was circumcision general in Egypt, or was it confined to certain classes? was it obligatory or optional in some cases, and in what cases, specially and in detail? (*b*) Can we, consequently, define the

origin of circumcision, its nature, and its religious and social significance?

This practical inadequacy and the conflicting evidence of the documents have resulted in very contrary opinions; and the recent publications called forth by the discovery of the Roman papyri show that disagreement persists. At a time when Egyptology had only the evidence of the classics and a few Egyptian monuments at its disposal, Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs*, i. 183, iii. 385) gave it as his opinion that circumcision was of great antiquity in Egypt; he proved this from the evidence of the ancient writers and his personal observations, and established very valuable analogies with the African world; but he did not think circumcision had been compulsory, except for priests and initiates (i. 183, iii. 385). It sprang, in his opinion, from motives of ceremonial purity, and only later became a distinguishing mark of the orthodox Egyptian as opposed to the outsider (*ib.* i. 183). Considering their date and the absence of documents discovered since, these views are remarkable. After Wilkinson, the predominating opinion seems to have been that circumcision was not of much importance in Egypt from a religious point of view. Manuals and dictionaries of Egyptology (Pierret, Brodrick, etc.) passed it in silence, or only mentioned its existence—proved by Chabas' bas-reliefs, classical texts, and mummies—without entering upon any discussion of the essential problems. The same silence is preserved in most histories of Egypt (Brugsch, Maspero, Petrie), which confine themselves to quoting the known evidence. Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 33) remarks in addition that, 'had the Egyptians also regarded it [circumcision] as a divine institution, they would have mentioned it more frequently'; and Bénédite seems to be of the same opinion (*Grande Encyclopédie*, xi. 433).

Quite recently, Naville (in *Sphinx*, xiii. [1909] 253) goes a step further, contesting both the generality of this practice and its religious importance, by showing the scarcity and uncertainty of the texts, the paucity of the figures, and the lack of convincing results from the examination of the mummies. Wiedemann (in *OLZ*; see Lit.) appears to be the most determined denier of the importance of circumcision in Egypt. He has submitted all the sources of information to a severe but very short analysis, arriving at entirely negative conclusions: circumcision was never general, its frequency varied, it had no absolute religious value, it was not a privilege reserved to certain classes, and it was not even compulsory for the priests. Wilcken, on the other hand (see Lit.), holds that circumcision was practised by the whole people; and his opinion, based on the papyri of the Roman period, is corroborated by that of Bissing, which is founded on the Egyptian evidence proper, and the works of Wendland on Græco-Roman sources (*Sphinx*, vi. 158, xii. 29). This view seems also to be held by Elliot Smith (see Lit.), at least for the classes of society that practised mummification. Reitzenstein, following the same papyri of the Roman period, restricts circumcision to the priest-class. All these disagreements of the chief authors who have discussed the question are reproduced in other Egyptological works.

3. Representations and phases of circumcision.—We may hazard an attempt at reconciling these most divergent opinions. The best method is not to discuss the theories themselves, but to take the evidence and class it in categories, eliminating all doubtful elements. The starting-point of this investigation must naturally be the actual existence of circumcision in Egypt, as proved both by the classics and by the monuments of the Egyptians (statues and figures of circumcised men, and mummies of circumcised people). This fact settled, we must next see whether we can, in addition, establish anything concerning the manner in which the actual operation was performed, where it took place, under what conditions, and at what age. These elements will serve as a means of approach to the more important problems: the general or restricted character of this practice, and its possible meaning and origin.

The silence of Herodotus and Strabo on the actual details is fortunately compensated for by the two representations left by the Egyptians, though certain secondary details in these are at variance. The first is a bas-relief in the Theban temple of Khonsu (XXIst dyn.). Reproduced for the first time by Chabas in 1861 (see Lit.) and mentioned in all works thereafter, it created a great sensation on its publication, and was for many years the only specimen of its kind (cf. Maspero, *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, p. 68). A second representation was discovered by Loret at Saqqarah (1899), and was briefly commented on by Bissing (1902). The discovery at Saqqarah of an authentic representation of circumcision, dating from the VIth dyn., was at first met with doubts as to the actual existence of such evidence (cf. Wiedemann, *OLZ* vi. [1903], and Naville, *Sphinx*, xii. 253); but these doubts were dispelled by the evidence provided, in 1904 and 1907, by the reproductions and commentaries of Max Müller and Capart (see Lit.). The scene completes that of Karnak and, besides being more ancient, is also more detailed and precise, supplemented as it is by short hieroglyphic annotations.

The operation seems to have comprised two essential parts—the circumcision itself and a dressing. Only the first part is represented in the Theban bas-relief. The child is placed before the operator, and its arms are securely held by an assistant (a woman at Karnak, a man at Saqqarah; at Karnak the hands are held behind the back, at Saqqarah they are brought in front of the patient's eyes). There is no written explanation at Karnak; that of Saqqarah is important. Short though it is, it follows the custom of the period by being divided into three sections—the title of the scene, words spoken by the principal actor, and the 'response' of the assistant, meant in these scenes to assure the magic success of the actions represented by euonymous words. The title is *sobit*, 'circumcision'—a fact which for ever establishes this technical term for ancient Egyptian, and proves its connexion with the Coptic word *σωβ*, *σєβι*. The operator says, 'Hold him, that he may not faint away,' and the assistant replies in the usual formula, 'Do your best.' Leaving out of account the age of the child (see below), and considering only the operation itself, we see that the operator knelt to his task, and held the organ in his left hand while he operated with his right. The instrument itself is a sort of small blade pointed like a stiletto, in the Karnak bas-relief; and oval in shape with a medial line (an indication of relief [?]), in the Saqqarah scene. There is nothing to indicate what material it is composed of. Wilkinson, judging by hypothesis only, hesitates between the 'sharp stone' spoken of in Ex 4[25] and the 'sharp knife' mentioned in Jos 5[2]; Chabas (*op. cit.*) supposes, but doubtfully, that it was a stone knife, basing his opinion on the fact that the mummifiers used stone knives to open the bodies; and Max Muller thinks, but cannot prove, that the instrument in the Saqqarah bas-relief is a flint. We may safely suppose that the ideogrammatic sign following the word *sobit* in the hieroglyphic title, which has the appearance of a sickle without a handle, is a survival of a primitive era and represents a stone instrument. In any case, we may admit that the use of the sharp stone instrument persisted long after the discovery of metal, because of the religious value of the custom, just as it persisted among the mummifiers for opening corpses, and as it has survived, in Africa itself, for numerous important sacerdotal ceremonies (cf. *Annales du Musée du Congo*, series iii. t. i. fasc. 2, 'La Religion' [Brussels, 1906]), and often, naturally, for circumcision itself. The question would be of exceptional interest for pre-historic antiquity, but at present we are reduced to mere hypothetical probability.

The Karnak bas-relief shows further that the operation was performed on several children on the same occasion. It shows a second child further back ready for the operation, and held by a second woman. This may offer a hint for comparing facts given very much later by the Græco-Roman papyri. The second phase of the operation is shown at Saqqarah. The title of the scene is *sunu*, 'anointing.' The operator says to the child, 'Here is something to make you comfortable (*nohimu*),' and the euonymous reply is, 'That is perfect.' The operator is seen rubbing the member operated on with a sub-

stance which is probably some kind of grease or balm (cf. Capart, 'Rue de Tombeaux' in *L'Art égyp.*, p. 51, who refers to Macalister's art. in *HDB* i. 443). We have no details, in these scenes or in any texts, to show whether the excised organ was the object of any of the innumerable ceremonies mentioned as belonging to non-civilized nations (destroyed, burned, buried, hidden, placed in the temple, worn round the child's neck, etc.).

The question of age does not receive much elucidation from these two representations, owing to the conventional methods of Egyptian art; but the Karnak children appear to be between six and ten years old (in any case, they are beyond the 'first childhood' of the Egyptians, which ends at four years), and those of Saqqarah look from ten to twelve. The much-quoted text of St. Ambrose seems to have been a misunderstood passage from an Armenian version of Philo enumerating the advantages of circumcision. The validity of his assertion, which was accepted unreservedly by Zaborowski and others, was long ago contested with great skill by Wilkinson, who held that there was no fixed time in Egypt for circumcision. Wilkinson's opinion seems confirmed by the texts of the papyri of the 2nd cent. A.D. (see Lit.). Thus in the Tebtunis Papyrus, iv. 292, the child presented is 7 years of age, and a second child is 11; and quite recently the Geneva Papyri, published by Nicole (1909), show a father presenting his three sons aged 2, 5, and 8. These facts, then, invalidate the conclusions of Reitzenstein and Walter Otto on the publication of the first papyri. The probability is—if we must assign a meaning to their number of 14 years—that this age was regarded, at least in the Roman period, as the extreme limit after which authority to circumcise could not be granted. It is most interesting to compare the fact established by Elliot Smith in his analysis of the mummy of a young prince of the XVIIIth dynasty, that 'this boy of eleven years of age, who still wears the Horus lock of hair, is *not* circumcised' (*Bull. Inst. égypt.* v. i. [1908] 225). The sum of this information seems to show, as regards the question of age, a state of affairs very like what is proved to exist among several modern African tribes, and, on the other hand, to exclude from the origin of Egyptian circumcision all connexion with puberty or puberty rites. There is a clear-cut distinction in every case between the Egyptian and the Israelite custom.

Circumcision took place in the temples, as we conclude from the bas-relief in the temple at Khonsu, and the fact that the Saqqarah bas-relief came from the tomb of a court priest. The texts of the papyri mentioned above show further that it was performed in accordance with rites (ἱερατικῶς περιτέμνειν, undoubtedly a particular method and under civil control), and the antiquity of the ceremony is established by the statement elsewhere that the ceremony was performed κατὰ τὸ ἔθος. The operation was preceded by an examination of the body—which is a very important point for the significance of circumcision (see below)—by means of which temple-dignitaries, called in the papyri κορυφαῖοι καὶ ὑποκορυφαῖοι, made sure that the child was free from blemishes (σημεῖα). Their evidence was registered by the ἱερογραμματεῖς, and there is no doubt that the whole proceeding is ancient (it was only employed and complicated afterwards by the Romans; see below). We cannot determine whether the reproduction of the verbal process in the temple-archives (with the optional copy for the person interested) is of Pharaonic antiquity or was introduced by the Roman administration.

4. General character of the practice.—(*a*) *Texts.*—These preliminary remarks lead us to investigate the questions to what extent circumcision was a general practice in Egypt, to which classes it was limited, if limited at all, and, in the latter case, whether it was regarded as an obligation or as a privilege. Not only are the texts of the Pharaonic period very few, but not one of them can be regarded as having a definite and certain value. The three texts most often quoted (the inscriptions of Merenptah at Karnak and Athribis, and the inscription of Piankhi [cf. full references in Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iii. 588, 601, iv. 443]) have no clear significance for our present subject. They make only incidental mention of circumcision in four or five words, and Egyptologists have never agreed as to the meaning of these words. Although, in the Merenptah inscriptions, Brugsch, Breasted, Erman, Maspero, and Meyer have accepted the meanings 'circumcised' and 'uncircumcised' for the respective terms in the Egyptian inscription, these meanings are contested by Bissing, Max Müller, and Wiedemann, and recently exactly inverted by Naville (*Sphinx*, xiv. [1910] 253). The terms in which Piankhi (*Grande Inscr.* 106, 159) speaks of the 'uncircumcised' lords, and of Nimrōti, 'who was circumcised and abstained from eating fish,' are capable of a much less precise translation, as Bissing has shown. And, finally, everything seems to justify the objection of Naville that all these terms are both vague and complicated, while the Egyptians had a technical word for 'circumcision' which has not been employed in any one of these inscriptions.

The meaning of these historical documents has been a matter of debate for forty years, with no decisive result. We must likewise pass over, as doubtful, texts like the passage in the Knumhotep inscription, in which some have seen an allusion to circumcision (cf. Wiedemann, *OLZ* vi. [1903] 97), and also a (unique) passage in the celebrated Texts of the Pyramids which speaks of a god *Tesebu*, translated 'circumciser' (cf. Maspero, *Pyramides de Saqqarah*, p. 128, n. 1; Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, i. 514), for there is no context to justify this purely etymological translation. All that finally remains is a very mystical text of the Book of the Dead (xvii. 23) and an *ostrakon* found by Spiegelberg in the Ramesseum at Thebes. The former, described long ago by de Rougé (see Lit.), speaks of 'the blood which fell from the phallus of Rā, when he accomplished his own mutilation.' The latter, of recent discovery, is dated the year 44 of the reign of Ramses II., and speaks of the day 'when men come to rid themselves of impurity before Amon.' Both of these documents seem to denote the act of circumcision by their periphrasis, though the former appeared very mystical to Bénédite, Naville, and several others. We shall see, however, further on, in what light they may both have a certain value, if, instead of examining them in isolation, we consider them in relation to the direct established evidence of the monuments and papyri.

In any case, it should be noted that this very meagre list is all that we have concerning circumcision in the extensive Pharaonic literature; and it is remarkable, as Naville has pointed out, that there is not a single formal mention of the practice in civil or religious papyri, in the inscriptions on the statues, or even in biographies (those, *e.g.*, of Uni, Knumhotep, Khiti, Baknikhonsu, etc.) in which the person's story is related all through from birth to maturity. To arrive at any result, therefore, we must for the moment leave out of account these materials, which have no solidity by themselves, and look for more firmly-established data: first of all, in the material information left us by the Egyptians, in the form both of models of their own bodies (paintings and sculpture) and of their bodies themselves (mummies), and then in the texts of the Græco-Roman epoch.

(*b*) *Bas-reliefs and statues.*—In investigating whether circumcision was practised by all classes of

society, it is only from the paintings and bas-reliefs that we get any help, for the people of humble origin had no mummies or statues (the so-called 'slave' statuettes are too coarse to give any indications on a physiological detail of this kind). Fortunately, the Egyptians, from the IIIrd dynasty to the Saïtes, have carved and painted on the walls of temples, and especially of tombs, thousands of figures of peasants, workmen, slaves, etc. On the other hand, it is to be noted that the figure of a nude man is comparatively rare. Most of the figures are drawn wearing the short garment of the ordinary Egyptian. A certain number of cases, however, remain (chiefly in scenes of fishing, hunting in the marsh, of 'fording,' and 'boating jousts') in which nude men are figured. From this number we must deduct a large proportion in which the figures are too small, or too badly carved or painted, to allow of seeing whether the men were or were not circumcised. But there still remains a goodly number of very clear representations in spite of Wiedemann's contention (in *OLZ* vi. [1903] 97). Several were noted at the start of Egyptology by Wilkinson (*op. cit.* iii. 385, i. 183), who deduced from them his certainty of the very great antiquity of Egyptian circumcision. His evidence is valuable, for he had a most admirable knowledge of all the tomb-scenes discovered in his time. Chabas also speaks (*Rev. Arch.*, 1861, p. 299) of hypogee paintings in which are seen figures with 'le prépuce dénudé,' and reaches the same conclusion as Wilkinson. The existence of these clear representations is attested more recently by Bissing (*Sphinx*, vi. 59) and Bénédite (*Grande Encycl.* xi. 153), and the present writer has verified for himself in Egypt, in various tombs at Gizeh and Saqqarah, bas-reliefs in which shepherds, sailors, and people of the marshes are clearly circumcised. We are therefore surprised that the existence of circumcision among the working classes in the Memphite period has been contested by several Egyptologists. This may be due to the fact that modern engravings and reproductions are, as a rule, not clear enough to allow of verifying circumcision otherwise than from the monuments themselves. Some publications are, however, found giving clear evidence (plates 39 and 86, for example, in Capart, 'Rue de Tombeaux,' *loc. cit.*

The probable conclusion, in short, at least for the Ancient Empire, seems to be that circumcision was practised by the people of the lower classes, though we can prove nothing further with regard to either the generality or the character of the practice. For the middle and upper classes the direct evidence is of the opposite kind. There are no fresco or bas-relief figures, because Egyptians of noble or middle-class condition never allowed themselves to be represented in nudity; but we have a few rare statues and—of great importance—mummies. The nude statues are very few, and we must further omit the painted statues, sometimes represented in scenes of a sculptor's workshop, because their details are hidden by one of the legs of the statue or else are indistinct. In the real statues, we must leave out of consideration figures of children (cf. Perrot-Chipiez, i. 441 f., 445; Petrie, *Deshasheh*, 1898, figs. 29 and 32), since they are conventional representations, in which the boy is always pictured as quite a child, and consequently not yet circumcised (see above). There remain, finally, *one* private statue of the Memphite period, and *one* royal statue of the first Theban empire (Bissing, however, in *Sphinx*, xii. 29, says there are several others, but he gives no references). The first of these two statues, that of the priest Anisakha, shown nude and circumcised, is described in the various editions of the *Guide au Musée du Caire* (p. 7, No. 20 [ed. 1892], p. 25 [ed. 1903], p. 30 [ed. 1908]) as a monument of really exceptional importance, and is cited or reproduced in the principal treatises on Egyptian archæology (cf. Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. xii. a). It is of considerable interest, belonging as it does to a priest and dating back to the Vth dynasty. We get a valuable indication as to the compulsory character of circumcision for the sacerdotal body by comparing this monument with the evidence recently derived from the examination of the Karenen mummy (see below). If the priest Anisakha is the only Egyptian of noble rank who had such a statue, the king Aūtū-ab-Rʿa (XIIth or XIIIth dyn.) is likewise the only king with a statue showing him nude. But the question of circumcision is less clear here. In spite of its importance (we have no other means of investigation for the kings of this period, from which we have no mummies), this question was not even examined by de Morgan on the discovery of the statue in the Dahshūr pyramid. It is generally admitted that the king is figured as circumcised (cf. Bissing, *Sphinx*, xii. 29). This appears to be the case, but it is not certain. In a recent letter, kindly addressed to the present writer, Lacau decides that examination does not justify the positive affirmation of circumcision, considering the present state of preservation of the statue, which is of wood, once covered with a coating of stucco and paint, which has now disappeared. There can be nothing more than a strong presumption that there was circumcision, 'le gland semblant découvert et d'aspect tronqué, mais on ne voit plus l'intaille triangulaire de la verge, comme dans la statue d'Anisakha.'

(*c*) *Royal and private mummies.*—While we derive very little information from such sources, we find in them indications of no inconsiderable value, when we associate them with what we can learn from the actual bodies of the Egyptians, preserved by embalmment. The examination of the royal mummies, particularly, may have a special importance for the solution of the question, since Pharaoh was the son and heir, and consequently the priest, of all the deities of Egypt. Unfortunately, the series of royal mummies, notwithstanding the apparently great number of them, is a very small affair in comparison with the long duration of the Egyptian State. It comprises only the XVIIIth to the XXIst dynasties and the end of the XVIIth with the mummy of Soqnūnrʿa. This would still be an important contribution, but, in the actual state of affairs, investigation is incomplete.

The precise facts are not so numerous as one might expect. Several of the royal bodies had been robbed and broken in pieces long ago by the 'plunderers,' and, at the official restoration of burial-places, had been badly repaired, with rubbish of all kinds, in order to give the mutilated corpses the outward appearance of complete mummies (*e.g.* Thothmes III.). In others, the state of preservation of the body is too imperfect (*e.g.* Soqnūnrʿa); or else the mummy has undergone shocks that have spoiled it (*e.g.* Merenptah: 'part of the phallus broken off'; cf. *Annales*, viii. 152). Finally, we must take into consideration the custom (which seems to have been of very general practice for the mummies of sovereigns of the XIXth–XXth dynasties) of removing the genitalia and embalming them apart in a wooden box in the shape of a hollow statue of Osiris, now lost. This is the case particularly for the mummies of Seti I., Ramses II., and Ramses III. There remain, last of all, even among the small group of mummies of which a complete physiological description has been published, several uncertain cases, actual examination being naturally sometimes very difficult. Thus, in

the case of the mummy called 'the unknown prince,' Maspero (*Momies royales*, p. 550) points out 'traces of circumcision'; but Fouquet (*ib.* 776) says:

'Le gland était découvert au moment où l'individu a été emprisonné dans ses bandelettes. Il ne s'ensuit pas que l'on puisse affirmer qu'il en était toujours ainsi pendant la vie, ni surtout qu'il y ait eu circoncision.'

Thothmes IV. *appears* to have been circumcised, but there is no decisive proof.

'All parts of the surface of the body, including the somewhat diminutive genital organs, were well preserved. Circumcision seems to have been performed' (Elliot Smith, *Annales*, iv. 112, 'Tomb of Thutmosis, IV.' pl. xliii.).

On the other hand, Maspero affirms in formal terms that in the case of Thothmes II. the organs were found intact, and that this king was not circumcised (*Momies royales*, p. 547). It should be remarked, however, that this is the only clearly established case at present of an uncircumcised king, and this single exception does not justify Wiedemann when he speaks (*OLZ* vi. [1903] 97) of the numerous contradictions of the material investigation, and says there are 'certain uncircumcised mummies' (cf. also Bénédite's doubt in *Grande Encycl.* xi. 453). The opinion of Elliot Smith, who says of Amenhotep II. that he was circumcised '*like all other known adult Egyptian men*,' is of great value in this discussion, this scholar having been specially entrusted with the investigation for all the mummies of the Musée du Caire. This entitles us to conclude that for the unpublished royal mummies he has been able to establish in general that the body has undergone circumcision.

When we come to the priests, we find our present inquiry in a still less complete state, and, in regard to what has been published, we have the same obstacles to absolute certainty. The group of the high priests of Amon and their families, found by Gribaut in 1891, presents a unique opportunity for study from this standpoint. Unfortunately a first great obstacle to the inquiry has been raised by the deplorable and unjustifiable action of de Morgan, who, being Director of Egyptian Antiquities at the time, scattered nearly half of this collection all over the world in seventeen groups of from four to five sarcophagi—a collection whose chief value was its unity (72 coffins out of 153). Only some of the mummies were examined by Fouquet. The remainder must, in each case, await examination by the various staffs of all these Societies (cf. Daressy, *Annales*, viii. 4–21). Until we get the volumes announced by the official Catalogue, for the part of the collection that is in Cairo, we must content ourselves with the dignitaries and priests examined by Maspero, or with the temporary notes of Elliot Smith.

Circumcision appears to have been the rule. Nevertheless, as in the case of the kings, we must take into account the mutilated condition of certain mummies (*e.g.* prince Sîamonu = *Momies royales*, p. 538), the custom of amputating the penis (*e.g.* Nilsoni, father-in-law of Pinozmu I. = *Momies royales*, p. 574), and also doubtful cases (*e.g.* the high priest Nasi-pa-k-f [Elliot Smith, *Annales*, iv. 158: 'the prepuce extends midway between the *corona glandis* and the *meatus*, and it is impossible to say for certain whether circumcision has been performed']). In the meantime, though we cannot give a positive decision, we may say that we have the elements of such a decision. Even eliminating those mummies that have been robbed, mutilated, etc., there are still several hundreds in the various museums intact and identified, a methodical examination of which will serve our purpose. The question seems to have undergone examination in the past (cf. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* i. 183), but only in connexion with isolated cases, and without any scientific publication of results. We should have a like possibility of establishing an important point if we were to examine the enormous number of mummified phalli placed, in the Theban epoch, in those hollow statues in the form of Osiris of which we spoke above.

While our research is in such a backward stage, we must consider of capital importance the examination of the mummy of Karenen (Saqqarah, Xth dyn. [?]), which is definitely recognized by Elliot Smith and Dobbin as circumcised (cf. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqarah*, ii. 13). Its importance is twofold—in virtue of its locality and its date. It tends to prove that circumcision was *de règle* for priests at that period throughout the whole of Egypt. The examination of mummies of the same period, found in good condition at Beni Hasan and el-Bersheh, may transform this presumption into absolute proof. As regards people of the middle class, no research seems to have been made to settle the question of the circumcision of the mummies. As for people belonging to the working classes, we saw above that mummification was too expensive a practice for them, and all that we have left of them is a few dry bones.

If these results appear meagre when viewed alone, yet, when connected with the result of our other evidence, they already give a partial answer to the proposed question. To sum up: if there are many cases in which proof is impossible or uncertain, nevertheless all the certain cases but one are in favour of the universality of circumcision for members of the priestly classes. We have only one nude statue in all the sculpture of private life, and it is circumcised; only one of royal sculpture, and it also is circumcised; and only one verified mummy of a priest of the first Theban empire, and the same is the case with it, as also with all the kings and high priests of the second Theban Empire, with the exception of Thothmes II. If, however, we connect all this with the fact mentioned everywhere (cf. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* iii. 385; Zaborowski, *Grande Encycl.* xi. 453, etc.) that, in order thoroughly to investigate Egyptian religious teaching, Pythagoras had to submit to circumcision, this story, which had no value whatever by itself, becomes more important when placed alongside of our facts, and the facts themselves are fortified by the story. Similarly, the much-discussed passage Jos 5², interpreted in favour of the circumcision of the Egyptians, should be regarded with more confidence as an indication leading to the same general presumption. The whole result will tend to certainty if we now examine the Græco-Roman papyri spoken of above in the discussion of the questions of age and ceremonial.

(*d*) *Papyri.*—

Reitzenstein first published a papyrus in 1901 (see Lit.) from the collection of Strassburg, republished soon after by Wilcken, with two others from Berlin (see Lit.). In 1907, vol. ii. of the Tebtunis Papyri had two more documents added—nos. 292 and 293. Finally, in 1909, J. Nicole published three more, taken from the Geneva collection. We have, then, to-day a series important numerically for the study of circumcision, and much the more so because of its homogeneity from a chronological point of view. All the documents are, in fact, of the 2nd cent. (A.D. 155 = Geneva 1 and 2; A.D. 159 = Strassburg; A.D. 171 = Berlin 1; A.D. 185 = Berlin 2; A.D. 187 = Tebtunis 292; A.D. 189 = Tebtunis 293; another without a date). They enable us to follow the modifications of regulations, to control the details by the variants, and to deduce to a certain extent what constituted the fixed Pharaonic part of the question.

At this period, circumcision in Egypt was submitted to increasingly minute rules (see below), which may be summarized thus:—

Application for circumcision had to be made by the father, or (failing him) by the mother, brother, uncle, or aunt of the child. It had to be in writing, and addressed to the chief administrator or his substitute. The chief made inquiry, and gave a favourable reply, if the conditions fixed by law were fulfilled. The child must be born of parents of priestly rank, and his parents themselves must be sprung from ascendants to this rank (*ἀπογεγράφθαι τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῶν ὄντας ἱερατικοῦ γένους*). This was certified in writing and by means of proofs (*ἀσφάλειαι*): (*a*) copies of certified statements in conformity with the public law of the local depôt; (*b*) testimony with the oath in the name of the Emperor, signed by a certain number of priests of

the temple or of the capital of the nome. After this, the circumcision had to be declared 'necessary' for priests with a view to the performance of the cultus—a rule which would consequently exclude priests who filled only civil offices. Finally, the child's birth-certificate had to be produced, and beyond the age-limit (13 years [?]) permission was refused. But this luxury of precautions was not enough. When all this was done, the leader, unable to proceed any further, wrote a letter to the ἀρχιερεύς (who was not a court priest, but a kind of controller of worship, a Roman citizen resident in Alexandria), stating that all the formalities had been gone through. After the ἀρχιερεύς had looked into the matter, the candidate was obliged to present himself before the ἱερογραμματεῖς of Alexandria, who were members of the clergy and attached to the service of the ἀρχιερεύς, for an examination of his body. This was done by temple dignitaries (κορυφαῖοι καὶ ὑποκορυφαῖοι), and was registered by the ἱερογραμματεῖς. Its chief aim was to see that the child was sound, and above all had no blemishes (σημεῖα) on its body. If it had accidental marks, the ceremony was postponed; if it was permanently marked, circumcision was refused. If the reply was that the child had no mark or spot (εἰπόντων ἄσημον αὐτὸν εἶναι), the ἀρχιερεύς counter-signed the letter and gave authority to perform the circumcision ἱερατικῶς. A verbal process was then instituted and kept account of in the records.

From the general history of the East, and the growing minuteness of the papyri arranged in chronological order, it seems to follow that the Roman administration aimed at confining and restricting circumcision in Egypt, by multiplying the formalities and cases for refusal. Thus we may notice: the obligation of the applicant to establish his right to take the place of an absent father, since the father alone, in principle, could ask circumcision for his children; the necessity of proving, by a variety of documents and witnesses, the two generations of priestly rank in the child's ancestors (A.D. 171); the exclusion of priests who were not obliged, in view of strictly sacerdotal functions, to be circumcised (A.D. 187); the necessity of a journey to Alexandria; and the growing minuteness of the oath (A.D. 189). If, on the other hand, instead of studying the increasing obstacles interposed by the Roman government, we look at things from the Egyptian side, we may infer, from the universal nature of the manifestations, that at one time every temple had free control, proceeded to the circumcision of children of priestly families without distinguishing the various kinds of clerical functions, and, without troubling to investigate into ancestry, had the slaves and household retinue of the temple circumcised. (May this explain the bas-reliefs on which men of low rank are figured as circumcised?) The whole result confirms the impression, already formed on other grounds, that circumcision as a practice was strictly confined to whatever was connected with the service of an Egyptian god.

To return now to the evident ill-will of the Romans to circumcision, we see that their aim was to discourage, to weary by formalities, and to prevent any diffusion of the custom by means of repeated strict control and threats of punishment; that is, they did not allow of circumcision except *in cases where they could not do otherwise.* To have reached this fact is of extreme interest, because it proves that circumcision had a religious significance, which lay in the fact that it was impossible to perform certain acts unless the officiant was circumcised. This, indeed, is precisely what is formally declared in an important passage of one of the papyri: δεῖν αὐτὸν περιτμηθῆναι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰς ἱερουργίας ἐκτελεῖν εἰ μὴ τοῦτο γενήσεται (*Tebt. Pap.* t. ii., 1907, no. 293). This may be regarded as the most important text relating to Egyptian circumcision. The conception is bound to be an ancient possession of the Egyptians, part of the very essence of their religious ideas, since the Romans were forced to admit that the national worship could not be performed without it.

5. Question of origin. If we admit, then, that circumcision, without being binding on all (since we cannot prove this), was at least a necessity for the priest-class (and that probably from very early times), we now come to the most difficult question of all, viz. the actual meaning attached to this custom by the Egyptians. The papyri again give us a new clue of the highest value when they consistently associate circumcision with the question of blemishes or marks (σημεῖα). If the ill-will of the Romans saw in these a means of preventing so many circumcisions, it must have been because they were a valid excuse in the eyes of the Egyptian. The presence of σημεῖα constituted an impurity, and destroyed the state of purity obtained by circumcision. Circumcision, therefore, attaches itself to that body of ideas, so often found in the various religions, which demands from the servants of the gods that he be sound (*integer*, ὁλόκληρος). This harmonizes with what we know otherwise of the prescriptions of bodily purity required of Egyptian priests: the head and beard shaven, the depilated body, the pared nails, ablutions, special clothing and sandals, etc. We may, in addition, connect with this, as having circumcision in view, the much-debated passage in the inscription of Piankhi, where it is said of Nimrōti that he was admitted to the presence of the king (see above) 'because he was clean' (*uabu*); and we may, in virtue of our conclusions, see a greater significance in the proposed translation of the Ramesseum *ostrakon* (see above). The practice of circumcision may have had this significance very early in Egypt; but the idea of a minister's 'purity,' like that of hygiene, cannot be a primitive one. If Egypt borrowed circumcision from some other people, that people connected it originally with a different idea; or, if Egypt practised the custom from her earliest history, she herself must have connected it with an idea of a primitive nature. Both these hypotheses issue in the same logical result. Such a vast question can only be summarized here in a few essential points. Our first hypothesis necessitates the investigation as to whether Egyptian circumcision is related to the Asiatic world, or to the world of West or South Africa. The evidence of the classical authors is of very little value here. Every one quotes Herodotus (ii. 37, 104); but what he says of the Colchians, Syrians, and Phœnicians in this connexion is of no help to the question propounded in regard to pre-historic times. It is the same with what he says of the Ethiopians, who represented at that time an empire organized by conquerors of Egyptian origin. The remarks of Diodorus on the Troglodytæ (iii. 32) are more valuable, since they concern a semi-savage people who had preserved their customs. The Egyptian texts furnish no solid basis, since, as has been said above, authorities are not agreed on the meanings of the decisive words; and, if the Aqayuasha, one of the 'peoples of the sea,' were not circumcised, then Breasted's ingenious deduction (*op. cit.* ii. 10) as to the circumcision of the Hyksos is worthless (cf., however, David's cutting off the foreskins of the conquered as a trophy, 1 S 18[25ff.]).

In place of the above doubtful information, we may discover a better clue, of the utmost importance, which has not yet been brought sufficiently to light: this is the fact that the people figured in the various monuments of pre-historic Egypt (called 'palettes')

are clearly shown to be circumcised. Without concluding, like Budge (*Egyptian Sudan*, i. 514), that the peoples of North-East Africa were undoubtedly circumcised, we may say, in a more general way, that Egypt in the earliest times was surrounded by circumcised peoples. This agrees with the extreme antiquity and prevalence of African circumcision attested by most ethnographies. On the other hand, there is an end to analogy when we compare Egypt with the non-civilized peoples of modern Africa. It will be noted chiefly that in Egypt there is no allusion in any form to 'circumcision months,' as among the Kikuyu; to circumcisions performed *en masse*, with periods of seclusion and disguise, as in the *nkimba* practised on the Congo; to great public festivals for the occasion, as among the ancient Hovas of Madagascar; to disguises and dances, as among the Nandi; or to rites parallel with initiation, as among the Masai. It has been seen, likewise, that the Egyptian age for circumcision, which varies so much, does not admit of any connexion with the 'puberty rites' which play so important a part in the majority of African cases. Furthermore, the frequent and highly important custom of giving a new personality, a new name, to the young African at circumcision is absolutely unknown with regard to Egypt. The Egyptian ceremony was not accompanied by rites and secret formulæ. Finally, the practically general parallelism in Africa between male circumcision and female 'excision' is not found in Pharaonic Egypt. It is wrong, then, to see in Egyptian circumcision 'an indication of relationship with Africa' (Chantepie de la Saussaye, p. 14). Divergences so numerous and on points of such characteristic importance allow of no proof of any connexion whatever between the origin of Egyptian circumcision and the practices of the black races. We are therefore obliged to regard Egyptian circumcision as an independent phenomenon, whose origin must be sought outside of any theories of borrowing from other races. Similarly, a conclusion as to what primitive idea gave rise to this phenomenon can lead only to the elimination of explanations impossible for this country, and the presentation of the most likely hypotheses, without deciding between them.

Among the numerous explanations suggested for circumcision in general, we must first of all, for reasons already given, exclude those that connect it, directly or indirectly, with puberty; *e.g.* the theory of 'redemption to admit to sexual life' (Lagrange, *Etude sur les religions sémitiques*², 1905), the 'rite of separation from the profane world' (van Gennep, *Rites de passage*, 1909), the 'sanctification of the organs of generation' (Robertson Smith; and Gunkel, in Chantepie de le Saussaye, p. 200), the 'release from a restriction,' instituted for a moral end (Leroy, *Religion des primitifs*, 1908, p. 209), the means of easing 'the generating breath of the father' (!) (Preuss, in *Globus*, lxxxvi. 362), and the theory of generation (Schmidt, in *Anthropos*, 1908, p. 402). The hygienic character of the rite proposed elsewhere is now rejected by most authorities, and with reason, it would seem, at least if considered as hygiene of a sexual character. 'Magic hygiene' is still an open question. By this phrase we mean practices such as conjuring illnesses and driving away evil spirits, by drawing blood from a specially important part of the body by incision, scarification, or partial mutilation. The reasoning based on the pretended peculiar anatomy of certain races must also be set aside. Lastly, we cannot take our stand on any single line of Egyptian text giving notions of 'partial redemption' or 'sacrifice by substitution'—hypotheses so often upheld on this question (Réville, Chantepie de la Saussaye, etc.).

Being thus led by a process of elimination to see in circumcision the idea of a mark of submission to a god, a sign of initiation into a god, or alliance with a god, we may now state that the obscure passage, already quoted, in which mention is made of 'Rā mutilating himself,' may have a value far beyond what has been thought. Circumcision would then be an imitation of the action of Rā, and we know what importance was attached in Egyptian religion to the principle of actual or magic imitation of the actions of the gods, since that has formed the basis of the greater part of Egyptian worship. It would be a sign of admission into the company of those who belonged to the family and household of the god. But, of course, a story of this kind, no matter how ancient its date, cannot be of a really 'primitive' character. Such a story, indeed, usually serves as an ulterior explanation of an already very ancient fact. The story of Rā, then, may be a very ancient form of a cosmogonic myth, or of an astronomical phenomenon; and these two epithets themselves, allowing them to be of great antiquity, yet exclude what we mean by the word 'primitive' in its precise sense. If circumcision, then, existed in Egypt since the time of its 'primitive' religion, the myth of the mutilated Rā must have been an explanation composed posterior to the practice itself. All that now remains appears to be the fact that circumcision was a sign of *affiliation* to the cult of Rā (or of more ancient celestial gods). There is nothing in the case of Egypt to justify us in looking for the reason of this sign in the ratification of an alliance by common blood (a theory held in this connexion with regard to Israel, and taken up again lately, with modifications, by A. J. Reinach [see Lit.]). Nor can circumcision have been a mark of slavery in the god's service, which became afterwards, as in numerous cases, a mark of honour and of privileged class; for the kings (and before them the prehistoric chiefs) were priests inasmuch as they were sons and relatives of the god, not his slaves. In the ultimate analysis, the mark or sign of affiliation may be connected with the idea of a physical indication, like scars, tatuings, and slight mutilations, so common among non-civilized races, as a distinctive sign belonging exclusively to one family or one tribe. This last explanation must always be stated, on correct scientific lines, as a hypothesis, and the pure and simple notion may still be defended, that circumcision arose in Egypt from the idea of the ceremonial purity of the people in the service of their god.

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CIRCUMCISION (Muhammadan).—**1. The legal aspect.**—The practice was wide-spread, though not universal, in pagan Arabia, and to be uncircumcised (*aghral* or *aqlaf*) was thought disgraceful. After one of the Prophet's battles, when one of the slain Thaqafites was discovered to be in this condition, trouble was taken to prove that he was a Christian slave and no true member of the tribe.[1] The Qur'ān has no ordinance on the subject, probably because the Prophet assumed it; those who would base the practice on the Qur'ān quote the text, 'and follow the religion of Abraham, the *ḥanīf*, who was not a polytheist' (*Sura*, iii. 89, etc.), where it is evident that the command extends only to the rejection of polytheism, and does not include other practices ascribed to Abraham. Attempts at basing it on tradition are not much more successful; some quote a supposed saying of the Prophet, 'circumcision is a *sunna* for men, and an honour for women,' but its spuriousness is evident on both internal and external grounds; for, though the word *sunna* is quite correctly applied in the sense of 'pre-Islāmic practice not abrogated by Islām,'[2] the word 'to be followed' (*muttaba'a*) could not be omitted. This spurious tradition may, however, be the reason for the application of the word *sunna* to the practice as a euphemism by Indians, Persians, and Turks. Another tradition, quoted by Mālik in the *Muwatta*,[3] is to the effect that, along with certain other practices, *e.g.* paring the nails, circumcision belongs to Natural Religion (*fitra*); but for this, too, the authority is insufficient; and the statement, immediately following, to the effect that Abraham was the first to practise it, appears to contradict it. A third tradition quoted is that the Prophet said to a convert to Islām, 'Cast off thee the hair of unbelief and be circumcised';[4] but the chain of authorities for this contains an unknown name. The services of the two remaining 'sources of law'—agreement and analogy—have therefore been called in by the Muslim lawyers; but these quibbles need not be reproduced,[5] and their weakness is obvious. Owing to this, there is some academical discussion as to the obligatoriness of circumcision; queries have at times been addressed to eminent jurists about it;[6] and in general the schools of Ibn Ḥanbal and Shāfi'ī are supposed to affirm it, and those of Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa to deny it. The Shī'ites also hold that it is obligatory,[7] and to be enforced on proselytes to Islām; and in the Anglo-Muhammadan code 'the court will not admit the claim of a male person to sue or defend as a Muhammadan

[1] Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1860, p. 850.
[2] *JRAS*, 1910, p. 313.
[3] ed. Zurqāni, 1280, iv. 116.
[4] *Itḥāf al-Sāda*, Com. on Ghazāli's *Iḥya*, ii. 418.
[5] They will be found in the passage last cited.
[6] See the *Fatāwā* of Ibn Taimiyya, 1326, i. 44.
[7] *Sharā'i' al-Islam*, 1839, p. 302.

if it appear that he has never been circumcised.'[1] The system of Abū Ḥanīfa permits a Muslim who has not undergone circumcision to give evidence, provided he has not neglected it in order to display contempt for Islām; in such a case he is disqualified, not on the ground of his physical condition, but as an evil liver.[2] In general, the popular notion is that circumcision is a token of Islām;[3] so in Hindustānī, *Musulmanī* ('Muhammadanism') is a euphemism for it: in Tashkent the lad on whom it is performed is said 'to have become a Muslim after being an Unbeliever';[4] and the poet Sibṭ Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī (6th cent. A.H.) excuses the shedding of royal blood in the operation on the ground that even princes must obey Islām.[5] Nevertheless, there appear to have been times when circumcision was not rigidly observed, and there are communities which have either abandoned or never adopted it. So the Timurids in India did not observe it; and the number of circumcised Muslims in India is put by some experts at not more than 95 per cent. The number of Chinese Muslims who have not undergone the operation is said to be considerable;[6] and some Berber tribes in the N. Atlas are said not to practise it.[7] In some places the operation has a tendency to lapse into a surrogate. This is said to be the case in Turkey and parts of India.

2. Names for the rite, and theories of its purpose.—Besides the euphemisms which have been quoted, the legal name is *khitān*, which probably means no more than 'cutting,'[8] for which *ṭuhr*, 'cleansing,' or one of its cognates, is often substituted; other phrases are *i'dhār* or *ta'dhīr*, 'removing a [sexual] obstacle,' and *qilf*, 'decortication.'[9] Of these words only the euphemism *ṭuhr*, 'cleansing,' has any obvious religious associations; it is interpreted as meaning rendering the body ceremonially clean, and so fit for prayer; and this view of its purpose is clearly taken by those authorities who hold that the operation should be performed just before a boy is of the age when he can be punished for neglecting his prayers. Another of the names quoted above implies a theory that the operation is physically necessary for those who are to enter the married state; this view, according to Doughty, is still held in Arabia, and some modern authorities (*e.g.* Renan) have taken the same view of its original purpose; on the other hand, there are anthropologists who hold the very different view that its purpose is to lessen concupiscence (cf. above, pp. 666, 669), and this, too, is supported by some Muslim theologians. Other views of its hygienic value are given by Ploss and Burton in the works cited, and by the Ottoman medical writer Risa.[10]

3. Operators and instruments.—In early times the operation was ordinarily performed by a surgeon,[11] and for this purpose as for others[12] non-Muslim doctors were employed by those who could afford them;[13] and this is said to be the case still in some countries. In N. Africa it is often performed

[1] R. K. Wilson, *Digest of Anglo-Mohammedan Law*, 1908, p. 92.
[2] *Hidāya*, 1831, iii. 381. [3] Com. on Ḥarīrī, ed. 1, p. 351.
[4] Schuyler, *Turkistan*, London, 1876, i. 142; cf. Kaye, *Indian Mutiny*, 1889, ii. 371.
[5] *Diwān*, ed. Margoliouth, 172, 15.
[6] Dabry de Thiersant, *Mahométisme en Chine*, 1878, ii. 322.
[7] Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte*², 1884, i. 354.
[8] Attempts that have been made to connect this word with *ḥatan*, 'a relation by marriage with a daughter,' resemble Varro's *lucus a non lucendo* theories (but see above, p. 664).
[9] The operation on females is called properly *khafḍ*, and another on males (pagan rather than Muslim) *salkh*. The latter is described in Burton's *Pilgrimage*², 1893, ii. 110.
[10] *Studie über die rituale Beschneidung*, 1906.
[11] *Fakhrī*, ed. Ahlwardt, 1858, p. 152.
[12] So a Jewish surgeon was employed as castrator (Ibn Iyās, ii. 150).
[13] Sibṭ Ibn al Ta'āwīdhī, *loc. cit.*, states that the surgeon employed to circumcise the Khalīf's sons was an *'ilj*, i.e. non-Muslim.

by one learned in the law (*faqīh*). 'In Kāngra the *abdāl* is sometimes employed, and in the west of the Punjab the *pirhain*' [names for ascetics].[1] In Tunis, where the operator is called *ṭahhār*, 'cleanser,' he is usually a dealer in amulets.[2] In most countries he is a cupper and barber. A fee may be demanded; in Tunis the minimum is usually four francs; among the Irākis in the N.W. provinces of India it is 'four annas and a pice or two from each of the friends present.'[3] The instrument usually employed is a razor; in N. Africa, however, the operation is performed with scissors. There is a tradition that Abraham employed an axe, but was rebuked for his haste. Other instruments (*e.g.* split reeds) are employed in places to aid the operation or prevent danger, but the Jewish method does not appear to be in use. As a styptic, gunpowder or fine wood ashes are applied in Turkestan, and the like elsewhere; washing the wound with water is forbidden in Persia,[4] and in Bosnia the patient is not allowed to drink water for a month after the operation. In parts of India, salt is forbidden during convalescence. In some countries the month Rabīʿ is preferred for the operation; among the Irākis, Ramaḍān is favoured. The time for healing is usually put at a week; in some places it is supposed to take two or three days only, while elsewhere it is thought to take a month.

4. **Age for the operation.**—In early Arabia the operation seems to have been ordinarily deferred till puberty—a fact which was known to one of the compilers of Abraham's biography (in Genesis), who appears to have made it the basis for chronological and other deductions. Muhammad is said, like other prophets, to have been born *sine præputio*; he, however, followed the Jews in selecting the eighth (or, as the Muslims call it, the seventh —the day of birth not being included) day for the circumcision of his grandsons; and this day is recommended by many jurists, though there is some difficulty about the propriety of imitating the Jews.[6] A theory favoured by some authorities is that, failing the eighth day, it should be done on the fortieth; failing that, in the seventh year.[8] Another opinion is, as we have seen, that it should be delayed to the tenth year, because at that age a lad may be punished for having omitted his prayers.[7] From the statements of travellers, there would appear to be great variety in this matter—partly from the desire to find the age when least risk attends the operation, partly from the practice of operating on all the lads in a family, or even in a community, at once, since thereby some of the expense is saved. In S.W. Arabia the seventh day after birth or any multiple of seven is said to be favoured;[8] in Dahomey the seventh day (as above) is said to be noral amo ng all communities, including Christians.[9] The Muslims of Tunis vary from the second to the sixth year;[10] those of India in general from the fifth to the ninth. In Persia the third or fourth year is normal; among the Kara-Kuchins of Central Asia the fourth or fifth; in Algiers the fifth; in N. Arabia the sixth.[11] In Turkey it is rarely performed before the sixth; the Bedawīn visited by Burckhardt preferred the seventh;[12] the Irākis prefer the fifth or seventh; in Tashkent the normal age is between seven and ten, but the operation is sometimes delayed till later.[13] In the Panjāb it varies from the seventh year to the twelfth. The practice in Egypt is similar; but the later year would seem to be unusual.[1] In Bosnia it varies from the tenth to the thirteenth year. This community, when first converted, tried infant circumcision; but the resulting mortality caused them to abandon the practice.[2]

5. **Concomitant ceremonies.**—In most Islāmic countries the operation is preceded by an elaborate ceremonial, lasting in places as long as seven days. References to this custom in the literature are perhaps not quite common. The proper name for such a feast is said to be *iʿdhār*,[3] and the Prophet is supposed to have sanctioned it with three other feasts—wedding, birth, and housewarming.[4] In the life of the mystic Abū Saʿīd (d. 440) it is stated that, when some youths from Khotan were converted, the proceeds of the sale of a man's complete outfit were devoted to entertaining guests on the occasion of the circumcision.[5] Congratulatory odes on such occasions are found in some collections of poetry, but not in many. O and the other hand, travellers' narratives contain n em to descriptions of the ceremonial usual on such we mea sions. In Tunis it lasts a week; on the second morning the boy is clad in his best attire and paraded through the town mounted on a mule, accompanied by negroes and negresses bearing torches; during the operation itself (which comes at the end of the feast) boys make a loud noise by breaking earthenware pots in order to smother the cries of the *muṭṭahir* (boy being circumcised).[6] Lane describes the parading of the *muṭṭahir* through the streets of Egypt, mounted on a fine horse, with a red turban, but otherwise dressed as a girl.[7] The women's attire is used elsewhere on this occasion, and is intended to signify that, until the accomplishment of the act, the boy counts as one of the weaker sex. Similar ceremonies were witnessed by Meakin in Morocco.[8] In Lahore the boy is dressed as a bridegroom, and the ceremony itself called *shādī* (Persian for 'wedding').[9] Here during the operation the boy is seated on a stool, and, unless a companion in suffering can be found for him, the top of an earthen vessel is simultaneously cut off.[10] Among the Irākis the boy *stands* during the operation; in most places he is made to lie on a bed. In Eastern Turkestan the day for the operation is fixed by an astrologer; the festival in the case of the wealthy lasts two or three days; at the end of the time the child's family are presented with eggs and garments for the child.[11] The following is Schuyler's description of the ceremony in Tashkent (*op. cit.* i. 141):

> 'The boy's friends gather at some place and come in procession, all disguised and decked out with paper caps, wooden swords, and shields of paper-rind, and the boy who is to be circumcised is carried on the back of one of the elder boys, in case the feast is not at his own house; if, however, it takes place at home, the boy is taken from the house through the streets in triumph, and then back again. He is, however, in a state of unconsciousness, having had administered to him early in the day a powerful narcotic, *gul-kan*, which is made of sugar-candy mixed with the sifted pollen from the hop-flowers and reduced to a hard paste. . . . The cries of the boy during the performance are drowned by shouts of "Hail, Moslem, thou wast an Unbeliever."'

Even here, then, the boy is conscious during the operation itself; and, indeed, both this and that called *salkh* seem at times to serve as trials of endurance. Similar stories are told of the ceremonies in Turkey. It is performed with less elaboration in Persia and China; in the latter country it appears to have a more definitely religious character than elsewhere. The *exuviæ* seem generally to be burned or buried, sometimes in a mosque.

1 *JAI* xxxvii. [1907] 255.
2 *BSAP*, 1900, p. 538.
3 Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of N.W. Provinces*, 1896, iii. 6.
4 Polak, *Persien*, 1865, i. 197.
5 Ghazālī, *Iḥyā ʿulūm al-dīn*, 1306, i. 115.
8 *Itḥāf*, *loc. cit.*
7 *Muwaṭṭa*, ed. Zurqānī, iv. 119.
8 *ZE* x. 397, quoted by Ploss.
9 *BSAP*, 1900, p. 216.
10 *Ib.* p. 538.
11 Burton, *loc. cit.* ii. 110.
12 *Voyages en Arabie*, 1833, iii. 64.
13 Schuyler, *loc. cit.*

1 *Al-Muqtaṭaf*, 1904, p. 185.
2 Reference in Ploss.
3 Rāghib Ispahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, i. 395.
4 *Maṭāliʿ al-budūr*. ii. 43.
5 *Asrār al-tauḥīd*, p. 243.
6 *BSAP*, 1900, p. 538.
7 *Modern Egyptians*, 1871, ii. 70.
8 *The Moors*, 1902, p. 243.
9 Similarly *khattana* is said to mean 'to give a wedding or circumcision feast.'
10 *JAI*, *loc. cit.*
11 Thiersant, *loc. cit.*

6. General observations.—The fact that the Jewish, and to some extent the Christian, communities with whom the Muslims came mainly in contact practised the rite, distracted attention from it in the early days of Islām, and, as has been seen, the observances of natural religion with which it is classed are parts of ordinary cleanliness. To many of the tribes outside Arabia which adopted Islām it was also nothing new. Much pre-Islamic practice may, therefore, have been maintained in the varieties of ceremony which have been noticed. The female operation has never had the universality of the male, though an expression attributed to the Prophet might seem to imply it.[1] It is said that the modern expansion of Islām in Africa has a tendency to repress the female operation, while extending the male; and even the Shī'ite law-book cited renders the former unnecessary for converts. The origin of both rites in Arabia was absolutely forgotten, and we have no means of knowing whether they were borrowed from some other race or arose independently. From the fact that Muhammad permitted their continuance without interruption, it may be inferred that he was aware of no connexion between them and paganism; for his adoption of the Jewish day for the operation in lieu of the Ishmaelitic, and this after he had broken with the Jews and reintroduced pagan ceremonies into his system, we have no satisfactory explanation. The absence of any certain connexion between it and the Islamic system should render it comparatively easy for reformers of the latter to get rid of it.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

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CIRCUMCISION (Semitic).—Circumcision appears to have been common among the primitive Semites, since it is found perpetuated among all branches of the Semitic race, unless the Babylonians and Assyrians be an exception. Herodotus (ii. 104) informs us that it was practised by the ancient Phœnicians and Syrians; from several sources we learn that it was a custom of the Arabs;[2] Philostorgius (*HE* iii. 4) informs us that the Sabæans observed it; it still survives among the Abyssinians;[3] and its practice by the Hebrews is well known and will be discussed below. It has not yet been definitely found among the Babylonians and Assyrians, but a custom of 'purification' through which foreigners had to pass upon being adopted into Babylonian families may well have been circumcision.[4] A practice which is so nearly co-extensive with the Semitic world probably originated with the common stock from which the Semites are sprung. In the earliest times it was apparently practised upon both women and men, and in some parts of the Arabian world the practice of circumcising females still survives. Thus a passage in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*[5] declares that 'a mother circumcised is a mother joyous.' The custom of circumcising females is still practised among some of the Arabs of Moab.[6] Probably in the beginning circumcision among the Semites was a sacrifice to, or a mark of consecration to, the goddess of fertility, and was designed to secure her favour in the production of offspring.[7]

At first it seems to have been performed upon the male at the time of marriage. This seems to be one of the meanings of Ex. $4^{24f.}$ (J). Moses had not been circumcised, consequently Jahweh tried to kill him. Zipporah cut off the foreskin of her son, and 'cast it at Moses' feet'—a euphemism for placed it upon his pudenda—and said: 'Surely a bridegroom of blood art thou to me.' This vicarious circumcision satisfied Jahweh, and He let Moses go. Perhaps also the meaning of Gn 34^{22} was that circumcision was a preparation for marriage; such seems to have been the meaning of the rite among the Arabs. According to Doughty (*Arabia Deserta*[1], i. 128), among some of the Arabs a child was not circumcised in infancy, but when he had reached the age to take a wife. The operation was then performed in the presence of the maiden whom he was to marry; and, if he shrank from the ordeal or uttered a sigh, she disdained him.

That the rite originated far back in the Stone age is indicated by the fact that in the earliest narratives of the OT it was performed with flint knives (Ex 4^{25}, Jos 5^{2}).

In later times, probably for humanitarian reasons, circumcision was performed when the boy was younger. Josephus (*Ant.* I. xii. 2) says that among the Arabs boys were circumcised when thirteen years old. It is doubtful, however, whether he had any better authority for this than the statement in Gn 17^{25} that Ishmael was thirteen years old when Abraham circumcised him. Josephus cites this passage as the precedent which the Arabs followed, and in connexion with it says that the Jews circumcised when the boy was eight days old, because Isaac was circumcised at that age (Gn 21^{4}). It is probable, therefore, that his information about the Arabs was inferential only.

Among the Bedawīn of modern Arabia the rite is performed when the boys are much younger, but the age varies. Those of the Negd, among whom Doughty travelled, circumcise the child when he has come to three full years;[1] those of Moab, when he is four or five years old.[2] The occasion is celebrated by a feast, at which unmarried girls dance, while young men watch and select their wives from among the dancers.[3] Among the Hebrews the rite was by the Priestly document placed at a still earlier age, so that the child was circumcised the eighth day after birth (Gn 17^{10-12}, Lv 12^{3}); and this custom, with slight exceptions which may extend the time to the eleventh day (cf. *Shab.* xix. 5 and 137*a*), is still maintained by the Jews. It is probably due to this Biblical regulation that in Abyssinia boys are now circumcised when eight or ten days old.[4] The variation from eight to ten days is probably due to Jewish influence, and perhaps arose from a not very clear knowledge of the regulations of *Shab.* xix. 5, just referred to.

No details of how the rite was performed among the ancient Semites have survived except among the Hebrews. It is probable from Ex 4^{25} that in early times circumcision was performed by the mother, but later, in the time of the P document, it was performed by the father (cf. Gn $17^{23ff.}$). By the time of Josephus it was performed by special operators or surgeons (cf. *Ant.* XX. ii. 4), and this was also the case in the period represented by the Talmud (cf. *Shab.* 130*b*, 133*b*, 135, and 156*a*). If a Jewish physician was not available, the operation might be performed by a non-Jewish surgeon (cf. *Ḥul.* 4*b*; *Aboda Zara*, 27*a*). Among the Bedawīn it is sometimes performed by the father, and sometimes by a barber. In early times it seems to have been sufficient to cut off the end of the foreskin which covers the top of the *glans*

[1] *Iltiqā' al-khitānain* = *congressus venereus*.
[2] Jos. *Ant.* I. xii. 2; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* vi. 11; Sozomen, *HE* vi. 38; Haarbrücker, *Schahrastani*, 1850–51, ii. 35, § 4.
[3] Cf. Wylde's *Modern Abyssinia*, 1901, p. 161; Goodrich-Freer, *Inner Jerusalem*, 1904, p. 121.
[4] See Ranke in *Bab. Exped. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania*, series A, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 29 ff.
[5] Cf. xix. 59, 11 and 12 (quoted also by Jaussen in the reference given in the next note).
[6] See Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, p. 35.
[7] See Barton, *Semitic Origins*, p. 98 ff.

[1] *Arabia Deserta*, i. 340 f., 391 [[2]168 ff.].
[2] Jaussen, *op. cit.* 363.
[3] Doughty, *ib.*
[4] See Wylde, *op. cit.* 161.

penis. This was apparently done in a not very radical way, for it became possible for Jews to conceal the fact of circumcision by artificially extending the prepuce through surgical treatment (see 1 Mac 1[15]; Jos. *Ant.* XII. v. 1; 1 Co 7[18]; Assumption of Moses, 8). It was probably in consequence of this that the *peri'ah*, or laying bare of the *glans*, was instituted. According to this regulation, if any fringes of the foreskin remain, the circumcision is inefficacious (cf. *Shab.* xix. 6).

As performed among the Jews, circumcision involves not only the cutting away of the outer part of the prepuce, but the slitting of its inner lining to facilitate the total uncovering of the gland. The operation consists of three parts: (1) *milah*, the cutting away of the outer part of the prepuce, which is done by one sweep of the knife; (2) *peri'ah*, the tearing of the inner lining of the prepuce which still adheres to the gland, so as to lay the gland wholly bare (this is done by the operator with his thumb-nail and index finger); and (3) *meṣiṣah*, or the sucking of the blood from the wound. In ancient times the ceremony was performed at the residence of the family, but in the time of the Geonim, between the 6th and 11th centuries A.D., it was transferred to the synagogue, and was performed in the presence of the congregation. The services for the day were modified, all the parts which were of a mournful nature being omitted; and sometimes appropriate hymns were recited instead, to make it a festal occasion. As in the time of Christ (cf. Lk 2[21]), so in the Talmudic period (cf. *Shab.* 137*b*), the child was named immediately after his circumcision.

The circumcision of the female consists in cutting off the *nymphæ*, or *labia minora*, of the vulva, which unite over the clitoris. The rite is still performed upon the girls of some of the Arab tribes of Moab, as the time of marriage approaches (cf. Jaussen, *op. cit.* 35).

In the beginning, then, Semitic circumcision was apparently a sacrifice to the goddess of fertility. Whether it was intended to ensure the blessing of the goddess, and so to secure more abundant offspring, or whether it was considered as the sacrifice of a part instead of the whole of the person, we may not clearly determine, though the writer regards the former alternative as the more probable. By the time of the Priestly document it was regarded in Israel as the sign of the covenant between the people and Jahweh (Gn 17[1-5]). In consequence of this view, all Gentiles who became Jewish proselytes were circumcised. In later times it was regarded as a duty which should be accepted with the greatest joy (*Shab.* 130*a*). Jewish writers contend that it is not a sacrament, in the sense in which Baptism and Communion are sacraments to the Christian. But it is clear that, although no mystic character is attached to it, and no doctrine of a mysterious change of the nature of the recipient is built upon it, it does hold, when viewed as a distinctly Jewish rite of fundamental importance to the Jewish faith, much the same place outwardly that the sacraments have held in Christianity. An effort was made by Reformed Jews, beginning in 1843, to abolish circumcision, but without avail. Since 1892, however, the Reformed Jews of America have not required it of proselytes, on the ground that it is a measure of extreme cruelty when performed upon adults.

However circumcision may be viewed by modern Judaism, an effort was made in the OT period to make it 'the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace.' Thus we read in Dt 10[16] 'Circumcise the foreskin of your heart, and do not again make your necks stiff.' The meaning of this is made clear in Dt 30[6] 'Jahweh, thy God, shall circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love Jahweh, thy God, with all thy heart, and all thy soul, that thou mayest live.' Here an ethical value is given to circumcision, by interpreting it as an index of a state or attitude of the heart. Similar uses of it are found in Jer 4[4] and Lv 26[41]. These passages gave St. Paul his conception that the real circumcision was an inner experience (cf. Ro 2[28], Col 2[11]).

LITERATURE.—J Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*[2], Berlin, 1897, pp. 174-176; G. A. Barton, *Semitic Origins*, London and N.Y., 1902, p. 98 ff.; M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les rel. sém.*[2], Paris, 1905, pp. 242-246; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris, 1908, pp. 35, 351, 363 ff.; A. B. Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia*, London, 1901, p. 161; Schürer, *GJV*[4], Leipzig, 1902, iii. 172 ff.; A. Asher, *The Jewish Rite of Circumcision*, London, 1873; W. Nowack, *Heb. Arch.*, Freiburg i. B., 1894, i. 167 ff.; A. Macalister, in *HDB* i. 442 ff.; I. Benzinger in *EBi*, col. 829 ff.; K. Kohler, J. Jacobs, and A. Friedenwald, in *JE* iv. 92-102.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

CITY, CITY-GODS.—1. In spite of the importance attained by the cult of the city in Greek and Roman life, our knowledge of the religious, as distinct from the artistic, aspect of the subject is extremely scanty. From the earliest ti[illegible] which the Greeks became familiar with the idea of the city as an organic existence, with an individuality of its own, distinct from that of other cities, it was natural that some one deity should be regarded as intimately connected with, if not controlling, the fortunes of the city. But the specialization of the general Tyche, who controlled the vicissitudes of human life in general, into a special Tyche swaying the fortunes of a particular State, was a comparatively late development. Thus the image of Tyche made by the sculptor Bupalus for Smyrna in the 6th cent., wearing the cylindrical *polos* characteristic of so many primitive deities, and holding the horn of plenty (Paus. iv. 30. 6), was no special Smyrnæan Tyche, but the universal goddess. Before the Hellenistic age it would seem that the place of the city-Fortune was taken by the chief deity of the State, as it certainly was by Athene at Athens, where Agathe Tyche seems to have been a mere hypostasis of the tutelary goddess. The form of Athene was so definitely fixed at a very early date that later ideas could not prevail to modify her appearance, even when she was considered in the aspect of Tyche. But elsewhere, as at Smyrna, Salamis, Paphos, and various Phœnician cities, we find the local goddesses, Cybele, Aphrodite, and Astarte, when considered as city-goddesses *par excellence*, wearing the mural crown distinctive of that phase of their activity. This guise, however, is not earlier than the 4th century.

2. The idea of Tyche as specially controlling the fortunes of the city has been traced back to Pindar, who calls her φερέπολις, and in *Ol.* xii. invokes Soteira Tyche of Himera as daughter of Zeus Eleutherios, the god of political liberty. Nevertheless we are not justified in supposing that he regards her as the goddess of Himera exclusively; she is still the universal Tyche, who sways the affairs of States as of individuals, and can, of course, be invoked in the case of any particular city or individual. The idea of the Τύχη πόλεως, strictly speaking, dates from the 4th century. In that age two factors were gaining in importance in Greek political society—the monarchy and the new city within the State (as against the older city-State). Foundations like Alexandria and, later, Antioch represented an entirely new idea; and, concurrently with the discovery of this idea, the Greeks invented the formal representation of it, as the Tyche of the city, veiled and wearing the walled crown, and holding usually (at least in later times) the other attributes of the universal Tyche, a rudder and *cornucopiæ*. The head of the city-goddess wearing the walled crown is represented

on 4th cent. coins of Heracleia Pontica and of Salamis in Cyprus (where she is, as stated above, more or less identified with Aphrodite). After the time of Alexander these city-goddesses are represented with increasing frequency; under the Empire practically every city had its Tyche. The name Τυχόπολις, by which she was called at Myra in Lycia (Heberdey, *Opramoas*, Vienna, 1897, p. 50, xix. B 4), well expresses the complete fusion between the ideas of Tyche and city. Most famous of all the figures of such a goddess was the Tyche of Antioch, made by Eutychides of Sicyon. She was seated on a rock (Mt. Silpius) with a half-figure in swimming attitude at her feet (the River Orontes). She held a palm-branch, and her head was veiled and turreted. The earliest representation of this figure is found on coins struck by Tigranes at Antioch. Her cult was of course earlier, but to place the figure on the coins would to the Seleucids have savoured too much of civic independence. Tigranes probably allowed its use in order to propitiate the chief city in his newly acquired dominions. The figure became enormously popular, and is found on hundreds of coins struck by Greek cities in the East, as well as in marble replicas. The ordinary Tyche, holding *cornucopiæ* and rudder, is, however, still commoner on coins of Greek cities, especially in Asia Minor.

3. In Rome the place of the Tyche was supplied in more than one way, characteristic of the Roman tendency to multiply abstractions. In the first place, we have the *genius* of the city. The *genius publicus*, or *genius urbis Romæ*, was worshipped from a very early date (festival on Oct. 9th). Cities, municipia, colonies, provinces all had analogous *genii*, whose worship was a very real thing, so that Arnobius objected to the cult of the *civitatium dei* (i. 28). In addition, and still more closely corresponding to the Greek Tyche, Rome had a special *Fortuna* or *Fortunæ Populi Romani*, or *Fortuna Publica*, or again *Fortuna Publica Populi Romani Quiritium Primigenia*. It is possible that one of the cults of Fortune at Rome was borrowed from Præneste. Finally, Rome herself was personified as Dea Roma, certainly as early as the 3rd cent., perhaps earlier. On a coin struck at Locri in S. Italy about 280 or 275 B.C. she is represented as an armed female figure being crowned by Loyalty. Her helmeted head (not the head of Minerva; see Haeberlin, 'Der Roma-Typus,' in *Corolla Numismatica*, Oxford, 1906), appears on the earliest Roman silver coins, first issued in the 3rd cent. (269 B.C.). Presumably one of the two similar heads on the earlier bronze *trientes* and *unciæ* of the 4th cent. also represents her. We may, therefore, suppose that the Romans did not lag far behind the Greeks in inventing the cult of their city. The claim of the Smyrnæans (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 56; cf. the claim of Alabanda, Liv. xliii. 6) to have been the first to found a temple of Urbs Roma in 195 B.C. must not be taken as showing that the worship was then first invented. Augustus authorized combined cults of Julius Cæsar and Rome in temples at Ephesus and Nicæa, and of himself and Rome at Pergamum and Nicomedia. Perhaps the most famous of these combined cults was that of Lyon, with its altar dedicated to Rome and Augustus. We must not, however, forget that in such a cult we have travelled beyond the idea of the mere city to the idea of the Imperial authority. The local Tyche was in no way incompatible with the Imperial goddess.

4. Of the nature of the cult we know nothing. Greek high priests and Roman *flamines* are mentioned; the chief festival was presumably always on the birthday of the city, as we know it to have been in the case of Rome and Constantinople. It is interesting to note that Constantine adopted the Tyche of Constantinople into the Christian religion, placing a cross on her head, and that Julian accordingly abolished her worship. The personification of cities as female figures wearing turreted crowns has lingered down to the present day. In the Middle Ages it is occasionally found, as in the Joshua Roll (probably of the 10th cent.), where, for instance, there is such a figure of the city of Gebal reclining and holding a *cornucopiæ*.

LITERATURE.—F. Allègre, *Étude sur la déesse grecque Tyché* ('Bibl. de la Fac. des Lettres de Lyon,' xiv. 1892), pp. 165–217; P. Gardner, 'Countries and Cities in Ancient Art' (*JHS*, 1888); Roscher's *Lexikon*, artt. 'Genius' (Birt) and 'Fortuna' (Drexler); Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 1903–05, p. 585.

G. F. HILL.

CIVIL RIGHTS.—Civil rights are those rights existing for the individual, and enjoyed by him, in a State or organized political community. They are usually said to be constituted, and granted to the individual, by the State, and by the State alone, and to be revocable at the will of the State and by the State alone. They can and are to be enjoyed within the State and nowhere else; and depend solely on the good will and good pleasure of the State. They have been frequently contrasted with natural rights, which, it is held, man enjoys by virtue of natural law, or Divine decree, or the constitution of human nature, and which do not owe their existence to the arbitrary will of the State but are inherent in the individual, and would belong to him if the State were not in existence. It is not implied in the assertion of natural rights that these are not enjoyed in a State. On the contrary, it is held that the excellence of a State is determined by the completeness with which natural rights are enjoyed within it and by the absence of any attempt to interfere with them or to set them aside. In short, natural rights may and ought to be enjoyed within the State, but they are not created by it. At the most they are only recognized by it.

The phrase is also used in a narrower sense to cover only those rights which are indisputably created by the State. Thus, for instance, on the Continent, legal sentences of so many months or so many years of imprisonment and so many more years of deprivation of civil rights are frequently recorded; and in Britain certain offences carry with them the inability to exercise civil rights in this sense. These civil rights may be termed political rights, for they have to do chiefly with the right to vote or to be elected to office. To deprive a criminal or an undischarged bankrupt of his civil rights in the wider sense would be to make him an outcast, and deprive him of all security and protection.

This distinction of natural from civil rights is nearly always denied by political theorists, and has almost a revolutionary and anarchistic character in modern times, because it implies the existence of a more primitive and fundamental authority than the sovereign State. However, not all individualists who protest against State interference—*e.g.* Herbert Spencer—are to be regarded as holding such a doctrine. Yet the treatment of the subject in most works of political science is somewhat scholastic, resting content with an analysis of the term 'sovereignty' instead of seeking the basis for a distinction which has been so frequently drawn and which so easily commends itself. The distinction between natural and civil rights is that between rights based on primitive and natural instincts and rights based on instincts acquired by the individual within the State, which, if not artificial, are certainly derivative, formed by the activity of the State itself re-acting on the individuals who compose it. Among the more fundamental may be classed the rights of the family, the right of the individual to life and the con-

ditions of development, the right to freedom of thought and conscience, and the right also to change the character of the State, which is sometimes called the right of revolution. Among the derivative rights are the right to participate in the government of the State, the right of private property in its actual forms, the right to a minimum of subsistence as recognized in Poor Laws. These last are indeed equally natural rights, but they are derivative in their present form; and the manner of their exercise is determined by the State. The right to the suffrage, for instance, is denied to the majority of the subjects of the State; and Mr. Gladstone's declaration in 1867, that it was the refusal, not the granting, of the suffrage that needed to be justified, does not imply that the right to vote is a natural right or anything more than an expediency for the State.

The controversy regarding natural rights has not been rendered more easy of solution by the tendency of political theorists, from Augustine and Aquinas to Machiavelli and Hobbes, to treat the State, if not as 'Leviathan,' yet as something sacrosanct, above criticism, with inalienable and indivisible rights of sovereignty, as the creator of law and not the subject of it. To the non-legal or non-political mind the doctrine of sovereignty, and the conclusions drawn from it, are too sweeping if not somewhat absurd, for the State cannot be regarded as a creation beyond morality and moral judgments. It is an institution, based on human nature and arising out of human necessities, and its value is to be estimated by the way in which it serves these human necessities and by the value of that part of human nature on which it is based. It is necessarily sovereign but it is not at all sacrosanct. Its value is the value of the desire which originated it; and, if it has subordinated other institutions similarly having value and authority, it must give effect to the desires which originated them. It must permit, if not guarantee, their exercise. It has perhaps more authority and more power than any other single institution, although the Church has proved a formidable rival; but it has not more power and authority than all the others combined. So, if the State neglects the functions it has assumed, and endeavours to rule in its own interest, and suppresses other institutions, it stands in a dangerous case. There is possibly no specific right of revolution, but the authority of the State might be upset by the combined authority of the other human desires which can no longer find their expression. Civil rights are therefore simply the natural human desires that have found effect in institutions which the State has subordinated to itself.

We are thus able to understand the distinction between natural and civil rights and at the same time to assert the supremacy of the State without regarding it as Leviathan. A civil right exists corresponding to every human desire that can be fitted into the harmony which the State's authority imposes. There are no civil rights beyond the State, because the State refuses to acknowledge the anarchic independence of any other institution. Civil rights are not created by the State, but are only guaranteed by it. When we say that civil rights cannot exist outside of the State, we are either employing a meaningless tautology or expressing the fact that we do not know of any stage of social existence where there has not been some political authority separate and distinct as in the modern State, or added to the natural functions of an institution designed for some other end, *e.g.* family, Church, etc. There are no natural rights, because we know of no pre-political society without power to impose a harmony on the complex of human desires. But in another sense all civil rights are natural rights because they are based on human desires. Some of the desires are primitive and some are derivative; none is artificial; all are natural. This remains true, though it is an undoubted fact that all desires are modified by reaction from the institutions to which they have given rise, and also by the relation of these institutions to the State. A faithless or ineffective State might be dissolved in virtue of the combined authority of the desires to which it has failed to give effect; but it would be instantly and in the very act replaced by another State. For the State itself is the expression of a permanent desire. A return to anarchy is impossible, and the theory of anarchism itself simply establishes another kind of political authority.

There are thus as many civil rights and relationships—the terms are correlative—as there are institutions. We do not say as many as there are human desires, for there are some desires so fleeting in character and so individual in their occurrence that no corresponding institution has been created. There are also desires whose claims for satisfaction are so inconsistent with the claims made by other and worthier desires, that the corresponding institutions have been suppressed by the State in the exercise of its functions as arbiter and guarantor of the satisfaction of desires. Civil rights are thus of various degrees of importance, which they derive from the importance of the desires that originated the institution. They are the political expression of the ethical value of desires. Their importance is not determined solely by the question of priority of origin. The most important, no doubt, are historically the earliest to manifest themselves; but the later and more refined which are not developed, and do not manifest themselves, till the State has attained a large measure of its authority and supremacy, are less obviously dependent on the physical nature of man. The right to freedom of conscience is not the less important that the need for its recognition does not arise in primitive communities; and, indeed, it is perhaps recognized in the modern State and guaranteed by it only against rival institutions, and not as yet completely against the State itself.

An enumeration of civil rights would therefore be an enumeration of the more permanent human desires. These are subject to change with the development of civilization, because the scale of ethical values changes; and, though the name remains, the idea may be changed if only by the continued reaction of the State upon the institution in question. The right to a minimum of subsistence is a very different thing in the clan, with its periodical re-distribution of land, in the gild, with its sustenance of decayed members, and in the modern State, with its Poor Law operating through a workhouse test. The right of the child to opportunity is a different thing in the patriarchal family, which would permit Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac or Jephthah his daughter, from what it is in modern England, where the State legislates to prevent a father sending his children to work to earn a living for him, and concentrates to a large extent the responsibility for the child's education and health in the hands of its own officials. Civil rights are thus liable to change and modification, and the State has so well performed its duty and so fully justified its encroachments that the law is more than a technical guarantee of freedom and of civil rights. It has progressively given these a richer and a fuller meaning; and natural rights are never so well enjoyed as in the more perfect forms of the State.

LITERATURE.—Spinoza's political writings as interpreted in R. A. Duff, *Spinoza's Political Philosophy*, Glasgow, 1903; W. W. Willoughby, *Nature of the State*, New York, 1896; B. Bosanquet, *Philosophical Theory of the State*, London, 1899; D. G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights*, London, 1895; the standard treatises on politics, such as H. Sidgwick's *Elements of Politics*, London, 1896. The doctrine of rights is maintained by individualist writers generally; see H. Spencer's *Justice*, London, 1891; and W. Donisthorpe's *Individualism*, London, 1889. For a practical criticism of the social contract theory, see J. Morley's *Rousseau*, London, 1873, and, for another point of view, the same writer's *Machiavelli*, London, 1897.

JOHN DAVIDSON.

CIVILITY, COURTESY.—These words have, in their ordinary use, similar, but not identical, connotation. Both stand, in general, for the dispositions and habits which lead to the observance of good manners, and are thus opposed to rudeness, want of consideration in small things, contempt of etiquette, and aversion to social distinctions and conventions. The word 'civility,' however, stands for less distinguished qualities than those comprised under 'courtesy.' Generally speaking, civility is a more negative and passive quality, shown chiefly in forbearance from acts likely to cause annoyance and discomfort, while courtesy implies beyond this a positive and active regard, whether inbred or consciously acquired, for the claims and sentiments of one's neighbours, so far as such regard tends to make social life easy and agreeable. If this difference is a real one, it may have its origin in the etymology and history of the words.

Civilitas, originally meaning the art of government, came to denote the general state of society, and finally the group of human qualities by which men and women are fitted to live together in orderly society. 'Civilitie' in Tudor times was used as equivalent to 'civilization.' The transference is not hard, since civilization certainly requires amenability to social rules, though other requirements may be equally imperative. Again, the character of early political society, in the stress laid on the necessary subordination of the lower classes, may explain how, in our use of the words 'civil' and 'uncivil,' we think, as a rule, more of the behaviour of social inferiors to superiors than *vice versa*, though the conduct of equals to one another, or even of superiors to inferiors, may sometimes be called 'civil' or the reverse.

'Courtesy,' on the other hand, is originally an aristocratic virtue derived from a *court*, and maintained by a high sense of honour and self-respect in a dominant class. It has in the history of many peoples become associated with all that goes to make up the idea of chivalry (*q.v.*). Thus English readers naturally look on Chaucer's 'Knight' as the typical case. Scrupulous attention to all recognized personal claims, ready helpfulness to the weak and the oppressed, observance of all the rules of good breeding, are among the conspicuous traits of the courteous aristocrat, whether found in ancient Arabia, in Japan, or in the upper society of mediæval Europe.

With the growth of democracy, the ideas of courtesy and of civility may seem to approximate. If, then, we attempt a rough analysis of the disposition or character under consideration, we need not attempt to distinguish between the two, except that the finer qualities would seem to belong to courtesy rather than to civility.

In such an analysis, one primary element is *self-control*. The most flagrant cases of bad manners, such as excessive laughter, or self-indulgence at table, are, of course, mainly due to want of self-discipline, and the same may be said of the less coarse and offensive habits of the self-obtruding bore. The positive side of this quality is more fitly described as *patience*, which, in fact, includes self-repression, and adds an altruistic element. Another necessary ingredient in civility or courtesy is *presence of mind*. Persons who are not, by disposition or training, able to discern the right thing to do or say at any particular moment are certain to find themselves constantly placed, and placing others, in a position of embarrassment or annoyance. A certain dignity, based on the same kind of appreciation of one's own claims as is felt for those of other people, is an essential quality, as is also a degree of modesty sufficient to keep one's personal idiosyncrasies habitually in the background. Intellectual tastes are not indispensable (witness the character of Sir Roger de Coverley), though, if culture is present, it certainly lends an additional charm to courtesy.

But the fundamental characteristic of the highest form of courtesy is *a quick and imaginative sympathy*. This is the safest guide, not only in avoiding unpleasant social collisions, but in suggesting tactful modes of dealing with all manner of situations. It appears especially in the perfect host or hostess, who seems to have an intuitive knowledge of the feelings of each guest in a large assembly. It is partly an intellectual, partly a moral quality, and is generally accompanied by all the other ingredients of courtesy already mentioned.

It is a common matter of complaint that the standard of civility, courtesy, or good manners is declining among us at the present day. On this point it would be rash to offer an opinion, chiefly because one of the features of modern society is the partial obliteration of class distinctions; and, as each class has its traditional code of manners, such obliteration must cause upheavals. If, in the world generally, manners are tending to become slipshod and sometimes offensive, two causes may be assigned for the process: the hurry of modern life, which makes people think that they have no time for the lesser conveniences and amenities of society; and the depreciation of self-restraint as an element in education.

Civility and courtesy have a connexion with morals which is fairly close and generally evident. True, it is possible for a courteous person to be grossly immoral, and it is also possible for a highly moral person to be lacking in courtesy; yet a high regard for courtesy without moral principle is likely to lead to strange aberrations, as was the case in the later days of chivalry, and morality unadorned with grace of manners has often a forbidding character. 'Be courteous' does not rank with the precepts of the Decalogue, and its presence in AV of the Eng. Bible (1 P 3[8]) is due only to a happy mistranslation of ταπεινόφρονες, 'modest' (RV 'humbleminded'). The same passage contains an injunction to be συμπαθεῖς; and this, if the view given above be accurate, implies the cultivation of a tone of mind necessary for the development of genuine courtesy.

LITERATURE.—The literature on the subject is rather slight, as *courtesy* has not been regarded as worthy of much consideration by ethical writers, though it comes more or less under *benevolence*. There are many mediæval treatises on good manners, including Caxton's *Boke of Curtesye*. There is much good sense in Swift's *Essay on Good Manners*, reprinted from the *Guardian*, and in Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to his Godson*, 1890. For a glorification of mediæval habits of life as a model to modern gentlemen, see K. H. Digby, *The Broad Stone of Honour*, 1829-48. The following references to modern works may be useful: W. Dickie, *The Culture of the Spiritual Life*, 1905, p. 121; C. C. Everett, *Ethics for Young People*, 1892, p. 110; M. Creighton, *The Claims of the Common Life*, 1905, p. 138; F. Paget, *Studies in the Christian Character*, 1895, p. 209; R. W. Dale, *Laws of Christ for Common Life*, 1884, p. 107; H. Belloc in *Dublin Review*, vol. cxl. (1907) p. 289.

ALICE GARDNER.

CIVILIZATION.—As in the case of other words used to describe certain stages of social development, the term 'civilization' has come to have a much more extended meaning than it originally possessed. In its literal sense civilization (*civilis*, 'pertaining to a citizen') implies a

social condition existing under the forms and government of an organized State. The citizen (*civis*) was the unit in the government of ancient Rome, and he occupied a similar position in the organization of the city-States of Greece. From the more limited sense thus indicated the term 'civilization' has gradually been extended in meaning until in current general use it has come to imply all that progress in arts, government, social equipment, social co-operation, and culture which separates man as a member of the higher societies from a condition of barbarism.

A study of the origins of civilization, and then of the principles underlying social development in modern political societies, is a very wide one; and it is tending to become more and more coincident in its subject matter with that which is usually included under the head of Sociology. It is a feature of the subject, however, that the principles of early societies have been more studied and are better understood than the principles of more recent social development. Four-fifths of the space in Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, for instance, is devoted to the discussion of topics relating to primitive man. The ideas and practices connected with the age of puberty, the customs and beliefs surrounding the profession of medicine-men in primitive society, the rites and beliefs associated with marriage in its early forms, the institution of totemism amongst savage peoples, and the doctrines of ancestor-worship in early tribal society, have all received a great amount of attention. The influence of conceptions associated with these and similar institutions in extending and organizing social consciousness in the primitive stages of society has been widely studied and discussed. The comparative study of later systems of civilization and the principles underlying them —and in particular the study of the principles governing the development of Western civilization for the past 2000 years—has made for less progress.

In all conditions of early society the first beginnings of the institutions of custom, of religion, and of law, which have held society together, have been closely associated with the family. The head of the family in primitive social conditions is the head of the social group; and the family and the relationships proceeding from it always constitute the basis of the State in its earliest forms. The history of civilization from this point forward is mainly the history of the development of larger and larger associations of men, of the forces which have held these associations together, and of the causes which have given them long life, vitality, and social efficiency in the highest sense.

There is no doubt that some kind of military efficiency was intimately associated with the origin of primitive social groups, and that the bonds of union were usually religious in character. J. G. Frazer's theory (*Early Hist. of Kingship*, 1905) of the origin of kingship in early society is to the effect that the office was developed out of magic— it being the magician rather than the military leader who first attained authority in the primitive group. In the further stages he imagines the more primitive functions as falling into the background and being exchanged for priestly duties as magic is superseded by religion. In still later phases a partition takes place between the civil and the religious aspect of the kingship, the temporal power being committed to one man and the spiritual to another. The military principle must, however, have been supreme under all aspects. Great prominence is given in early society to supposed blood-relationship, to which religious significance is attributed. The resulting social group of this kind must from the beginning have had a strong selective value, for it would have behind it a powerful military principle of efficiency making for its successful development. As the family expanded into a larger social group like the Latin *gens*, and this again into the clan, the family life and the tie of supposed blood-relationship continued to possess great importance as a basis of social unity. We have examples of the patriarchal type of society well defined in the earlier records of the Jews. In the Hindu law down to the present day the joint family continues to be a family union of an unlimited number of persons and their wives, descended, or supposed to be descended, from a common male ancestor. The social development of most of the historic peoples has progressed far beyond this stage. The civilization of Eastern peoples has been greatly influenced by some of the more characteristic ideas of ancestor religion. The family relationship, the influence of ancestors, and the force of hereditary usage are amongst the most powerful causes giving to Chinese civilization of the present day its characteristic features. In the ancient Shintoism of Japan the deification of heroes and great men as well as of the forces of Nature was a feature. 'The great gods . . . are addressed as parents, or dear divine ancestors' (W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, p. 6). Although Shinto as a national religion is almost extinct, its influence has been considerable. So long as we are born Japanese, says Okakura-Yoshisaburo, 'our actual self, notwithstanding the different clothes we have put on, has ever remained true in its spirit to our native cult. Speaking generally, we are still Shintoists to this day' (*The Japanese Spirit*, p. 88). In the West, as civilization became more complex, the tribe, or a similar aggregate, included several groups of blood relations, although its organization still followed that of the family. This stage is clearly in sight in the early history of the city-States of Greece and Rome, and also in the history of the Jews; but it tended to merge in time in the more highly organized condition of the political State. Amongst most ancient peoples, and in the Mosaic constitution, as well as in the history of Greece and Rome, we find tribes with a political and religious meaning, which afterwards disappear. The tribal constitution, in short, lasted, as Bluntschli points out, 'as a bridge between the family and the State, and fell away as soon as the State was assured' (*The Theory of the State*).

As the epoch of the large modern State is approached, the tendency towards both aggregation and differentiation of function continues. The principles underlying and holding together the civilization of the more advanced peoples of the present day have become far more complex than at any previous stage. The modern State is no longer identified, as was the State in the ancient world, with the life of a city. It rests on a large organized territory moving towards still larger aggregation by federation. That our Western civilization, moreover, is essentially and ultimately a single organic unity, may be perceived from the fact that the principles underlying its development are more organic than those underlying the life of any of the States comprised within it. The resources, military, material, and cultural, have become immense. It has absorbed into it most of the results and most of the equipment of all past states of social order. In the States within it, while they remain independent of each other, differentiation upon differentiation of function has taken place, and is still taking place, in government, education, communication, and productive activities of all kinds. Our Western civilization has become a vast, highly organized, and interdependent whole, the wants of every part regulated by economic laws, extensive in their reach, and complex in their

application beyond anything which has prevailed before. Its accumulated power, its methods, and its knowledge now deeply affect the development of the individual born within it. Despite the wars that have taken place within it, and that have been due to it, Western civilization has been a surprisingly stable system of order, making on the whole for the peace of its peoples, and increasingly tending to discountenance military conquest. So great is the prestige of its methods and results, that they are now being eagerly borrowed by other peoples. It is materially influencing the standards of culture and conduct throughout the world, and in the result it is operating towards the gradual improvement and intensification of all the conditions of progress among nations.

In attempting to gauge the character and the causes of this twofold movement of society towards aggregation, organization, and stability on the one hand, and towards culture and efficiency on the other, we distinguish certain leading features. It is evident that the process as a whole is one in which society is becoming more and more organic, and in which the interests of the individual are therefore being increasingly subordinated to the needs and efficiency of society as a whole. What, therefore, it may be asked, is the cause of this deepening of the social consciousness? We see primitive society resolved into its component units when the sense of obligation to a military leader is dissolved with his death. What is the cause of this greatly increased sense of social duty, which, it may be observed, goes deeper than sense of loyalty to the particular State of which the citizen may be a member, and which in the last resort makes these striking results of our civilization possible?

A very pregnant remark of T. H. Green (*Prolegomena to Ethics*, bk. III. ch. iii.) was that during the ethical development of man the sense of social duty involved in the command 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' has never varied. What has varied is only the answer to the question 'Who is my neighbour?' If, in the light of this profoundly true reflexion, we regard social progress from the conditions of primitive society to those of the highest civilization of the present, it may be observed to possess certain marked features.

In the infancy of historic societies we see men regarded and treated always as members of a group. Everybody, as Maine (*Ancient Law*, 1907 ed., p. 136) has said, is first a citizen; then as a citizen he is a member of his order—of an aristocracy or a democracy, of an order of patricians or of plebeians, or of a caste; next he is a member of a *gens*, house, or clan; and lastly, he is a member of his family. In the aggregate of these fixed groups, as they become in time the basis of the primitive State, the ruling principle of the State—as it was, no doubt, the ruling principle of the earlier and smaller group—expressed under a multitude of forms, and amongst peoples widely separated from each other in every other respect, continues to be the same. While relationship within the State is always the most binding that can be conceived, all those without it are regarded as persons to whom no obligation of any kind is due. The bond of citizenship within the early societies had almost always a religious significance; but, from its nature, it gave rise to an attitude of exclusiveness which it is difficult for the modern mind to conceive. In the primitive stage of the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome, the limited conception of the answer to the question 'Who is my neighbour?' was very marked. In the early type of caste society to which Homer introduces us, says Mahaffy,

'the key to the comprehension of all the details depends upon one leading principle—that consideration is due to the members of the caste, and even to its dependents, but that beyond its pale even the most deserving are of no account save as objects of plunder' (*Social Life in Greece*, 1874, p. 14).

A higher conception, but one still inspired with the strict principle of exclusiveness, is presented in the earlier records of the Jewish people. This exclusive spirit prevailed in great strength throughout the history of ancient Greece and Rome. Much has been written respecting the spread of more liberal and tolerant ideas in the later periods of those civilizations, but there is an aspect of the matter which must always be kept in mind. Gilbert Murray has recently (*Rise of the Greek Epic*, 1907) pointed out that, so far from prevailing features of early Greek civilization like slavery being characteristically Greek, they are just the reverse. They are only part of the primitive inheritance from barbarism from which Hellenism was struggling to free mankind. But, while there is a sense in which this saying is true, there is also a sense in which entirely misleading conclusions might be drawn from it. The comparative student of the history of institutions and types of civilization has always to keep before him that it was with the spirit of exclusiveness underlying this primitive inheritance that the political, social, and religious institutions of ancient Greece and Rome were vitally associated. For, while progress towards a wider conception of humanity is the fact which is vitally related to the development that is taking place in present-day civilization and all its institutions, such progress in the later history of the Greek States and in the Roman Empire represented not a process of life, but the decay and disintegration of the characteristic principles upon which society had been constituted. This is an important distinction, which must never be overlooked.

The sense of responsibility of men to each other and to life in general, as displayed in the answer to the question 'Who is my neighbour?', was very limited in the ancient civilizations. We witness this in the relations of the nation to other States and to conquered peoples, as displayed in the spirit of the Roman *jus civile*. We see the limited sense of responsibility to life in the relations of society to slaves, and of the head of the family to his dependents. We witness the spirit of it expressed in the Roman *patria potestas* and *manus*, and in the common customs of the time, such as the exposure of infants. In the ancient State the economic fabric of society rested on a basis of slavery, the slaves being comprised largely of prisoners taken in war and their descendants. The prisoner taken in war was held to have forfeited his life, so that any fate short of death to which he was consigned was regarded as a cause of gratitude (*Inst. Just.* lib. i. tit. iii.). The slave population of Attica at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war is put by Beloch at 100,000, as against a free population of 135,000. Estimating from the Roman census of 684, Mommsen puts the free population of the Italian peninsula at six or seven millions, with a slave population of thirteen or fourteen millions. It thus happened that the outward policy of the ancient State to other peoples became, by fundamental principles of its own life, a policy of military conquest and subjugation, the only limiting principle being the successful resistance of the others to whom the right of existence was thus denied. This epoch of history moved by inherent forces towards the final emergence of one supreme military State in an era of general conquest, and culminated in the example of universal dominion which we had in the Roman world before the rise of the civilization of our era.

The influence on the development of civilization of the wider conception of duty and responsibility to one's fellow men which was introduced into the world with the spread of Christianity can hardly

be over-estimated. The extended conception of the answer to the question 'Who is my neighbour?' which has resulted from the characteristic doctrines of the Christian religion—a conception transcending all the claims of family, group, State, nation, people, or race, and even all the interests comprised in any existing order of society—has been the most powerful evolutionary force which has ever acted on society. It has tended to break up the absolutisms inherited from an older civilization, and to bring into being a new type of social efficiency. The idea has gradually been brought into prominence in recent times that, in the development of organized society, just as in the development of all other forms of life, there is constant and never-ceasing selection as between the more organic and the less organic, that is to say, between the more efficient and the less efficient. The enormous importance, therefore, of this new sense of responsibility to life introduced with the Christian religion, in laying the foundations of a more organic state of society, is a fundamental fact to be taken account of by the scientific student of social development in Western countries.

In the ancient State, as we see it represented in the civilizations of Greece and Rome, there resulted from the principles of its life the facts that the economic fabric of society came to be based on slavery, and that the principal aim of public policy was permanently directed towards the military conquest of other peoples. There were other characteristic results. Where the State represented the whole life and duties of man, freedom as against the State was unknown, and all human institutions tended to become closed *imperiums* organized round the opinions and ideals which happened to be in the ascendant. In law, in religion, in morals, in the status of citizens, in the attitude towards industry, in the economic organization of society, all these *imperiums*, resting ultimately on force, pressed upon the individual, and set definite and fixed bounds to the development of society. The principle limiting social efficiency was that there could be no free conflict of forces in society under such conditions. The present strangled the future, and every kind of human energy necessarily tended to reach its highest potentiality in relation to the present.

With the deepening influence of the conceptions of the Christian religion in the West, what we see in progress is the gradual projection of the sense of human brotherhood, and the sense of human responsibility outside all institutions, organized in the State. The extension of the conception of human brotherhood outside the limits of race and beyond all political boundaries; the deepening of the sense of human responsibility, first of all to fellow-creatures, and then to life itself; the more extended, more spiritual, and therefore more organic, conception of humanity which has come to prevail amongst us—all these are very marked accompaniments of the development which has since been characteristically associated with Western civilization. These wider conceptions, almost at the outset, brought Christianity into conflict with the State religion of the Roman Empire. In time the same ideas were applied in challenging the institution of slavery. Later, the challenge extended in the Church itself to its own system of ideas in their relation to the State. Western civilization has continued to carry this development forward in every direction. The slow revolution which has been effected has now extended to nearly all the institutions of political life; and in the struggles still in the future it is tending to involve all the institutions of economic life. The principle of efficiency is the freer conflict of all the forces in society, this fact expressing itself in the progressive tendency towards equality of opportunity. Western history thus presents to us a type of civilization in which we see on a great scale the slow, increasing, and successful challenge of the ascendancy of the present in all social and political institutions. The results obtained have been far-reaching in their effects, and they are now profoundly influencing the development of most of the peoples of the world.

The principal feature, in short, which differentiates our civilization from the ancient civilization of Greece and Rome is, that modern Western civilization represents, in an ever-increasing degree, the enfranchisement of the future in the evolutionary process. The efficiency of society, as it grows more and more organic, is, that is to say, becoming more and more a projected efficiency. Regarding the political movement of the last five hundred years in most Western countries, we may perceive that in history it is this conception of the struggle between the less organic interests which represent the dominant present and the more organic interests which include future welfare that gives us the clue to the progress which has been taking place in all institutions. In the disappearance of slavery, in the freeing of the lower orders of the people, in the reform of land tenures, in the innumerable laws which have been passed enfranchising and equipping workmen and the masses of the people in the struggle for existence, what we have always in view is the slow retreat of the occupying classes, which obtained their position and influence under an earlier order of society, in which the ascendancy of the present resting on force was the ruling principle. It has been the deepening of the social consciousness, acting alike on the occupying classes and on the incoming masses, which has been the most powerful cause producing this development in social and political institutions. The meaning behind it is the movement under all forms towards equality of opportunity.

In the ancient civilizations the tendency to conquest was an inherent principle in the life of the military State. It is no longer an inherent principle in the modern State. The right of conquest is, indeed, still acknowledged in the international law of civilized States. But it may be observed to be a right becoming more and more impracticable and impossible among the more advanced peoples, simply because with the higher conception of the answer to the question 'Who is my neighbour?' it has become almost impossible that one nation should conquer another after the manner of the ancient world. It would be regarded as so great an outrage that it would undoubtedly prove to be one of the most unprofitable adventures in which a civilized State could engage. Militarism, it may be distinguished, is becoming mainly defensive amongst the more advanced nations. Like the civil power within the State, it is tending to represent rather the organized means of resistance to the methods of force, should these methods be invoked by others temporarily or permanently under the influence of less evolved standards of conduct.

In the early stages of the development of civilization the social organization tended to be co-extensive with the boundaries of the State or nation. But, with the deepening of social consciousness, it is tending to be no longer so. The social organism still includes the political State. But it tends to become a unity possessing a far deeper and wider meaning. Thus we may distinguish how our own civilization, as already stated, is a unity far more organic than the life of any of the States or nations belonging to it. It is a social organism which includes them all, while the principle of its own life is a common inheritance in the influence of those spiritual conceptions which have produced that extension of the social consciousness already referred

to. We may distinguish also the operation of the influences which are tending to extend the conception of the social organism not only to humanity, but, in the widest sense, so as to embrace the meaning and destiny of the race as a whole. But here we are carried into the midst of the capital problems of philosophy. It is, indeed, in the ethical, philosophical, and spiritual conceptions which are still extending and deepening the social consciousness that the whole question of the further development of civilization centres.

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See also the artt. in the present work on FAMILY, BROTHERHOOD (artificial), SLAVERY, LAW, ECONOMICS, INHERITANCE, WAR.

BENJAMIN KIDD.

CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.—See PURIFICATION.

CLEANTHES.—Cleanthes, the second Greek president of the Stoic school (born 331, died 232 B.C.—such are the most likely dates), was a native of Assos, in Asia Minor, and the son of Phanias. His original occupation was that of a boxer. He came to Athens a poor man, and joined himself to Zeno, the Stoic, whose philosophy he eagerly studied and accepted. He had a great reputation among his contemporaries for industry (both physical and mental), working hard over night for a mere living by drawing water in the gardens, and devoting himself to philosophy during the day. His laborious habits and his strenuous simple life, his upright character and his sincerity of conviction, won for him general admiration; but he was not commonly regarded as highly endowed mentally—indeed, he was esteemed as slow of intellect, and is represented as chiding himself for 'lack of brains' (νοῦν δὲ μή, Diog. Laert. vii. 171). We must not, however, take this too seriously. Self depreciation is no sure sign of obtuseness, nor is the opinion of one's contemporaries infallible. St. Thomas Aquinas, because of his apparent stolidity, was known by his companions at Cologne as 'the ox'; and yet the prediction of his master, Albertus Magnus, came absolutely true: 'That ox will make his lowings heard throughout Christendom.' So, when we find Cleanthes behaving meekly when he was designated 'an ass,' we need not think any the less of him. It only shows that he was one of those spirits who are finely touched to fine issues. But not only in the unresenting way in which he accepted gibes and insults did the gentleness of his nature come out; we see it also in his lenient judgments of others, especially of opponents in philosophy, and in his tendency to look at the best side of a man's character, not at the worst. Yet, gentle though he was, he was by no means destitute of keenness of wit and power of repartee. In character and disposition he was very much the Epictetus of the early Greek period of the school. The manner of his death was remarkable. Suffering from swollen gums, he abstained for two days from food, on the advice of his physicians. At the end of that time he had so far recovered that his physicians gave him liberty to return to his normal mode of living. But he refused, saying that he had now got thus far on the way. And so, continuing in his abstinence, he died.

To Zeno, his master, he was consistently faithful and attached, submitting himself to his guidance as to life and conduct, and loyally accepting his teaching. Yet, though thus loyal, he was not lacking in independence of thought. He carried forward the Zenonian doctrines, emending and developing them, and he gave a coherence to the Stoic system that is quite noteworthy. His distinctive features are as follows:

1. While accepting the Zenonian division of the sciences into Logic, Physics, and Ethics (with the last as supreme), he gave explicit statement to what was implicit in the division, and duplicated each member, viz. Logic and Rhetoric, Physics and Theology, Ethics and Politics. By thus conjoining Rhetoric with Logic, he brought forward the importance of investigation into the value and nature of words, and gave an impulse to the school in a direction in which it won repute. By taking direct account of Theology as attaching to Physics, he indicated the wide sense in which the term Physics was understood by the Stoics, and also virtually acknowledged the essential Pantheism of the Stoic system—a Pantheism both materialistic and dynamic. And, by uniting Politics with Ethics, he indicated the necessity of recognition of the social environment for the proper understanding and appreciation of moral phenomena and moral principles. There was wisdom in the elaboration, and it bore testimony to the logical instinct of Cleanthes as a definer. It made the scheme more suitable for the inclusion, without unnecessary straining, of all the known sciences of the day.

2. We note, next, his pronounced materialism. Doubtless the teaching of Zeno was materialistic, but Cleanthes has the distinction of having carried out this basal principle in a drastic and thoroughgoing fashion. With him the physical property of strain or tension (τόνος) became supreme in the explanation of the formation and structure of the Universe. But he made rigorous application of it also to all the provinces and processes of mind. By this means he explained the phenomena of sense-perception—the mode by which we attain a knowledge of external reality through the senses. He regarded perception as effected by actual dints or hollow marks made by the object of sense on the soul, just like the impression that a seal leaves upon wax. This is a purely materialistic explana-

tion—so much so that even Chrysippus had to tone it down (see art. CHRYSIPPUS); but it appeared to account satisfactorily for the *hold* that external reality takes upon us in perception, and also for the *assurance* we obtain that it is external reality that impresses us. In accordance with this is the teaching that the mind is originally a *tabula rasa* —a sheet of clean paper, waiting to be written upon by the finger of experience. This, too, is an obviously materialistic doctrine, and seems to have originated with Cleanthes. Again, if we turn to the emotions, we find the same principle of explanation regarded as sufficient. His enumeration of the emotions, indeed, is rather scanty (he recognized, at any rate, fear, grief, and love); but, few or many, they were all 'weaknesses,' and, therefore, states to be got rid of, and were to be explained, on physical principles, by lack of tension. Nor was there need of any other ground of explanation when ethics and virtue were reached. Here, too, materialism supplied the key. The virtues had been enunciated by Plato as four in number—wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice. This list was expounded by Cleanthes, with a difference. The difference lay in the fact that, instead of 'wisdom' standing at the top, he put 'self-control' (ἐγκράτεια) there. This was done wittingly; for now it was made apparent that virtue, being self-control, consists in robust moral fibre, and so is explicable by strain or tension. Everywhere materialism reigned; and thus was absolute theoretical consistency given to the Stoic teaching.

3. To Cleanthes, the soul was material—he viewed it as 'fiery breath' or πνεῦμα. This follows from the Zenonian doctrine, taken over from Heraclitus, that fire is the primal substance of the Universe, in which all created beings participate. But Cleanthes proved the position by two definite arguments, which have often been repeated in similar connexion since—viz. (1) the intimate relationship and sympathy between soul and body—if the body is hurt the soul is pained, if the soul is anxious or depressed the body shows it in outward expression; (2) mental capacities in the individual, as well as physical qualities, are transmitted by ordinary generation from parent to child. Nevertheless, the soul, though material, is not destroyed by death: it survives the separation from the body and continues in conscious personal existence till the Great Conflagration, when it is re-absorbed into the primal fire or ether; and this, unlike what Chrysippus taught, applies to *all* human souls, and not merely to the souls of the wise. From the primal fire it issues again in due course, according to the doctrine of world-cycles—a doctrine that had an immense fascination for Cleanthes, and which he did much to elaborate and establish. In his view, also, the human soul is intimately bound up with the world, and should be assimilated to it, so that the world must be conceived as a macrocosm, having man exactly corresponding to it as a microcosm.

4. The name of Cleanthes is associated in chief with the theology of the Stoic school—a theology that is pantheistic and materialistic, but yet is made, in the hands of Cleanthes, to assume an impressive devotional aspect. There is nothing finer in the Greek language than the *Hymn to Zeus*, and it may very well be taken as a summary of the theological tenets of Stoicism. In the first place, there is an intensity of conviction and a stately, austere reverence about it that is supremely appropriate to an address to Zeus by one who, in so far as his principles were embodied in his life, felt himself in very deed akin to the Divine, and so worthy to hold communion with the Highest:

'Above all gods most glorious, invoked by many a name, almighty evermore, who didst found the world and guidest all by law—O Zeus, hail! for it is right that all mortals address thee. We are thine offspring, alone of mortal things that live and walk the earth moulded in image of the All; therefore, thee will I hymn and sing thy might continually.'

Next, it breathes that spirit of admiration for, and whole-hearted submission to, the world-order that is the true index of a pious sensitive religious nature:

'Thee doth all this system that rolls round the earth obey in what path soever thou guidest it, and willingly is it governed by thee. . . . Nay more, what is uneven, thy skill doth make even; what knew not order, it setteth in order; and things that strive find all in thee a friend. For thus hast thou fitted all, evil with good, in one great whole, so that in all things reigns one reason everlastingly.'

In this we find Cleanthes' interpretation of the Zenonian formula 'Live agreeably to nature.' It was made from the standpoint of the Universe or All, not, as Chrysippus afterwards made it, mainly from the side of human nature, which is but a part of the Universe or All. The religious attitude of Cleanthes is still further illustrated by the striking lines reproduced by Epictetus in his *Enchiridion*, lii. (for the deepest thoughts of Cleanthes are expressed in genuine effective poetry):

'Lead me, O Zeus, and thou, O Destiny, whithersoever I am ordained by you to go. I will follow without hesitation. And even if, in evil mood, I would not, none the less must I follow' (Seneca's translation of these lines into Latin verse is well known [*Epistles*, cvii.]).

Lastly, the *Hymn* recognizes that the moral evil which is in the world is the result not of Fate, but of man's free will:

'Without thee, O Divinity, no deed is done on earth, nor in the ethereal vault divine, nor in the deep, save only what wicked men do in the folly of their hearts.'

In thus separating Fate from Providence and maintaining that moral evil, though fated, is not due to Providence—though pre-determined, is not foreordained—Cleanthes separated from his master Zeno, who had identified Fate with Providence, as also from his disciple Chrysippus, who did the same.

Although God's existence is vouched for by the Stoic doctrine of προλήψεις, or common notions, and is attested by the general consent of mankind, nevertheless Cleanthes adduced other proofs of it. He laid the stress on the physical argument from the nature of the primitive ether or all-pervading creative and preservative fire; and he had still further reasonings, four of which are given by Cicero (*de Nat. Deorum*, ii. 5 and iii. 7)—viz. (1) the foreknowledge of future events; (2) lightning, tempests, and other shocks of Nature; (3) the abundance of good things that we enjoy from Nature; and (4) the invariable order of the stars and the heavens. The first of these refers to God as universal Reason, and was specially applied by the Stoics to divination; the second appeals to the terror aroused in man by certain of the more striking and threatening phenomena of Nature (tempests, earthquakes, etc.); the third takes account of the beneficence of Nature, and appeals to man's sense of gratitude; the fourth, 'and by far the strongest of all,' is drawn from the regularity of the motion and revolution of the heavens and the magnificence and beauty of the heavenly bodies. This last is very significant. It reposes on the principle that order implies intelligence or mind—a principle that was used to great purpose, in modern times, by Principal Tulloch in his Burnett Prize Essay on *Theism* (1855), and for which he claimed the merit of stating the Teleological argument in a form that is not exposed to the objections urged so formidably against the more usual way of putting it—*e.g.* Paley's or Thomas Reid's.

5. As compared with his disciple and successor Chrysippus, Cleanthes was not a pronounced controversialist, although he argued keenly against the hedonism of the Epicureans. A logician, indeed, he was, and he took his part in discussing 'the ruling argument' (ὁ κυριεύων) and other

famous puzzles of the time; he handled the doctrine of λεκτά, and introduced the term λεκτόν in the sense of κατηγορημα into logical usage; and, in the list of his treatises given by Diog. Laert., there are several works on points or parts of Logic. But, for all that, he could lay no claim to the polemical activity and dialectical skill of Chrysippus. His gentle nature seemed to love contemplation and peace more than the turmoil of altercation and the war of words. Hence, he was satisfied to be looked upon as the burden-bearer, the mere recipient and transmitter of the Zenonian teaching, and did not resent the appellation 'ass.' Hence, too, Chrysippus, recognizing his wisdom but distrusting his polemical capacity, could request to be indoctrinated by him in the Stoic principles, while reserving to himself the task of discovering the demonstrations. Hence, further, when on one occasion Cleanthes, in later years, was hard pressed by the sophistry of an opponent, Chrysippus could thrust himself forward and say, 'Cease dragging the old man from more important matters, and propose these questions to us who are young' (Diog. Laert. vii. 182). The author of the *Hymn to Zeus* had his character moulded on the serener and more amiable side of virtue, and did not care to 'strive,' if only he might be left to high thought and placid contemplation of the Divine. And his own and after generations recognized his worth. Writing in the 6th cent. A.D., Simplicius (see his Commentary on Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, c. 78) says:

'The eminence of this man was so great that I myself have seen at Assos, of which place he was a native, a very noble statue, worthy of his fame and of the magnificence of the Senate of Rome, who set it up in honour of him.'

If, as Tyndall once maintained, referring to Goethe, a public statue is the only worthy tribute to a really great man, then Cleanthes conforms to the test; and, at all events, his merits are not likely to be ignored by philosophy at the present moment. Recent research, led by Hirzel, has fully established his claim to be no mere echo of Zeno, and it also forbids our looking upon him as the rather weak master, hustled and wholly overshadowed by his greater pupil Chrysippus; it justifies us in assigning him a leading place in the formation of the Stoic creed, and in regarding him, in a real sense, and not merely nominally, as the second founder of the Stoic school.

LITERATURE.—All the works specified under art. CHRYSIPPUS; in addition: Tertullian, *de An.*; Nemesius, *de Nat. Hom.*; Joannes ab Arnim (von Arnim), *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, vol. i. ('Zeno et Zenonis discipuli'), pars ii. 5, 'Cleanthis Assii fragmenta et apophthegmata' (Leipzig, 1905); R. Hirzel, *Untersuchungen zu Ciceros philosophischen Schriften* (Leipzig, 1882), vol. ii. ('Die Entwicklung der stoischen Philosophie'); H. Siebeck, *Untersuchungen zur Philosophie der Griechen* (Freiburg i. B., 1888), also his *Gesch. der Psychologie* (Gotha, 1884); A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes* (Cambridge, 1891).

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

CLERICALISM AND ANTI-CLERICALISM. **I. Meaning and use of the terms.** These antithetical terms are the anglicized forms of foreign originals, and on the Continent (where they are associated respectively with allegiance or opposition to Ultramontanism, if not, as happens in more extreme cases, to revealed religion as a whole) they bear a much more precise signification than they do in England. Isolated instances of the use of the word 'Clericalism' may be found earlier, but the term did not obtain general recognition in England previous to the last quarter of the 19th cent., whilst even then it made its way but slowly, and its employment was for some time journalistic rather than strictly literary (cf. the quotations given in *OED*, the last of which ['The chronic insurrection of the clergy, their hostility to republican institutions, their defiance of national supremacy is what is called in France clericalism'] may be taken as evidence of the comparative unfamiliarity of the word to English readers so late as the year 1883). The idea of Clericalism, however, together with that of its opposite, found constant expression in older English under other forms, *e.g.* 'priestdom,' 'priestcraft,' 'priest-ridden,' 'monkish,' 'popery,' 'prelacy,' etc., though the associations thus suggested are for the most part personal, sectional, or exceptional, rather than typical of a class, and are hence distinguished from those of Clericalism, which is a term both of wider scope and of more sinister import. In this its primary sense, then, Clericalism is a designation applying to all that conduces to the establishment of 'a spiritual despotism exercised by a sacerdotal caste.'

But the term is also frequently, indeed in England more frequently, used in another and milder sense, *i.e.* with reference to clerical propensities which are not so much acutely dangerous as rather causes of alienation and elements of disturbance. Clericalism, in this latter case, sometimes differs from that described in the former only by being a shade less pronounced, whilst at other times it stands for something comparatively harmless, *e.g.* mere mannerism. Hence, as the word is open to this ambiguity, its meaning in the several instances of its employment cannot be too carefully located and particularized. This caution is especially needful where the milder type of Clericalism is concerned, since in the other case, just because the type is more strongly marked (*i.e.* 'the overweening estimate and despotic use of human authority'), it is less liable to misconception. The word is, indeed, only too often used merely as a term of reproach, and without consideration of the fact that it stands for a variety of moral values.

The question here arises as to how far this term is to be regarded as indicating only the more historical forms of clerical perversity in the Christian Church, or, on the other hand, as having a wider application. In a sense the latter interpretation is to be preferred, inasmuch as Clericalism is by no means peculiar to the ecclesiastical history of Christianity. Restriction, on this view, would have reference, not to one religion as compared with others, but rather to the one type of Clericalism as compared with the other; for Clericalism of the more marked and aggravated kind, however widely diffused, can scarcely be shown to be world-wide, whereas the milder affection would seem to be inseparable from the very existence of an official clergy all the world over. But this question as to the applicability of restrictions in the use of the term is, after all, merely of academic interest, since in point of fact Clericalism cannot be profitably discussed unless it is very definitely associated with the historical cases in which it has been exemplified; and such cases, in order to be of service, must necessarily be derived from the ecclesiastical history of Christianity rather than from that of other and less familiar religions.

With regard to the use of the term 'Anti-Clericalism,' the points most requiring to be borne in mind may be briefly stated as follows: (1) the fact that, though this term may legitimately be applied to movements directed against the clergy in past history, it has a special significance of its own in relation to the latter-day revolutionary tendencies which gave birth to it; (2) the fact that, as thus understood, the term had, and to a great extent still has, primarily in view a political and ecclesiastical reference, *i.e.* the position of the clergy in regard to the Civil Power, but that it also often includes a reference not so much to the clergy as to that for which they stand, viz. the profession, defence, and propagation of the Orthodox Faith; (3) the fact that the term is not to be

regarded as exclusively the negation and antithesis of Clericalism (though it is so largely), since Anti-Clericalism is, in most cases, due not merely to the natural process of reaction in which it originated, but also to other and independent influences subsequently added; (4) the fact that the term is, properly speaking, opposed to Clericalism of the first and more aggravated type, rather than to that of the second and milder form, with which it can scarcely be brought into contrast.

2. Aggravated Clericalism (le Cléricalisme).—(1) *Nature and aim.*—Clericalism, as thus understood, is perhaps best explained as due ultimately to

'the motive of *esprit de corps* . . . undoubtedly a great stimulus, and in its measure consistent with all simplicity and singleness of heart; but in an intense form, when the individual is absorbed in a blind obedience to a body, it corrupts the quality of religion; it ensnares the man in a kind of self-interest; and he sees in the success of the body the reflection of himself. . . . It becomes an egotistic motive. . . . When it exists under the special profession of religion, and a religion of humility, and has to be cloaked, not only is there the fault of concealment, but the vice itself is more intense by the concealment. . . . And thus the ambition of the clerical order has always been attended by peculiarly repulsive features which have been discriminated by the moral sense of mankind' (Mozley, *University Sermons*[3], 1877, pp. 83, 84).

It should be added, however, that the characteristics specified in the above masterly analysis attain to their full strength only when 'the ambition of the clerical order' encounters opposition, the worst features of Clericalism having always been most evidenced, not when the clergy are in a position of ascendancy, but when their power is only just beginning to make itself felt, or is on the decline. In ordinary cases the symptoms are less aggravated, and it would be a grave mistake to regard these abnormal developments of Clericalism as typical examples of its operation. But even in its more ordinary manifestations, Clericalism of the type here in question is always something more than ultra-professionalism, since its spirit is not merely too exclusively professional, but is also essentially incompatible with the spirit of the clerical, not to say of the Christian, profession. Moreover, Clericalism is distinguished from all parallel tendencies in secular callings by reason of the speciousness of its claims, these being always justified by an appeal to the highest motives, and, in their origin, usually admitting of such justification.[1] It is, indeed, of the essence of this self-aggrandizing tendency on the part of the clerical class that the claims advanced should take the form, if not of conclusions, yet at least of corollaries, deducible from first principles. The utilization of theological doctrine and ecclesiastical tradition for the purpose of substantiating such claims has been one of the most fruitful sources of perverse interpretation known to history (see under (3)). At the same time, it is of importance to observe that the theological and ecclesiastical supports of which Clericalism thus avails itself ought not (unless they owe their existence to the forgery or mutilation of documents) to be regarded as necessarily partaking of its nature, though, if they readily lend themselves to its designs, they can scarcely escape this imputation. Thus, a conviction of the truth of Roman or High Anglican doctrine, as regards the nature of the Christian ministry, does not, as such, indicate Clericalism. It does so only if it is made to serve to promote the exclusive interests of the clergy at the expense of the laity.

But Clericalism does not acquire its hold over mankind merely by claiming the support of doctrine and tradition; it seeks also to further its aims by means of a policy of *self-adaptation*. Thus, often it devotes itself to objects which have little or nothing in common with its own proclivities, but from which, as the result of its embracing them, it hopes to derive either immediate or ultimate advantage: *e.g.* political (it may even be theological) liberalism, social reform, popular education, learned research. This indifference of Clericalism (and especially of Clericalism leavened, as in modern times it largely has been, by Jesuitism) to the causes with which it allies itself, so long as it is itself benefited, is as much one of its characteristics at certain epochs of history as is its attitude of resistance pure and simple at certain others. In both cases, and in one not less than the other, the end incessantly pursued is the exclusive ascendancy of the clerical order. And in both, indeed we may say in all, cases, Clericalism is the outcome of a professional bias, or rather of a perverted *esprit de corps*, prompting the clergy to make an immoderate, or illicit, use of their legitimate privileges for the benefit of their own class. This corruption of aim is a slow and insidious growth, the consciousness of which in most cases is either not realized or else repressed. When, however, Clericalism is put on its defence, its excuse always is that the same Divine sanction may be claimed for each successive augmentation of clerical authority as for its original exercise. It is to the mixture of sincerity and disingenuousness involved in the assertion of this claim that the peculiar associations of Clericalism, as well as the peculiar odium attaching to them, are to be attributed.

(2) *Anti-social characteristics.*—Clericalism may be regarded as an anti-social influence under two aspects, viz. as being (*a*) subversive of order, (*b*) inimical to progress.

(*a*) In respect to this consideration, Clericalism is always at bottom a *lawless* disposition.[1] This lawlessness, in the most typical cases, is like that to which standing armies are so frequently liable, and is due to the fact that the clergy, in consequence of their belonging to a class homogeneous in its composition, united in its aims, and divorced from the common life around them, are peculiarly exposed to the danger of developing anti-social and anti-civic tendencies.[2] Lawlessness, however, like every other attribute of Clericalism, results from a gradual process of deterioration. Thus, what was originally a righteous protest against the arbitrary encroachments of the Civil Power becomes transformed into a mere stalking-horse of clerical ambition.

(*b*) Clericalism, when it takes an anti-progressive form, is even more commonly of the nature of a *corruptio optimi*. Thus, in the Middle Ages, there was a beneficial side to the two forces most active in consolidating the clergy, viz. celibacy, which united the inferior clergy, and the exclusive right of investiture, which liberated the superior clergy from State control. Yet Gregory VII. worked out the whole theory of Clericalism on the basis of these two institutions, which afterwards were far more often employed to promote the one-sided interests of the clergy than as instruments for the protection of the weaker members of the community against the encroachments of Feudalism (Ranke, *Weltgesch.* [1881–88] vii. 312).

As an anti-progressive influence, Clericalism sometimes spreads simply by taking advantage

[1] 'If their aims and motives were wholly pure, they would, as a duty, cling tenaciously to their privileges; if these were corrupt, they would cling to them more tenaciously still' (J. Watt, 'The Latin Church,' in *Churches of Christendom* [St. Giles's Lectures, 4th ser., 1884], p. 162).

[1] 'Jacobinism, in his use of the word, included not merely the extreme movement party in France or England . . . but all the natural tendencies of mankind, whether democratical or priestly, to oppose the authority of Law, divine and human . . . the two great opposite forms of human wickedness, white and red Jacobinism' (Stanley, *Life of Arnold*[12], 1881, ch. iv.).

[2] 'Prevented from growing into a hereditary caste, using amidst the dialects of different lands the same language, recognizing obedience to their superiors as the first principle of their order . . . the priests formed a commonwealth amongst the nations which could not but rule' (J. Watt, *loc. cit.*).

of the weakness of the community, the despotism of the clergy in this case depending rather on the disappearance of all else that is great and venerable than on any absolute moral strength accruing to the Church. But in European history, Clericalism has far more frequently, and with far more assurance of success, placed its confidence, not in any general influences favourable to its growth, but in the much more solid support which it has derived from its connexion with the Papacy. For, as is well known, the rise of Feudalism, previous to the acknowledgment of the Papal power, tended rather to weaken sacerdotal influence, and, before the Church was constituted into one unanimous body pervading all countries and acting in obedience to a single absolute head, the clergy were the upholders of national liberties against arbitrary sovereigns, and their natural position was that of antagonism to all despotic tendencies. And, as the Papacy thus fostered Clericalism (together, of course, with much that was as wholly beneficial as Clericalism was wholly harmful) by its creation of a centralized ecclesiastical system, so, after that system had been weakened by the Reformation, it did so in a different way by its alliance with the Jesuits. For, though Jesuitism is not strictly a clerical influence, indeed was started as a rival to that influence and found favour at Rome largely on that account, it has, more than any other factor, shaped the character of modern Clericalism. However, neither have the Popes had much to do with imparting this Jesuitical complexion to Clericalism, nor have either the Popes or the Jesuits been wholly anti-progressive, as is necessarily the case with Clericalism. The truth rather is, putting aside the Jesuits, that Clericalism has found in the Papacy its opportunity, and has made use of it for anti-progressive purposes. According to Tyrrell, it is not so much the Papacy as its 'modern interpretation' (by which he means the clericalist interpretation) that is 'the deadly enemy'; and it is in this light, also, that we must regard even the Encyclical *Pascendi* which, according to the same author, 'takes away the right of citizenship' (*Mediævalism*, 1909, p. 135). Ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical institutions become infected by Clericalism as a moral disease, and it is this, and not their original nature, which makes them foes to progress. However, there is always a nobler strain in them, and it is never too late to hope that this 'may be made fruitful of true developments of the Catholic idea, by the marriage of Christian principles with the sane principles of growing civilization' (*ib.* p. 150).

(3) *Obscurantist theological influence.*—The influence of Clericalism on Biblical interpretation and Theology is so notorious that we sometimes forget the importance of discriminating its significance in different cases. In attempting to estimate these differences, we must remember (*a*) that the growth of the conception of hierarchical authority can scarcely fail in any age, least of all in an uncritical one, to give rise to corresponding developments in regard to matters Biblical and theological; (*b*) that, previous to the exploits of the Jesuits in the same field, the worst cases of the perversion of truth in the cause of Clericalism have not occurred in either of these two spheres so much as in the domain of ecclesiastical Law, to which alike the Isidorian forgeries and those of the Gregorian *Deus Dedit*, Anselm of Lucca, and Cardinal Gregorius really belong; and (*c*) that it is extremely difficult, with reference to errors, fanciful creations, unfounded assumptions, and false developments, to discover how far, if at all, the support given to Clericalism by the wrong line taken was due to a malign influence and to a deliberate intention to deceive.

In regard to Clericalism, the history of religious thought is like that of religious institutions. No theological doctrine or other form of Christian teaching is, as such, and at starting, a product of Clericalism, but, as time proceeds, the poison is communicated, and growth is checked, if not arrested. Thus the loose and for the most part allegorical interpretations of NT passages in the Early Church were afterwards made to serve the purposes of Clericalism with respect to the authority appertaining to the Church hierarchy. The same thing happened in other instances. Thus, if we follow the upbuilding of clerical authority in the Church (commonly mistaken for Clericalism), as we pass from Cyprian to Gregory I., from the latter to pseudo-Isidore and Gregory VII., 'we might conclude, on a superficial consideration' (as Harnack truly observes), that the process of degeneration was complete.

'But when we enter into detail, and take into account the ecclesiastical legislation from the time of Innocent III., we observe how much was still wanting to a strict application of it [Clericalism] in theory and practice till the end of the twelfth century. Only from the time of the fourth Lateran Council was full effect given to it, expressly in opposition to the Catharist and Waldensian parties' (*Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., vi. 119 f.).

In this case it is, of course, not meant that the teaching, *e.g.*, of Cyprian, from whom the development starts, was not what we should nowadays call 'extreme'; for, as Bishop Lightfoot says (*Christian Ministry*, 1885, p. 258), it was Cyprian who not only 'crowned the edifice of episcopal power,' but who also was 'the first to put forward without relief or disguise these sacerdotalist assumptions' (though it should be remembered, *per contra*, that Cyprian's doctrine of the solidarity of the clergy with the laity is, rightly understood, all against Clericalism). The point rather is that the development from Cyprian down to Hildebrand was, in a certain sense, a natural one, and so far, therefore, not the outcome of Clericalism. Similarly as regards the teaching of Augustine. We constantly meet in Harnack with statements such as the following:

'While the Augustinian definition was firmly retained, that the Church is the community of believers or of the predestinated, the idea was always gaining a fuller acceptance that the hierarchy is the Church' (*op. cit.* vi. 119). 'Augustine neither followed out nor clearly perceived the hierarchical tendency of his position' [*i.e.* in reference to the millennial kingdom that had been announced by John, 'the Saints' reign' fulfilled in the Heads of the Church, the clergy] (*ib.* v. 152). In the case of ordination, Augustine again, as in other cases, 'bestowed on the Church a series of sacerdotal ideas, without himself being interested in their sacerdotal tendency' (*ib.* v. 161, note; the same is shown to be true of Gregory the Great).

These instances may serve to illustrate the growing influence of Clericalism on theological development during the early ages of the Christian Church, as well as its more mature influence during the Middle Ages.

When, however, the power of Clerical domination began to wane, *i.e.* during the 16th and 17th cents. (the era of the Protestant revolution), the influence of Clericalism on theology changed its character. It could now make itself felt only by resorting to compromises and by working through subterranean channels. Thus the somewhat halting theology of the Tridentine decrees does not exhibit any marked traces of Clericalism. Nothing, *e.g.*, is laid down in them as regards the authority of the Papal power—a fact by which, as Harnack remarks, the Popes afterwards profited. Nor was this only, though, no doubt, it was chiefly, a matter of expediency. For, in regard to the conception of the Church and Clergy, as well as in regard to the outlook more generally, 'the Reformation forced even the old Church to judge spiritual things spiritually, or at least to adopt the appearance of a spiritual character' (Harnack, *op. cit.* vii. 22). The Tridentine theology to a slight extent, and the Port Royal theology to a much

greater one (the latter being distinguished at once by its submission to authority, and its freedom from every tincture of Clericalism), witness to the truth of this assertion. Nevertheless, the 'Old Church' never went so far as to become convinced of the Reformation principle that, if the power of the clergy is to be maintained, it must establish itself on the foundation of the pure Word of God. 'The bishops, the councils, and even the Pope, he [Luther] would willingly have allowed to continue, or at least would have tolerated, if they had accepted the gospel' (*ib.* vii. 221). Instead of this, a quite different method was employed, directed to a quite different end. The clerical power was not vindicated after the fashion which 'the man of inward freedom' 'would have allowed or at least would have tolerated,' but after the fashion of Bellarmine and de Maistre. The task was entrusted to the Jesuits, whose activity, however, would have attained to no more fruition in the theological than in the practical sphere, if it had not concentrated itself on the enforcement of Papal claims in their 'modern interpretation.'

'What have the Jesuits and their friends not taught us . . . for two hundred years! The letters of Cyprian falsified, Eusebius falsified, numberless writings of the Church Fathers interpolated, the Constantinopolitan Symbol falsified by the Greeks, the Councils convoked contrary to the intentions of Rome, the Acts of the Councils falsified, the Decrees of the Councils of no account, the most venerable Church Fathers full of heterodox views and without authority—only one rock in this ocean of error and forgery, *the chair of Peter*, and, making itself heard through history, only one sure note . . . the *testimony to the infallibility of the successor of Peter*' (Harnack, *op. cit.* vii. 84).

It only remains to point out that this work, begun by the Jesuits, has been further developed by the ecclesiastico-political skill of the Curia.

'In this way that was at last attained which the Curia and its followers already sought to reach in the sixteenth century; as the Church became the handmaid of the Pope, so dogma also became subject to his sovereign rule' (*ib.* vii. 22 f.).

3. Attenuated Clericalism.—(1) *Relation to the laity.*—This is a complex phenomenon, the investigation of which is attended by peculiar difficulties. For though, speaking generally, its root principle is the same as that of the Clericalism already characterized, it by no means admits of being explained by sole reference to that consideration; indeed, in many cases, it can scarcely, if at all, be derived from that source. Clericalism of this second type is much more bound up than is that of the first with national and local idiosyncrasies. More particularly, the features by which it is distinguished take their colour, much more than do those of the first type, from the features by which, in each case, the laity are distinguished. Thus, in some Protestant countries after the Reformation, the laity were differently situated from what they were in others, and this fact could not be without its influence on the behaviour of the clergy, and on Clericalism as a part of it. This, then, is at starting the point to which attention requires to be called, viz. the necessity of studying Clericalism of this milder type in relation to the position and antecedents of the particular class of people amongst whom it prevails.

Now, if we make this study, what appears is (*a*) that Clericalism is derived from something in common between clergy and laity. Thus, in some communities, especially democratic ones, the behaviour of the clergy, and even the display of its seamy side in the shape of Clericalism, are often largely determined by the tendencies, tastes, and fashions of the laity; indeed, to a greater or less extent, this must be always what happens. 'The people love to have it so,' or, as Charles Kingsley says in *Alton Locke*, 'the clergy are what the people make them.' This may even be so much the case that Clericalism may not meet with much, if with any, opposition. But it does not follow that Clericalism may not, up to a certain point, be a representative phenomenon in other cases, *i.e.* where its existence is resented. This is an important and too much neglected consideration in regard to the subject of which we are now treating. At the same time, though this is one factor in Clericalism, it is not that which constitutes its chief significance. This consists in its disturbance of harmonious relations between clergy and laity, in its unsympathetic and unconciliatory tone, in its ultra-professional one-sidedness, in its assumption of superiority, in its blindness to the signs of the times. Such is what appears (*b*) as the result of the study of Clericalism in its relation to the laity. In other words, Clericalism of this type denotes a separatist tendency, a provocative attitude of the clergy, leading in the one case to their isolation, in the other to their estrangement, from the community to which they belong.

(2) *Extenuation and condemnation.*—A disposition of this kind, under some one or more of its forms, is often with justice, but perhaps still more often undeservedly, imputed to the clergy, and constitutes no small part of the reason for the failure of their efforts. Nor is it only the least zealous or even the least efficient members of the clerical body who lay themselves open to this reproach, or are thought to do so; sometimes it is precisely on account of their energy and enthusiasm that Clericalism is attributed to the clergy, both as a class and as individuals. In such cases, it must always be borne in mind that the objections and complaints urged may originate only in a desire on the part of the laity to find an excuse for their own inactivity and indifference. The cry of Clericalism is, indeed, only too likely to be raised when the clergy make demands which are distasteful or inconvenient. At the same time, after making due allowance for these misrepresentations, there remains a large number of instances in which the existence of Clericalism is neither to be denied nor extenuated. In this connexion, it must be remembered that the mere influence of clerical professionalism is by itself sufficient, if not counteracted by special efforts, to induce a spirit and manner tending to withdraw the clergy from human fellowship, to place them in a position of isolation as regards the main currents of contemporary life and thought, and ultimately to arouse against them feelings of more or less active hostility. Against such dangers no amount of learning or of practical capacity can be relied on to act as safeguards, unless these qualifications are combined with breadth of view and an ever-present sense of dependence on the co-operation of the laity. Sincerity and straightforwardness are also indispensably requisite if the clergy are to find acceptance in their surroundings, as men whose love of truth is a part of themselves and not merely a conventional profession.

As regards another matter falling under this same category of extenuation and condemnation, something has already been said in a former part of this article. The case referred to is that in which extreme and even extravagant views as to the claims of the clergy are combined with disinterestedness and inoffensive aims. That is not necessarily, nor is it by any means always in fact, a case which deserves the imputation of Clericalism. On the contrary, this combination may be, and often has been, embodied in the persons of some of the best and holiest of men. Nor are 'sacerdotalists' in point of doctrine the only class to whom the stigma of Clericalism may be attached. That stigma has, or should have, reference not so much to a man's beliefs as to the prejudicial effect exercised on his character and conduct by the wrong manner in which these are held and applied. Such an effect is obviously capable of being pro-

duced either in alliance with, or independently of, whatever theoretical line may be taken with regard to the question of clerical authority. At the same time, it is none the less true that a particular point of view always involves special dangers of its own, and few will be found to deny that the ecclesiastical position here in question exposes those who adopt it to temptations which no man, at all events no clergyman, can overcome, unless his whole heart and mind are set on resisting them. It is the failure to realize this truth that incapacitates so many of the clergy from exhibiting to the laity that spectacle of an uncorrupt life, that suggestion of 'truth in the inward parts,' which are the things most of all required in order to convince the world of the non-existence of Clericalism. The real offence is not the belief, honestly entertained, that the clergy as a class are possessed of exceptional privileges, but the spiritual pride and class bias with which that belief is so often associated. The same is true as regards the desire of the clergy to preserve unimpaired the *sanctity* of their own order. That, too, may defeat its own purposes, unless special pains are taken to prevent it from doing so. Such, at least, is the view of Clericalism which has been maintained throughout this article with respect alike to persons, institutions, doctrines, and Divine worship (for it must be remembered that the mere fact that the clergy are alone entitled to officiate in the observance of religious rites and ceremonies tends to invest them with attributes of peculiar dignity and importance). Nor does it seem possible, except by rigid adherence to this purely objective mode of treatment, to remain on neutral ground as regards the points at issue.

(3) *In reference to an Established Church.*—It is obvious that Clericalism presents itself in a different light according as the clergy affected by it do or do not minister in a Church which is recognized by the State, and which is in some sense and to some extent under its control. The existence of such a connexion between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity is by some chiefly valued on account of the restraints which it imposes on clerical lawlessness, whilst by others the exercise of this power is regarded either as indefensible in principle or else as discredited in its results. This question, however, cannot here be discussed (see art. STATE). But it may be observed that what makes the existence of Clericalism in Established Churches so especially to be regretted is that that of which it is the perversion and tainted outcome, viz. the assertion of convictions conscientiously professed and unfalteringly maintained, is nowhere more needed, and nowhere produces a more salutary effect than in the case of such Churches. Nowhere else is there more demand for

'that class of men who look not to what is expedient, but to what they believe to be true; and, bearing in mind the tendency in an established Church, and especially among the official classes, to become opportunist in character, thinking primarily of peace and the avoidance of difficulties rather than of fundamental truths, we should not forget that we stand indebted to these earnest men for a purifying and invigorating element in our life, which would be wanting if all were content to put peace in the first place, and to leave questions of truth in the background' (Bishop Percival, *Church and Faith*, 1901 [Essays on the teaching of the Church of England by various writers], Introduction, p. xxii.).

Yet Clericalism in an Established Church, though it may remind us of this undoubted fact, is very far from serving as an exemplary illustration of it. So little does it do so, that the thought of what it has become effaces from our minds the thought of what it might have been. Its 'boundless intemperance' and contempt for authority sometimes rather suggest not merely that it could not under these, but that it could not under any, conditions have come to be of one mind with Richard Hooker in the belief that,

'were it so that the Clergy alone might give laws unto all the rest, forasmuch as every State doth desire to enlarge the bounds of their own liberties, it is easy to see how injurious this might prove unto men of other condition' (*Eccles. Pol.* bk. viii. ch. vi. sect. 8).

This essential lawlessness, not merely of act, but of temper and tone, is the one outstanding feature of Clericalism in the milder sense which is *not* mild, though the intransigence of Continental Clericalism is, of course, far in excess of it. But in all forms of this disposition lawlessness predominates, and in all of them it is despotic, unrestricted power (rather than transgression of the law) that is the aim proposed.

LITERATURE.—i. *GROWTH OF THE IDEA OF THE CHURCH AND OF SPIRITUAL POWER IN THE CLERGY DURING THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES.*—(*a*) Ecclesiastical History.—E. Chastel, *Hist. du christianisme*, Geneva, 1881–84; P. Schaff, *Hist. of the Christian Church*, new ed., Edinburgh, 1882 ff.; J. Langen, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche*, Bonn, 1881–93; R. Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, Leipzig, 1892. (*b*) General History.—L. v. Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*[3], Leipzig, 1881, vols. iii. (Roman Empire to Constantine II.) and iv. (from the death of Constantine, 337, to Gregory the Great, 604).

ii. *LATIN CHURCH.*—H. H. Milman, *Hist. of Latin Christianity*[5], London, 1883.

iii. *CLERICALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.*—A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. 1894–99 (esp. chapters on Augustinianism in vol. v., the Doctrine of the Church in vol. vi., and, more or less, the whole of vol. vii.).

iv. *AUTHORITIES ON SPECIAL QUESTIONS.*—A. P. Stanley, *Christian Institutions*, London, 1881–84; J. B. Lightfoot, *Christian Ministry*, London, 1885; E. Hatch, *Organisation of the Early Christian Churches*, London, 1888; E. W. Benson, *Cyprian*, London, 1897; F. W. Maitland, *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England*, London, 1898; J. Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, new ed., London, 1891; E. Scherer, *Mélanges de critique religieuse*, Paris, 1860, *Mélanges d'histoire religieuse*, Paris, 1864; G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, new ed., London and New York, 1909; F. H. Reusch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, Munich, 1894; E. L. Taunton, *Hist. of the Jesuits in England, 1580–1773*, London, 1901.

For a better understanding of Clericalism and Anti-Clericalism, a study may be recommended of some of the French classical writers of the 19th cent., *e.g.* Michelet, Edgar Quinet, and Victor Hugo. As regards the Infallibility Question in this connexion, see Janus, *Der Papst u. d. Concil*, ed. J. J. I. Dollinger and J. Friedrich, Leipzig, 1869; W. E. Gladstone, *The Vatican Decrees*, London, 1874; G. Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, London, 1909. For the Dreyfus question, see J. Reinach, *Hist. de l'affaire Dreyfus*, Paris, 1901 (cf. also the same writer's *Gambetta*[2], Paris, 1884, in respect to the Seize Mai, and J. E. C. Bodley, *France*, London, 1898, under heading 'Seize Mai' in index to both 1st and 2nd vols.).

As regards the tendencies referred to in the second part of the above art., it must suffice to give instances of publications inculcating the spirit in which difficulties emanating from this source require to be met, *e.g. Different Conceptions of Priesthood and Sacrifice: Conference at Oxford*, Dec. 1899, ed. W. Sanday; B. F. Westcott, *Gifts for Ministry: to Candidates for Ordination*, Cambridge, 1890; M. Creighton, *The Church and the Nation: Charges and Addresses*, Edinburgh, 1901; J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, London, 1901; C. Gore, *Essays in Aid of the Reform of the Church*, London, 1898 (esp. on the recognition of the laity); *London Church Conference*, London, 1899, sect. on 'The Church and the Laity.'

C. A. WHITTUCK.

CLIMATE.—For about a century the conviction has been gaining ground that climate exerts a determining influence upon man's morals and religion. It has been argued, for example, that the religion of peoples in tropical zones is gentler or more passive and sensuous, and the character more voluptuous, whilst in colder regions the religious impulse is more rugged, the gods more stern, and the moral life more virile; that the heroic Nature-gods of early India, in contrast with those of a kindred people in Persia, are an index of the thunder, lightning, rainstorms, and imposing vegetation (conditioned by the climate) which abounded there; that the changes in historic Christianity, from a religion of renunciation, whilst it flourished in southern Europe and Asia, to one of aggressiveness and optimism, in modern times, in northern and western Europe and America, are the result of shifting its centre from a milder to a more invigorating climate; and innumerable other instances.

Counter arguments have been just as vigorously pressed: the early Christianity of Palestine and

the Buddhism of southern Asia are aggressive religions; ascetic and enthusiastically propagandist sects, in fact, all extremes, have flourished side by side in the same country; very different religions have been acclimated successfully in the same country; etc.

The problem is so involved with others relative to the effect of geographical conditions, the selection of food, social influences, the accidental selection of race characteristics, that the arguments for and against have failed to convince the minds of careful students generally. It reduces itself to the question whether traits are *caused* by climate or *conditioned* by it. Few persons deny that climate has its effect on character. But the claim of many students that climate is the principal cause of moral and religious peculiarities is more questionable. The fact of 'variants,' as, for example, in the same litter or brood, or as found universally in members of the same species in the same climate, seems to be overlooked in such a contention. These variants are greater the higher the evolution, and may account for the upshot of religious forms or conceptions in even larger measure than all environmental conditions taken together. It will readily be conceded that climate assists in determining which of the variants shall remain.

The difficulty in the question is that of isolating the effect of climate from other factors. Much has been done during recent years in that direction with respect to moral conduct, although nothing has yet been accomplished in the matter of religion. It has been shown by Dexter (*Weather Influences*, *passim*), in tracing statistically the relation between the time of year, temperature, barometric pressure, humidity, and wind, and insanity, suicide, drunkenness, assaults, and other moral disorders, and the deportment of school children, that a relation does exist. It appears that in the long run 'the deportment of pupils is best during cold, calm, and clear weather . . . at its worst during that characterized as hot and muggy.' Drunkenness and sickness vary inversely as temperature; crime and insanity vary directly with it. The effect of heat is greater upon females than upon males. Atmospheric conditions regulated by low barometer are productive of crime and insanity, whilst drunkenness is less prevalent under such conditions. A dry atmosphere is a stimulant to all forms of active disorder and to suicide, but is an enemy to intoxication and mental inexactness. During calms those life phenomena which are due to depleted vitality are excessive.

Dexter (*op. cit.* p. 266) has shown rather conclusively that 'varying meteorological conditions affect directly, though in different ways, the metabolism of life.' Since morals and religion must flourish in the soil of the bodily and mental reactions, it is safe to infer that climatic conditions have an influence in determining their nature.

LITERATURE.—E. G. Dexter, *Weather Influences*, New York, 1904; J. W. Draper, 'Influence of Climate upon National Character,' *Harper's Mag.* xxxi. 390 ff. and *passim*; H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization*, 2 vols., London, 1857–61; P. J. G. Cabanis, 'Infl. du Climat sur les habitudes morales,' *Œuvres Comp.*, Paris, 1823–25, iv. 132 ff.; H. Taine, *Philos. de l'art en Grèce*, Paris, 1869, and *Philos. de l'art dans les Pays Bas*, Paris, 1869; W. Falconer, *Remarks on the Influence of Climate, Situation, etc., on the Disposition and Temper, etc., of Mankind*, London, 1781.

EDWIN DILLER STARBUCK.

COCHIN-CHINA.—See ANNAM.

COCHIN JEWS.—See JEWS IN COCHIN.

COCK.—The cock (*Gallus domesticus*) is, in origin, an Indian bird, its immediate ancestor being the Bankiva cock of India—a stock with which it freely interbreeds. From India the cock seems to have passed first to Persia, whence it was carried to Greece, and so, by the regular trade-routes, to Sicily and Italy, ultimately reaching, in ways not precisely known, the remaining portions of Europe; while in the East, in analogous fashion, it came to Java, Further India, China, the Philippines, etc. On the other hand, the bird is not represented on Egyptian monuments, and it appears in Babylonian art only in the late Persian period.

Protestant exegetes deny with practical unanimity (but see *EBi* i. 855) that the cock is mentioned in the OT; but Jerome, following Rabbinical tradition (see *JE* iv. 138 f.), translates שׂכוי (Job 38:36, LXX ποικιλτικήν), זרזיר (Pr 30:31, LXX omits), and גבר (Is 22:17, LXX ἄνδρα) by 'gallus' or 'gallus gallinaceus' (for modern Protestant theories on the meaning of these Heb. words, see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* pp. 967, 267, 149 f., and the literature there cited).

Three characteristics of the cock would from the very first attract attention, viz. its shrill crow at dawn, its pugnacity, and its salacity,[1] but the importance of the trait first named has so completely overshadowed the other two in the folk-mind that only scanty traces of them have survived in popular lore.

The cock is, then, above all else the herald of the dawn; and, since the night is *par excellence* the time for all manner of demons, his proclamation of the rising sun, which puts the fiends to flight, gives him his prime significance as an apotropæic being—a belief well summarized in Horatio's words:

> 'The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,
> Doth with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat
> Awake the god of day; and, at his warning,
> Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
> The extravagant and erring spirit hies
> To his confine' (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, I. i. 150–155)—

a concept which almost seems an echo of the lines of Prudentius (*Hymnus ad galli cantum*, 10–13):

> 'Ferunt vagantes daemonas
> Laetos tenebris noctium
> Gallo canente exterritos
> Sparsim timere et cedere.'[2]

It was among the Iranians that the apotropæic aspect of the cock was most emphasized. This is earliest set forth in *Vendīdād* xviii. 14 ff., where, in reply to Zarathuštra's question as to who is the 'beadle' (*sraošavareza*) of Sraoša, Ahura Mazda replies that

> 'it is the bird named the "cock" (*parōdars*, "foreseer [of dawn]"), whom ill-speaking men call the "cock-a-doodle-doo" (*kahrkatās*, "crower"); . . . then that bird lifteth up his voice at the mighty dawn (saying): "Arise, O men, laud Best Righteousness, contemn the demons; unto you doth hurtle this long-pawed *Būšyāsta* (the demon of Sloth); she putteth to sleep straightway, at the wakening of light, all the material world."'

In like manner the Pahlavi *Būndahišn*, xix. 33 (tr. West, *SBE* v. 73), declares that

> 'the cock is created in opposition to demons and wizards, co-operating with the dog; as it says in revelation, that, of the creatures of the world, those which are co-operating with *Srōš*, in destroying the fiends, are the cock and the dog.'

According to the Persian historian Mirkhond

[1] According to the Skr. *Vṛddhachāṇakya*, vi. 18, the cock teaches four things: early rising, fighting, generosity to dependents, and coition (cf. Kressler, *Stimmen ind. Lebensklugheit*, Frankfort, 1904, pp. 21, 163 f.; Böhtlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, St. Petersburg, 1870–73, no. 5510). The etymology of the Indo-Germanic names for the cock gives no help in deciding on the bird's religious significance, for they are practically all either onomatopoetic, or denote 'singer' or 'caller' (see the detailed discussion by Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, *s.v.* 'Hahn, Huhn'). The Gr. name of the cock, ἀλέκτωρ, ἀλεκτρυών, is hesitatingly compared by Prellwitz (*Etymolog. Wörterb. der griech. Sprache*[2], Gottingen, 1905, p. 24) with ἀλέξω, 'ward off,' 'protect,' or with ἠλέκτωρ, 'shining'; but both suggestions are doubtful, though the first has something in its favour (cf. Boisacq, *Dict. étymol. de la langue grecque*, Heidelberg, 1907 ff., p. 42). Lewy's connexion (*Semit. Fremdwörter im Griech.*, Berlin, 1895, p. 11) with ἀλέγω, 'trouble oneself for,' 'heed,' 'care for,' has little to recommend it, in spite of his comparison, for development of meaning, with Avesta *parōdars*, 'cock' (on which see below).

[2] Among the Arabs it is believed that the cock crows when he becomes aware of the presence of *jinn* (Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*[2], Berlin, 1897, p. 151).

(*Hist. of the Early Kings of Persia*, tr. Shea, London, 1832, p. 56 f.),

'it is said that no demon can enter a house in which there is a cock; and, above all, should this bird come to the residence of a demon, and move his tongue to chaunt the praises of the glorious and exalted Creator, that instant the evil spirit takes to flight.' So potent, indeed, is the crow of the cock in driving away demons that a crowing hen should not be killed, for she may perhaps be helping the cock in his pious task (*Shāyast lā-Shāyast* x. 30 [tr. West, *SBE* v. 330 f.])—an idea which is elaborated in the *Ṣad Dar* (xxxii. [*ib.* xxiv. 293 f.]), which states that in such a contingency another cock must be brought to the house, besides forbidding the killing of a cock because he crows unseasonably, since he may be frightening away a demon who has come at an unusual time. The reference to the killing of crowing hens is interesting in view of the widespread fear of such creatures as unnatural, and therefore uncanny and dangerous—a belief still expressed in such familiar proverbs as

> 'Whistling girls and crowing hens
> Never come to any good ends.'

The concept of the cock as an apotropaic bird was adopted from Persia by Talmudic Judaism,[1] as in the benediction enjoined by *Berakhoth*, 60*b*, when the cock is heard to crow: 'Praised be Thou, O God, Lord of the world, that gavest understanding to the cock to distinguish between day and night,' or when 'the Zohar says that in the hour of grace (about midnight), when God visits paradise to confer with the souls of the pious, a fire proceeds from this holy place and touches the wings of the cock, who then breaks out into praise to God, at the same time calling out to men to praise the Lord and do His service' (Ginzberg, in *JE* iv. 139).

In Armenia, so profoundly influenced by Iran, the cock is also an apotropaic bird, who by his crow frightens away the demons of disease. He sees the guardian angels rise to heaven when men sleep, and come to earth again towards dawn, when he greets them with his crow; and he can also perceive evil spirits. According to another tradition, towards dawn the cock of heaven first crows, and the angelic choirs begin their hymns of praise. These are heard by the cock on earth, who then awakens mankind, and himself lauds the Creator (Abeghian, *Armen. Volksglaube*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 38).

Among the Germanic peoples, as already shown by the quotation from *Hamlet*, a like belief is found, and this is also alluded to by Burchard of Worms (*Decreta*, ed. Cologne, 1548, p. 198c) in his polemic against the superstition 'quod immundi spiritus ante gallicinium plus ad nocendum potestatis habeant quam post, et gallus suo cantu plus valeat eos repellere et sedare quam illa divina mens quae est in homine sua fide et crucis signaculo.' Perhaps it was for this reason also that when, among the pagan Lithuanians, a house was blessed, the first creature to enter it was a cock, which was henceforth cherished instead of being killed for food, although not considered divine (Praetorius, *Deliciae Prussicae oder preussische Schaubuhne*, ed. [in extracts] Pierson, Berlin, 1871, p. 37)—a belief which may underlie the German prohibition against eating the house cock (Grimm[4], App. p. 447). If a cock thus introduced into a Lithuanian house crowed during the night, it was a good omen; otherwise the building was abandoned, in the belief that an evil spirit had taken possession of it (Hanusch, *Wissenschaft des slawischen Mythus*, Lemberg, 1842, p. 285).

The apotropaic functions of the cock also come to the front in charms. Lucian (*Somnium*, 28 f.) makes Micylus open locked doors by laying on them the right long tail-feather of his cock; the name of the cock is employed to cure dysuria in an ass, as recorded by Suidas—ἀλέκτωρ πίνει καὶ οὐχ οὐρεῖ, μύξος οὐ πίνει καὶ οὐρεῖ; in Scotland a popular cure for epilepsy is to bury a cock under the patient's bed (Cox, *Introd. to Folklore*, London,

[1] The cock may, however, according to one Jewish superstition, himself be seized by demons, and he should accordingly be killed if he upsets a dish (*JE* iv. 139).

1895, p. 214); and the *Pentamerone* (iv. 1) alludes to the *lapillus alectorius*, a stone like crystal and the size of a bean, obtained from the stomach of a cock and good for pregnant women and for inspiring courage, also adding that Milo of Crotona owed his marvellous strength to such a stone.[1] A similar concept may underlie the Tibetan (Buddhist) story of Mahauṣadha and Viśākā, in which he who eats the head of a certain cock becomes king (*Tibetan Tales*, tr. Schiefner and Ralston, London, 1906, p. 129 f.); but this, like the Bukovina gipsy story of the hen that laid diamonds (ed. Miklosich, 'Über die Mundarten und Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's,' iv. 25–28, in *DWAW* xxiii.), is too general in type, and has too many parallels in which other birds take the place of the cock, to allow any definite conclusions to be drawn.

In his apotropaic aspect the cock may also be used as a scape-animal. From the period of the Geonim a cock (a hen for a woman) has been the normal *kapparah* (means of atonement) offered by each Jew on the day before the Day of Atonement.

'After the recitation of Ps 107^{17-20} and Job $33^{23f.}$ the fowl is swung around the head three times while the right hand is put upon the animal's head. At the same time the following is thrice said in Hebrew: "This be my substitute, my vicarious offering, my atonement. This cock [or hen] shall meet death, but I shall find a long and pleasant life of peace!" After this the animal is slaughtered and given to the poor, or, what is deemed better, is eaten by the owners while the value of it is given to the poor' (Kohler, in *JE* vii. 435 ff., where full literature is given).

A particularly interesting modern instance of the scape-cock is found in a Russian purification-ceremony for the driving out of death. This is described as follows by Deubner (*ARW* ix. 453) in his synopsis of Anitschkoff's Russian *Ritual Spring-Song in the West and among the Slavs* (pt. i., St. Petersburg, 1903):

'Um Mittag schichten die Frauen an den beiden entgegengesetzten Enden des Dorfes je einen Dungerhaufen, den sie um Mitternacht anzünden. Zu dem einen Haufen führen die Madchen einen Pflug, in weissen Hemden, mit aufgelosten Haaren, eine tragt hinter ihnen ein Heiligenbild. Zum anderen Haufen bringen die Frauen einen schwarzen Hahn, in schwarzen Rocken und schmutzigen Hemden. Dreimal tragen sie den Hahn herum. Dann ergreift eine Frau den Hahn und rennt mit ihm an das entgegengesetzte Ende des Dorfes; indem sie unterwegs zu jedem Haus lauft, die ubrigen Frauen laufen ihr nach und schreien: "Geh unter, du schwarze Krankheit." Am Ende des Dorfes wirft die erste den Hahn in den schwelenden Dunger, die Madchen werfen trockene Blatter und Reisig darauf. Dann fassen sie sich an der Hand und springen mit dem erwähnten Rufe um das Feuer. Nach der Verbrennung des Hahnes, springen die Frauen in den Pflug, und die Madchen umpflugen mit dem Heiligenbild an der Spitze dreimal das Dorf.'

That Greece received the cock from Iran, as already noted, is curiously emphasized by the repeated Greek definitions of it as 'the Persian bird' (*e.g.* Suidas, Περσικὸς ὄρνις· ὁ ἀλέκτωρ, διὰ τὴν λοφιάν· ἢ ὅτι τὰ πολυτελῆ πάντα οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐχρῆτο ἐκαλεῖτο Περσικά), this being further attested by Aristophanes (*Aves*, 483–485; cf. 833–835 and 275 ff., where it is called the 'Median bird'):

> αὐτίκα δ' ὑμῖν πρῶτ' ἐπιδείξω τὸν ἀλεκτρυόν', ὡς ἐτυράννει
> ἦρχέ τε Περσῶν πάντων πρότερος Δαρείου καὶ Μεγαβάζου,
> ὥστε καλεῖται Περσικὸς ὄρνις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτ' ἐκείνης.

The earliest literary allusion to the cock in Greece is Theognis, 863 f.:

> ἑσπερίη τ' ἔξειμι καὶ ὀρθρίη αὖτις ἔσειμι,
> ἦμος ἀλεκτρυόνων φθόγγος ἐγειρομένων.

Hellenic religion preserved many traces of the apotropaic functions of the cock, and the modern Greeks still hold that his crow scares away noc-

[1] The belief in this stone is at least as old as Lucretius, who declares (iv. 710 ff.) that the fiercest lions cannot look upon the cock:

> 'Nimirum quia sunt gallorum in corpore quaedam
> Semina, quae, cum sunt oculis immissa leonum,
> Pupillas interfodiunt acremque dolorem
> Praebent, ut nequeant contra durare feroces,'

naively adding that no similar harm befalls the human eye either because these 'semina' do not enter it, or, if they do, they can freely escape before doing injury.

turnal demons—a belief of which there is, curiously enough, no record in ancient Greece (Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 7, note). As an apotropæic bird the cock frequently appears on amulets and sculptures as early as the 6th cent. B.C., and it was probably in this aspect, as affrighting demons of disease, that its presence was desired at childbirth (Ælian, *Hist. Animal.* iv. 29)—whence it was sacred to Leto (Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, p. 1249),—and that it was sacred to Asklepios, Hebe, and Herakles (see Gruppe, *op. cit.* p. 454; Gruppe's view [p. 1443], that the cock was sacred to Asklepios as a god of fair weather, is regarded by the present writer as most improbable). And, as the Greeks sacrificed a cock to Asklepios, so the Romans offered the comb of the same bird to the Lares, in hopes of recovery from sickness (Juvenal, *Sat.* xiii. 233 f.).

From the cock as apotropæic it was but a step to the cock as chthonic, *i.e.* as a protector of the souls to or in the under world, in which capacity he appears in association with Hermes and Persephone (Gruppe, *op. cit.* pp. 795, 1321; cf. also Nilsson, *ARW* xi. 535–538). The Russians under Sviatoslav, according to Leo Diaconus, ix. 6, made offerings to the dead at Durostorum on the Ister, by strangling cocks and pigs, and then casting them into the water. With this may be compared the similar account of the pagan Russian sacrifice of a hen, at a funeral witnessed by the Arab traveller, Ibn Fadlān (Frähn, *Ibn Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, St. Petersburg, 1823, pp. 11–21; this particular account is perhaps more generally accessible in Krek, *Einleit. in die slav. Literaturgesch.*[2], Graz, 1887, pp. 426–431). Here, too, may come in the pagan Lithuanian usage of sacrificing cocks to the household serpents, which seem to have been regarded as incarnations of deceased ancestors (Guagnini, *Sarmatiæ Europeæ descriptio*, Speyer, 1581, fol. 52*b*; see also above, vol. ii. p. 24).[1]

The cock as chthonic (primarily apotropæic of demons hostile to the spirits of the dead) sometimes develops, by a perverse folk-logic, into the precise opposite of his original function; he becomes a bird of evil, especially if his colour be black. Thus a black cock is offered to appease the devil in Hungary (de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, London, 1872, ii. 289), just as a black hen was sacrificed to him in Germany (Grimm[4], p. 843 f.); while at a cave on the Banka Hill, in Sarguja, the resident *dāno*, or demon, is propitiated by the periodical sacrifice of a cock with white and black feathers (*PR*[2] i. 284). For a similar reason, it may be, the Talmud (*Berakhoth*, 6*a*) represents the *shēdîm* as having, like the Greek sirens, cocks' feet. In this general connexion mention should be made not only of the use of the cock in black magic, which is found in India as early as the Atharva Veda (v. xxxi. 2), but also of the German belief that a cock, at the age of seven, lays a little egg, which must be thrown over the roof, else storms will beset the house; while the egg, if hatched, will produce a basilisk (Grimm[4], App. p. 454). A like belief is found in Lithuania. A cock seven years old lays an egg, which must be put on down in an old pot and placed in the oven. From this egg is hatched a *kaúks* (a bird with a very long, bright tail; in literary usage *kaukas* means 'dwarf,' 'elf,' 'brownie'), which, properly fed and cherished, without undue curiosity as to its coming and going, brings its master riches and prosperity (Bezzenberger, *Litauische Forschungen*, Göttingen, 1882, p. 63 f.).

To this category may belong also the story (*Pentameron*, ii. 9) of the queen who ordered all cocks to be killed, since, because of the enchantment which they diabolically caused, she was unable to embrace her son; and this, too, may be the basis of the Germanic belief that thunder and lightning follow if a sorcerer throws a black cock in the air (the interpretation of this belief by Meyer, *German. Mythologie*, Berlin, 1891, p. 111 is almost certainly incorrect).

From the cock's connexion with the dawn was derived his association with the sun—a concept found at a very early period in India, since at the *Aśvamedha* (*q.v.*) a cock was sacrificed both to Savitṛ (the sun) and to Agni (the fire), besides being sacred to Anumati (the moon on its fifteenth day; cf. the Greek sacrifice of a white cock to the moon [*Vājasaneyasaṃhitā*, xxiv. 23, 32, 35, and parallel texts]). As a sun-bird the Greeks made the cock attend on Helios and Apollo, so that the sculptor Onatas carved a cock on the statue of Idomeneus, whom some legends regarded as a descendant of Helios (Pausanias, v. xxv. 9; cf. Welcker, *Griech. Götterlehre*, Leipzig, 1857–63, ii. 245).[1] Some Indian tribes of the Mexican Sierra Madre also regard the cock (which must here be a surrogate for some other bird, since this fowl is not indigenous to America) as the bird of the sun; and cakes (*karuánime* and *haxári*) in the shape of a cock, made of coarse maize, are solemnly eaten at a feast held in June; otherwise, the sun-god would not let the eastern Rain-Mother go—in other words, he would cause a total drought (Preuss, *ARW* xi. 391 f.). A white cock is sacrificed to the sun godling in Northern India (*PR*[2] i. 20).

Pausanius records (II. xxxiv. 3) that at Methana, to avert damage to the grapes from the south-east wind, two men tore a white cock in half, ran, each with one of the halves, in opposite directions, round the vineyard, and buried the fowl at the spot where they met. This has apparently led Gruppe (*op. cit.* pp. 795, 847) to consider the cock as in some way connected with storm-demons—a theory pushed to ridiculous extremes by such adherents of the 'mythological' school as Meyer (*op. cit.* p. 110 f.).[2] The true explanation of this offering is doubtless that of Rouse (*op. cit.* pp. 204, 297)—'a private person, unless he be rich, can hardly be expected to offer a bull, or even a pig; his tribute was commonly a cock . . . the cock must have been a common offering, . . . the poor man's offering to other gods than Asclepius.' In other words, the cock corresponds to the 'two turtle doves, or two young pigeons,' which the Mosaic code permitted the poor man to offer instead of a lamb (Lv 5^7 12^8).[3] Indeed, it may well be questioned whether this does not present a better, because simpler, explanation of the offering of a cock to Asklepios, Helios, the moon, and Leto, than the more far-fetched reasons alleged above and supported by Gruppe.

In his general aspect of a bird of light and the sun, the cock came, among the Germanic peoples, to be connected with fire, this notion perhaps being furthered by the bird's red comb and

[1] The pagan Prussians sacrificed hens, geese, ducks, doves, peacocks, etc., to a deity named Shneybratus (Guagnini, *op. cit.* fol. 64*b*); but the functions of this god are unfortunately not yet known. Whether Solmsen (in Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 91 f.) is right in casting doubt even on the existence of the divinity may perhaps be questioned.

[1] By an illogical extension the cock was also sacred to the moon, its colour in this case being, for obvious reasons, white (Gruppe, *op. cit.* p. 795; cf. the Vedic sacrifice, already noted, of a cock to Anumati).

[2] Meyer thus explains the use of the cock on weather-vanes (on the antiquity of which see Grimm[4], p. 558); but it seems more likely, as Grimm himself suggests, that the vigilance of the cock was the real reason for his selection to adorn the vane. The Arabs well call the cock *abu-l-yaqẓān*, 'father of vigilance' (cf. Grimm[4], App. p. 192).

[3] Similarly, while the usual modern Muhammadan redemption-sacrifice at the birth of a child is a goat or sheep, 'in one of the villages of the Syrian Desert, it is customary when a Moslem woman brings forth a son to sacrifice a cock; when she hears a daughter they sacrifice a hen' (Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-Day*, London, 1902, p. 202 f.).

wattles, as well as by the frequent redness of his plumage (cf. also the Indian sacrifice of a cock to Agni, noted above). The Danish proverb, *den röde hane galer over taget* ('the red cock crows on the roof'), means 'fire breaks out.' In Germanic mythology, moreover, the colour of the cock becomes important. The golden-combed cock awakes the heroes in Asgard, but a dark cock crows in the under-world (*Voluspa*, 54; considerable additional material on Germanic ideas of the cock is given by Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 110 f., but the present writer cannot sympathize with his 'mythological' interpretation of the cock as a storm-bird).

The cock appears but rarely in connexion with war, although 'at Lacedaemon, a captain, who had performed the work he had undertaken by cunning, or by courteous treaty, on laying down his command, immolated an ox; he that had done the business by battle offered a cock' (Plutarch, *Vita Marcelli*, xxii.; cf. *Vita Agesilai*, xxxiii.). On the other hand, the golden cock which, according to Plutarch (*Vita Artaxerxis*, x.), Artaxerxes privileged the Carian who had slain Cyrus to carry ever afterward 'upon his spear before the first ranks of the army in all expeditions' is not to be construed as connected in any real sense with a war-bird. The appropriateness of the gift lay simply in the resemblance of the crested Carian helmet to a cock's comb, for 'the Persians call the men of Caria cocks because of the crests with which they adorn their helmets' (Plutarch, *loc. cit.*). In like manner there was only a *quasi*-association with war in the Roman practice of taking fowls with the army or navy in hostile expeditions, their eating being considered a good omen, and their refusal of food being deemed a presage of ill (Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* II. iii.). A real war-omen, however, was the foretelling of Theban victory, by the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea, from the crowing of cocks, 'quia galli victi silere solent, canere victores' (Cicero, *de Divinat.* II. xxvi.).

This brings us to the consideration of the cock as a mantic bird. In India the crowing of a cock at evening is an evil omen (*Matsyapurāṇa*, ccxxxvii. 5; *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, xlvi. 69), although the cock is, in general, a lucky bird, especially in the early part of the day (*Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, lxxxvi. 20, 48). Yet, to touch it is as bad as to touch a dog or a *chaṇḍāla* (a member of the lowest possible Hindu caste), though not as bad as to touch an ass or a camel (*Pañcatantra*, ed. Hertel, Cambridge, Mass. 1908, iii. 105); while a cock is one of the creatures that must not see a Brāhman eat or offer an oblation, since the wind from its wings causes ritual impurity (Manu, iii. 239-241).

The general Indian attitude concerning the cock seems to be summed up in the *Śakuna*, a late textbook (12 to 13th cent.) on the omens to be drawn from birds (ed. in extracts by Hultzsch, *Proleg. zu des Vasantarāja Çākuna*, Leipzig, 1879, which states (viii. 53 f.):

a-āmabhagopahitasya śastāv
alokasabdāu kila kukkuṭasya
bhīto 'pi śabdaṃ kukukū iti 'mam
asāu vimuñcan na bhavaty aniṣṭaḥ.
tāro gabhīraḥ kathito virāma
niśāvasāne nṛparāṣṭravṛddhyai
yo vātha yamaṃ prati yāmikasya
syad asya śabdas tv aparo viruddhaḥ,

'Verily the sight and sound of a cock (engaged) in laudation of one not standing on the left—even though terrified he (the cock) uttereth this sound of "cock-a-doodle-doo," it is not undesirable. His shrill, deep call uttered at night's end for the increase of the prince's realm, or what (crow) should be at the watchman's watch,[1] the sound thereof is an enemy checked.'

While, as we have already seen, the Pahlavi texts forbid the killing of a cock that crows unseasonably, the Persians often killed him.

[1] According to the reading of some manuscripts, 'on the left,' in which case *aparo viruddhah* might mean 'is most highly hostile.'

'The reasons why persons draw an evil omen from the unseasonable crowing of the cock, and at the same time put him to death, is this: that, when Kaiomars was seized with a fatal illness, at the time of the evening service this bird crowed aloud; and immediately after, this orthodox monarch passed away to the world of eternity' (Mirkhond, *op. cit.* p. 57).

In Germany there is a proverb that 'so oft der Hahn Christnachts kraht, so teuer wird selbiges Jahr ein Viertel Korn' (Grimm[4], App. pp. 449, 475); and the Sandeh of Central Africa (where, as in America, the cock is not a native bird) divine by putting fowls under water, the future being adjudged favourable in proportion to the number of air-bubbles that then rise to the surface (Renel, *Les Religions de la Gaule avant le christianisme*, Paris, 1906, p. 204).

The salacity of the cock accounts for the use of the fowl as a corn-spirit and in marriage ceremonies. In its former aspect the cock has been discussed in detail by Frazer (*GB*[2] ii. 266-9), who shows that the belief in it is common throughout Europe, and that the concept is manifested in two types. (1) The last sheaf of the harvest is called the cock, and may be bound in cock form; or a figure of the bird is made of flowers, wood, or other materials and carried home, where it may be kept till the next harvest. (2) The living cock is killed as a sacrifice.

On the latter type, which is doubtless the more primitive, Frazer very pertinently says:

'By being tied up in the last sheaf and killed, the cock is identified with the corn, and its death with the cutting of the corn. By keeping its feathers till spring, then mixing them with the seed-corn taken from the very sheaf in which the bird had been bound, and scattering the feathers together with the seed over the field, the identity of the bird with the corn is again emphasized, and its quickening and fertilizing power, as the corn-spirit, is intimated in the plainest manner. Thus the corn-spirit, in the form of a cock, is killed at harvest, but rises to fresh life and activity in spring. Again, the equivalence of the cock to the corn is expressed, hardly less plainly, in the custom of burying the bird in the ground, and cutting off its head (like the ears of corn) with the scythe.'

A reflex of the belief in the cock as a corn-spirit may exist in the pagan Balto-Slavic sacrifice of a cock and hen, among other offerings, to the earth (Prætorius, *op. cit.* p. 62)—a ceremony described in considerable detail by Guagnini (*op. cit.* fol. 60*b*-61*a*):

'Agrestis turba in Samogitia sacrificium quoddam solennesque epulas gentili more sub finem mensis Octobris collectis frugibus quotannis celebrant hoc modo. Ad locum convivio epulisque sacris delectum omnes cum uxoribus, liberis et servis conveniunt, mensam feno insternunt, desuper panes apponunt et ex utraque panis parte duo cervisiae vasa statuunt. Postea adducunt vitulum, porcum et porcam, gallum et gallinam, et caetera domestica iumenta, ex ordine mares et femellas. Haec mactant gentili more ad sacrificandum hoc modo: in primis augur sive incantator quispiam verba quaedam proferens animal verberare baculo orditur, deinde omnes qui adsunt iumentum per caput pedesque baculis verberant, postea tergum, ventrem, et caetera membra concutiunt dicentes: Haec tibi, O Ziemiennik deus (sic enim illum daemonem agrestis turba appellat),[1] offerimus, gratiasque tibi agimus quod nos hoc anno incolumes et omnibus abundantes conservare dignatus es; nunc vero te rogamus ut nos quoque hoc anno praesenti favere, tueri ab igne, ferro, peste, et inimicis quibuslibet defendere digneris. Postea carnes iumentorum ad sacrificium mactatorum comedunt, et ab unoquoque ferculo antequam comedant portiunculam amputant, et in terram omnesque angulos domus proiciunt dicentes: Haec tibi, O Ziemiennik, nostra holocausta suscipe et comede benignus. Omnesque tunc temporis lautissime solenniter et opipare epulantur. Hic vero ritus gentilis et in Lituania Russiaque ab agrestibus quibusdam in locis observatur.'

As a fertility bird the cock fills a rôle in marriage ceremonies. The Talmud (*Giṭṭin*, 57*a*) states that a cock and hen, as symbols of fecundity, were carried before the bride and bridegroom on the wedding day (*JE* vi. 344; cf. viii. 341). Among the southern Slavs the cock, as the symbol of the bridegroom, is often carried to the church by the wedding procession (Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Sudslaven*, Vienna, 1885, p. 445 f.); and frequently in Hungary 'the wedding procession is headed by a cock guarded by two men with drawn swords.

[1] On this Lithuanian deity, see Solmsen, in Usener, *op. cit.* p. 105.

As soon as the ceremony is over, a mock trial is held, and the poor bird, having been found guilty of bigamy, is solemnly sentenced to death and executed' (Hutchinson, *Marriage Customs in Many Lands*, London, 1897, p. 251 f.).[1]

An interesting combination of fertility and mantic concepts is afforded by marriage customs of the Kāfirs of Delagoa Bay. Here the bride provides a white cock, and the bridegroom a black goat. Both bird and beast are killed by the master of ceremonies, after which 'the entrails of both creatures are immediately examined, in order to ascertain whether the fates are propitious, and little portions of the flesh are handed to both the bride and bridegroom, who are expected at least to taste them before they are cooked for the feast' (Hutchinson, *op. cit.* p. 125).

Finally, the cock is a totem or tabu. Here the classical example is that of the ancient Britons, who, as Cæsar states (*de Bell. Gall.* v. 12), 'leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant; haec tamen alunt animi voluptatisque causa' (cf. Renel, *op. cit.* p. 204). In India the eating of fowls' meat was expressly forbidden (Manu, v. 12, xi. 157; cf. Gautama, *Dharmaśāstra* [ed. Stenzler, London, 1876], xvii. 29, xxiii. 5); and the cock, being sacred to Persephone and Demeter (as a chthonic and earth goddess respectively), was tabu to the *mystæ* at Eleusis (Porphyry, *de Abstin.* iv. 16). A similar prohibition, according to Abraham Jakobsen (cited by Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 324), existed among the 10th cent. Slavs, who would not eat young fowls 'for fear of sickness.' A condition of affairs precisely similar to that among the Britons was observed by Ulloa in the 18th cent. among some South American tribes, whose women, though they 'breed fowl and other domestic animals in their cottages, . . . never eat them . . . much less kill them' (cited by Jevons, *Introd. to the Hist. of Religion*[3], London, 1904, p. 116).

By the Chinese a cock is killed to give sanctity to an oath, as in legal proceedings. In many cases the function of the bird is still obscure, as, for example, the basis of his association with the Celtic god Sucellus ('[the god of] the good mallet'), who is probably Cæsar's Dis Pater, regarded by Druidical tradition as the father of the Celtic race (Cæsar, vi. 18; cf. Renel, *op. cit.* pp. 252–255); as well as the same bird's connexion with the Gallic 'Mercury' (Renel, *op. cit.* pp. 304, 306–309).

LITERATURE.—L. H. Jeitteles, 'Zur Gesch. des Haushuhns,' in *Zoolog. Garten*, xix.; V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*[6], Berlin, 1894, pp. 314–329, 579–581; E. Hahn, *Haustiere und ihre Beziehung zur Wirtschaft des Menschen*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 291 ff.; O. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 322–325; A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, London, 1872, ii. 279–293; J. G. Frazer, *GB*[2], London, 1900, ii. 266–269; A. Brandl, 'The Cock in the North,' *SBAW*, 1909; L. Ginzberg, art. 'Cock' in *JE* iv. 138 f.; H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 91; W. Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882, pp. 365–368; J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–1893, ii. 241 f.; M. Abeghian, *Armen. Volksglaube*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 38; O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, Index, *s.v.* 'Hahn'; E. Baethgen, *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Græcorum et Romanorum*, Göttingen, 1887; W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, Index, *s.v.* 'Cock'; Grimm[4], p. 558 f., App. p. 192; E. H. Meyer, *Germ. Mythol.*, Berlin, 1891, p. 110 f.; C. Renel, *Les Religions de la Gaule avant le christianisme*, Paris, 1906, pp. 255, 304–308.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

COERCION.—The 'current spelling is deceptive.' The word is from *coercitiōn-em*, from *coercēre*, 'to restrain' (*OED*). The occasional use of the word to indicate merely physical pressure may be passed over. The fundamental meaning is pressure brought to bear upon a voluntary agent to compel that agent to take a certain action, or to refrain from it. Von Jhering defines it as 'the accomplishment of a purpose by the compulsion of another's will' (*Zweck im Recht*, i.[3] 1893, p. 234). The pressure may be by an individual or by a social group or institution. In the latter case, when the agent has a place in the group, the coerced one feels in various degrees that his moral autonomy has not been entirely sacrificed. He is a party to the coercion. Hence the coercions of representative government, whether in the State or in any special group, have a distinctly different moral aspect from the coercions of a mere tyranny of force. In late usage the government of individuals, after the abrogation of ordinary constitutional protection, has been called, in a peculiar sense, government by coercion. But, in point of fact, all government is by coercion, and it is open to question whether such usage is based upon a thoughtful consideration of the character of all coercion. Of course, in strict logic it is impossible to coerce a free agent, for freedom ceases with the degree of coercion; and the action becomes that of the coercer and not of the one coerced. Yet, such is the delicacy of the psychological situations involved, that authority may pass by an infinite series of grades of coercion from the gentle pressure of mere social usage to the compulsions of the State armed with the physical power to imprison, punish, and kill.

1. The question of the ethical character of any coercion is acutely raised by philosophical anarchy (see ANARCHY), which denies the moral right of any legal coercion. This contention involves the deeper question of the origin and character of all authority (see AUTHORITY), for authority in all its phases is linked with a long series of coercions. Thus, the parent deals coercively with the child, and the long period of dependence of the child upon the parental care is an important factor in the moralization of all human life (cf. John Fiske, *Cosmic Philosophy*, 1874, ii. 242 ff.). The *patria potestas* in early Roman law carried with it unlimited powers of coercion, even to the power over life and death (Morey, *Outlines of Roman Law*[6], 1893, p. 23); but this power underwent modifications in the development, under Stoic and Christian influences, of the conception of a person (*persona*) with certain natural rights. This, however, only involved the transference of the power of coercion from a single person to the State. This development in Roman law is instructive as marking the twofold character of coercion, and the transition from one type to the other. There was, on the one hand, a type of coercion based simply upon superior physical force, as in the relation of the master to the slave, in which personality was both practically and theoretically denied the slave, who was thus thought of not as an end in himself, but simply as a means to another's ends. But co-ordinate with this was another type, based really upon the affection of the family group; and here the very end of coercion was the protection and development of personality. Gradually this more moral conception began to affect the treatment of the slave, and, as his personality was slowly recognized, Roman law began to throw about it various protective requirements.

2. It is scarcely open to doubt that no authority rests for any length of time upon merely physical coercion. Not even the discipline of a prison or the barbarism of Mexican peonage rests upon mere brute force. There are psychological elements in all such relationships that render all coercion of any duration possible only where the agent *submits*, *i.e.* puts his personality, by a more or less conscious act of will, at the disposal of the one wielding authority. From the point of view of ethics it is of great consequence to inquire in every case as to the inner meaning of this submission. Historically, it may be demonstrated that all submission to a loveless coercion, as well as all exercise of the power of loveless coercion, has proved individually and socially demoralizing (as in the worst types of

[1] This killing of the cock may well be, as Hutchinson suggests, a survival of animal sacrifice (to a fertility deity?).

slavery). It is to the facts that may easily be cited for this contention that philosophical anarchy most effectively points. It forgets, however, the essential character of the coercions of love in the development of moral autonomy, and in all group education. Thus it may be clearly recognized that the moral character of all coercion depends upon the purpose that determines the coercion (cf. the discussion of 'Zwang,' by von Jhering, *op. cit.* vol. i. ch. viii. pp. 234–570).

3. In legal discussions of coercion a distinction is usually attempted between bodily and mental coercion. Here the line is not easily drawn. Fear of bodily injury may lead to submission, without any real physical coercion. Very powerful mental impressions may be employed as effectively as bodily contacts, to reduce the will of another to the attitude of submission. The evidence of coercion in cases of rape, demanded in courts of law, is generally, from a modern ethical and psychological point of view, extremely unsatisfactory; and the legal discussion of 'undue influence' in testamentary cases is fraught with embarrassment (for example, cf. classic discussion in von Savigny's *System des heutig. röm. Rechts*, 1840, vol. iii. bk. ii. pp. 114–139). Freedom of will is a relative term, and all pressure is relative. Mental states are not yet subject to exact measurement, and so the measure of coercion cannot be exactly fixed. Between the most casual request and the all-powerful suggestion to a hypnotized subject, there is no sharp line (Münsterberg, *Psychology and Life*, 1899, pp. 239–242). The simplest suggestion has in it a measure of coercion, and the most brutal physical violence aimed at subduing another has in it a measure of mental suggestion. Only the ends sought and the purpose that guides coercion will determine their moral character, and only scientific and long-continued observation of their various degrees of social effectiveness will determine the wisdom or folly of various types of coercion, such as corporal punishment, imprisonment, fear of death, etc.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works quoted above, see F. Paulsen, *System der Ethik*, 1900, ch. ix. p. 424; J. Bentham, *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, 1823, ch. x. 'Of Motives'; William James, *Principles of Psychology*, 1891, vol. ii. ch. xxvi. p. 486.

4. In modern pædagogics the forms which disciplinary and educative coercion should take are at last beginning to receive attention (see art. EDUCATION). Here it is in place to call attention only to what must be the underlying philosophy of all such disciplinary coercion. The human being, as an end in himself, must never be forgotten. All coercive reaction must therefore consider the welfare not only of the coercive group, institution or social machinery, but also of the member thus coerced. And the coercive reactions, to be truly rational and moral, must cease to carry a pseudo-retributive character. It is quite impossible to apply rationally the *lex talionis*. For one man's tooth or eye is not, and cannot be, a retributive equivalent for another's loss of these. The attempt to estimate sin and evil in terms of pain, or virtue in terms of pleasure, is the comparison of incommensurate quantities, however closely they may be linked in our experience. This is the weakness of Bentham's theory. These reactions of a coercive character can be experimentally tested only in their educative and protective efficiency. The social organism will always react powerfully to protect itself, and may sacrifice the individual in its endeavour thus to conserve its own life; but even in extreme cases (capital punishment, war, etc.) the reaction is irrational, and to that degree demoralizing, if the element of retribution enters into it at all. Any really just retribution could take place only on the basis of an exact weighing of the motive behind the act thus to be avenged, and so, if there is any coercion in the universe, it must be in the hands of an all-wise God. There is, therefore, profound ethical sense in the demand of St. Paul for the banishment of 'wrath' and its coercive reactions from our breast (Ro 12[19-20]). At the same time it is open to question whether, on the basis of the revelation of God as the loving Father of all His creatures, there is room anywhere for retributive coercive reactions (see, however, the article REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS). The loving father does not and should not 'avenge' himself upon his children; all coercive reactions are disciplinary and educative with regard to the coerced individual, and defensive on the part of the coerced. Coercive reactions may seek dramatically to impress their character as disciplinary or protective reactions, by following the lines of the transgression, as blow for blow, but when they attempt retribution they exceed their own possible limits. The recognition of this is transforming penology, where the indeterminate sentence is in full recognition of the educative character of social coercive reaction.

LITERATURE.—Beccaria, *Dei Delitti e Delle pene*, 1764, tr. by J. A. Farrer (*Crimes and Punishments*, 1880); G. Tarde, *La Philosophie pénale*, 1892; F. H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation*, 1895. Consult also Samuel J. Barrows' art. 'Penology' in Bliss's *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, 1908, and Bentham's work already mentioned. For another aspect, see H. Spencer's *Education*, 1861.

T. C. HALL.

COGNITION.—See EPISTEMOLOGY.

COINS AND MEDALS (Western).—In their relation to religion, coins and medals may be considered under three headings: (1) There are a certain number of coins and medals made to serve some religious or superstitious purpose. (2) Coins or medals are constantly used for such purposes, although never intended to be so used. (3) Many coin-types have a religious significance, and the development and decline of the religious element in such types have to be considered. For historical reasons it is convenient to reverse the above logical order in the consideration of these questions.

i. The religious significance of coin-types.—

[For the whole of this question, especially down to the end of the Byzantine period, general reference is due to G. Macdonald, *Coin Types*, 1905].

1. Until recent years, religion was regarded by most numismatists as the motive which inspired the selection of the types of the earliest Greek coins.

Few held this theory in the extreme form in which it was propounded by Thomas Burgon (*Numism. Journ.* 1837): for him no explanation of a type was satisfactory which did not find in it religious significance. E. Curtius (tr. in *Num. Chron.* 1870) developed Burgon's theory in accordance with his own view of the dominant importance of the priesthood in certain periods of Greek history. He reached the curious conclusion that money was first struck in temples, being an invention of the priests; hence the religious character of the designs, which were emblems of the divinities from whose shrines the coins were first issued. For this theory there was no vestige of sound proof, and it was not at the time generally accepted in full (cf. P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, 1883, p. 42; B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.* 1887, p. lvii). But the essentially religious nature of the early coin-type was strongly upheld: 'It was simply the signet or guarantee of the issuer, a solemn affirmation on the part of the State that the coin was of just weight and good metal, a calling of the gods to witness against fraud.' The type was therefore necessarily a device 'which might appeal to the eyes of all as the sacred emblem of the god' (Head, *ib.*). The whole theory was vigorously attacked in 1892 (W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight-Standards*, 1892; cf. *Class. Rev.* vi. 470, vii. 79), and it was shown that many types could be explained on the religious theory only by assuming forced and over subtle allusions. The explanation hinted at by Head in the words 'the signet or guarantee of the issuer' was then more fully developed. 'The type, whatever its character may be, appears on coins because it is the badge by which the issuing authority is recognized' (G. F. Hill, *Handbook of Gr. and Rom. Coins*, 1899).

The fact that the types on the earliest coins, whatever their significance, were selected solely and always because they happened to be the recognized badge or 'coat of arms' of the issuing authority has now been demonstrated in detail

(G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*). The proof of this fact does not affect the question of the primary origin of the badge, but it rightly removes the question out of the field of numismatics into that of ancient heraldry. There can be no doubt that many of the types, such as the owl at Athens, the bee at Ephesus, the Pegasus at Corinth, were of religious significance, but it was not for that reason, or out of any peculiarly religious character inherent in coinage, that they were chosen; it was simply because the coins were thereby made recognizable as coins of Athens or Ephesus or Corinth. Similarly the tunny of Cyzicus and the barley of Metapontum doubtless came to be adopted as badges because of the importance which belonged to them in the economic life of these two cities. But they were adopted as *coin-types* only because, for whatever reason, they were already the badges of the cities. The official seals doubtless bore the same devices.

2. Such was the origin of the coin-type. But with the increase in the number and variety of the coins struck by each mint in Greece it became necessary to vary the types. New types were thus invented and chosen, and many motives came into play; but the object in view seems always to have been to find something appropriate to the activities of the State which issued the coins. It was in the 4th cent. B.C. that the religious motive seems first to have become dominant (Macdonald, p. 117 f.). From this time we may find on the various denominations struck at one mint a whole series of representations of deities with their corresponding attributes. Artificially selected types of this kind tended considerably to oust the old-fashioned badge from its position. Thus, 'before the close of the Hellenic period, it had come to be regarded as a matter of course that the types of coins should be religious in subject' (Macdonald, p. 135).

The appearance in and after Alexander the Great's time of the portraits of Greek kings is not a contradiction, but a confirmation of this rule. Alexander's own portrait is half-disguised by Divine attributes, such as the ram's horn of Ammon, or the lion's skin of Herakles; and it is as deified rulers that most, if not all, of the Diadochi and Epigoni appear, when they are portrayed, on their coins (Macdonald, p. 151 ff.).

3. The religious types of Greek coins fall into various classes. First, naturally, we place representations of the deities themselves; not merely the great Olympians, such as Zeus at Elis, Poseidon at Poseidonia, Apollo and Demeter on the coin of the Delphic Amphictyons, Athene at Athens and Corinth, Aphrodite at Cnidus, Hera at Argos; but minor supernatural powers and personifications, such as Nike, Homonoia, Tyche; city-deities, such as Antioch; river-gods, mountain-gods, and the like. To the same class belong the representations of aniconic objects of worship, such as the sacred Aphrodite-cones of Paphos or the Cilician Aphrodisias, the 'Artemis' of Perga, the sacred stone of Emisa. Deities are often represented, not merely as cultus figures, but in action—Hermes carries the infant Arcas (Pheneus), Apollo slays the Python (Croton), Herakles the Hydra (Phæstus). By a not unnatural confusion, the deity is sometimes represented in the action which properly belongs to the worshipper; thus, at Selinus, the river-god Selinos is represented as offering sacrifice. Heroized founders and other persons who were the object of cult are also represented, as Cydon suckled by a bitch (Cydonia), Themistocles at Magnesia in Ionia. At Apamea in Phrygia, Noah and his wife are represented, first in the ark (with the raven sitting on it, and the dove bringing the olive branch), and then, still on the same coin, on dry land, their hands raised in adoration. Other elaborate mythological scenes are not uncommon. A very large class of religious types includes the attributes of the deities, such as the thunderbolt or the eagle of Zeus, the owl of Athene, the *caduceus* of Hermes, the wine-cup or grapes of Dionysus, the star-surmounted caps of the Dioscuri. Occasionally an object which one would not otherwise regard as religious is deliberately given a sacred character; thus on the earliest coin of Cyzicus is a tunny fish adorned with fillets, showing that it is dedicated to the local deity. Finally, we may class together the buildings connected with cults, such as the temples of Artemis at Ephesus, of Aphrodite at Paphos. There are, in fact, few aspects of Greek public religion which are not illustrated in some more or less direct manner by the types of Greek coins.

4. The same is true of Roman coins; the whole of the earliest regular series (the *aes grave*) bear on their obverses the heads of deities. Beginning with the heaviest denomination, the *as*, and descending, we have the—

as .	with the head of		Janus.
semis .	,,	,,	Juppiter.
triens .	,,	,,	Minerva, Dea Roma, or Virtue.
quadrans	,,	,,	Hercules.
sextans	,,	,,	Mercury.
uncia .	,,	,,	Bellona.

This is in accordance with the rule prevailing in the Greek world in the 4th cent., when the Romans borrowed from the Greeks the idea of a coinage. About the end of the 2nd cent., types commemorating events in the history of the family of the monetary magistrates become important, and even the religious types seem to be chosen because of some connexion of the moneyers with the gods represented. Personifications occupy an increasingly important place among the types.

Under the Republic we have comparatively few, and those of an obvious character, such as Libertas and Victoria; but under the Empire we meet with a series of less obvious personifications of ideas, such as Æternitas, Fecunditas, Fides, Pudicitia, Securitas. The artistic conceptions of these qualities are usually quite mediocre. At Alexandria in Egypt, which was the most important mint outside Rome in the first three centuries of our era, such personifications were also common: thus we have not merely Justice, Peace, and Hope, but such ideas as Kratesis (Valour?), Dynamis (Dominion), and Semasia (Signal of Victory).

The general impression given by a survey of the Roman Imperial coinage (as distinct from the coinage of Greek mints under the Empire) is one of an absence of any active religious element.

5. Early in the 4th cent. the Christian element makes its appearance on the coins, at first sporadically and incidentally (see the summary in Macdonald, p. 226 f.). Thus at Tarraco in A.D. 314 a cross appears in the field of the coins, though the type is still pagan; in 320 the ☧ monogram appears at several mints as a symbol in the field, or decorating the Emperor's helmet; the standard of the cross transfixing a dragon is the type of a coin struck at Constantinople in A.D. 326, the year after the Council of Nicæa. The Christian monogram, flanked by A and ω, is the type of well-known coins of Constantius II., Magnentius, and Decentius. But types of no religious import accompany these. Under Julian the Apostate there is a sudden revulsion in favour of strictly pagan religious types, such as the bull Apis. After Julian's death, Christian types once more prevail, although personifications, such as Concordia, and especially the goddess Victory, are by no means excluded.

The plain cross (of the Latin shape) within a wreath is the type of certain coins of Valentinian III. (424–455) and his sister Honoria. Under Olybrius (472) it figures still more prominently, without the wreath. But it is not until the next century that we find the cross 'potent' on steps, which is so characteristic of Byzantine coinage. The first instance is on a coin of Tiberius II. Constantine (574–582). About 450 was struck a

gold coin, celebrating the marriage of Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II., to Marcian. It bears the inscription, FELICITER NVBTIIS, and represents Christ standing, with His hands on the shoulders of bride and bridegroom. The reason for this, the first appearance of Christ on a coin, is that Pulcheria had vowed herself to virginity in her youth, and her marriage with Marcian was conditional on the respecting of her vows. But this coin is exceptional, and Christ is not again represented until the time of Justinian II. (685–695 and 705–711). The bust is without nimbus, holding the Gospels, and blessing; the inscription is 'Jesus Christ, King of Kings.' The Emperor is styled 'Our Lord Justinian, the servant of Christ.' Tradition says that Justinian threatened to adopt types offensive to the religious feelings of the Musalmans; it is at least a curious fact that the independent Musalmān coinage originated at this time and bears a militant religious motto. But the iconoclasts who followed Justinian would have none of the bust of Christ, although they retained the cross. The bust was finally re-established about the middle of the 9th cent. on coins of Michael III. and Theodora, after the condemnation of the iconoclasts by the Council of Constantinople in 842.

From this time onwards we find an increasing variety of representations of Christ. He is enthroned, holding the Gospels, with cross on nimbus behind head (Leo VI. and Constantine X., 911–912, and later Emperors); crowning the Emperor, and sometimes also the Empress (Romanus I. 920–924; Romanus IV. and Eudocia, 1067–1070); standing, holding the Gospels, and styled ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ (John Zimisces, 969–976); seated, with the Emperor kneeling, presented by St. Michael (Michael VIII. Palæologus, 1261–1282). The head of the Virgin ('Maria, Mother of God') first occurs on coins of Leo VI. Later we find her seated, holding the Child; in half-figure, holding a medallion with the head of Christ; standing, with the Emperor, holding the cross; or her bust surrounded by the walls of Constantinople (Michael VIII. Palæologus, 1261–1282 and later). Saints are also represented from the 10th cent. onwards: St. Alexander (Alexander, 912–913); St. Constantine (Alexius I., 1081–1118); St. George (John II. Comnenus, 1118–1143); St. Theodore (Manuel I. Comnenus, 1143–1180); St. Michael (Isaac II. Angelus, 1185–1195).

6. Of all the types introduced in the late Roman and Byzantine coinage, the most lasting in its effects, as might be expected, was the cross. It was borrowed by the barbarians with great freedom. The cruciform monogram of the early Carolingian coins is a modification of it. In some form or other it is the type, or the basis of the type, of innumerable coins of the Middle Ages; and its influence lingers on in the cruciform arrangement of such a coin as the Victorian double florin. But it is doubtful whether it had any religious significance after the close of the Middle Ages. Its convenience in the case of the English silver penny, for instance, as a guide for cutting the coin into halfpennies and farthings, and its obvious decorative possibilities, are quite sufficient to account for its popularity apart from its religious value. Its significance, however, is emphasized on such coins as the German denarii, on which the angles of the cross contain such words as CRVX, PAX, or as the obols of William of Petersheim (*c.* 1310), which bear a cross and the legend SIGNVM CRVCIS.

7. The representations of religious subjects on mediæval and later coinages would repay a careful analysis. A few instances must suffice here. As in ancient times the choice of the subject is due not to anything religious in the character of the coinage, but simply to the fact that it is the emblem of the State. The first silver pieces of Venice (1192–1205) have types closely copied from Byzantine coins; on one side is the Doge standing, receiving the banner from St. Mark; on the other, Christ enthroned (C. F. Keary, *Morphology of Coins*, 1886, Nos. 97, 98). The gold sequin introduced by Giov. Dandolo (1279–1289) had on the obverse the Doge kneeling, receiving the banner from St. Mark; on the reverse, Christ standing in a mandorla of stars. This type persisted down to the end of the Venetian coinage (Keary, No. 99). A common type on the lower denominations is the winged lion of St. Mark. One of the types of another famous Italian coin, the Florentine gold florin, is a figure of St. John Baptist (Keary, No. 109). At Lucca the *Santo Volto* is represented; at Milan we have a seated figure of St. Ambrose (Keary, No. 102). Other saints (Italian coins show an immense number) are S. Petronio at Bologna, S. Geminiano at Modena, St. Peter at Rome, St. Ursus at Solothurn, St. Wenceslas in Bohemia. The English 'angel' received its name from its type—the archangel Michael spearing the Dragon. The 'Salute' of Henry VI. has a charming representation of the Annunciation; and St. George attacking the Dragon is still the type of the highest denomination of the British coinage. But the tendency in modern times is to revert, just as under the Roman Empire, to comparatively frigid personifications and allegories, such as the Britannia of the British pennies, etc., and the *Semeuse* of the modern French silver coins.

8. A word must be said of the religious mottoes which first made their appearance as a definite fashion in the course of the 11th century (Macdonald, p. 241). One of the earliest—an appeal (in verse) to the Virgin: *Δεσποινα σώζοις εὐσεβῆ Μονόμαχον*—is found on a coin of Constantine Monomachus (1042–1055). Under Romanus IV. (1067–1070) we have *Παρθένε σοὶ πολυαινε ὅς ἤλπικε πάντα κατορθοῖ*. At Venice the ducat took its name from the leonine hexameter which it bore: 'Sit tibi, Christe, datus quem tu regis iste ducatus.' The chief Florentine silver coin bore: 'Det tibi florere Christus, Florentia, vere.' 'Posui Deum auditorem meum,' 'Christus regnat, Christus vincit, Christus imperat,' 'Sit nomen Domini benedictum,' and the like, occur on English and French coins. The early Norman rulers of Sicily used not only the Greek motto Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς *νικᾷ*, but also the Arab formula, 'There is no God but God; Muhammad is the prophet of God': but the latter was probably copied from Arab coins as a meaningless ornament. The 'IHS autem transiens per medium illorum ibat' of the English gold nobles has not been fully explained, but it evidently had some prophylactic significance (see Wroth, *Num. Chr.* 1882, p. 299; Blanchet, *Talismans anciens*, Paris, 1900, p. 8).

ii. **The accidental religious use of coins and medals.**—I. *Dedications.*—The object of a dedication is to give to the deity something valuable or representing value, with a view to propitiation or the expression of gratitude. Few media are more convenient than coins for such a purpose. Accordingly we find that coins have been thus used, probably ever since their invention down to the present day, when the tourist who wishes to return to Rome propitiates the nymph of the Trevi fountain with a soldo. Coins were, indeed, specially made with this object, but these come under another category; here we deal with coins used for this purpose, although never intended to be so used.

[See especially F. Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, 1878, i. 28 f., and in *Rev. Num.* 1874–1877, p. 325 f.; E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies*, 1901, i. 671 f.]

The evidence concerning the subject is manifold. First come numerous references in literature and inscriptions. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between dedications proper and temple fees. At the shrine of Amphiaraus at Oropus a fee of not less than 9 obols was exacted from all patients who consulted the god; it was put into the money-box in presence of the sacristan (see the inscr. *IG* vii. 235), and sick people, if cured, threw a piece of gold or silver into the fountain of the god (Pausan. i. 34. 4). Here we have first the fee, then the dedication. Those who consulted the oracle of Hermes of the Market at Pharæ in Achæa first laid a bronze coin of the country on the altar to the right of the image (Pausan. vii. 22. 3). Those who visited the shrine of Aphrodite at Paphos paid a piece of money to the goddess 'as though to a courtesan' (Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 13, ed. Potter). Lucian's account of the wonder-working statue of the Corinthian general Pelichos (*Philopseudes*, 20) may

be romance, but the details are doubtless copied from the truth. This statue had obols lying at its feet, and there were also fastened to its thigh with wax some silver coins and leaves of silver (πέταλα, probably bracteates or thin ornamental disks made by beating out metal over coins), being votive offerings or payments for cures from people whom the hero had relieved of fever.

Another case in point is offered by the iron bars (ὀβελίσκοι) which Pheidon of Argos dedicated in the temple of the Argive Hera; such spits or bars, according to Aristotle (Pollux, ix. 77), had formed the earliest Peloponnesian currency, and were superseded by the introduction of silver, commonly attributed to Pheidon. However, as the connexion of Pheidon with the introduction of silver currency is doubtful, these bars may have been, not superseded currency, but standard measures, which he placed in the temple that they might be safely preserved (Th. Reinach, *L'Hist. par les monnaies*, 1902, p. 35 ff.). The Egyptian usage of throwing money into the Nile at a certain festival (Seneca, *Nat. Qu.* iv. ii. 7) was probably Greek rather than native in origin.

2. Roman authors also record the practice of *stipem ponere, iacere* or *conferre* (thus Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5, § 182, Müll.: 'etiam nunc diis cum thesauris asses dant, stipem dicunt'; Seneca, *de Ben.* vii. iv. 6: 'et dis donum posuimus et stipem iecimus'; cf. Liv. xxv. 12). When M. Curtius leapt into the gulf, the people cast down 'gifts and fruits of the field' on him; in commemoration whereof it was the custom for Romans of all ranks to make an annual vow for the health of Augustus by casting a coin into the Lake of Curtius (Sueton. *Aug.* 57). Pliny the Younger tells us (*Ep.* viii. 8. 2) that coins could be seen lying at the bottom of the springs of Clitumnus. In 211 B.C. the soldiers of Hannibal, after plundering the temple of the goddess Feronia, left as a sort of expiation a large quantity of *rudera*, amorphous blocks, of bronze (Liv. xxvi. 11: 'aeris acervi, quum rudera milites religione inducti iacerent, post profectionem Hannibalis magni inventi' [where *inducti* is to be preferred to *intacti*, and *iacerent* means 'dedicated']). As *aes rude* was no longer in use as money at the time, we may infer that these *rudera* were part of the old treasure of the temple.

3. These literary references can be supplemented from Greek inscriptions, especially temple inventories. In an Athenian list of 398–397 B.C. (Dittenberger, *Syll.*[2] [1898], 586, p. 288) we find '2 Phocaic staters; . . . Phocaic sixths; 11 Persian silver sigli.' According to the same account, the temple of the Brauronian Artemis contained certain 'false staters from Lacon sealed up in a box.' On the other hand (*ib.* p. 290), 'Andron of Elaius dedicated (ἀπήρξατο) two gold drachms; Thrasyllus of Euonymeia a gold half-obol and two staters of Ægina.' In another list we have 'the false money from Eleusis' (*IG* ii. 654, l. 8). The Delian inventory of about 180 B.C. (Dittenberger, *op. cit.* p. 321) enumerates many coins of Philip II., Alexander, Lysimachus, Antiochus, Carystus in Eubœa, the Ptolemies, Ephesus, etc., some being of bronze plated with silver. An Attic list of 422–418 B.C. mentions a 'gold tetradrachm,' stating a weight which shows that it was not an ordinary coin, but a cast in gold (presumably made with the object of dedication) from a silver tetradrachm of Attic weight (*Hermes*, xxxvi. 317).

It is improbable that any large number of these treasures were the produce of fines for offences committed within the precincts; money so obtained would hardly have been carefully preserved as treasure and inventoried, but rather spent in the upkeep of the temple. Certainly the false pieces would not have been accepted in payment of fines, whereas they may well have been dedications (see below, iii. § 1). After being preserved for a decent time, dedicated coins, if of precious metal, were sometimes, if not usually, melted down and made into vessels for the sanctuary. An inscription of the 3rd century B.C. (C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, Brussels, 1896–1900, p. 827) records the melting down of a large quantity of dedications in order to replace the worn-out temple-service at the shrine of Amphiaraus at Oropus; about half of these are gold or silver coins, most of them with the names of the dedicators attached; 5 gold staters are described as ἀνεπίγραφοι, having presumably lost their labels.

Most temples contained money-boxes, like those to be found in modern churches, for the receipt of offerings. Money thus acquired would probably be spent for the upkeep of the shrine, and was not strictly dedicated. On such ancient *thesauri* see Graeven, 'Die thönerne Sparbüchse im Altertum' (*Archäol. Jahrb.* xvi. 160–189); Babelon, *Traité*, p. 671; Edgar, *ZÄ* xl. 141.

4. The literary and epigraphic evidence is wholly confirmed by the actual finds. A very large proportion of such ancient coins as are known to have been dedicated comes from rivers and fountains. This does not prove that the custom was especially attached to water-deities; the explanation of the fact is that in such cases coins, being hidden by the water, escaped being carried off or melted down. The holy well at Oropus (§ 1) can be paralleled by innumerable cases from mediæval and modern times, from the British Isles, Brittany, Esthonia, etc. (Frazer on Pausan. i. 34. 4). Coventina's well at Procolitia on the Roman Wall yielded over 15,000 Roman coins (*Num. Chr.* 1879, p. 85 ff.); St. Querdon's well in Kirkcudbrightshire, hundreds of copper coins, going back for some centuries. With the Roman coins from a well at Bar Hill we shall deal later (iii. § 1). Ancient coins have been found in large quantities in medicinal springs in Italy and Gaul. Thus many thousands of Roman and other coins (going down to late Imperial times) and more than 1200 lbs. of *aes rude* (see above, § 2) were found at the bottom of the spring of Vicarello on the N. shore of the Lake of Bracciano, wrongly identified with Aquae Apollinares (Henzen, *Rh. Mus.* 1854, p. 20 ff.). There are several instances from Gaul, including the fountain at Nîmes (see below, iii. § 1). At Amélie-les-Bains, near Arles (Pyrenées Orientales), Roman and Celtiberian coins were found in the hot springs, together with inscribed leaden tablets (*RA* iv. 1847, p. 409 f.).

Finds of coins, obviously dedicated, from river-beds have hitherto been recorded chiefly from France. Large quantities of Gaulish and Roman coins came from the bed of the Mayenne at the ford of St. Léonard, and from the Vilaine at Rennes; and gold coins of the Parisii occur in great numbers in a certain spot at the confluence of the Seine and Marne. Sheets of water such as those of Soing, Flines, and Grandlieu have also contributed their quota of dedicated coins. [Bibliography of this whole subject in Babelon, *Traité*, i. 674, note 2.]

In modern times we have a parallel to the statue of Pelichos in the image in the sanctuary of St. Michael in Mandamadhos, Lesbos, to the face of which coins are affixed with wax (Rouse, *Gr. Votive Offerings*, 1902, p. 226). Hasluck (*JHS* xxix. [1909] 15) describes a method of divination common in the East (*e.g.* in the Marmara Islands): three crosses are made on a picture of the Virgin with a coin; if the coin sticks, the omen is propitious. In the inventory of the possessions of St. Mary's Guild, Boston, 1534, among the *jocalia* is a silver-gilt cross with Mary and John, 'wt a sufferayn of golde thereto nailed & offeryd by John Reede' [communicated by C. R. Peers].

5. It has been thought that coins thus dedicated were purposely defaced, so as to prevent their returning into circulation. All the staters of the Parisii from the source above mentioned are said to have chisel-cuts. This does not, however, seem to have always been the case, and it is very doubtful whether such chisel-cuts can have been meant to demonetize them; they may equally well have been made to test their quality. When dedicating coins, the Greeks frequently placed on them incised (less commonly punctured) inscriptions. These had, as their primary object, not the demonetization of the pieces—the Greeks were careless of such trifles as a few scratches on the surface of a coin—but to record their dedication. The name of the dedicator, however, rarely, if ever, occurs on extant specimens. The most remarkable inscription is on a stater of Sicyon, probably to be read τᾶς Ἀρτάμιτος τᾶς ἐ(λ) Λ(α)κεδ(αί)μονι, *i.e.* '(the property) of Artemis in Lacedæmon' (*JHS* xviii. [1898] 302 f.). We also find

ἱαρὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλ(λωνος) on a coin of Croton; *Μακεδῷ ἀν(άθημα)* on a coin of Arsinoë Philadelphus, dedicated to Macedon, son of Osiris; *Σαράπ(ιδι) ἀν.*; *Διον(ύσῳ) ἀν.*; *Ὀσίρ(ει)*; or simply *ἱερὸν*, *ἀναθ.*, *ἀν.*, or *α.*, and in one case *εὐχά* (*JHS* xvii. [1897] 83). Similar inscriptions on Roman coins are not common; but a Roman *as* has on the obverse the punctured letters SF, and on the reverse FORTVNAI STIPE incised (d'Ailly, *Recherches*, 1865, II. i. Pl. liv. 12: cf. Quintilian's phrase 'stipem posuisse fortunæ,' *Declam.* ix. 15).

A more systematic way of dealing with dedicated coins was adopted at the shrine of Zeus Kasios in Corcyra. Here the authorities possessed a stamp with the letters Διὸς Κασίο, which was impressed on the coin, marking it as the property of the god (*B. M. Catal. Coins*, 'Thessaly,' etc. p. 159). The coins dedicated in this way seem all to be of bronze. More respectful to the coins was the method exemplified by certain finds from the Gallo-German border, bronze tablets being made with circular holes for the coins. One from Forbach (Lorraine) is dedicated by Acceptus and Mottio to the god *Visucius*; similar tablets come from Sablon near Metz (Mowat, *Mém. Soc. Ant. Fr.* 1888, t. ix. p. 220 f.). It has sometimes been thought that the halved coins which come chiefly from Gaul, being especially coins of Nemausus, Vienna, and Lugdunum, were halved with some religious object. For this belief there is no foundation whatever; the halving was merely a method of making small change (Blanchet, *Études de num.* 1902, ii. 113-125; Strack, 'Halbierte Munzen im Altertum' in *Bonner Jahrbucher*, cviii.).

6. Coins and medals used as *relics and amulets*.

[See Lenormant, *Monn. dans l'ant.* i. 39 ff.; Babelon, pp. 76 f., 680 f.; Hill, 'The Thirty Pieces of Silver,' in *Archæol.*, lix.]

The greater number of coins and medals used as amulets, etc., were expressly manufactured to that end; but actual coins also were often used in this way. The magic attaching to the name of Alexander the Great lent his coins a talismanic virtue; Trebellius Pollio tells us (*Trig. Tyr.* 13) that the Macriani wore the image of Alexander in all sorts of forms, 'quia dicuntur iuvari in omni actu suo, qui Alexandrum expressum vel auro gestitant vel argento.' Such images were often doubtless actual coins of the king. Mowat (*Rev. Num.* 1903, p. 20 f.) publishes a bronze Macedonian coin on which Alexander's head has been deliberately defaced, perhaps by a Christian who disapproved of the superstition. A curious case of superstitious reverence paid to an insignificant coin is mentioned by Pliny (*HN* xxxiv. 137). The Servilia family had a bronze 4-*uncia* piece to which they offered annual sacrifices with great ceremony; it consumed the gold and silver which were provided for it; it waxed and waned, thereby indicating vicissitudes in the fortune of the family. The 'copper coin with the sign of the cross' given by St. Germain to Ste. Geneviève when she vowed herself to God was possibly an early instance of an ordinary coin used as a devotional medal (St. Germain chanced to see the coin lying on the ground [*Acta Sanct. Boll.* t. i., Jan., p. 143]); it was a pledge of her holy vocation, and was to be worn by her round her neck. But it may equally well have been specially made for the purpose. Medals which were originally produced for an ordinary devotional purpose are sometimes found used as talismans. A good instance is the common medal, first made in the 16th cent., with the head of Christ on the one side and a Hebrew inscription on the other (iii. § 6), which was worn as a charm against epilepsy (J. D. Köhler, *Munzbelustigung*, vi. [1734] 353 f.).

7. The number and variety of coins of an ordinary kind used for charms are enormous; probably the great majority of the ancient and mediæval coins which exist with holes pierced in them, or loops attached for suspension, were worn less for ornament than as a protection against divers evil influences. Naturally a coin bearing a cross would be considered of special efficacy. Byzantine coins, it would seem, were generally known as 'monetæ Sanctæ Helenæ' (in mediæval Italy 'santelene' [cf. Ducange, *de Imper. Const. inf. ævi num.*, 1755, p. 110]), presumably because, as a rule, they represented the relic found by that Empress. Such coins—an extraordinary number of which are perforated for suspension—were effective against epilepsy (*RN*, 1908, p. 137; Bozius, *de signis Eccl. Dei*, 1592, l. xv. cap. 12, who adds that even the Sultan of his time, Murad III., wore one; virtue against some diseases, he adds, was also inherent in the coins of St. Louis). One of these 'monetæ Sanctæ Helenæ' is mentioned in the Wardrobe Account of Henry III. a. 55 (*Notes and Queries*, ser. i. vol. i. p. 100). A famous specimen was at one time in the castle of the Knights of St. John at Rhodes: one of the *deniers de Saincte Helène*, on which are made the *bullettes de Rhodes*, viz. white wax impressions or casts, made on Good Friday, while the Office was being said. They possessed great virtue. By 1413 this relic had disappeared, or become dispossessed in popular favour by a silver Rhodian coin of the 4th cent. B.C., which professed to be one of the *Thirty Pieces of Silver*. Models of it were made under the same circumstances, and these were esteemed of virtue for the health of men, for the labour of women, and for perils by sea. Such impressions were made even after the coin had come with its owners to Malta.

Certain coins of Count David of Mansfeld in the 17th cent. and later coins of Kremnitz were worn in battle as a charm against being thrown from one's horse or wounded (Domanig, *Die deutsche Privat-Medaille*, 1893, p. 125); the superstition also attached to a specially made medal described below (iii. § 2).

Finally, it is probable that the touch-piece, or coin (usually of gold) given by the kings of England to those whom they touched for the 'king's evil,' was supposed to have prophylactic virtue. The piece was usually an angel (types: St. Michael transfixing the Dragon, and a ship). In the last period of the use, special pieces were made with these types, the angel being no longer in circulation.

8. Incidentally we have already mentioned some coins which were preserved as relics. An obvious kind of relic was the 'numisma cum imagine B. Virginis' at the church of S. Wenceslas at Prague (*Rev. Numism.* 1899, p. 500). Canterbury Cathedral possessed a 'nummus perforatus lancea Sancti Mauricii Martyris.' This may have been any perforated coin with the head of an emperor (if the head was injured by the perforation, the mutilation would express the saint's refusal to worship the false god). More probably, however, it was a coin of the Byzantine Emperor Mauricius Tiberius.

The most remarkable series of coin-relics is, however, to be found in the various claimants to the honour of belonging to the Thirty Pieces of Silver. Between 15 and 20 such pieces have been traced; some are still extant. None of those of which the nature is known can have been in circulation in the time of Christ; no fewer than eight can be identified as ancient coins of Rhodes. Why the Knights of St. John (see above, § 7) chose this particular coin for this purpose we cannot say with certainty. But it is obvious that, when it was once established in the place of the 'denier de Saincte Helène' in the shrine which was visited by the great majority of pilgrims to the Holy Land, such pilgrims, meeting with similar coins (which are common in the Levant), would take them home, in the devout hope, speedily ripening into belief, that they too were of the Thirty Pieces. Thus many of the churches of Christendom must have acquired this kind of relic; we hear of them at Rome, Rosas in Catalonia, Enghien, Oviedo, Paris, Vincennes; the specimens in the first three places are still preserved. The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses one of the reproductions of these coins, which were made in great numbers; the words 'Imago Caesaris' have been added on the obverse, thus converting the head of the sun-god, the Rhodian Apollo, into the portrait of the Emperor, whose image and superscription were presumed by the relic-maker to have been visible on the Thirty Pieces, as well as on the 'penny' which was shown to Christ.

Besides the Rhodian coins, one of the famous Syracusan tendrachm pieces, of about 400 B.C., was regarded as a 'Judas-penny,' for it was set in a gold mount inscribed in Gothic letters: 'Quia pretium sanguinis est.' A 'Judas-penny' still preserved in the Treasury of Sens Cathedral is an Egyptian *dirhem* of the end of the 12th century. S. Eustorgio at Milan once possessed a gold *solidus* of the Emperor Zeno which was worshipped as one of the gold coins offered to Christ by the Magi. Mediæval legend identified the Thirty Pieces of Silver with the gold coins included in that offering. Finally, we note that 'Judas-pennies,' not sufficiently described to admit of identification, were once at the Visitandines in Aix, Notre Dame du Puy, St. Denis, Montserrat in Catalonia, S. Croce and the Annunziata at Florence. The piece in Notre Dame du Puy, and doubtless also the others, had efficacy in child-birth. It is, of course, possible that some of these were not genuine ancient coins, but

copies of others, such as the one at Rhodes. At least two other pieces are preserved in Russia, one at the Abbey of the Trinity and St. Sergius in Moscow, another at the Monastery of Suprasl near Bialystok [communicated by Prof. A. de Markoff].

Coins were also often used as ornaments for reliquaries (Babelon, *Traité*, i. 80), but more probably for decorative than for religious reasons.

9. *Charon's obol.*

[Seyffert, *de Numis in ore defunctorum repertis*, 1709; Mayor on Juvenal, iii. 265 f.; Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Charon'; Rohde, *Psyche*[3], 1903, p. 306 f.; Hermann-Blümner, *Gr. Privataltertümer*, 1882, p. 367; Babelon, *Traité*, i. 516 f.].

In origin, the custom of placing a small coin between the teeth or in the hand of the dead was perhaps only a relic of the primitive custom of burying all a man's most valuable belongings with him. But in classical times the coin was certainly regarded as a fare; at Hermione it was not used, because there was a short cut to Hades (Strabo, viii. 373). One obol was the traditional sum; the δυ' ὀβολώ mentioned by Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 140) are an exception made by the poet to hang a joke upon (see B. B. Rogers, *ad loc.*). Diodorus (i. 96. 8) says that the Egyptians had the custom, but we may doubt whether it was indigenous; if it was, as the Egyptians did not use coinage until late times, the coin must have been preceded by some other object of small value. The custom prevailed in many places outside Greece; in Frankish graves the deceased was provided with thin silver imitations of Roman coins. Instances coming down to comparatively modern times are recorded.

iii. **Coins and medals made for purposes of religion or superstition.**—1. From the practice of stamping dedicated coins, as was done by the priests of Zeus Kasios at Corcyra, it was but a step to supply worshippers with actual coins specially made for dedication. The most remarkable of such issues, and perhaps the only ones much differentiated in outward form from the ordinary coinage, are the ham-shaped pieces of Nemausus. These seem to have been struck with the official dies of the Roman mint; they are like the ordinary coins of the place, save that they are furnished with a ham-shaped appendage. They have been found only in the bed of the fountain at Nîmes, and this proves that they were made to be dedicated to the deity of the fountain. One can hardly doubt that they were cheap substitutes for a pig. [Bibliography in Babelon, *Traité*, i. 676.]

A less ambitious form of offering was counterfeit coin, of base metal. Of thirteen Roman denarii, ranging from M. Antonius to M. Aurelius (*Num. Chron.* 1905, p. 10 f.), found in the sludge at the bottom of a Roman well at Bar Hill in Scotland, one was of some alloy of copper, two were struck coins of silver, and ten were cast coins of tin. Not more than four different moulds were used for these ten coins, so they must have been made near the place where they were found, and we cannot doubt that they were made to be dedicated. Similarly a number of denarii found in the bed of the Tiber are of tin (*Riv. Ital. di Numism.* 1905, p. 167 f.). These counterfeit pieces are perhaps on the same footing as the false coins dedicated in Greek temples (ii. § 1), and as the paper money which the Chinese still offer to their gods.

2. We have already seen that a magical virtue attached to the image of Alexander the Great. The fashion of using such talismans seems to have become particularly prevalent in the 3rd cent. of our era, although there is no reason to suppose that the gold medallions of the Trésor de Tarse, dating from that century, and representing Hercules, Philip II., and Alexander, were talismans. John Chrysostom reproaches the Christians of his time for fastening bronze coins of Alexander the Macedonian to their head and feet. Some medals of the late 4th or 5th cent. combine the head of Alexander with Christian symbols or figures such as the ☧ monogram, or the she-ass and her colt. [For other specimens, see Babelon, p. 681 f.] A charm against the evil-eye bears on one side the head and title of Maximianus Herculeus, on the other a circle of various animals contending against the eye (*Ann. Soc. fr. de Num.* 1890, p. 237; for these and other medals showing Gnostic influence, see Babelon, p. 689). In modern times we may mention the common medals (going back in origin to the 16th cent.) with St. George and the Dragon ('S. Georgius equitum patronus') and Christ asleep in the ship ('in tempestate securitas'), which seem still to be made in quantities, and are supposed to give good luck on journeys on horseback or by sea (Köhler, *Münzbelustigung*, xxi. [1749] 109).

3. Coins, etc., made for *currency in connexion with religious institutions.* A rare but famous silver coin issued in the 4th cent. B.C. by the authorities of the temple of Apollo at Didyma in the territory of Miletus bears the inscription ΕΓ ΔΙΔΥΜΩΝ ΙΕΡΗ, *i.e.* 'sacred (drachm) issued from Didyma.' It doubtless represents the currency issued by the temple for circulation among visitors to the shrine. Probably many other Greek coins with less tell-tale inscriptions come within the same category, *e.g.* the bronze coinage issued by Eleusis in the 4th cent. B.C. No other Attic deme issued coins. In view of the religious character of the Hellenic athletic festivals, we are justified in placing the coinage of the Eleans for Olympia in a semi-religious category, and the same may be said of the coinage of the Delphic Amphictyonic Council. In later times festivals of all kinds were accompanied by special coinages; thus at Soli-Pompeiopolis, in the year 229 of that city (=A.D. 163–164), there was a large and varied issue of coins which must have been intended to meet the demand created by some festival (*JHS* xviii. [1898] 166). It is probable, indeed, that of the vast number of insignificant cities issuing coins in Asia Minor under Roman rule, nearly all did so at considerable intervals, and only on the occasion of local festivals.

4. A famous gold coin of Wigmund, Archbishop of York (837–854?), has on the reverse a cross within a wreath, and the legend MVNVS DIVINVM (*B. M. Cat. Eng. Coins*, i. pl. xxiii. 6). Legend and type were probably borrowed from the gold coins of the Emperor Louis I. (814–840); and the object of the coins must have been the service of religion. Certain large silver coins of Alfred the Great are popularly known as 'offering-pennies'; and although there is no reason for the appellation in that case, it may well be that the *solidi* of Louis and Wigmund belong to the same class as the 'bezants' (*i.e.* originally Byzantine *solidi*) which the kings of England used to offer to God on high festival days—a custom in which originated the distribution of alms for the king by the Dean of Westminster (see *Num. Chron.* 1896, p. 254 f.).

The coinage issued in the Middle Ages by persons holding authority in the Church, such as the coinages of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, of the Abbots of St. Martin de Tours, of the Abbesses of Quedlinburg, or in the 17th cent. by the Abbots of St. Honorat de Lérins, are not strictly religious coinages. These authorities exercised their rights for exactly the same reasons and with the same objects as temporal authorities. Counter-stamped Turkish coins and paper currency (5, 10, 20 paras, etc.) are issued at the present day by various Greek churches in Turkey, as at Maroneia and Thasos. A very minor branch of numismatics concerns itself with the sacramental tokens in use among certain churches, especially in Scotland; but these are admission-tickets rather than coins. The somewhat similar ecclesiastical *méreaux* or *jetons de présence*, used in France and elsewhere in the 15th and 16th cents., were given to persons as tokens that they had fulfilled certain qualifications entitling them to benefits.

5. *Religious medals.*—Medals specially made for religious purposes have already been mentioned incidentally. They go back to quite early Chris-

tian times (see Babelon, i. 686 f.). A piece no longer extant bore the legend SVCCESSA VIVAS, together with the martyrdom of St. Lawrence and a pilgrim at his tomb, the Christian monogram, and A and Ω. Some medallic pieces representing the heads of SS. Peter and Paul are generally held to go back to a very early period (Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, Freib. 1895, i. 195 f.). A medal-like coin, probably not earlier than the 9th cent., represents the Adoration of the Magi (Macdonald, pl. ix. 11). Of the same date is a piece in the Vatican representing the Baptism of Christ. The Adoration of the Magi is also found, with other types such as the Good Shepherd, the sacrifice of Isaac, the Crucifixion, etc., on pieces similar to the *Successa vivas* medal (J. B. de Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.* 1869, p. 33 ff.; Madden, *Num. Chron.*, 1878, p. 192 f.). We have already mentioned (ii. § 6) the medal or coin which was given to Ste. Geneviève at her consecration—a prototype of the medals worn at the present day by members of confraternities or pilgrims. Such medals were, it seems (from certain words of St. Zeno of Verona, quoted by Rossi, *l.c.*), given to neophytes at their baptism: St. Zeno speaks of their receiving 'aureum triplicis numismatis unione signatum.'

6. Towards the end of the 14th cent. a remarkable series of medals was made, two of which are still extant in several varieties (J. von Schlosser, 'Die ältesten Medaillen,' in *Jahrb. d. allerh. Kaiserhauses*, xviii. [1897]). This series seems to have included medals of the Emperors Augustus, Tiberius, Philippus Arabs, Constantine the Great, and Heraclius. They seem all to have related to epochs in the history of the Christian religion. On his medal, Constantine is represented on horseback; on the reverse is the Fountain of Life between two figures which probably represent the Church and paganism. On the medal of Heraclius is a bust of the Emperor with his eyes raised as in prayer; on the reverse he is shown in a chariot bringing back to Constantinople the Cross which had been recovered from the Persians. The original medals were probably made in Flanders. They herald the dawn of the Renaissance Medal. About the middle of the 15th cent., Matteo de' Pasti of Verona produced the first modern medal of Christ. [On the history of this subject see Hill, 'Medallic Portraits of Christ,' in *Reliquary*, 1904, 1905.] The head is an attempt to render the traditional features of Christ. It had some influence on later works of the same class; traces of the type are even seen in the medal attributed to the Nürnberg artist Peter Flötner. A more important medal of Christ was one of a pair which professed to reproduce the heads of Christ and St. Paul, which were on an emerald sent by the Sultan Bajazet II. to Pope Innocent VIII. about 1492. But the head of Christ is directly copied from a type which is due to the school of Jan van Eyck, and is represented by a profile head in the Berlin Gallery. The medal was popular, and was much copied; it also inspired a number of German woodcuts and line-engravings in the 16th century. The head of St. Paul is purely Italian in origin. In the 16th cent. a new medallic type of Christ came into vogue. Distantly inspired by the type created by Leonardo da Vinci, it was reproduced in countless variations. One of the commonest—still copied in vast quantities for sale to the credulous, who regard it as a 1st cent. portrait of Christ—is accompanied by blundered inscriptions in modern Hebrew characters: 'Messiah the king came in peace' . . . (the rest is uncertain), or 'Jesus of Nazareth, the Messiah, God and Man in One.'

The object of these Hebrew medals may have been principally to serve as amulets (ii. § 6). From the middle of the 16th cent. onwards there is an interminable series of medals of Christ, many of them issued by the Popes. The German medals with this subject begin about 1538. No object would be served by discussing the endless varieties of the religious medals of this late period, which represent not only Christ, but the Virgin and various Saints. They were issued by the Popes, by various ecclesiastics of lesser authority (some of the Bavarian abbots produced medals more interesting than the average), and in great quantities by the authorities of places of pilgrimage, and by confraternities for the decoration of their members.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given throughout the article.

G. F. HILL.

COINS AND MEDALS (Eastern).—In attempting to estimate the value of the coinages of the East as sources of religious history, it will be convenient to arrange them in the following groups: (1) China and the Far East; (2) Ancient Persia; (3) Ancient India and later non-Muhammadan India; (4) Muhammadan coinages of the world.

1. China and the Far East.—Speaking generally, it may be said that the coinages of the Far East are purely secular in character. They have neither religious types like the ancient coinages of Greece, Rome, Persia, and India, nor religious inscriptions like the Muhammadan coinages of every age and country in which they were struck. Though they sometimes bear symbols which were no doubt regarded as auspicious signs, they rarely have types in the ordinary sense of the word; and their inscriptions are, as a rule, severely practical in character, giving information as to the weight and value of the coin, its date, or its genuineness. Side by side, however, with the coins in the various collections are to be seen medals, the religious character of which is patent. These are often called 'temple coins,' since they are distributed as talismans by Taoist or Buddhist priests at their temples. They are usually round like the current coins, and have, like them, a round or square hole in the centre; and they are often worn as amulets suspended from the neck. The figures which they bear are either definitely Taoist or Buddhist, *e.g.* the emblem of the 'eight immortals,' or the ordinary signs of the Mahāyāna, or 'Northern' Buddhist church; or they have a more general astrological significance, *e.g.* the signs of the zodiac; or they are simply intended to express long life, wealth, and good wishes generally. Such wishes are often expressed on these medals, as indeed in other forms of decorative Chinese art, in a sort of rebus by which the words of the sentence are suggested by the names of the objects shown (Chavannes, *JA*, 1901, pt. 2, p. 193). Sometimes also a good wish is conveyed by the form of the medal itself, as when, for example, it takes the shape of a peach, the symbol of longevity (J. M. S. Lockhart, *The Currency of the Farther East*, Hongkong, 1895–1898, p. 189).

LITERATURE.—S. de Chaudoir, *Rec. de Monnaies de la Chine, du Japon, de la Corée, d'Annam, et de Java*, St. Petersburg, 1842; E. de Villaret, *Numismat. japonaise*, Paris, 1892; N. G. Munro, *Coins of Japan*, Yokohama, 1904; Désiré Lacroix, *Numismat. annamite*, Saigon, 1900; A. Schroeder, *Annam. Études numismatiques*, Paris, 1905.

2. Ancient Persia.—The earliest Imperial coins of Persia, throughout the period of the Achæmenid dynasty (*c.* 558–331 B.C.), have invariably as their type the figure of the Great King represented as an archer, and possess no special interest from the point of view of religion or mythology. Coins issued by the Persian satraps during this period show, however, a greater variety, as their types are not only Persian, but also Phœnician or Greek in character. Thus the figure of Baaltars occurs

on coins of the satrap Mazæus struck at Tarsus (*c.* 362–328 B.C.) (Hill, *Handbook of Gr. and Rom. Coins*, London, 1899, p. 259, pl. iv. 12); on a coin of Tiribazus struck at Issus in Cilicia, apparently Zeus (or Baal ?) and Ormuzd (Ahura Mazda) are associated as obverse and reverse types (B. V. Head, *Hist. Numorum*, Oxford, 1887, p. 604; E. Babelon, *Les Perses achéménides*, Paris, 1893, pp. xxix, 21); and on a Cicilian coin of Datames is seen the winged disk symbol of Ormuzd (Babelon, *op. cit.* p. 26). In the subsequent history of Persia, the types and inscriptions of the coins are predominantly Greek in character, both under the Seleucid kings of Syria (312–*c.* 250 B.C.) and under the kings of Parthia (*c.* 250 B.C.–A.D. 226) (Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, Paris, 1890; Wroth, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Coins of Parthia'); but an exception to this general rule is afforded by the province of Persia, where a semi-independent dynasty seems to have ruled from probably about the same period as the defection of Parthia from the Seleucid Empire, *c.* 250 B.C. The reverse type of the coins struck by these kings of Persia is a Zoroastrian fire-altar, by the side of which the king is represented as either standing in an attitude of worship or seated on a throne (Mordtmann, *Ztschr. für Numis.*, 1877, p. 152, 1880, p. 40; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 698). The kings of Parthia were succeeded by the Sasanian dynasty, which represents the triumph of the ancient religion of Persia over the Hellenizing tendencies of the Parthians. The reverse type of the coins of the Sasanian monarchs throughout the whole period of their dominion (A.D. 226–642) is the fire-altar, sometimes associated with either one or two figures (the king and the high priest) in adoration (Mordtmann, *ZDMG*, 1854, pls. vi.–x.). For the evidence which the coins show of the transition from Zoroastrianism to Islām after the Arab conquest, see below, § 4.

3. **Ancient India and later non-Muhammadan India.**—(1) The pre-Muhammadan coinages of India fall into two distinct classes:

(*a*) An early indigenous coinage of silver and copper, approximately square or oblong in form, representing the development of a currency from weights of metal. These pieces bear a varying number of stamps or countermarks irregularly applied, partly probably by the authorities originally responsible for the issue, and partly by the bankers and money-changers through whose hands they passed in the course of circulation. On account of this chief characteristic, the term 'punch-marked' is commonly applied to this currency, which from the evidence of literature and representations in ancient sculptures appears to be at least as old as the beginning of the 4th cent. B.C. —(*b*) A number of coinages bearing definite types. These in general show the effect of various waves of foreign influence, beginning with the period of Persian (Achæmenid) dominion in Northern India (*c.* 500–331 B.C.), and, in particular, of the Greek influence, which was most strongly felt in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., through the medium of the neighbouring Hellenic kingdoms of Bactria and Parthia (see authorities quoted in Rapson, 'Indian Coins,' §§ 7–16, in *GIAP*, Strassburg, 1897). Fixed types also seem to have been developed independently, especially in Central and Southern India, through a systematic arrangement of the 'punch-marked' symbols which were originally applied indiscriminately on the primitive native coinage (*ib.* §§ 46, 129).

(2) More than 300 different symbols occurring on the 'punch-marked' coins have been enumerated (Theobald, *JASBe* lix. pt. i. p. 181, pls. viii.–xi.). It has sometimes been assumed that all of these must be religious or astrological in origin, and attempts have been made to explain their significance. In the present state of our knowledge, all such attempts must be for the most part futile. An examination of these symbols shows that they are diverse in character. Some, such as the *swastika* and the *triskelis*, are found widely distributed in various parts of the world, and have been supposed to be primitive solar symbols; others appear to be more especially associated with Indian religions; while, in the case of others, it is difficult or impossible to trace any religious or astrological meaning whatever. Even in regard to the great majority of those symbols which are undoubtedly associated with Indian religions, 'in the present state of our knowledge it seems impossible to discriminate between their use so far as to say that, while some are Brāhmanical, others are Buddhist or Jain. They seem to be the common property of diverse sects in different parts of India' (Rapson, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Andhra Dynasty,' etc., p. clxxvii). This is abundantly proved by their association with inscriptions and sculptures in religious buildings the sectarian character of which is certain. Such symbols seem to have passed into general use as auspicious signs. In this respect they may be compared with the Christian symbols and monograms, one of which, indeed, JHS, has actually been placed on an Indian non-Christian coinage in recent times (Codrington, *Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, London, 1904, p. 19; Rodgers, *Coin-collecting in Northern India*, Allahabad, 1894, p. 117). Similar symbols continue to occur, as adjuncts to the main types, not only on subsequent coinages of Ancient India, but also on certain of the currencies of Muhammadan States in India at a still later period (cf., for example, the 'Table of Ornaments found on the Coins of the Sultans of Dehli,' by H. Nelson Wright, *Ind. Mus. Cat.*, vol. ii. p. 128). Such symbols were also commonly used in Ancient India as masons' marks (see H. Rivett-Carnac, *IA* vii. [1878] 295).

These facts would seem to show that the symbols found on the 'punch-marked' coinage, whatever their origin may have been, were used simply as the marks of localities or of individuals, without any special religious significance. They were used primarily to denote either the localities at which the coins were struck, the authorities responsible for their issue, or the money-changers through whose hands they passed.

To the authorities given in Rapson, *Indian Coins*, §§ 4, 6, add V. A. Smith, *Ind. Mus. Cat.*, vol. i. p. 131.

(3) The coinages with definite types may be classed generally as: (*a*) foreign (those of the various invaders of Northern India—Greeks, Parthians, Scythians, etc.), or (*b*) native. The types of both classes supply materials for the religious or mythological history of Ancient India, which have as yet been only very imperfectly utilized. Other sources of information, such as inscriptions, show that, in estimating the evidence which these types afford, certain considerations must always be borne in mind. In the first place, the religion indicated by the type on the reverse of a coin is not necessarily that of the monarch whose head appears on the obverse. In the case of foreign conquerors especially, the religion of the various States which acknowledged their supremacy was left undisturbed. The types of the coins, in such instances, reflect the religious ideas of the particular State and not those of the suzerain to which it owes allegiance. Such appears to have been the normal condition of things under the Saka and Kushana dominion, for example (see below, (5) (6)). On the other hand, the coins of the native Gupta dynasty everywhere show the Brāhmanical faith of the supreme rulers, although, as is certain from the inscriptions, Buddhism and

Jainism were flourishing in some of the provinces of their empire (see below, (8)). In using the testimony of coins, therefore, it is necessary to determine first of all in each case whether their types are local or Imperial in character. It must be remembered, further, that the numismatic record of Ancient India is extremely fragmentary, and that, while certain kingdoms, scarcely known from other sources, are abundantly represented by their coins, others, well known from inscriptions or literature, are entirely destitute of any numismatic record. From the religious point of view, as from every other, the coins afford a very inadequate illustration of the history of India regarded as a whole.

(4) The influence of Greek religious ideas was extended to India chiefly through the invasions and conquests of the Greek kings of Bactria. These began about 200 B.C.; but the evidence of Indian literature and inscriptions shows that communities of Greeks (*Yavanas* or *Yonas*=Ἴωνες) were settled in N.W. India at an earlier period; and it is quite possible that these may date from the time of Alexander the Great (327–6 B.C.; see Rapson, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Andhra Dynasty,' etc., p. xcviii). The divinities represented on the coins of the Greek princes who reigned in the Kabul Valley and the Panjāb during the period *c.* 200–25 B.C. are Greek—Zeus, Athene, Apollo, Artemis, Herakles, the Dioscuri—and the other types are, with a few exceptions, drawn from Greek mythology. Historically and geographically important are the representations in Greek fashion of the tutelary divinities (Skr. *nagara-devatāḥ*) of two Indian cities—of Kapiśa, the capital of the kingdom of Kapiśa-Gandhāra, on a coin of Eucratides; and of Pushkalāvatī, the Πευκελαῶτις of Alexander's historians, on a coin of less certain date and attribution (Rapson, *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 783, 786). Distinctively Indian religious types seem to occur on coins struck by two of these Greek princes—the 'tree within railing,' and the '*chaitya*' on certain coins of Agathocles (Gardner, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Greek and Scythic Kings,' etc., pl. iv. 10; for the types, see Rapson, *ib.* 'Andhra Dynasty,' etc., p. clxvi), and the 'wheel,' which has been reasonably identified with 'the wheel of the Law' (*dharmachakra*) of Buddhism on one of the numerous currencies of Menander (Gardner, *op. cit.* pl. xii. 7; cf. M. G. Rawlinson, *Bactria*, Bombay, 1909, p. 121). If this identification is correct, it must be supposed that the coinage in question was struck in some district of Menander's empire in which Buddhism prevailed; but there is also some reason to suppose that Menander was himself a Buddhist and identical with the King Milinda of the Buddhist work *Milinda-pañha*, 'The Questions of King Milinda' (Rhys Davids, *SBE*, vol. xxxv. p. xviii). The further suggestion that the title which Menander bears on his coins—ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ = Prākrit *Dhramika*, Skr. *Dhārmika*—is intended to have a specially Buddhist connotation = 'follower of the Law' (*Dharma*), is improbable, since this is a common epithet borne by a number of Hellenic kings, Bactrian, Indian, Parthian, and others, in whose case any such special meaning would seem to be impossible.

(5) Already in the second half of the 2nd cent. B.C. began the attacks on the Greek dominions in Northern India of the invading Scythians (Śakas) and Parthians (Pahlavas), who had already annihilated Greek power in Bactria. The coins, literature, and inscriptions alike indicate a close connexion between these two nationalities; and historically it is not always easy to distinguish between them. The coins show the transition from Greek to Scytho-Parthian rule in different districts of Northern India, and inscriptions afford also some information as to the satrapal families who ruled over some of the provinces (Rapson, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Andhra Dynasty,' etc., pp. xcviii–ciii). But, so far as religious information is concerned, these two sources appear, at first sight, to be in direct conflict; and it is necessary to remember the warning given above (3) as to the imperfection of the numismatic record in Ancient India. While the inscriptions show that these foreign invaders had embraced Buddhism (cf. the Taxila copper-plate of Patika [Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica*, iv. 54]; the Mathurā lion-capital [Thomas, *ib.* ix. 139]), the mythology of their coins is almost entirely Greek. This apparent discrepancy is naturally explained by the fact that in Ancient India coins usually reflect the religious ideas of the district in which they circulate, rather than those of the sovereign. The States which had previously used Greek types would continue to do so, for some time at least, under their new masters.

(6) From the point of view of religious history, the coinage of the Kushanas, who established the next supremacy in Northern India, is important in several respects. The Kushana conqueror of Hermæus, the last of the Greek kings to reign in the Kabul Valley (probably *c.* 25 B.C.), imitates his coins but substitutes the figure of Herakles for that of Zeus as a reverse type (cf. Gardner, *loc. cit.* pl. xv. 1–7 with pl. xxv. 1–4). This exchange of one Greek divinity for another has not been explained, but it seems possible that the figure of Herakles may have been intended to represent Śiva, since Megasthenes seems to indicate that these two deities were popularly identified in India (M'Crindle, *IA* vi. [1877] 122, also *Anc. India*, p. 39). V'ima-Kadphises, a successor, and possibly the immediate successor, of Kujula-Kadphises, was undoubtedly a follower of Śiva or Maheśvara, as he bears the title *mahiśvara* (=Skr. *māheśvara*, 'worshipper of Maheśvara') on his coins, and his coin-types—Śiva, alone or accompanied by his bull Nandi, and Śiva's emblem, the trident—bear witness to the same fact (Gardner, *op. cit.* pl. xxv. 6–14; for the interpretation of the title *mahiśvara*, see Sylvain Lévi, *JA*, new ser. ix. 21; for the name V'ima, see Rapson, *Actes du xivème Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers, 1905, vol. i. p. 219). The Kushana empire rose to its height under Kanishka, whose name appears, in the modified form of the Gr. alphabet used by the Kushanas, as ΚΑΝΗÞΚΙ (=*Kanēshki*). His relationship to his predecessors is uncertain, and his date is still one of the most contested points in Indian chronology (the various views are summarized by V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1903, p. 1). His inscriptions show that he was himself a Buddhist, and he is famous in Buddhist literature as the great patron of the Mahāyāna. His coin-types and those of his successor Huvishka (=ΟΟΗÞΚΙ) represent no fewer than five of the faiths professed by the nations and peoples included in their vast empire. Greek religion is represented by Helios, Selene (CΑΛΗΝΗ), and Herakles (ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ); Persian by Mithra, etc. (for a list of these with their Persian equivalents and references to the literature, see *GIrP* [Strassburg, 1896–1900] ii. 75); Scythic by Nana or Nanaia; Brāhman by Skanda Kumāra, Viśākha, and Mahāsena; and Buddhism by Buddha (Gardner, *loc. cit.* pls. xxvi.–xxix.).[1]

[1] 'It has . . . been held hitherto that the coins of the Kushana kings Kanishka and Huvishka "show a remarkable eclecticism, for on their reverses are represented Greek and Scythic divinities, deities of the Avesta and of the Vedas, and Buddha" (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 73); and the Kushana monarchs have been credited with the profession of all or any of the different forms of faith indicated! The natural explanation of this diversity is that these various classes of coins were current in the different provinces of a large empire' (Rapson, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Andhra Dynasty,' etc., p. xii, note 1).

On the coins of Vāsudeva (=BAZOΔHO or BAZOAHO), the last of the Kushana sovereigns whose name is at present known, only two deities appear, the Indian Śiva and the Scythic Nana. The coins of the later Kushanas, whose names, being probably indicated merely by initials, have not yet been discovered, fall into two chief classes, distinguished by the deity who appears as the reverse-type. One class with Śiva seems to have been current in the Kabul Valley, while the other with the goddess APΔOXþO (=*Ardokhsho*), who has been identified with the Persian *Ashi vanguhi* (*GIrP* ii. 75), belongs rather to the more eastern portion of the Kushana dominions (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 74).

(7) In the present state of our knowledge, the types and symbols on the coins of the various provinces of the empire ruled over by the Andhra dynasty (*c.* B.C. 200–A.D. 240) can be made to supply little trustworthy information as to the religious history of this period; but the inscriptions (cf. the Nanaghat inscr. [Bühler in *Arch. Survey West Ind.*, vol. v. p. 60, pl. li. 1]) and the names of certain members of this dynasty show that they were adherents of Brāhmanism. Much the same remark may be made about the coins of the rivals of the Andhras in Western India—the Kshaharātas and the Western Kshatrapas (*c.* A.D. 120–390)—except that the wheel which appears on the coins of Bhūmaka, the earliest known Kshaharāta, would seem to indicate that he was a Buddhist (Rapson, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Andhra Dynasty, Western Kshatrapas,' etc., cviii.).

(8) The types of the coins issued by the Imperial Gupta dynasty, the supremacy of which in Northern India is marked by its era beginning in A.D. 319, and generally those of the various powers which succeeded to the different provinces of the Gupta empire after its dismemberment had begun, *c.* A.D. 480, are almost entirely Brāhmanical in character; and this character was imposed also on the coinages of districts conquered by the Guptas, as, for instance, the territories of the Western Kshatrapas, where the silver coinage is made to bear not only a distinctively Brāhmanical type, the peacock,[1] but also the royal title *parama-bhāgavata*, 'worshipper of the Most Holy' (Vishnu or Krishna). At the same time, the inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty abundantly prove that Buddhism and Jainism were flourishing in various parts of its dominions.

For the coins, add to the authorities quoted in Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 90 ff., Smith, *Ind. Mus. Cat.* i. 95; for the inscriptions, see J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. iii. [1888].

(9) The coinages of a number of powers ruling in Northern India in the period between the decline of the Gupta empire and the Muhammadan conquests (11th cent. A.D.) are imperfectly known. In this case, again, the numismatic record is of the most fragmentary nature. Some of the most important historical facts—the great empire of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, in the first part of the 7th cent. A.D., for example—are scarcely to be recognized from the coins. The same remark applies to Southern India, where the coinages at present afford, if possible, still less adequate illustration of the history. In Southern India, coinages of the Muhammadan form never entirely superseded the coinages bearing types, and the latter have continued to be struck in certain districts down to the present day. Of all these coinages it may be said generally that they often, but not invariably, show types and symbols which have a religious significance, and that further study will no doubt obtain from them important evidence to illustrate the religious history of the various kingdoms which they represent. Here two types call for special mention, because they became so firmly established in the kingdoms of the Rajput princes that they were allowed to remain for a considerable period almost unchanged, except for slight modifications and an alteration of the legends, by the Muhammadan conquerors, both Ghaznavids in the 11th cent., and Pathāns (Sultans of Dehli) at the end of the 12th century. These types are the 'Bull (of Śiva) and Horseman' and the 'Goddess (Lakshmī) seated.' Both are Brāhmanical. The former may be traced back to the Brāhman 'Shāhis of Gandhāra' (*c.* A.D. 860–950), while the latter is a very ancient Indian type (see below, § 4 (1)).

Cf. A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1891, *Coins of Mediæval India*, London, 1894; W. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, London, 1886.

(10) Of religious Indian medals, the best known are called *Rāma-taṅkas*, 'coins of Rāma.' These bear the figures of Rāma and Sītā, attended usually by the monkey-god Hanumān. They appear to be of two kinds: (*a*) silver, with an inscription in Gurmukhi characters, '*Rām nām*,' 'The name of Rāma (or God)'—these come from the Panjāb; (*b*) gold and cup-shaped, with inscriptions, which, when legible, record the names of the leading characters in the story of Rāma. These medals are undoubtedly used in connexion with religious ceremonies at Hindu temples; but no account of their precise use seems to have been published. For class (*b*), see Gibbs, *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1883, p. 76.

(11) The following are examples of coins obtaining in India a value as charms or amulets which was not originally intended, (*a*) The mohurs and rupees of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, struck in A.H. 1000 (=A.D. 1591–2).—(*b*) The coins of the same Emperor which bear the *kalima* with the names of the four companions of Muhammad (see below, § 4 (4 *b*)). As these sell for more than their metal value, numerous imitations of them continue to be made (Rodgers, *op. cit.* 108).—(*c*) The zodiacal coins of the Mughal Emperor, Jahāngīr. These, too, were extensively imitated in the 18th century (S. Lane-Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Moghul Emperors,' p. lxxxi; see below, § 4 (4, *b*)).—(*d*) The Venetian sequin, which, as the chief commercial coin of the world during the 15th cent., was carried to India in great numbers, and has continued to be imitated ever since (Rodgers, *op. cit.* p. 118, where 'Dutch ducats' is a mistake for 'Venetian sequins').

4. The Muhammadan coinages of the world.—(1) The progress and establishment of the Muhammadan power and of the religion of Muhammad are everywhere most clearly illustrated by coins. At first there appears a transitional stage, in which the coinages of the conquered dominions are substantially retained, so far as their main features are concerned, but adapted to the new faith by the addition of Arabic inscriptions or by the modification of types which conflict with Muhammadan ideas. Under the first Khalīfs the extension of Islām was made chiefly at the expense of the Byzantine Empire in the West, and of the Sasanian Empire in the East. After the conquest of Syria (A.D. 638), the types of Heraclius I. and Constans II. are at first retained with slight modifications, but associated, in most cases, with Arabic inscriptions. A subsequent stage is marked by a modification of the types themselves. For example, the obverse type, which represents the Emperor holding a staff terminating in a cross, gives place to the figure of the Khalīf with sword in hand, while the reverse type—a cross standing on four steps—becomes a column surmounted by a ball (S. Lane-Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Oriental Coins: Additions,' vol. i. pp. 1–17, pls. i. ii.). In the case of Persia (conquered A.D. 642), the coins of the last Sasanian

[1] The bird of Kārtikeya, the god of war: it appears on Gupta coins in allusion to the names of two of the dynasty, Kumāra and Skanda, which are synonyms of Kārtikeya.

kings were at first re-issued counter-marked with crescent and star and the Arabic inscription 'In the name of God' on the margin, and subsequently coins of the Sasanian type were struck with the name of the Arab governor of the province (Mordtmann, *ZDMG* viii. 148). The Arab conquests in Northern Africa (Carthage, A.D. 693) and Spain (A.D. 710) are shown by coins of the Byzantine type bearing Latin inscriptions in blundered characters, which are no doubt intended to be translations of well-known Arabic formulæ—*e.g.* 'Non est Deus nisi Deus, et alius non est,' and 'In nomine tuo, Deus Omnipotens' (Codera, *Tratado de Numism. Arab. Española*, Madrid, 1879, p. 35, pl. i.; S. Lane-Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Oriental Coins: Additions,' vol. i. pp. 21-24, pl. iii.). Similarly, at a later date in India, when Muhammad ibn Sām overcame the confederacy of Rajput princes under Prithvī Rāja of Ajmīr and founded the Muhammadan dynasty known as the Sultans of Delhi (A.D. 1192), the purely Hindu types of Delhi (*obv.* Horseman, *rev.* Śiva's Bull) and of Kanauj (the goddess Lakshmī) continued to be struck for some time, while the change of rulers and religion was indicated by the inscriptions (S. Lane-Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Indian Coins: Sultāns of Delhi,' pp. xviii, xix).

(2) But such transitional coinages were merely wise expedients intended to facilitate the transference of authority. Wherever Muhammadan rule became firmly established, a distinctive coinage was struck, the two features of which are: (*a*) the absence of types, whether actual or symbolical representations, founded on the injunction of the Prophet, which forbade all such representations as tending to idolatry; and (*b*) the definitely religious and dogmatic character of the inscriptions. This distinctively Muhammadan form of coinage is usually supposed to date from A.H. 76 or 77 (= A.D. 695 or 696) in the reign of the Khalif 'Abd-al-Malik, though a few specimens are known which seem to prove that such an issue was attempted at somewhat earlier dates (*Coins and Medals*, ed. S. Lane-Poole, 1902, p. 165). Substantially the character of the coinage has remained unchanged, with a few exceptions, in every part of the Muhammadan world, from that period almost down to the present day, although in quite modern times the fashion of placing the sovereign's head on the obverse has sometimes been adopted from the West, and the elaboration of the royal name and titles has tended to displace the religious element until often little or nothing of it remains. The religious inscriptions which occur on Muhammadan coins are partly actual texts taken from the Qur'ān and partly pious phrases or prayers. The most frequent of all these is the *kalima*, or confession of faith, 'There is no God but God: Muhammad the apostle of God,' the two parts of which are taken respectively from Qur. xlvii. 21 and xlviii. 29. To the *kalima* the Shī'ahs add the phrase ''Ali the friend of God.'

The most convenient account of the religious legends on Muhammadan coins will be found in Codrington's *Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, pp. 20-39.

(3) Some special applications of these religious inscriptions deserve notice. On certain Moorish issues they seem to have been used simply as texts to inculcate virtue generally (cf. *B. M. Cat.*, 'Oriental Coins,' vol. v., and 'Additions,' ii.), while some of the legends of Muhammad ibn Taghlak, the Sultan of Delhi from A.D. 1324-1351, especially insist on the virtue of obedience to the powers that be. It is significant that quotations from the Qur'ān, such as 'Obey God and obey the Prophet, and those in authority among you,' etc. (iv. 62), and precepts such as 'Whoso obeys the Sultan obeys the Compassionate,' should have been placed on the fiduciary currency which the Sultan found some difficulty in recommending to his unwilling subjects (S. Lane-Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Indian Coins: Sultāns of Delhi,' p. xxii). The personal religious history of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605), is illustrated by his coinage. He is known to have been dissatisfied with Islām, and to have made some attempt to promulgate a 'divine religion' of an eclectic character. Accordingly, from the 28th year of his reign the *kalima* is omitted on his coins, together with the names and virtues of the first four Khalīfs, which had constituted its usual accompaniment in previous Mughal issues. In its place appears the *Ilāhī* (divine) formula, 'God is most great: glorified be His glory'; and, as the Arabic characters of the first half of this legend may also be read as 'Akbar is God,' it has been supposed that such a double meaning was intentional (Rodgers, *op. cit.* 105). It has been pointed out, however, that this would conflict with what is known of the earnestness and seriousness of Akbar's character; and in any case it is difficult to believe that the second meaning could have been intended to be taken literally (S. Lane-Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Indian Coins: Moghul Emperors,' lxvii). With the reign of Akbar's successor, Jahāngīr (A.D. 1605-1627), the *kalima* appears again, to be once more abolished for an entirely different reason by Aurangzīb (A.D. 1659-1707), who feared lest the holy creed of Islām, if stamped on the coins, might come into 'unworthy places and fall under the feet of infidels' (Khāfī Khān, quoted by S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* p. lxxi).

(4) The few exceptions to the general rule, that Muhammadan coins bear only inscriptions and are entirely without types, are furnished chiefly by: (*a*) Tatar and Turk invaders of Syria and Asia Minor, where, in the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era, Ayyubids, Seljuks, Urtukids, and Zangids issued coinages with types copied to a great extent from those of the Byzantine, Seleucid, or Roman coins which formerly circulated in those regions (*B. M. Cat.*, 'Oriental Coins,' vol. iii.).—(*b*) The Mughal Emperors, Akbar and Jahāngīr. The types used by the former are few, and only one has much religious significance. This is the purely Hindu type of Rāma and Sītā (for as such the figures described in *B. M. Cat.*, 'Moghul Emperors,' pp. lxxix, 34, pl. v. 172, are to be identified; cf. Drouin, *RN*, 1902, p. 261, fig. 3, and p. 281). Jahāngīr's types, on the other hand, though not numerous, are of a boldness which appears like a deliberate defiance of orthodoxy; for not only did he strike coins with his own portrait on the obverse, but he had himself represented as holding in one hand a book which probably is intended for a Qur'ān, and in the other a wine-glass (*B. M. Cat.*, 'Moghul Emperors,' p. lxxx, pl. ix. 312-319). He also struck a series of zodiacal coins with the mythological figures of the different constellations (*op. cit.* p. lxxxi, pls. x. xi.).—(*c*) Various Muhammadan potentates in recent times, *e.g.* the Shāhs of Persia and certain native Indian princes, who have struck coins with their portrait on the obverse. This fashion is due to Western influence.

(5) Just as the Muhammadan conquerors at first issued coinages closely resembling those already current in the various countries, so it has occasionally happened in the course of history that, when the tide of conquest has turned, a coinage of the Muhammadan form has been continued by the victors, and Arabic inscriptions have been drawn into the service of another religion. The most notable cases in point are: (*a*) the Norman kings of Salerno and Sicily (Spinelli, *Monete Cufiche*, etc., Naples, 1844).—(*b*) Some Christian dynasties of Spain (Codera, *op. cit.*).—(*c*) Some of the Crusaders

(Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, Paris, 1878), all of whom struck coins with Christian legends in Arabic characters.

LITERATURE.—This is given fully in the different sections of the article. E. J. RAPSON.

COLERIDGE.—

Samuel Taylor Coleridge was born on the 21st of October 1772, at Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire, where his father, John Coleridge, was vicar and master of the Grammar School. After the death of his father, when Coleridge was at the age of nine, a presentation to Christ's Hospital was obtained for him; there he showed remarkable precocity, and read voraciously in Greek and Roman as well as English literature. In 1791 he was appointed to an exhibition at Jesus College, Cambridge. In 1793, being both disappointed in love and involved in debt, he enlisted in the army (15th Dragoons), but his discharge was obtained by his brothers (one of whom was an officer in the army), and he returned to the University. In 1794 he left Cambridge without taking a degree, and, after spending a while in London, commenced with Southey a course of lectures at Bristol. In 1795 he married Sarah Fricker (whose sister soon after was married to Southey), and settled at Clevedon. Next year in Bristol, he started the *Watchman* newspaper, and occasionally preached in Unitarian chapels. This was the year in which he began, as a remedy for neuralgia, to take laudanum. At the end of 1796 he settled at Nether Stowey; Wordsworth, to be near him, settled at Alfoxden; and they united in writing the *Lyrical Ballads*, which were published in 1798 and included the *Ancient Mariner*. At this time also Coleridge composed the first part of *Christabel*, and contributed to the *Morning Post*. In 1798 the brothers Wedgwood conferred on him two annuities of £75 each. He then went to Hanover, and spent a term at the University of Göttingen, learning the German language and literature, but not the Kantian philosophy, which he did not begin to study till April 1801 (*Letters*, 23rd March 1801, footnote, ed. E.H.C.). On his return to England he translated Schiller's *Wallenstein*. In 1800, as the Wordsworths were living at Grasmere, he settled at Keswick; and here he wrote the second part of *Christabel*, and plunged into the study of Metaphysics. From this time he became practically a slave of opium. He went to the Mediterranean in 1804, and at Malta became secretary to the Governor. He returned in 1806 by way of Rome to England. In January 1808, he lectured on Shakespeare at the Royal Institution, enunciating views which anticipated those of Schlegel; but these lectures were less successful than those on Shakespeare and Milton delivered afterwards in Bristol and in London. In 1816 he settled at Highgate with the Gillmans, and with them he remained till his death on the 25th of July 1834. The *Biographia Literaria*, after long delays due to disputes with publishers, appeared in July 1817. In December 1816 was published his first *Lay Sermon*, on the Bible as the *Statesman's Manual*; this was followed at once by a second lay sermon on the principles of public policy and economics. In 1818 he published *The Friend*, greatly altered from an earlier (1809) edition. From this period, his philosophy was fixed, and underwent no change. In 1824 he wrote, but did not publish, the *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*. In 1825 he published the *Aids to Reflection*, and in 1830 the *Church and State according to the Idea of Each*.

Coleridge has the rare distinction of being at once a great poet, a great critic, and a great philosopher. His published works in their quantity are by no means proportionate to the strength and grace of his genius. As Ludwig Tieck, who knew him, said upon the news of his death, 'A great spirit has passed away from the earth and left no adequate memorial.' It was by his conversation, especially during the peaceful years at Highgate, that he exerted the greatest influence, especially upon the younger minds of the day. 'There was no week,' wrote Southey to Henry Taylor, when Coleridge's *Table Talk* was published, 'in which his talk would not have furnished as much matter worthy of preservation as those two volumes contain.' In Coleridge the inventive and creative spirit, as Tieck noticed, outran the productive—'he thought too much to produce.' Poetic production, especially, was checked by the critical and analytic spirit which grew upon him, the more he suffered from disease and remedies worse than the disease. In philosophy, Coleridge did, in fact, do much more than has generally been allowed. It seems to have been a mistake for his friend, J. H. Green, not to publish the philosophical work, instead of spending his life qualifying himself to expound the system; and it is difficult to understand why Coleridge's work should have remained neglected in manuscript. The charges made against Coleridge's originality by De Quincey and others might all be admitted for argument's sake, and all be answered with Milton's definition of plagiarism; for whatever he borrowed was, assuredly, 'bettered by the borrower.' The reputation of those from whom Coleridge borrowed owes him much. Nor should we forget his own principle, that originality both in poetry and philosophy should consist in giving freshness to old ideas.

Coleridge was not only a poet, a critic, and a philosopher. As a practical political writer, especially upon foreign policy, in the *Morning Post*, during the interval between the peace of Amiens and the outbreak of the Napoleonic war, and in the *Courier* at a later period, he exposed the character and designs of Napoleon, the conditions of his power, and the prospects of resistance to his aggressions, and so earned for himself the reproach of the Emperor's admirer, Byron, that he had 'both prophesied the ultimate downfall of Bonaparte, and himself mainly contributed to it' (Byron's *Observations upon an article in Blackwood's Mag.*). He also distinguished himself by his advocacy of protection for child-labour, and by his censure of the depopulation of the Highlands (2nd *Lay Sermon*, Letters, May 2nd, 1818, and *Anima Poetae*, p. 204).

In his political philosophy, Coleridge belongs to the school of Burke (*Biog. Lit.* ch. x.; *The Friend*, sect. I. iv.), and he forms the connecting link between Burke and Gladstone's *State in its Relations with the Church* (1838). 'Coleridge's *Church and State*,' writes Gladstone's friend, J. R. Hope, 'is a work which has evidently had a great deal to do with Gladstone's fundamental ideas of the subject' (J. R. H. to Newman, 1st March 1839, in *Memoirs of Hope-Scott*[2], 1884, i. 176). His part in preparing the way for the Oxford Movement has been affirmed by two such witnesses as Carlyle and Newman, though his direct influence was felt chiefly at Cambridge. In religious philosophy, Coleridge has been described by Wilfrid Ward (a disciple of Newman) as the link between Burke and Newman. Though Newman in his old age forgot that he had ever read Coleridge, his 'Chronological Notes' for 1835 contain the entry: 'During this spring I, for the first time, read parts of Coleridge's works, and am surprised how much that I thought mine is to be found there' (see *Letters of Newman*, ed. Anne Mozley, 1891, 11th May 1834, footnote, 3rd July 1834, 9th Feb. 1835, and 28th Jan. 1836). Coleridge's religious and metaphysical philosophy must be understood to be that which he held from 1817 until his death. During those seventeen or eighteen years he never changed his ground (Letter of J. H. Green to Sara Coleridge, Introd. to *Biog. Lit.* p. xxxi, ed. Shedd, 1884). He has justly been called by Aubrey de Vere 'the Plato of English philosophy'; and it may be permissible for the present writer to say that, quite independently and in ignorance of de Vere's expression, he too wrote, publicly, that the title of 'the British Plato' might be given to this philosopher with more appropriateness than it had been given, by Coleridge himself, to Bacon.

The clue to Coleridge's intellectual history is furnished by Lamb's picture of him in Christ's Hospital expounding Plotinus to his schoolfellows. While still a youth in that school, he read some of the Neo-Platonic philosophy, and himself translated the eighth hymn of Synesius (*Biog. Lit.* i. 169, footnote, ed. Shawcross). After he went up to the University of Cambridge he had a Synesius of his own, and speaks of his intention of translating him (24th March 1794, *Letters*, ed. E. H. Coleridge). At the University he also read some of the 17th cent. Cambridge Platonists, certainly

Cudworth, from whom, probably, he derived most of the quotations from unfamiliar Greek authors with which his boyish vanity loved to astonish his companions. While he was at the University, under the influence of a Fellow of his college who was an open disseminator of theological radicalism, Coleridge became a follower of Priestley in theology and of Hartley in philosophy. But, as the doctrines of Platonism and the poetic mysticism of Synesius were his first love in philosophy, so to these his mind, after many wanderings, at last returned as to its native home. As a philosopher, Coleridge, as R. Garnett observes (*Life of Coleridge*, 1904, p. 80), continues the tradition of the Cambridge Platonists. Amid all his changes there was one principle to which he always remained faithful, which was native to his own mind, and which forms the foundation and the key to his philosophy. This was his ethical principle, which will be explained below. His philosophy he described as Platonism (Letter to J. Gooden, misdated 1814, probably 1824, in *Works*, iv. 399, ed. Shedd); and it was to his Platonic principles, under God, that he attributed his return to the Christian faith (*Anima Poetæ*, p. 259; *Biog. Lit.* ch. x.). Those who, reading only the *Biographia Literaria* (Coleridge's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*), suppose him to be a Schellingist should observe that what he there says of Schelling was written and sent to the printer in 1815, though not published until 1817, and that it refers chiefly to the physics and 'nature philosophy,' not to the theology, of that philosopher. In the 1818 edition of *The Friend*, Coleridge places Schelling's philosophy among the pantheistic systems, while declaring that Schelling himself strove to conceal from his own mind the consequences of his principles (*The Friend*, II. xi.; cf. S. T. C. to J. H. Green, 13th Dec. 1817, and to J. T. C., 8th April 1825, *Letters*, ed. E. H. C.; and J. H. Green to Sara Coleridge, Introd. to *Biog. Lit.* p. xxxi, ed. Shedd).

1. **Philosophy.**—Coleridge did not claim to be the author of a new and original system of philosophy. The highest use of genius, he held, is to give the impression and interest of novelty to admitted and neglected truth (*Aids to Reflection*, Aph. i.; *The Friend*, essay xv.).

'My system, if I may give it so fine a name, is an attempt to reduce all knowledge to harmony—to unite the separated fragments of the mirror of truth. It opposes no other system, but shows what is true in each, and how that which is true in the particular became in each of these systems falsehood because it was only half the truth' (*Table Talk*, 12th Sept. 1831).

The criterion of common sense was held by Coleridge (*Table Talk*, 28th June 1834) as well as by Reid, whose terminology he in part adopts (*Statesman's Manual*, App. E). He, however, expressed the relation between common sense and philosophy with more accuracy: 'It is the two-fold function of philosophy to reconcile reason with common sense, and to elevate common sense into reason' (*Biog. Lit.* ch. xii.); and he emphatically rejected the pretensions of common sense—which judges of the world of the senses and the affairs of this life—to be the criterion of spiritual truth, especially of the mysteries of the Christian religion (see *Statesman's Manual*, App. E; *Notes on Baxter*, v. 443, ed. Shedd; *Notes on Taylor's History of Enthusiasm*, vi. 130; *Aids*, Aph. ix. on Spiritual Religion, footnote; *Notes on Jeremy Taylor*, v. 225, ed. Shedd; *The Friend*, sect. II. ii.).

2. **Logic.**—Coleridge's logic may be described as a Platonic theory of knowledge expressed in a Kantian terminology. The agreement between him and Kant, however, is less than he himself thought. With Coleridge, 'ideas' are not merely regulative, but also constitutive. Self-evident propositions are principles not only of thought, but of truth and being. Space and time are forms of sensibility, but not mere forms. Reason and experience coincide; the ideas of the pure reason and the laws of Nature correspond. And 'the ground of this agreement' is to be sought 'in a supersensual essence, which, being at once the ideal of the reason and the cause of the material world, is the pre-establisher of the harmony in (each) and between both' (*The Friend*, II. v.; *Statesman's Manual; The Prometheus of Æschylus*, iv. 344, ed. Shedd). It should be noted that he has nowhere in his published writings assigned his reason for rejecting the theory of the origin of knowledge common to Aristotle, the Scholastics, and Locke; and that he is always unjust to Locke, classing him, strangely enough, with Hobbes, Hume, and Hartley. The distinction between the reason and the understanding in Coleridge is not the same as in Kant; for with Coleridge the categories and first principles are the object of the reason, and are furnished by it to the understanding. The distinction is in Coleridge much more akin to the distinction of the Scholastics between the reason and the *ratio particularis* (or faculty of reasoning from particular to particular found in a lower degree in brutes), or to Aristotle's distinction between the active and the passive intelligence (or internal senses). By Coleridge the distinction is used chiefly for the purpose of emphasizing the fact that the human mind may obscurely apprehend truths higher than it is able distinctly to comprehend, define, or understand, and which, when we attempt to define them, are expressed in a combination of concepts apparently contrary to one another. The speculative and the practical, or moral, reason are not two faculties, but one faculty exercising itself upon different objects. The moral reason is reason in the highest sense of the term, since by this we attain the knowledge of spiritual truth, and particularly of a personal God (*Aids, passim*, esp. Aph. viii. on Spiritual Religion; *Statesman's Manual*, App. B; *The Friend, passim*, esp. 1st landing-place, essay iv.). The conscience is not quite the same as the practical reason, since it adds to perception of right the sense of duty, and is the organ of the unconditional command. It is an authority. The conscience occupies an important place in Coleridge's philosophy, since he expressly notices, what all uncorrupted minds feel, that it not only commands us to avoid evil and to do good, but also to believe in the real distinction between good and evil, in the reality of the moral law, in the existence of a lawgiver and judge, and in a future life (*The Friend*, Introd. essay xv.). He who disbelieves these truths commits no mere speculative mistake, but a sin against his conscience. This express assertion of our responsibility for our opinions and beliefs, as well as for our actions, is perhaps the most valuable principle in Coleridge's philosophy. The conscience is thus in morals and religion what common sense is in the world of the senses; and philosophy must be in harmony with this spiritual common sense. Those who consciously oppose this authority are to be cured only by discipline, not by argument, and 'must be made better men, before they can become wiser' (*Biog. Lit.* ch. vii.; cf. *Aids*, 'Elements prelim. to Spiritual Religion,' and Aph. iv., v., and x. on Spiritual Religion).

3. **Ethics.**—Coleridge's ethical principle forms the foundation of all his philosophy. There is an absolute and essential distinction between good and evil, right and wrong; and man has the power, as of perceiving, so also of willing the good as good, as distinguished from the merely pleasurable, or from the expedient, which is the means to

the pleasurable. Happiness and virtue coincide, indeed, in the end; and in the meantime virtue and happiness are proportionate; and so are vice and misery. Happiness, in so far as it depends upon ourselves, depends upon virtue; but, at the same time, it is a part of virtue to care for one's own ultimate happiness as well as for that of others. This intuitive perception of the distinction between the right and the pleasurable, and of their tendency towards final conjunction, is a principle which Coleridge held throughout all his speculative changes. He no more doubted it when he was a Hartleyan than when he was a Kanto-Fichtean; and he no more doubted it when he was a necessitarian and a pantheist than when he was a vindicator of human freedom of will and of the personality of God. The conviction was, doubtless, confirmed by his early studies in the Cambridge Platonists and Bishop Butler, and by his study, in more mature life, of Kant and Fichte. But it was a native and vital product of his own reflexion; and it maintained and asserted itself in spite of the teaching then dominant at his University. He remarked to Hazlitt, at their first acquaintance (1798), that the adoption of Paley's *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* as a text-book at Cambridge was a disgrace to the national character. Though always an opponent of Hedonism as of an unqualified Eudæmonism and Utilitarianism, he never went to the Stoical extreme of Kant and Fichte, which he pronounced not only unnatural, but immoral. This perception of the good is Reason in the highest sense of the term; and, taken together with the power of willing the good as good, in preference to the pleasurable, it constitutes man's essential and specific distinction, and the likeness and image of God in the soul.

'A being altogether without morality is either a beast or a fiend, according as we conceive this want of conscience to be natural or self-produced. . . . Yet, if it were possible to conceive a man wholly immoral, it would remain impossible to conceive him without a moral obligation to be otherwise' (*The Friend*, sect. i. essay xiii.).

Corresponding to the distinction between the good and the pleasurable, or the expedient, is a distinction between virtue and mere prudence. The first of the cardinal virtues Coleridge would call by the name 'wisdom,' using the term 'prudence' as synonymous with enlightened self-interest.

The freedom of choice between the good and the pleasurable holds good so far as it is required for responsibility. But the will is weakened by original sin; and this inherent sinfulness and weakness seems to Coleridge a truth of natural religion, attested by universal conviction (for his ethics, see *Aids*, esp. Introd. Aph., Prudential and Moral Aph.; *The Friend*, Introd. essays xv. and xvi.; 1st land.-pl., essays iv. and v.; sect. i., essays xiii. and xv.; sect. ii., essays i.–iii.; *Table Talk*, 20th Aug. 1831; *Letters*, 17th Dec. 1796, and 13th Dec. 1817).

4. **Religion.**—It was characteristic of Coleridge to give a moral origin to religion, and to assign a secondary position to proofs from Nature. This was more startling in the age when Paley's philosophy predominated than now. He says with perfect truth that the idea had dawned upon him before he studied Kant; and it would be a mistake to think his position identical with the Kantian. When Coleridge says that the existence and attributes of God cannot be scientifically and apodictically demonstrated, but are susceptible only of proof sufficient for moral certitude, it is to be remembered that he means by the term 'God' no mere *Anima mundi*, or First Mover, or Supreme Being, no mere Ground of the Universe, or Fate, or Law personified, but a Being at once infinite and personal, the eternal omnipotent Creator of the world 'out of nothing,' and yet at the same time self-comprehensive, free, righteous, loving, merciful, and a hearer of prayer—a 'living God.' The existence and attributes of such a being are necessarily mysterious to the mind of man. And from the existence of such mystery at the very foundation of religion he drew the conclusion that mysteries in a religion form no rational objection against it. His attitude of mind towards the mysteries of the Divine nature and providence may be seen in his remarks upon the controversy about Election and Predestination (*Aids*, Aph. ii. on Spir. Relig., comment.; for his natural theology in general, see *Biog. Lit.* ch. x.; *Aids*, Conclusion; *Confessio Fidei*, v. 15, ed. Shedd; *The Friend*, sect. II. xi.; *Church and State*, ch. v., footnote). The belief in a future life, with Coleridge, rests chiefly upon a moral foundation—upon the command of conscience, which forbids us to aim at the pleasures of this life as the ultimate end or to make them the primary motive of action; upon the natural instinctive anticipation of a life beyond the grave; upon the severance between worldly fortune and moral merit; and upon the fact that disbelief in immortality (where it is original in any mind) has, in fact, had its source in a revolt against the law of conscience. With these arguments is combined the difference in kind between the attributes of corruptible things and the attributes proper to the human mind (*Confessio Fidei*, v. 16, ed. Shedd; *Notes on Davidson*, v. 504; *Aids*, Aph. xxiii. on Spir. Relig., comm.; *Dialogue between Demosius and Mystes*, vi. 136, ed. Shedd).

5. **Christianity.**—Coleridge's interest in the evidences of Christianity was moral rather than intellectual. While Paley, addressing himself to the understanding, dwelt upon history and miracles, Coleridge appealed chiefly to the sublimity of the Christian doctrine, and to man's need (and sense of need) of redemption from his own sinfulness (*Aids*, Aph. vii. on Spir. Relig., Aph. x., and Conclusion; *Statesman's Manual*, App. E; *Biog. Lit.*, Conclusion; *Letters*, 30th Mar. 1794). As to Coleridge's particular theological position, it is sufficiently known that his favourite theologian was the Scottish Archbishop Leighton; and that his disciples were the Broad Churchmen, such as Julius Hare and Frederick Maurice.

6. **The Church.**—Coleridge, without doubt, was the chief agent in reviving in England the idea of the Church as something distinct from an estate of the realm or a department of the State on the one hand, and a mere voluntary association on the other. In this respect he undoubtedly prepared the way for the High Church movement.

'My fixed principle is: that a Christianity without a Church exercising spiritual authority is vanity and delusion. . . . I condemn . . . the pretended right of every individual, competent and incompetent, to interpret Scripture in a sense of his own, in opposition to the judgment of the Church, without knowledge of the originals or of the languages, the history, customs, opinions, and controversies of the age and country in which they were written; and where the interpreter judges in ignorance or in contempt of uninterrupted tradition, the unanimous consent of Fathers and Councils, and the universal faith of the Church in all ages' (*Aids*, Aph. xiii. on Spir. Relig., footnote).

Yet he sometimes allowed to himself a larger licence of personal theorizing than was in keeping with this principle, of which, in the abstract, he saw the justice. The unity of the Universal Church, the 'Church of Christ,' was for him an 'Idea,' or unity in the spirit, which might occasionally be realized in Ecumenical Councils. But the ordinary state of the Church is to be divided into national branches; and the established Church, *e.g.* of England, is a combination of two things, viz. the national Church and the educational estate of the realm (*The Church and State according to the Idea of Each*).

7. **Scripture.**—In the *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit* (a title suggested by a chapter in *Wilhelm Meister*), Coleridge made a well-meant and reverent attempt to offer a solution of the difficulties brought against the truth of Scripture from the secular sciences and history. It can hardly be said, however, that the particular solution which he proposed and the concept of inspiration which he put forward were quite in accordance with the traditional Christian doctrine of inspiration; while in some of his theological notes written upon margins he indulged in an altogether unwarrantable licence of pronouncing on *a priori* grounds what parts of the Gospels are and what are not genuine and authentic Scripture.

As he was a member of the Church of England, perhaps the fairest way of estimating Coleridge's work as a theologian is to quote the judgment pronounced upon him by the greatest ecclesiastic which that Church ever produced, while yet untroubled by a suspicion that he should ever leave it, and while filled with the profoundest confidence in its controversial position:

'While history in prose and verse [of Scott] was thus made the instrument of Church feelings and opinions, a philosophical basis for the same was under formation in England by a very original thinker, who, while he indulged a liberty of speculation which no Christian can tolerate, and advocated conclusions which were often heathen rather than Christian, yet after all instilled a higher philosophy into inquiring minds than they had hitherto been accustomed to accept. In this way he made trial of his age, and found it respond to him, and succeeded in interesting its genius in the cause of Catholic truth' (*The British Critic*, April 1839; Newman's *Essays*[4], 1877, i. 267 f.).

During the second quarter of the 19th cent. Coleridge's influence was both wide and deep; and its stimulus was felt by all English thinkers, even by minds trained, like that of Mill, under Bentham, Malthus, and Ricardo. If Coleridge had been more just to Locke, and if he had interpreted that philosopher in the sympathetic spirit in which he reconciled Bacon and Plato (in the *Essay on Method*, and in *The Friend*), his influence would probably have been still greater and more lasting.

LITERATURE.—After Coleridge's death several volumes of *Literary Remains*, and of *Theological Notes*, were published by his nephew, H. N. Coleridge. In 1847 his daughter published an edition of the *Biographia Literaria*, with an introduction and notes dealing fully with his relation to Schelling. An admirable edition was issued in 1907 by the Clarendon Press, with introduction and notes by J. Shawcross. Bohn's Library contains a useful edition of Coleridge's works for the general reader. In the U.S.A. the works have been edited by W. G. T. Shedd, 1853 and 1884; but this edition (published by Harper, 1856) has very grave printer's errors. In 1895, Coleridge's grand-nephew, E. H. Coleridge, published *Anima Poetæ* and two volumes of Letters (London).

Principal Shairp's *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy* (Edinburgh, 1868) has an excellent study of Coleridge. His political philosophy is expounded by J. S. Mill in vol. i. (1859) of his *Dissertations* (cf. Mill's Letters to Prof. Nichol, in the *Fortnightly Review*, May 1897). For his metaphysics and ethics, see *The American Catholic University Bulletin*, July 1906 and Jan. 1907, 'Coleridge' and 'Coleridge's Philosophy,' by M. J. Ryan.

J. Gillman's *Life of Coleridge* (of which only one volume was published, London, 1838) contains many valuable documents. The Life in the *English Men of Letters*, by H. D. Traill (London, 1884), is good, except for the exposition of the philosophy. The small Life by Hall Caine (London, 1887) is more just to Coleridge's character than his biographers have usually been. The Life by R. Garnett (1904) has the merit of showing Coleridge's place in the history of philosophy. The article in the *DNB* by Leslie Stephen is written with great historical accuracy and impartiality. The Life by A. Brandl (Berlin, 1886; Eng. tr. London, 1887) is a dissertation on the relations of English and German literature rather than a biography; with much research it has little judgment; there are many mistakes in point of fact; and the author has not the qualifications for writing about a poet or a metaphysician. The Life by J. D. Campbell (London, 1894) is a model of unpretentious, painstaking research, and of intelligent and fair judgment.

M. J. RYAN.

COLLECT (*Collecta*).—A collect is the short condensed form of prayer peculiar to the Western Church.

1. **The name 'collect.'**—Two derivations claim an almost equal degree of ancient authority. (1) In the Latin Mass and other Services the *Oremus* ('Let us pray') was originally a call of the congregation to private prayer, the priest or person who led the devotions proposing certain heads of intercession ('dedit orationem')—a custom which is retained in the Missal Service for Good Friday and in the 'Bidding Prayer' of the Church of England.[1] A brief space having been left for this, the officiant 'collegit' (*i.e.* summed up) the petitions in a short prayer, which hence received the name 'collect.' The phrase 'colligere orationem' is referred to as well known by Cassian (5th cent.), *de Instit. Cœnob.* II. vii.; and other testimonies to its use and to that of its correlative 'dare orationem' are given by Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* II. v. 2.

(2) The other ancient derivation of 'collect' explains it as the prayer said at the 'Collecta,' or 'Collectio'—a recognized name for an assembly 'collected' for public worship (Vulg. Lv 23[36], He 10[25]; see Ducange, *Glossar. s.v.* 'Collecta'). This opinion is suggested by the wording of one of the places where 'Collecta' occurs in the Gregorian Sacramentary. On Feb. 2 (the Feast of the Purification) the rubric before the prayer to be said at the church where the people assembled for procession to the church where mass was to be celebrated runs, 'Oratio ad Collectam ad S. Adrianum.'

The 11th cent. author who styles himself 'Micrologus' gives (cap. iii.) both derivations, without deciding between them, and he is followed by Durandus (*Rationale Div. Offic.* [1473] lib. IV. cap. xv.) and Bona (*loc. cit.*). The second derivation, which is based on a single rubric in the latest form of the Roman Sacramentary, is rendered improbable by the fact that 'Collectio'—evidently the older form of 'Collecta' (as 'Missio' preceded 'Missa,' and 'Ascensio' preceded 'Ascensa')—appears as the normal word for 'a prayer' in the Gallican[2] Service Books which represent an earlier type of liturgy than the Roman use. It will hardly be maintained that 'Collectio' and 'Collecta' had different origins. We have thus good reason for the inference that the word first came into existence in Gaul, and thence made its way to Rome. The early testimony of Cassian (*loc. cit.*), who wrote in Gaul, to the phrase 'colligere orationem' is significant in the same direction. In keeping, too, with the theory of the Gallican provenance of the word is the remarkable contrast we observe between the frequency with which 'Collectio' is found in the Gallican books, where it is used *passim*, and the rarity of the appearance of 'Collecta' in the Roman. In the Gregorian Sacramentary, 'Collecta' occurs thrice only, and in one case, already referred to, it plainly means 'congregation' and not 'prayer.' In the Gelasian and Leonine Sacramentaries it is not found at all. In the Missal which succeeded the Sacramentaries, with a few exceptions of community or local use,[3] the word occurs only in rubrical directions. Although

[1] Further witness to this ancient custom is borne by the *Flectamus genua* ('Let us kneel'), and the *Levate* ('Stand up'), which in the Roman ritual on certain days are interposed between the *Oremus* and the collect. The modern genuflexion of the priest is a survival of the private prayer of the priest and people before they stood up, according to the practice of the early Church, for public prayer. The *Oremus* before the offertory is followed by no prayer at all—a feature which evidences a still greater omission in the Service (Duchesne, *Origines*, vi. 5, p. 172, Eng. ed.).

[2] The term 'Gallican' is frequently used to describe the Western non-Roman type of service, which included, with the Gallican, the kindred Celtic (British Isles), Mozarabic (Spain), and Ambrosian (North Italy) uses (Duchesne, *Orig.* p. 88, Eng. ed.; Procter and Frere, p. 8). The form 'Collectio' is peculiar to the Gallican and Celtic books.

[3] *e.g.* a Missal of the Cistercian order (Paris, 1529) has 'Collecta' throughout, also one of Hildesheim (Nuremberg, 1511), and one of Upsala (Basel, 1513); and the Collection of Masses written in England in the 10th and 11th cents., which forms part of the *Leofric Missal* (ed. Warren, 1883), occasionally has the word instead of 'oratio.'

'Collect' was adopted, as far back as evidence goes,[1] by liturgists as the technical name for the prayer before the Epistle, it received but a niggard welcome in the Roman Service Books—which would hardly have been the case had it been of native origin. That it was nevertheless in popular use in England—perhaps kept alive by tradition from the early non-Roman Christianity of the country—seems proved by the fact that in the translation and revision of the Church Services in the 16th cent. it was brought forward into its rightful position. The Reformers would not have ventured to use the word so extensively as they did, if it had not been familiar to the people.

2. The Sacramentaries.—Collects in their fully developed structure are first presented to us in the Roman Sacramentaries; for the 'Collectiones' of the Gallican Service Books are longer and less concentrated, and more akin to Eastern models. These Sacramentaries contain the prayers used by the celebrant in the Mass and other sacramental rites, and have come down to us in three forms, each associated with the name of a Pope.

(1) *The Gregorian* is the most recent. Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) was traditionally regarded as the reviser of an earlier Service Book. His biographer, John the Deacon (latter half of 9th cent.), testifies ('Vita Gregorii,' ii. 17, in *Acta Sanctorum O.S.B.*, by D'Achery and Mabillon) that 'he compressed into one volume the Gelasian codex *de Missarum Solemniis*, making many retrenchments, a few changes, and some additions.'[2] But of the 'Gregorian' Sacramentary, as we know it, all that can be said with certainty is that it represents the Service Book in prevailing use at Rome in the 8th century. All existing MSS seem to be derived from an authenticated copy of that book, which was sent to Charlemagne, at his request, towards the close of that century, by Pope Adrian I., and to which a supplement adapting it for use in France was added by Alcuin (Letter of Adrian I. to Charlemagne, No. xli., in Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, 1738–1876, v. 587; Micrologus, cap. 60; Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacr.* liii.).

(2) *The Gelasian* represents the Sacramentary as it was before the 'Gregorian' revision, and carries us back at least to the 7th century. Its connexion with Pope Gelasius (492–496) is problematical. Unlike the later form of Sacramentary, all the MSS of which bear Gregory's name, none of the 'Gelasian' MSS is thus entitled. Writers of the 9th cent., as, *e.g.*, John the Deacon, referred to above, call the Sacramentary 'Gelasian,' perhaps following a true tradition, although it may be that their only ground for so naming it was that the *Liber Pontificalis* (beginning of 6th cent.) assigned (i. 255) to Gelasius the authorship of Sacramental prefaces and prayers (Wilson, *Gel. Sacr.* lviii.).

(3) *The Leonine* exists only in one defective MS, which was discovered in the Chapter Library at Verona by Bianchini, and published by him in 1735. This MS, the probable date of which is the beginning of the 7th cent., is apparently the compilation of a private collector of *missae* extant in his time, many of which, no doubt, were of an earlier date. It cannot be regarded as a single Sacramentary, but it presents us with Service forms of a more ancient type than the 'Gelasian.' Its attribution to Pope Leo I. (440–461) was the mere conjecture of the first editor (Feltoe, *Sacr. Leon.*, 1896, vii.–ix.).

[1] In the second 'Ordo Romanus,' which is commented on by Amalarius of Metz (830), the words occur, 'Sequitur oratio prima quam collectam dicunt' (Migne, *PL* lxxviii. 971).

[2] We have Gregory's own testimony (*Ep.* ix. 12) that he added the Lord's Prayer at the end of the Canon of the Mass. The insertion of a new paragraph therein is also attributed to him (*Lib. Pontif.* i. 312, ed. Duchesne, 1886).

We can thus trace back the Collect as a finished product well-nigh to the 6th cent., and we may confidently assign to it a much earlier origin. A form of prayer so artificial and elaborate in structure could not have come into existence at one bound: time must be allowed for a gradual development out of simpler forms. The fame of Gregory as a liturgical reformer renders it not improbable that the making or alteration of some collects was due to him, and the similar tradition attached to Gelasius suggests a like inference with regard to that Pope. The insistence in many collects on the frailty of human nature, and the need of Divine grace preventing and co-operating (see in Pr. Bk. the collects for Easter, Adv. iv., Epiph. iv., Trin. i., ix., xv., xvii. etc.), points for their composition to a time when the Pelagian controversy (beginning of 5th cent.) was fresh in the minds of men.

3. Arrangement of collects. — The Gallican Service Books are characterized by numerous 'Collectiones.' Take, for example, the 'Missa' for Epiphany in the *Missale Gothicum* (see Neale and Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*, p. 54[1]), where the scheme of service is as follows:

1. An exhortation without a title, named Praefatio in other missae. 2. *Collectio sequitur.* 3. *Collectio post nomina*, i.e. after the diptychs. 4. *Collectio ad Pacem*, i.e. during the Kiss of Peace. 5. *Contestatio*, commencing 'Vere dignum.' 6. *Collectio post Sanctus.* 7. *Post Mysterium*, i.e. a prayer after the consecration. 8. *Ante orationem Dominicam*—a prayer. 9. *Post orationem Dominicam*—a prayer. 10. *Benedictio populi*—a series of short prayers. 11. *Post Euchoristiam*—a prayer after the communion of the people. 12. *Collectio sequitur.* The frequent use of the word 'Collectio' should be noted. In the Celtic Hour Offices, 'Collectiones' were appended to each Canticle and each group of Psalms (Warren, *The Bangor Antiphonory*, vol. ii. p. xix). The multiplicity of prayers in the Masses of St. Columbanus was noticed and objected to at a Synod at Matiscon (Maçon), in Gaul (623), by a monk named Agrestius, who probably was acquainted with the Gelasian use (Jonas, *Vita Columbani*, ed. Krusch, p. 250).

In the Roman Sacramentaries and Missal the Collects are restricted to three positions in the service: (1) before the Epistle, (2) after the Offertory, (3) after the Communion. The first, as a rule the fullest of all, is the 'Collect' proper, the one to which that name is specially appropriated in liturgical language, though in the altar-books it is usually designated by the general term *oratio*. The second is the 'Secreta,' so named because it is said inaudibly by the priest (Amalarius, *de Offic. Eccl.* III. xx.; Duchesne, *Orig.* vi. § 7, p. 176, Eng. tr.)—a custom which was introduced in very early times—or, less probably, because it is said over the elements which have just before been 'set apart' for sacramental use. This derivation, which Bossuet (*Explic. des prières de la messe*, p. 19, no. 1) puts forward, does not seem to have the support of any ancient authority (Bona, II. ix. 6, note by Sala). The third is the 'Postcommunio.' In some MSS of the Gregorian type the second is called 'Super oblata,'[2] and the third 'Ad Complendum.' (The Leonine collects have no headings.) A supplementary collect, 'Ad populum,' appears in the Gelasian Sacramentary. In the Gregorian and in the Missal this is retained only on Ferial days in Lent, with the title 'Super populum.' The Gelasian Book provides two collects proper, *i.e.* before the Epistle, in each Mass; the Gregorian and Missal have only one. In mediæval times other prayers were permitted (or directed) to be added to this, provided the total did not exceed seven.[3] This limitation was sup-

[1] The *Missale Gothicum* is also published by Mabillon, *de Lit. Gal.* lib. iii. (see p. 208), and Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii. col. 542.

[2] This may add some weight to the second derivation of 'Secreta' (see above).

[3] The number of prayers was always to be uneven, for which rule various mystical reasons were given (Micrologus, cap. iv.). Prayers were to be added to the 'Secreta' and 'Postcommunio' equal in number to those added to the Collect proper (Durandus, IV. xv., Sarum Missal, 1st Sunday of Advent, rubric).

posed to have reference to the number of petitions in the Lord's Prayer.

The Collect (proper) for the day gained an entrance at an early date into Laud's and other Hour offices, where it supplanted the Pater Noster which formerly closed the service (Batiffol, *Hist. du brév. rom.*, Eng. tr. by Baylay, pp. 96, 111).

4. **How addressed.**—The Roman collects are, with very few exceptions, addressed to the First Person of the Blessed Trinity. This was the most ancient usage of the Church, based upon the belief that the Eucharist was a representation of the sacrifice of Himself offered by the Son to the Father (Bona, II. v. 5). The 3rd Council of Carthage (397) made this custom a binding law by enacting (canon 24) that 'at the altar prayer shall always be directed to the Father' ('Quum altari adsistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio'). It is remarkable that, notwithstanding this usage and law, the majority of the 'Collectiones' in the Western non-Roman liturgies are addressed to the Son. We may attribute this to the exigency of the position of the Hispano-Gallican Church, confronted as it was with the Arianism of the Northern invaders, who alleged the exclusive address of liturgical prayers to the Father as implying an inequality in the Trinity (Warren, *Bangor Ant.* vol. ii. p. xxvii; Cabrol, *DACL*, col. 655; Liddon, *The Divinity of Our Lord*[4] [Bampton Lectures], p. 389).

5. **Structure of collect.**—The collect follows a clearly marked plan of construction. It consists of one short sentence containing a single petition, and in its complete form—for some collects lack one or more members—may be analyzed into five parts: (1) the invocation; (2) the reason upon which the petition is based; (3) the petition itself; (4) the benefit which the granting of the petition will confer; (5) the termination, which varies according to fixed rules (see below). Take for an illustration the Pr. Bk. collect for the 2nd Sunday in Lent, which comes from the Gregorian Sacramentary: (1) 'Almighty God, (2) who seest that we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves; (3) keep us both outwardly in our bodies, and inwardly in our souls; (4) that we may be defended from all adversities which may happen to the body, and from all evil thoughts which may assault and hurt the soul; (5) through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

The termination was from early times made to harmonize with the phrasing of the preceding words. We find this feature already in the Gregorian Sacramentary, and even suggestions of it in the Gallican liturgies. In the later Service Books, careful rules, often expressed in hexameter verse, are laid down to meet every possible variety of phrasing, although the collects themselves generally conclude simply with 'Per' or 'Per Dominum,' or occasionally with a cue such as 'qui vivis,' 'per eundem,' to assist the memory of the priest. When several collects are recited together, the termination is appointed to be said only after the first and last.

The rules appear with great fullness in the *York Missal*, and may be thus summarized: (1) If the collect be addressed to the Father, it should end: 'through our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son [or, if our Lord has been previously mentioned, 'through the same Jesus Christ our Lord'], who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the ['same,' if the Holy Ghost has been previously mentioned] Holy Ghost, God, world without end.' If there be mention of the Trinity, the collect should end: 'In which [*i.e.* Trinity] thou livest and reignest, God,' etc. (2) A collect addressed to the Son should end: 'who livest and reignest with God the Father in the unity of the ['same'] Holy Ghost, God,' etc. (3) A collect addressed to the Trinity should end: 'who livest and reignest, God,' etc.

As a specimen of the memorial verses we add these, which occur in the *Sarum Breviary*:

'"Per Dominum," dicas, si Patrem, presbyter, oras.
Si Christum memores, "per eundem," dicere debes.
Si loqueris Christo, "qui vivis," scire memento.
"Qui tecum," si sit collectae finis in ipso.'

6. **Book of Common Prayer.**—The way the collects have been dealt with in the Pr. Bk. is of special interest for English-speaking people. In the re-construction of the public Services in the 16th cent. the 'Secreta' and 'Postcommunio' disappeared as features of the Communion Office, but the Collect proper was retained, for the most part in versions, more or less literal, of the Latin forms. Thus the collects of the Pr. Bk. are mainly survivals, in living and familiar use, of the collects of the Sacramentaries, though only of a few out of many; for the simplification and retrenchment of the Services at the Reformation involved, here as elsewhere, the sacrifice of much liturgical wealth.

The Pr. Bk. collects derived, through the *Sarum Missal*, from the ancient sacramentaries may be thus classified according to their ultimate sources:

Leonine: Easter iii., Trinity v., ix., xiii., xiv., and the substance of x. and xii., which appear in a revised form in the Gelasian Sacramentary.

Gelasian: Advent iv., Innocents, Palm Sunday, Good Friday 2nd and 3rd, Easter 1st part, Easter iv., v., Trinity i., ii., vi., vii., viii., x., xi., xii., xv., xvi., xviii., xix., xx., xxi.; besides, Matins 2nd, Evensong 2nd and 3rd, Communion Office at end 1st, Commination (the 'Penitential Office for Ash-Wednesday' in the American Pr. Bk.), 'O Lord, we beseech thee.'

Gregorian: Circumcision, St. Stephen, St. John Evang., Epiphany, Epiphany i., ii., iii., iv., v., Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Lent ii., iii., iv., v., Good Friday 1st, Easter 2nd part, Ascension, Ascension i., Whitsunday, Trinity, Trinity iii., iv., xvii., xxii., xxiii., xxiv., xxv., St. Paul, Purification, Annunciation, St. Bartholomew, St. Michael, also the collects (in the Irish and American Pr. Bks.) for use at an early Communion on Christmas and Easter; besides, Matins 3rd, Litany, 'We humbly beseech thee,' 1st part, 'O God, whose nature and property,' Communion Office at end, 2nd and 4th. The fixed Collect Communion Office, 'Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open,' and the 1st part of 'Almighty God, with whom do live' (Burial), come from the *Sarum Book*, but cannot be traced to the Sacramentaries. The Churching Collect also was suggested by the Sarum form.

The translators of the collects for the 1st English Prayer Book (1549), among whom Cranmer probably took the leading part, were masters of nervous idiomatic English, who even in their most literal translations were not satisfied with a bald word for word reproduction of the Latin. They recognized the different genius and construction of the two languages, which must often make such a rendering obscure, if not unintelligible, to the English worshipper. They proceeded usually by way of paraphrase, preserving, as a rule, the general sense of the original, though often allowing themselves to expand the thoughts, and sometimes, more or less happily, to give them a different turn.

Instances of approximately literal translation.—Compare the Latin and English of Trinity xvii.: 'Tua nos, Domine, quaesumus, gratia semper et praeveniat et sequatur: ac bonis operibus jugiter praestet esse intentos' ('Lord, we pray thee, that thy grace may always prevent and follow us, and make us continually to be given to all good works'), and of Epiph. ii.: 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui coelestia simul et terrena moderaris, supplicationes populi tui clementer exaudi, et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus' ('Almighty and everlasting God, who dost govern all things in heaven and earth, mercifully hear the supplications of thy people, and grant us thy peace all the days of our life'). See also Trin. xiv., xxi., xxiii.

Instances of expansion of thought.—St. John Evang. 'enlighten' (*illustra*) becomes 'cast thy bright beams of light upon.' Easter: 'our prayers, which by preventing thou dost inspire, mayest thou also by assisting bring to effect' ('vota nostra, quae praeveniendo aspiras, etiam adjuvando prosequere') is paraphrased: 'we humbly beseech thee, that, as by thy special grace preventing us, thou dost put into our minds good desires, so by thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect.' Asc. Day: 'we may also in mind dwell in heavenly places' ('ipsi quoque mente in coelestibus habitemus') is thus enlarged: 'so we may also in heart and mind thither ascend, and with him continually dwell.' Trin. xii.: 'who in the abundance of thy lovingkindness dost exceed the merits and prayers of thy suppliants' ('qui abundantia pietatis tuae et merita supplicum excedis et vota') takes the form 'who art always more ready to hear than we to pray, and art wont to give more than either we desire or deserve.' Strengthening words also are frequently introduced, *e.g.* Sept.: 'delivered *by thy goodness*'; Easter iv.: '*sundry and manifold* changes,' '*surely* . . . fixed'; Lent iii.: 'our defence *against all our*

enemies'; Good Friday: '*graciously* behold'; Lent iv.: 'may *mercifully* be relieved'—where the italicized words are not in the original.

Instances of change of thought.—Sexagesima: 'grant that by the protection of the teacher of the Gentiles' ('concede . . . ut . . . Doctoris gentium protectione') is changed into 'grant that by thy power.' Epiph. v., Trin. xxii.: 'guard with continual lovingkindness (*pietate*)' become respectively 'keep . . . continually in thy true religion,' and 'keep . . . in continual godliness.' Trin. vii.: 'foster (*nutrias*) what is good in us and . . . guard it when fostered (*nutrita*)' is turned into 'nourish us with all goodness . . . and keep us in the same.' Matins 2nd: 'whom to serve is to reign' ('cui servire, regnare est') becomes 'whose service is perfect freedom.'

At the final revision of 1662 this feature of paraphrase and variation was made still more prominent. Several of the collects which had been almost literally translated in 1549 were re-touched in this direction by Cosin and his assistants, often to their manifest improvement.

Thus St. John Evang.: 'May attain to thy everlasting gifts' ('ad dona perveniat sempiterna') was paraphrased 'may so walk in the light of Thy truth, that it may at length attain to the light of everlasting life.' Trin. viii.: 'God, whose providence is never deceived' ('Deus, cujus providentia in sui dispositione non fallitur') became 'O God, whose never-failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth.' Trin. xviii.: 'The infections of the devil' ('diabolica contagia') was expanded into 'the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil.' Easter iv.: 'who dost make the minds of the faithful to be of one will' ('qui fidelium mentes unius efficis voluntatis') became 'who alone canst order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men.' Collects similarly treated are Innocents, Epiph. iv., Trinity, Trin. ix., xiii., xix., St. Paul.

The collects of the Pr. Bk. not traceable to ancient sources are constructed on the traditional lines, and in beauty of thought and diction and in harmony of balanced clauses do not lose by comparison with the classical models. They are usually based on the Gospel or Epistle for the day. Many of them are for Saints' days, when, as a rule, the Latin collect asked for the Saint's intercession.

The original collects, which, except when otherwise stated, date from 1549, are: Adv. i., ii., iii. (1661, replacing the 1549 translation of the Latin collect), Christmas, Epiph. vi. (1661), Quinquag., Ash Wednesday, Lent i., Easter Even (1661), Easter i., ii., St. Andrew (1552, replacing one of 1549), St. Thomas, St. Matthias, St. Mark, SS. Philip and James, St. Barnabas, St. John Baptist, St. Peter, St. James, the Transfiguration (American Pr. Bk., 1892), St. Matthew, St. Luke, SS. Simon and Jude, All Saints; also Communion Office at end, 3rd, 5th, 6th, the collect in the Communion of the Sick, and the Collect (Irish Pr. Bk., 1878) for the Rogation days, which is founded on one by Bp. Cosin, 1661. The other newly composed prayers, not formed after the ancient pattern, such as the two 'collects' for the King in the Communion Office, most of the prayers which follow the 3rd Collect at Matins and Evensong, and all but one ('O God, whose nature') of the 'Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions' are outside the scope of this article.

Three collects only are addressed to the Second Person of the Trinity, viz. Adv. iii., St. Stephen (which in the original Latin is addressed to the Father), and Lent i. In the *Sarum Missal*, Adv. i., iii., iv. are so addressed; but in the Gelasian form of the last the address is to the Father, the change having been made in the Gregorian version. The 'Prayer of St. Chrysostom,' likewise addressed to the Son, comes from Eastern sources, and is not a true collect.

With regard to the endings of the collects, in the Prayer Book of 1549, these, for the most part, were left incomplete as in the *Sarum Book*; a few were supplied with cues such as 'who liveth and reigneth, etc.' (Easter). It was evidently assumed that the clergy would be acquainted with the rules which governed the terminations. The only collects in the present Pr. Bk. which have complete endings—mainly added in 1661—are those of the principal Festivals, with a few others, viz. Adv. iii., Christmas, Sept., Lent i., Good Friday 1st and 3rd, Easter, Ascension, Asc. i., Whitsunday, Trinity, St. Matthew; besides, the 1st Prayer for the King in the Communion Office. The following have endings which vary from the traditional standards either by a doxological form or in other respects: Adv. i., iv., Epiph. vi., Trin. xii., xiii., xiv., St. Thomas, Transfiguration (American Pr. Bk.), St. Luke, Communion 5th, Matins 2nd, Evensong 2nd and 3rd, 'Clergy and People,' 'In the time of dearth and famine,' 'O God, whose nature.'

In the projected revision of 1689 the collects were marked out for drastic treatment. At best, their framework was retained, and they were lengthened by the introduction of phrases from the Epistle and Gospel of the day, but often entirely new prayers were substituted for them. Fortunately the revision was not carried into effect, and the Church was left in possession of her ancient devotional forms.

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J. G. CARLETON.

COLLECTIVISM.—See SOCIALISM.

COMEDY.—See DRAMA.

COMFORT.—See CONSOLATION.

COMMEMORATION OF THE DEAD.

We shall first of all separate our subject from three others, which are closely connected with it, but which are treated in the special articles ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD, COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD, DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (including Funeral Feasts). In this article we shall confine our attention to the tombs, and the means used among the various peoples to commemorate the dead. Even when thus limited, the subject is a large one; for reverence for the dead and everything that has touched them, mingled with superstitious fear, is a feeling which has been common to the whole human race even from pre-historic times. Burial-places are considered tabu among the natives of Oceania. Among races which are civilized and possess a system of writing, tombstones usually bear the inscription: 'Erected in memory of . . .' Frequently a small screen is placed on the top, either to shelter the gifts brought to the dead or to provide a place for offering prayers or commemorative sacrifices; so that, among most peoples, the tombs have become altars where worship is rendered in memory or on behalf of the dead.

I.—1. **Egyptians.**—No race, except the Chinese, has cherished the memory of the dead more carefully, or raised more lasting monuments to them, than the Egyptians; cf. the pyramids, which are royal tombs, and the *mastabas*, or tombs of the common people, with which the ground in Egypt is studded. There the tomb was called the 'place of eternal rest,' and it might also be called the 'place of prayer and commemoration.' Indeed, the very arrangement of the burial-places reveals the existence of a worship rendered to the dead. Above the sepulchre and the deep shaft leading down to it, on the ground level, there was a chapel, the door of which had always to be kept open, to allow the relatives and friends of the deceased, and even the passers-by, to come and present their offerings or their prayers. The chapel contained a tablet, representing the 'double' (*ka*) of the deceased, seated at a table laden with food and fruit, and a commemorative legend of the first funeral feast. The cult of the dead consisted of three parts: the consecration of the tomb, the funeral ceremony, and the commemorative services.

These services were annual, and their purpose was to secure the peace of *Amenti* for the deceased, and to get the deity to grant that his soul should one day dwell with the gods. This is clearly indicated by numerous inscriptions on the funeral tablets and by the *Book of Obsequies*, discovered in 1877 (ed. and tr. Schiaparelli, *Libro dei funerali degli antichi Egizi*, 2 vols., Rome, 1882–90).

2. **Hebrews.**—The Hebrews could not have lived for two centuries in Egypt without borrowing several funeral customs from their masters. They also believed in the existence of a 'double' which they called *nephesh*. As in Egypt, the tomb was the place where they rendered worship, in which the eldest son of the deceased was the celebrant. 'Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and reared up for himself the pillar, which is in the King's dale; for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance' (2 S 18[18]). The Hebrew verb used here means both 'to recall to memory' and to 'offer worship,' like the Latin *colere*. This worship rendered to the dead consisted of offerings of food, sacrifice of hair, ceremonial lamentations (*qīnāh* or *nᵉhī*), fasting, and the wearing of mourning clothes. The time of mourning lasted regularly seven days. These rites were repeated probably on each anniversary of the death.

We do not know whether the Hebrews held a festival in honour of all the dead, but it is certain that among the Jews, since the 10th cent. A.D., there has been a complete system of 'days prescribed for the commemoration of the dead.' The worshipper must visit the tomb of his dead relatives on the seventh and thirtieth days after, and on the anniversary of, their death. He places leaves or pebbles on it, says a prayer, and, on returning home, gives alms in memory of them. The rites consist of a prayer of praise to God, said, each Sabbath evening, by the eldest son of the deceased (*qaddish*), and a prayer for rest to his soul, repeated daily for thirty days (*hashkaba*). An annual commemoration of the souls of the dead takes place on the 'Day of Atonement.'

3. **Arabs.**—The pagan Arabs rendered worship to the dead near the *anṣāb* or *naṣā'ib* ('funeral monuments'), and sacrificed animals to them, or made offerings of hair. Muhammad forbade this worship as idolatrous (*Qur'ān*, iii. 150–153). Instead of lamenting over them, he says, we must ask Allāh to forgive their sins. At the time of the beginnings of Islām, the Arabs used to pitch tents on the graves of the dead, whom they worshipped on account of their virtues and their piety, and to stay there for some time after the death. These tents, in the course of time, became transformed into stone mausoleums (*qubba*; cf. vol. i. p. 759). Thus the ancient worship rendered to the dead gradually gave place to prayers for the repose of their souls. The importance given in modern Islām to pilgrimages to, and prayers at, the tombs of the famous marabouts is well known. It is a form of saint-worship.

II. INDO-EUROPEANS. — **1. Hindus.** — The remembrance of the dead occupies an important place in the Vedas. The *pitris*, or 'ancestors,' after assuming a brilliant body, and drinking the *soma* which renders them immortal, are led by Agni into the presence of Yama, the king of the dead, and there enjoy eternal blessedness. According to certain myths, the souls of the dead dwell in the stars; according to others, they pass into the bodies of certain birds, and fly to and fro near the sacred rivers. It is the duty of the living to offer the *śrāddha*, or funeral sacrifice, to the *manes* at fixed times. There are two feasts of the dead among the Hindus: the *pitṛyajña* and the *piṇḍapitṛyajña* (see ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 23).

2. **Ancient Persians.**—Among the Mazdæans of Iran or ancient Persia also, the cult of the souls of the dead was prevalent, and the funeral rites were highly developed. The feasts of the dead may be divided into two classes: (1) the great feast of all the dead, or *Hamaspathmaēdaya*, a kind of All Saints' Day, which is held at the end of the Parsi year and lasts ten days, called the *Fravardagān*; and (2) the funeral services in memory of a deceased person, which take place during the three days after the death, and are repeated on the 4th, 10th, and 30th days, and on the anniversary. In connexion with the second class, works of charity are always performed.

3. **Greeks.**—The Hellenes, or ancient Greeks, had the sense of moral beauty (*e.g.* that of civic virtue) too highly developed not to commemorate the dead, especially those who had been famous as benefactors of the State or had fallen on the field of honour. Annual festivals, called ἐπιτάφια, were held at their tombs on the anniversary of their death. They consisted of sacrifices to the gods, funeral orations, and athletic games. The dead were interred in the Ceramicus, in a consecrated enclosure (the δημόσιον σῆμα), and, in accordance with one of Solon's laws, the funeral procession had to be free from all lamentation and to have the character of a triumphal march; for the dead were addressed by the name of μάκαρες, 'the blessed'—a title reserved for the gods. The magnificent tomb that Artemisia built in the most beautiful part of Halicarnassus, in memory of her husband Mausolus, king of Caria (d. 379 B.C.), is well known. Since that time the name of 'mausoleum' has been given to all the sumptuous tombs built after its style by the Greeks and Romans.

4. **Romans.**—The Romans adopted, almost exactly, the rites in memory of the dead practised by the Greeks. The *exsequiae*, or obsequies, were also accompanied by prayers, speeches, and games, held in honour of the illustrious dead. In every house, sacrifices and prayers were offered to the souls of the ancestors, called *manes*, *lares*, or *penates*. On the anniversary of the death, the religious service known as *parentatio* was performed, and accompanied by a family meal. There was also a general festival of the dead, called *Feralia* or *Februalia*, held on Feb. 22; and, as living nature always asserts its rights, it was followed by the *Caristia*, which was a merry feast.

5. **Celts.**—Among the Celts (Gauls and Britons) the memory of the dead was preserved by means of standing-stones (*menhir*, e.g. the Carnac monoliths).

III. CHRISTIAN CUSTOMS.—The funeral rites of the Christians are distinguished from the pagan customs by a new point of view with regard to the dead. Whereas to the pagans, as to the Hebrews, death appeared as the 'king of terrors,' the destroyer of all life and all enjoyment, in the eyes of the first Christians it was the entrance into a higher life, and the deliverance from a world of strife and misery. Moreover, the Christians of primitive times avoided pronouncing the word 'death,' which to their contemporaries meant annihilation; they referred to that event by means of the expressions 'departure' (*excessus*), 'sleep' (*dormitio*), 'removal' (*assumptio*), or even 'setting' (*obitus*, a word denoting the setting of the stars). The deceased was called the 'one who goes before' (*praemissus*), or 'who has acquitted himself' (*defunctus*); and the burial-place was called the 'sleeping-place' (κοιμητήριον, *coemeterium*). In a word, instead of appearing to them as an *end*, death was a *beginning*, the entrance into a new and better life.

1. Christians of the first centuries.—(1) *Reasons for commemoration.*—For what reasons did the Christians preserve the memory of their dead? It was not, as in the case of the Romans, to appease the *manes* of their ancestors, but, in the first instance, to satisfy the need, felt by every loving heart, of giving evidence of a faithful remembrance of the departed object of its affection. In the second place, the early Christians wished to return thanks to God for having delivered their beloved dead from the sufferings of this world. But, as they were not quite sure that the sins of the deceased would find pardon before the just Judge, they prayed God to forgive them in consideration of the merits of their Saviour, in whom their beloved one had believed. Sometimes, if the person had died without having been baptized, his surviving friends were baptized for his sake (1 Co 15[29]). If, on the other hand, the deceased was a martyr, or had distinguished himself by exceptional saintliness, they would appeal to him to intercede with God and Christ, who, on the general resurrection day, was to judge the living and the dead. But this was the exception. In the case of ordinary people who died, their sinful souls were commended to the Divine compassion: hence the name *commendatio*, which the Fathers of the Church gave to the funeral service.

(2) *Methods of commemoration.*—This leads to the consideration of the various methods in use in the Christian Church of the first centuries to perpetuate the memory of the dead. There were seven: (*a*) the tombstone, called *memoria*, and, for confessors of the faith, *confessio*; (*b*) the inscription on the tombstone, or *epitaph*; (*c*) the inscription on the *diptych* of the church; (*d*) the *commendatio*, or funeral oration; (*e*) the end of the year service, or *natalicia*; (*f*) necrology, or martyrology; and (*g*) the calendar, or menology.

(*a*) *Tombstones, 'memoriæ,'* and *'confessiones.'*—We know how carefully the first Christians attended to the burial-places of the dead. An idea of this can be obtained by one or two visits to the catacombs in Rome. Each coffin has its *loculus*, or niche, marked with the name of the deceased, and often ornamented with emblems. The deceased is frequently represented on it, standing praying, with outstretched arms, and palms turned towards the sky. It is these figures that are called *orantes*. When the Christians had to give up the catacombs, they erected a screen or a chapel above the grave of a martyr, so that his remains might not be confounded with the bones of the *lapsi*, and in order to preserve his memory from oblivion. This was called *confessio* or *martyrium*, and the custom of being buried near the tombs of saints or martyrs was very early established.[1]

'Non ob aliud,' wrote St. Augustine to Paulinus, bishop of Nola, 'vel Memoriæ vel Monumenta dicuntur ea quae insignita fiunt sepulcra mortuorum, nisi quia eos qui viventium oculis morte subtracti sunt, ne oblivione etiam cordibus subtrahantur, in memoriam revocant. . . . nam et Memoriae nomen id apertissime ostendit et Monumentum, eo quod moneat mentem' (*de Cura pro Mortuis gerenda*, iv.).

Soon this name 'memorial' was applied to all tombs; cf. the inscription: 'Memoria Anastasiæ . . . Mater dulcissima in pace Christi recepta' (end of 4th cent.).

(*b*) *Epitaphs.*—The inscriptions in the catacombs and in the oldest Christian burying-grounds are of great simplicity and express quiet confidence, thus forming a contrast to the lugubrious epitaphs of the pagans. All the emblems in the catacomb of St. Domitilla (called also *Nereus and Achilles*) show joy and gladness; they are winged spirits, children playing crowned with roses, or birds singing as they wing their flight towards the sky; nowhere are seen crosses or death's heads, as they appear later in the Middle Ages. The inscriptions also breathe hope in the continued existence of the dead. The most frequent are 'In pace,' 'Vivas in Deo,' and ΙΧΘΥΣ ('fish'), the letters of which form the initials of the Greek for 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.'

(*c*) *Diptychs.*—Diptychs, as the name indicates, were twin tablets, at first wooden and coated with wax, and then parchment. On the one were inscribed the names of living persons, *e.g.* bishops, benefactors of the Church, and those who had been baptized; on the other, the names of the faithful who had died in the faith of Christ—martyrs and simple worshippers. The deacon read these names from the ambo during the service. The diptychs formed the annals of each particular church. It was a much-coveted honour to have one's name inscribed there, and a disgrace to have it removed (*erasus*) in cases of grave sin, *e.g.* denial in times of persecution.

(*d*) *Commendatio.*—After the reading of the names on the diptych of the dead, the officiating priest delivered the *commendatio*. St. Augustine explains the meaning of this custom:

'Non video quae sunt adjumenta mortuorum, nisi ad hoc ut dum recolunt ubi sint posita eorum quos diligunt corpora, eisdem sanctis illos tanquam patronis susceptos apud Dominum adjuvandos orando commendent' (*de Cura pro Mort. ger.* iv.).

The words in the *Confessiones* (ix. 13) of the same Church Father are still more explicit: 'Commendavit nobis nihil,' he wrote, referring to Monica, his mother, 'nisi ut *commemoraremus* eam apud Tuum altare, ubi genuflexerat et unde noverat sanctam hostiam distribui fidelibus.' The so-called *Liturgy of St. Mark* shows what was the meaning of the prayer: 'Horum omnium animabus dona requiem, Dominator Domine Deus noster, in sanctis Tuis tabernaculis.'

If the deceased had been a great bishop, a man famed for his piety, or a martyr, the priest pronounced his *eulogium*, and the simple *commendatio* became a *funeral oration*, e.g. the speech of St. Ambrose in memory of his brother Satyrus, that of St. Jerome in honour of Paula, and those of St. Gregory of Nazianzus in memory of his friend Basil of Cæsarea, of his brother Cæsarius, and of his sister Gorgonia.

(*e*) *Natalicia* (*anniversaries*).—The commemoration of the dead on the anniversary of their death is a very old custom in the Church. We find traces of it as far back as Tertullian: 'oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus' (*de Corona*, iii., *ad Scapulam*, ii.). In the case of a martyr the ceremony was of a more solemn character; the people assembled at the place of his torture or at his grave, generally on the anniversary of the eve of his death, held an agape, and then, in the church, celebrated his heroic faith by an address. St. Cyprian refers to this (*Acts of the Martyrs*) in his *Ep.* xxxiv.: 'Sacrificia pro eis [martyribus] semper . . . offerimus quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus,' and it is undoubtedly the origin of the Anniversary Masses which are still celebrated in the Roman Catholic Church and among the Greeks at the present day.

(*f*) *Necrology or martyrology.*—The custom of reading the *Acts of the Martyrs* or *Passiones* on the day of their death gave rise to martyrologies. These were registers in which were written down the names of the confessors of all the churches, with details of their cases, the kind of tortures undergone, the name of the judge, and the replies of the martyrs. The encyclical *Letter of the Smyrnæan Christians* on the martyrdom of their bishop Polycarp is a very ancient specimen. In the same way, the use of diptychs gave rise to necrologies or obituaries. In fact, when they gave up reading the diptychs of the dead in church, on account of the length of the lists (towards the end

[1] Hence the name of *confessio* given, in Italy, to the consecrated crypt which is generally placed under the altar in the church.

of the 6th cent.), they replaced them by registers called *necrologies* ('books of the dead'), *anniversary books*, or *books of life*. In these were inscribed the names of the dead who had deserved well of the church or the abbey. Rich donors, devout women, and even princes begged as a privilege to have their names inscribed on these obituaries. The Benedictines in the Middle Ages were famed for the care with which they preserved these books.

(*g*) *Calendars.* — Whereas martyrologies were common to the whole Catholic Church, calendars were the property of each particular church. The calendar, called 'menologion' by the Greeks, marked for each week the festivals of Christ, and the death of the bishops and confessors. Tertullian calls them the 'Church Calendars' (*de Corona militari*, xiii.). The oldest of them, *e.g.* the Roman (about the 4th cent.), and the Carthaginian, mention the exact place to which the worshipper had to go to celebrate the memory of the martyr. At that time the *natalicia* were celebrated on the very spot of the torture or at the grave.

2. **Roman Catholic Church.**—Of all the branches of Christianity the Roman Catholic Church has proved most careful in preserving the necrological customs of the Apostolic age. Besides the Anniversary Masses, which are intended to commemorate the death of a particular individual, it has instituted the Day of the Dead (All Souls' Day) and the festival of All Saints' Day.

The former, which is much the more ancient, takes place on 2nd Nov., and has the official title of 'Commemoration of all the Faithful Dead.' St. Augustine (*de Cura pro Mortuis gerenda*, iv.) alludes to it in the following words :

'Verum etsi aliqua necessitas vel humari corpora, vel in talibus locis humari nulla data facultate permittat, non sunt prætermittendae supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum : quas faciendas pro omnibus in christiana et catholica societate defunctis etiam tacitis nominibus eorum sub generali commemoratione suscepit Ecclesia, ut quibus ad ista desunt parentes, aut filii . . . ab una eis exhibeantur pia matre communi.'

This service is divided into four parts or acts. The first takes place at Evensong of the preceding day. Lamentations are expressed at this ceremony by the chanting of several Psalms, especially the 130th : 'De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine.' Instead of finishing each Psalm with the Doxology, 'Gloria Patri,' the worshippers add the refrain 'Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine : et lux perpetua luceat eis.' The second part includes the Matins and the three Nocturns, during which the Psalms and chapters from the Book of Job are chanted alternately. The Nocturns end with the response : 'Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna,' etc. The third part, which is called Lauds, sings the praises of God, in the words of Ps 64, and in the songs of Hezekiah and Zacharias, and recalls the promise of immortality made by Christ (Jn 11[25]). The fourth consists of the reading of 1 Co 15 and Jn 5, the repetition of the 'Dies irae,' the offertory, communion, and post-communion. The offertory prayer gives beautiful expression to the thought underlying this service :

'Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriae, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de poenis inferni. . . . Hostias et preces tibi, Domine, laudes offerimus : tu suscipe pro animabus illis, quarum hodie memoriam facimus : fac eas, Domine, de morte transire ad vitam.'

The object of the Festival of All Saints' Day (1st Nov.) is the glorification of the saints and martyrs who have made famous the name of Christian. Whereas All Souls' Day was of a sad and supplicatory nature, All Saints' Day is a festival of joyful glorification. It consists of three acts : (1) Vespers, at which several Psalms are repeated, and the faithful are called on to rejoice in the Lord and to glorify the saints and martyrs ; (2) Mass, during which Rev 7 and Mt 5 are read ; and (3) the second Vespers, when the worshippers repeat part of a Psalm, and chant the hymn, 'Placare Christi servulis,' and the hymn, 'O quam gloriosum est regnum, in quo cum Christo gaudent omnes Sancti,' etc.

This festival was instituted by Pope Boniface IV. on the occasion of the dedication of the pagan Pantheon which was transformed into a Christian Church (A.D. 607). It was originally held on 12th May, but was transferred to 1st Nov. by Gregory IV.

3. **Greek Catholic Church.**—More minutely even than the Latin Church, the Greek Catholic Church has preserved the liturgy and commemorative rites of the dead as they were fixed by the Greek Fathers.

It is in the encyclical *Letter of the Smyrnæan Christians* about the martyrdom of their bishop Polycarp that we find the most distinct reference to them.

'Afterwards [*i.e.* after the burning],' it is stated in § xviii. of the letter, 'we carried away his bones, more precious than pearls of great price and more valuable than gold, and placed [*i.e.* buried] them in a suitable place. There, if it please God, as far as we are able, we shall re-assemble with gladness and joy to celebrate the *anniversary of his martyrdom*, in memory of those deceased athletes, as well as to exercise and prepare the future athletes of the faith.'

This text is of great importance, as it tells both the name of this commemoration service (ἡμέρα γενέθλιος, *natalis dies*, whence *Natalicia*) and the motives for this pious custom, viz. to perpetuate the memory of the deceased confessors, and to encourage the survivors to imitate their bravery. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (bk. viii. ch. 41) give the order and meaning of the prayers that were said for the dead. The deacon addressed the congregation in these words : 'Let us pray for our brethren who now rest in Christ Jesus.' Then the bishop offered a prayer : 'May it please the God of mercy, who has taken back the soul of our brother N., to pardon his sins both voluntary and involuntary, and, by His mercy, to place him in Abraham's bosom, in the region where the righteous rest along with the faithful servants of God.' This commemorative service did not take place until the third day after the death ; prayers were renewed on the ninth and the fortieth day after, and on the anniversary of, the death. It is mentioned by Origen in his *Homilies on Job*, and by Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, in the fifth chapter of his Μυσταγωγικαὶ Κατηχήσεις, and it still exists in the Russian Church and in other Oriental Churches.

It is the writings of St. John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, that most abound in passages exhorting to commemoration of the dead ; cf. his Homil. *de Consolatione Mortis*, ii., *de Futurorum Deliciis*, and especially his Homil. xli. *in 1 Epist. ad Corinth.*, and Homil. lxi. *in Joannis Evangelium*. We shall quote the most characteristic extract from the last mentioned. After exhorting his listeners not to weep too much for the dead, since they have obtained peace, he adds :

'It is not in vain that we remember those who have departed this life and entered the Divine mysteries, and that we intercede for them, praying to the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world. And it is to give some consolation that the celebrant says at the altar : "For all those who have fallen asleep in Christ, and for those who perform the commemorative service in their behalf (ἐπιτελοῦντες τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μνείας)." ' And a little further on he says : 'May we never tire of bringing help to the dead and offering prayers for them, for it is a common expiation for the sins of the whole world. That is why we pray at this time for the dead of the whole world, and remember them along with the martyrs, confessors, and priests. For we all form a single body.' In Aug. *Confess.* iii. 2 we also meet with the beautiful thought of commemorating the dead of the universal Church as being members of one large family.

4. **Anglican Church.**—We shall now pass on to the Church of England. The first Prayer Book, compiled during the reign of Edward VI. (1549), had in several places retained prayers for the dead ;

these were eliminated in the 1552 edition, which is at present in use. The High Church party has reintroduced into the Liturgy the prayers for the dead of the 1549 Prayer Book, and has revived the custom of *Requiem* Masses.

5. Lutheran Church.—The service 'in memory of the dead' is of late origin in the Church of the Augsburg Confession. It dates from the years following the wars of German independence against Napoleon I. 'Since these memorable years,' says Schleiermacher (*Festpredigt*, IV. xli. 3), 'when so many of our people fell in the field of honour for the defence of their fatherland, it has been the custom to close our ecclesiastical year by commemorating those who, during the course of the year, have been called from among us.' This service was instituted for the Reformed and Lutheran Churches by an ordinance of Frederick William III., king of Prussia (24th Aug. 1816), and introduced into the liturgy of the United Evangelical Church in 1829. It gradually spread over the whole of Protestant Germany, into the Nassau Duchy (1818), the kingdom of Saxony (1831), and the Grand Duchy of Darmstadt (1855). It generally takes place on the last Sabbath of the ecclesiastical year, *i.e.* of November; but in some places, *e.g.* in Württemberg, it is celebrated on the last day of the civil year, on St. Sylvester's day.

6. Calvinists.—Calvin and his disciples, the originators of the Reformation in France, the Netherlands, and Scotland, in opposing the Roman Catholic doctrines of purgatory and Masses for the dead, went too far in their measures on this point. They would not even tolerate the presence of a cross on the tombstone, or a funeral service in the church. But the human heart, whose love is stronger than death, reacted, and demanded that the beloved dead might again have a place in the public worship: hence, in the Netherlands, the service on the last night of the year (*Oudejaarsavond*), which the preachers devote to recalling the bereavements of the flock during the year; in the United States, Decoration Day (or Memorial Day), the day on which they decorate with flags the tombs of soldiers and sailors who have died for their country; and, in the Reformed Church of France, the attempts which have been made, during recent years, to introduce a service to commemorate the dead.

To Eugène Bersier, who has done so much for the improvement of the French Protestant liturgy, is due the honour of having, about the year 1882, in Paris, restored the commemoration of the dead on the last Sabbath of the year. Following in his footsteps, Charles Meunier (minister of the church of Boulogne-sur-Mer) composed a liturgy for the *Jour des morts* (2 Nov.), in which he made happy use of the 130th Psalm (*De profundis*) and of the chants of St. Ambrose (*Dies irae*). In it we find the thought: 'And you, beloved shades, pardon our injuries towards you. . . . We do not pray for you, because we have confidence through Jesus Christ that you are in the bosom of the Lord; but we ask you to intercede for us, if possible, and to open to us the entrance into the eternal tabernacles.' But Pastor Decoppet (of the Reformed Church of Paris) had the broadest conception of a commemorative service of the dead. Taking as his basis the 'mysterious communion of the living with the dead,' he arranged his liturgy for the said service in the form of a trilogy. In the first part he introduced remembrance of the dead in general by means of Psalms and passages from the Epistles of St. Paul. The second part is devoted to the memory of 'our Fathers in the faith.' Taking his stand on He 11^{13}, he commends to the veneration of the faithful the figures of the prophets, apostles, reformers, and gospel missionaries, of whom so many were martyrs. In the third part the author commemorates the dead who have died in the Lord, by passages from the NT on the depth of grief and the Divine consolation, interspersed with songs of hope and resurrection.

Summary.—The custom of commemorating the dead belongs to all countries and all times. Among uncivilized races, reverence for the dead is associated with superstitious fear, or with the idea of the impurity of the corpse; those more advanced in moral culture add to it belief in the further life of the double, or soul, of the dead. With most people the tombs—at least those of heroes, saints, and martyrs—have become altars, on which sacrifices and consecrated food, accompanied by prayers, are offered in their honour. It is among Christians that we find the most sublime form of commemoration of the dead—the notion that noble love and faith in Christ, common to both, have formed bonds between the living and the dead which are stronger than death—the 'communion of Saints.' The universality of this piety towards the dead, whatever its ceremonies may be, bears witness to an innate belief in the immortality of the soul. See also the artt. on ANCESTOR-WORSHIP and on the various religions referred to.

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G. BONET-MAURY.

COMMERCE.—1. Application of the term.—'Commerce' is the Eng. form of the Lat. *commercium*, from *con* and *merx*, 'merchandise' (whence *mercari*, 'to trade'). It means literally, therefore, the exchange of merchandise, and has been used especially of this exchange when it takes place on a large scale and between nations. The word, however, is applied with a wider denotation. Indeed, of late there has been a tendency to apply the term to all economic processes involved in the production and distribution of wealth. Thus, Chambers of Commerce include, and are now frequently designed to include, manufacturers; and Faculties of Commerce (*i.e.* departments in Universities devoted to preparing students for a business life) are concerned with all business, so far as it is capable of being studied scientifically, and exclude only matters specifically technological. In spite, however, of this recent inclination to extend the denotation of the term 'commerce,' it may be taken that there is a fairly common agreement that, when employed carefully, it should be confined to economic operations of the nature of buying and selling. Thus, 'commercial' is ordinarily contrasted with 'industrial.' In this sense it will be understood in the present article, and 'trade' and 'commerce' will be regarded as synonymous.

2. Nature and evolution of the 'commercial' function.—Commerce may connect (*a*) producers with consumers proper, (*b*) producers with producers, and (*c*) capital with those requiring it for business purposes. The last class covers banking, financing, and stockbroking; but these, as rather special subjects, will not receive specific treatment in this article. The first class of commerce may be wholesale or retail, and this and the second class may be home or foreign. Commodities used to be distributed commonly through

the agency of dealers and fairs, but fairs had fallen generally into disuse in this country before the end of the 18th century. Now wholesale dealers stand usually between retailers and manufacturers, and place orders with the latter directly or through agents, according to their estimates of the requirements of the retailers. The foreign trade, except in so far as manufacturers conduct their own, is, on the export side, in the hands of 'shippers' and 'merchants.' Importation is directed by agents and wholesale houses. Many manufacturers, but as a rule only large firms, manage for themselves such exportation and importation as are necessary in their business. As regards selling, whether at home or abroad, the manufacturer tries to undertake as much as he can, excluding middlemen, when he turns out a special product which has to win its way against rival specialties, and depends for success upon building up a 'private market.'

Throughout the economic system of any community, industrial and commercial functions are interwoven one with another. The making of anything involves at many stages processes of buying and selling. To render this point clear, and to enable the character of economic evolution to be grasped, it will be advantageous to adopt formulæ. Let capital letters stand for industrial processes, and small letters for commercial. Then generally the making of X, say a suit of clothes, may be represented by a series somewhat like the following, after division of labour has brought about some specialism of business:—(a, A, a^1), (b, B, b^1), (c, C, c^1). The brackets in this example indicate distinct businesses. This formula implies some specialism of businesses, say spinning (a, A, a^1), weaving (b, B, b^1), and the making of clothes (c, C, c^1), but supposes that each business conducts its commercial operations for itself. Now, such a form evidently does not represent the final stage in productive evolution in all cases. In order to facilitate the commercial steps, institutions, such as exchanges, appear, and their appearance is not infrequently followed (under conditions to be defined below) by the specialization of commercial functions as independent businesses. When this happens, our formula must be written:—(a), (A), (a^1, b), (B), (b^1, c), (C), (c). But the specialism is seldom so perfect that no commercial functions are left for manufacturers to perform. Usually the independent commercial man ('agent,' or 'broker,' as he is sometimes called) deals with a person in the manufacturing firm who is responsible for the buying or selling for the business, or both. The condition of the appearance of the independent commercial man, and of the extent to which commercial matters are left solely to him, is the extent to which the market in which businesses must sell is open to all, or is, so to speak, compounded of private markets. By a 'private market' we mean a group of people who have acquired the habit of buying from a certain firm because they believe that its products are best. A firm selling in a 'private market' would not trust the conduct of its sales to a broker who was selling also for similar firms, but would push business through its own travellers, who, in confining themselves to selling, represent a partial differentiation of commercial functions. Many markets are not 'private markets,' which are, perhaps, more peculiar to retail trade. Ordinarily, for instance, the market for pig-iron or cotton yarn is quite open. The qualities of these goods can easily be found out by buyers before they purchase. Hence businesses selling in open markets are in perfect and continuous competition, and, if the market is constituted of very many buyers and sellers, it is comprehensible that intermediaries, in whom demand and supply are pooled, will begin to appear. The goods being of many qualities, and it being the business of the broker to find out where each quality can be bought or sold, and at what price, it will naturally pay the buyer who wants goods of a special quality, or the seller who desires to dispose of goods of a certain quality, to have recourse to the brokers' or agents' special knowledge.

3. Causes and effects of commercial specialism.—Before advancing a stage further, to show how in certain markets an elaborate system arises whereby concentrated speculation is brought about, it will be desirable to consider how such specialism as has been described takes place, and what are its advantages. Adam Smith, in treating of division of labour in manufacture, based it too much, perhaps, upon the instinct in human nature 'to truck and to barter.' Every step in division of labour means economy,—the causes of this economy nobody has more minutely dissected than Adam Smith,—and economy under pressure of competition is sufficient to account for the progressive emergence of specialism. Saving of time, the formation of habits conducive to the end in view, and the induced specialism of machinery have commonly been accentuated among the advantages of specialism. To these is added the possibility of close personal adaptation, as an advantage of very great weight. When tasks are differentiated, a person is more likely to be able to find work which suits his tastes and powers. And there is another and more subtle gain. Competition (*q.v.*) tends to bring about a survival of the fittest at each kind of work in the world. If a man is performing a task compounded of two offices, say A and B, he may survive by virtue of his excellence at A (say buying and selling), though as a works' organizer (task B) he may be comparatively incompetent. He keeps his place if his average efficiency at A and B together is above a certain mark. Now, if A and B differentiate, a person thoroughly inefficient at work B would never be able to maintain his position in the face of more capable competitors. Thus, by specialism, there is encouraged an economic evolution whereby most tends to be evoked from the productive powers of the community.

4. Analysis of the commercial function.—Commercial functions are fundamentally of two orders. The one consists in finding buyers for sellers and sellers for buyers; the other, in assuming and dealing with the risk involved in anticipation of demand. A modern economy, it must be realized, is built upon anticipation of demand. We enter shops expecting to find what we want, that is, assuming that our wants have been anticipated. Shopkeepers must bear many of the risks of anticipating demand, wholesale dealers must carry some also, and the manufacturer is seldom wholly free from them, though, for reasons advanced above, it is desirable that he should be. Economic evolution is bringing about the concentration of these risks upon dealers, and, in so far as the dealing is intermingled with production, largely by means of an organized 'future' market. 'Futures,' in the broadest sense, are of many kinds, including 'futures' proper, 'options,' and 'straddles,' but it is unnecessary here to describe the last two classes, which may be regarded as means of hedging against risks of a special kind. The 'future' proper is a contract to deliver a fixed quantity of a commodity of a certain quality within a limited period at a fixed price. The periods are usually defined by months, and may reach as far as twelve months ahead. As the market price fluctuates and the estimates of brokers vary, they buy or sell 'futures' partly in view of

the contracts which they are actually under to deliver the commodity to which the 'futures' refer.

5. **Effects of speculation by means of 'futures.'**—A controversy has raged for years over the question of the good or harm done by these 'futures.' This is not the place to examine it in detail, but some points may be noted. In the first place, 'futures' concentrate speculation instead of creating it, except in so far as their existence induces the public which need not speculate to do so, and encourages a spirit of gambling. In the second place, they have the advantage of causing a location of risks where they can best be dealt with. Further, prices should be smoothed, so far as business in 'futures' is done by experts, if the experts do not tamper with the market; for the resultant of their anticipations should be more right than wrong, experts being persons of experience acquainted with all the relevant facts. At the same time it is true that the ignorant by gambling must do more harm than good, and may unsteady prices if they act in crowds, under the influence of waves of depression or an unduly sanguine feeling. By tampering with the market is meant (*a*) buying or selling with a view to altering market prices to the end that finally they may be rendered favourable for sales or purchases that have to be made; and (*b*) attempting to create 'corners,' *i.e.* monopolies in certain commodities. There is, unfortunately, no doubt that the developments of financing on a large scale, united with the organized system of exchanges, have led to more tampering with the market; but it is probable that the good effected by the organized market system still exceeds any harm brought about by means of it. The community would gain enormously if tampering with the market and gambling by the inexpert public could be stopped.

6. **Value created by mere trading.**—It used to be thought that both parties to an exchange could not possibly gain. The prevalence of this view partly accounted for the contempt in which mere trade used frequently to be held. The man who bought and sold goods did not add to their quality or quantity. If he had done any carrying work, he should be paid for his trouble, it was thought; but if he received more than fair pay for this, he was obviously robbing somebody. He was, as it were, a brigand intercepting goods and exacting toll. So it was commonly believed. It was not realized until recent times—consider, for instance, the need of Adam Smith's spirited attack on public opinion in the matter of forestalling and regrating corn—that value is not determined solely by the quantity and quality of things. Value is governed also by the use of things, that is, by the satisfaction which they yield directly or indirectly to persons. Persons differ, and their needs differ; and, even if they did not, the use of a thing to a person must vary inversely as the quantity of the thing which he already possesses. Hence the trader, in taking goods from places where they were wanted less to places where they were wanted more, was performing a service over and above carrying. And when he bought and retained goods for a time, so that he carried them over from a time when they were wanted less to a time when they were wanted more, he was performing an important service. Most emphatically what one party to an exchange gains the other party does not normally lose. Normally both gain, and the problem of commerce is so to distribute goods in time and place that the money value of the utility yielded by them may be maximized. It does not follow, of course, from the attainment of this result that the utility derived from them is maximized, since the rich man who wants a thing less may be willing to pay for it a higher price than the poor man who wants it more. Demand price varies not only as the utility of a thing to a person, but also as the utility of the money which he gives for it, and the latter is high if his money income is small.

7. **Ethics of trading.**—The ethics of trading is still a stumbling-block to many, and, indeed, the problems involved are by no means simple. Mere buying and selling to make a profit on the turnover does not at once appeal to us as an honourable occupation. In manufacture, a man may at least aim at excellence in his product, or at excellence of organization and government of his works. He is a captain of industry, and may be a great leader of men; so Carlyle has accustomed us to think of him. His work as ruler is, beyond question, honourable. Or, as artist, he may aim at beauty; or, as artificer, at perfection of means to end. It is not affirmed that all manufacturers do make these ends their objects. Most may think only of profit, and, in so far as they do, they are apt to degrade their work. At least the higher motive may be preached. But the existence of the higher motive is hardly evident in the case of commerce. The commercial man buys and sells in order to make money; and, if he makes money honestly, his function has been successfully performed. He has no army of workers to rule, and no excellence in product to aim at. So the contrast at first strikes us. But further thought will reveal the contrast as surface dissimilarity, hiding deeper resemblances. And, first, we may notice that at any rate traders can confer only benefits (except under unusual circumstances to be considered later) by their successes, though they may seek only their own advantage. The principle of Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* holds of their work. So, at the worst, if evil (or, at any rate, what is not good in itself) be done, good comes of it. Secondly, we should observe that the manufacturer's work is permeated with commercial operations. We have pictured him as marshalling his army to a certain end. But he chooses his army and his end and his material means, and his choice is invariably directed by the principle of economy. The workman, too, in hiring himself out acts as a trader. The choice of a calling is governed by what can be earned at it as well as by taste, and it is right that choice should be so governed. For the leisure of life is as much our life as the time devoted to work, and the use that can be made of leisure depends upon the income which we are in a position to spend on it. So we observe that in making things the trading end is involved.

Next, we may notice that, in trading, the problem to be solved is in essentials not unlike that of manufacturing. Shortly expressed, the manufacturer is called upon to organize factors in production so as to get the greatest quantity of a given result. Similarly, the trader is called upon to organize the relative quantities in which goods are made, and the distribution of goods in space and time, so that they may be productive of the greatest utility. This involves estimating wants and the best means to their satisfaction; finding out where the required goods can be obtained most cheaply; and discovering the least costly routes. There are, indeed, complicated problems to be solved, and it is possible for the trader to take pride in economic solutions. In fact, it would be unusual to find a great man of commerce thinking only, or chiefly, of his fortune. Profit happens to be a test of correctness which he can apply to each step of his action, but his chief interest will lie, as a rule, in the distribution of goods, the opening up of new markets, and the retention of the old, by the exercise of adaptability, foresight, judgment, and appreciation of tendencies. The deeper we look,

the more evident it becomes that all engaged in economic undertakings—manufacturers and traders—are on the same plane, and that each has an excellence to aim at as much as the artist or the mathematician.

8. Principles of payment for commercial work.—Intimately connected with the ethics of trade is the question of the amount of remuneration which the trader gets for his services. Though there would appear to be chaos in this matter, investigation reveals somewhat the same order ruling as that which governs the pay of other agents engaged in creating and distributing the wealth of the world. If the trader makes a great deal, it is clear that there is considerable need for his services. He makes a great deal, because goods are badly disposed in time and place, and are not being produced in those relative quantities which are most serviceable. The effect of his earning so high an income is to attract other persons into the particular business of trading in which he is engaged, and the competition of the newcomers for the work to be done reduces the profits of those already in the business. This process continues until the normal remuneration of the trader is brought down to the level earned in similar callings requiring the same sort of capacity and training, and entailing about the same risk. We may suppose that at different expected incomes different numbers of suitable people will be forthcoming, the number increasing as the income increases, because by the attractiveness of the higher income persons who otherwise would have chosen other courses are induced to enter the walks of commerce. Thus, we may affirm that the demand for the work of the trader and the supply of traders forthcoming settle the amount of money per year which each can earn. So far, we have been speaking of the man of commerce of average intelligence working with normal energy. But traders, like men in other callings, differ considerably in intelligence, gifts for their work, vigour, perseverance, and industry, and their incomes vary according to these differences. The incomes earned above the ordinary income are of the nature of rent, varying as the excess of efficiency of the person in question over the efficiency of the ordinary person, just as true rent of agricultural land varies as the fertility of land. These statements, it should be borne in mind, must not be interpreted as implying perfect orderliness in human affairs. Chance, of course, plays a large part in business as in all human affairs. Luck may elevate the incapable, and it is far from being wholly inaccurate to allege that in business 'to him that hath shall be given.' Further, it must be observed that the value of the sum-total of the work done by traders is far in excess of the amount of pay which they can secure.

9. Unsuitability of the military metaphors applied to international trade.—We shall now examine those large trading operations which take place between nations, and to which the term 'Commerce' is sometimes exclusively confined. In the discussion which follows, the governing principles of international trade will be brought out, and it will be made apparent that supremacy in respect of the export of any one thing need not imply superiority in the manufacture of that thing; further, that, if supremacy be measured by the quantity of foreign trade per head of the population, it by no means follows that this indicates the prosperity of a country. Military metaphors when applied to foreign trade have always resulted in mischievous fallacies. 'Conquering a market' is a phrase which gives some idea of what takes place, but it hides the peculiarity of all trading operations, namely, that a 'victory' must be accompanied by a defeat of the victors of corresponding magnitude. In other words, we sell for value and not for nothing, and the value returned to us for our exports must ultimately be our imports. That is, if we conquer a new market and export a million more in value, we must eventually suffer a conquest in the same degree of one of our home markets and import a million more. It is best to enter upon a study of foreign trade with a mind free from plausible metaphors.

10. Why the theory of international trade differs from the theory of home trade.—The real reason why there is a distinct theory of international trade is that labour and capital are comparatively immobile as between two countries. It must not be supposed that complete immobility of labour or capital has to be assumed: the distinct theory is needed if the mobility is insufficient to bring about exchange throughout the world according to real costs of production, as we know it is. It should be observed that the immobility of capital is not nearly so great as that of labour, though it is true that a British capitalist is exceedingly chary about trusting his money to foreign industries carried on in places where he cannot watch them, and under laws and customs which he does not understand. It would seem, however, that the attractions of international stocks, combined with improved credit, the spread of information, and increased travel, which is breaking down distrust of foreigners, have been responsible for an enormous access of mobility to capital in the last quarter of a century.

11. Theory of international trade.—Trade between one nation and others is determined by the ratios between the costs of production of commodities in that country in relation to similar ratios in other countries. If these ratios differ, trade begins. This is known as the theory of comparative costs. Equilibrium, or a state of rest in trade, is finally reached where (*a*) ratios of exchange in all countries are the same (apart from cost of transport), and (*b*) each country's exports and imports exactly balance (apart from foreign loans, their repayment and interest upon them, the expenditure of travellers abroad, provision of fleets abroad, and certain other disturbing features which need not be dwelt upon here), both being valued according to the ratios of exchange established in the course of trade. In these two propositions the kernel of the whole theory of foreign commerce lies.

12. Paradoxes of foreign commerce.—From the theory of foreign trade under conditions of competition here expounded, for the first principles of which we are indebted to Ricardo, some important practical corollaries may be deduced. The first of these, to which attention has already been drawn, is that a country may be beaten in its home markets by goods from abroad which the home country could manufacture for itself at a lower real cost. England might possess exceptional advantages for the manufacture of steel with which German advantages in the same respect could not compare, and yet English steel might be undersold in England by German steel. The explanation might be somewhat as follows: that England enjoyed even greater relative facilities for the manufacture of cottons which she exported to Germany, and Germany, having to pay in something, found it cheapest to pay in steel. The next corollary is perhaps even more paradoxical. It may be expressed as twofold. On the one hand, we have the proposition that countries of the greatest efficiency do not necessarily enjoy the most trade per head of the population; on the other is the unexpected truth that the progress of a country—progress we mean in productive efficiency—may diminish that country's foreign trade. Lengthy

proofs of these two propositions are hardly necessary. Foreign trade, we have seen, depends upon the ratios between costs of production in a country in relation to these ratios in other countries. Evidently it does not necessarily follow that the country with the lowest real costs of production has the ratios between them creative of most trade per head; and evidently progress, the elevation of a country's productive power in the manufacture of certain goods, might destroy some of the existing differences between the sets of ratios which underlay the trade, and so sweep away a certain amount of it. If this conclusion be correct, it must be true also that decadence may increase a country's trade per head. We must add, however, after emphasizing this corollary, that what it points to as possible is not probable. Usually industrial advance means more trade; and the public is not wholly wrong, therefore, when it looks to the Board of Trade returns of imports and exports as to a barometer of prosperity.

13. **Advantages of international commerce.**—The economic advantages of foreign commerce have already been indicated to some extent. By exchange on a rational basis the utility of goods is enhanced. Moreover, people are enabled not only to obtain more cheaply what they could get directly but at a higher cost, but also to enjoy goods which they could not otherwise procure at all. But the direct economic advantages do not by any means exhaust the benefits derived from foreign trade. There are others equally important, and these we could not describe in more appropriate language than that of J. S. Mill:

'But the economical advantages of commerce are surpassed in importance by those of its effects which are intellectual and moral. It is hardly possible to overrate the value, in the present low state of human improvement, of placing human beings in contact with persons dissimilar to themselves, and with modes of thought and action unlike those with which they are familiar. Commerce is now, what war once was, the principal source of this contact. Commercial adventurers from more advanced countries have generally been the first civilizers of barbarians. And commerce is the purpose of the far greater part of the communication which takes place between civilized nations. Such communication has always been, and is peculiarly in the present age, one of the primary sources of progress. To human beings, who, as hitherto educated, can scarcely cultivate even a good quality without running it into a fault, it is indispensable to be perpetually comparing their own notions and customs with the experience and example of persons in different circumstances from themselves: and there is no nation which does not need to borrow from others, not merely particular arts or practices, but essential points of character in which its own type is inferior. Finally, commerce first taught nations to see with good-will the wealth and prosperity of one another. Before, the patriot, unless sufficiently advanced in culture to feel the world his country, wished all countries weak, poor, and ill-governed, but his own: he now sees in their wealth and progress a direct source of wealth and progress to his own country. It is commerce which is rapidly rendering war obsolete, by strengthening and multiplying the personal interests which are in natural opposition to it. And it may be said without exaggeration, that the great extent and rapid increase of international trade, in being the principal guarantee of the peace of the world, is the great permanent security for the uninterrupted progress of the ideas, the institutions, and the character of the human race' (*Polit. Econ.* bk. iii. ch. xvii. § 5).

14. **Effects of import and export duties.**—The theory of the incidence of import and export duties is elaborate and involved; we must confine ourselves here in consequence to broad results only. The reader may find it helpful to conceive of such duties as additions made to the cost of transport exacted by the parties imposing the duties. All of them obviously must, as a rule, diminish the disadvantages which accrue from foreign trade, because they check exchanging, and exchanging in almost all cases results in advantage. In certain very unlikely circumstances a country may throw all the loss on to the foreigner, and perhaps gain a little from the foreigner in addition. Usually, however, both countries, the one imposing the duties and the one subject to them, will share in the loss in varying degrees according to the state of trade.

15. **Commercial policies.**—Commercial policies refer to the attempts of Governments to encourage, curtail, or direct foreign trade. The first system which appeared is known as the Mercantile system, but the Mercantile system must not be regarded as a perfectly definite and coherent scheme of means for attaining certain ends agreed upon as desirable. The ends changed from time to time, and the popularity of the several means waxed and waned. Again, it is not easy to date the beginnings of the Mercantile system. Ideas which most would class as belonging to it were acted upon in the Middle Ages. It had not attained full vigour, however, or reached the dignity of a policy for general attack or defence, until the 17th century. This is readily comprehensible when we remember that it relates largely to foreign trade, and that foreign trade did not form any large part of the economic activities of the world until the 16th century. It was this century which witnessed both the direct opening up of the East from North-Western Europe, and the exploitation of the New World. Many nations were drawn into the new enterprises, notably the Dutch, French, Spaniards, Portuguese, and English, and the Mercantile system was in no slight degree an embodiment of national ideas as to what the relations between nations thus competing with each other should be. There was an industrial side to it also, but upon this we shall lay little stress in the present article.

16. **Essentials of Mercantilism.**—Broadly regarded, Mercantilism, in its most sensible form, was concerned with the utilization and regulation of foreign trade in the interests of national wealth and power. The sacrifice of wealth to power was sometimes entailed. It was thought undesirable that a country should become too dependent for necessities upon other countries; this partially explains the prohibitions and checks on the imports of certain commodities which competed against the products of staple home industries. Specially associated with Mercantilism is the theory of the Balance of Trade. It was held advantageous, according to this theory, to encourage exports and discourage imports on the ground chiefly that the difference would be paid for in bullion, and that it was beneficial to a country to contain much bullion. Bullion was necessary to carry on war, and, as Roscher has pointed out, a country with a high level of prices would have an advantage in war-time not only because it would be easier to raise a given sum by taxation to be spent abroad, but also because an invading army would find it more costly to maintain itself in such a country. There is no doubt, however, that Adam Smith was right in declaring that, apart from military considerations, too much importance was attached by Mercantilists to bullion as wealth, though he overstates the importance of the point. The relative imperishability of bullion, which rendered it so suitable for saving, probably accounted, to some extent, for the absurd estimation in which it was held. Adam Smith rightly insisted that Mercantilism was associated with distorted notions of wealth. We find the same distortion of ideas apart from the attitude towards bullion. There was a tendency to regard solid, lasting things, which ministered to elementary needs,—hardware and woollens, for instance,—as intrinsically more valuable than luxuries and things demolished in a single process of consumption, such as wines and silk and lace. The Methuen treaty with Portugal was no doubt popular in discouraging the French trade, because that trade brought luxuries into the country, as well as because the balance of

trade with France was unfavourable. Into this matter of the estimation of value the notions underlying sumptuary regulations may have worked their way; and if the Mercantilists were, by implication, illogical, they were not without some show of justification for the plans which they pursued. One group of Mercantilists have gained the name of 'Bullionists,' because they believed in regulations directly relating to trade involving bullion. Their ideas were acted upon to some extent. Prohibition of the exportation of bullion was not uncommon, and sometimes it was required that goods sent abroad should be paid for partly in bullion. By laws stamped with the notions of the bullionists, England's trade with the East was cramped. Their mistakes, as regarded even from a mercantile point of view, were pointed out by Mun in his *Discourse of Trade from England into the East Indies*[2] (1621), and *Enlgand's Treasure by Foreign Trade* (1664, posthumous). He argued that exporting bullion to buy East Indian goods was but casting bread upon the waters, for it was found again, after many days, in augmented bulk, since the East Indian goods brought to the country could be sold abroad for much more bullion than they had cost. Again, there was another little group of politico-economic thinkers who advocated the theory known as that of the particular balance of trade. They believed in overhauling the nation's trade piece-meal, and discouraging that with the countries with which our balance was unfavourable. They overlooked that payment could be made to us through a third country, and that by discouragement of trade with such countries discouragement of the same weight was indirectly imposed on the nations with which our trade was favourable.

These being the characteristics of Mercantilism, we can understand the popularity of import duties and the rarity of export duties. Checks on the export of commodities were resorted to only when it was thought that the export would result in enhancing the value of another nation's export and depreciating ours. The Mercantilists, all will agree, were misled frequently by surface appearances, and failed too often to follow to their ultimate issue the reactions set up by prohibition, which is not astonishing in view of the undeveloped state then of economic science. Bounties on exports were not uncommon under Mercantilist domination, but there is reason to suppose that they were never so popular as import duties. The former led, it is true, to the same results as regards the balance of trade, but they cost the State money instead of bringing money into the treasury. Further, import duties created additional satisfaction, by protecting home industries. When import duties were charged, drawbacks (*i.e.* repayments of the duties if the goods were re-exported) were common.

17. Navigation Acts.—In connexion with Mercantilism we must not overlook the Navigation Acts. The English Navigation Acts discouraged the use of foreign shipping so far as English trade was concerned. Their provisions varied in detail from time to time. They were imposed with the object (*a*) of building up the fleet, and (*b*) of creating for England what had patently proved a rich mine of wealth for the Dutch. It is generally believed that the Navigation Acts greatly damaged the Dutch carrying trade; but the Dutch, notwithstanding, were still, according to Adam Smith, the greatest carriers in the world at the time when the *Wealth of Nations* was being written. Akin to the Navigation Laws was the herring bounty. In consequence of this, Adam Smith says, smacks put out to catch the bounty instead of fish. That they did so proves the efficacy of the bounty, which was aimed at creating a race of seamen for the use of the Navy and the Mercantile Marine.

18. Chartered Trading Companies.—There are two other noteworthy aspects of Mercantilism or systems associated with it. The one is the pushing of commerce by Chartered Companies; the other, the so-called Colonial system. Groups of merchants were given privileges in respect of trade with certain places. In this way nearly the whole trading world was mapped out. The 17th cent. was the golden age of these Companies, which were really monopolists of commerce. The Companies were of two kinds, the regulated and the joint-stock. In the former, any trader could take part provided that he conformed to the rules and regulations of the Company, and paid its dues. In the latter, a capital was subscribed, and out of this alone were the trading ventures conducted. The regulated Companies were evidently the least restrictive. Whether our commerce owes much to these Trading Companies or not is a moot point—at any rate, we owe to them India. On the one hand, it is urged that commerce with backward countries could not have been opened up without large expenditure of capital, which the Companies alone could find; that the risks and dangers were too great for individuals; that the admittedly enormous expansion of foreign trade in the 17th cent. was due to them. On the other hand, it is contended that ventures by powerful Chartered Companies led to an undesirable intermingling of the idea of trade with that of establishing empire over savage lands, which was productive of endless international troubles, and that trade was expanding in the 17th cent. and the Companies restrained it by monopolizing it. Whatever truth there is in the last contention as regards early days, it is certain that, before the system was demolished, the case of the so-called 'interlopers' was proved up to the hilt.

19. Colonial system.—The Colonial system consisted in the preservation of Colonies as estates to be worked for the profit of the mother country. In general, certain commodities, known as the 'enumerated,' were not to be exported elsewhere than to the home country; and among the enumerated were not only war stores, but such articles as the home country desired to get cheap for itself, when no home industry would be thereby threatened, and those out of a monopoly of which it might hope to make a handsome profit. Even the prohibition of certain industries in the Colonies was resorted to as a protection of home industries, and the Colonies were not allowed to buy freely from foreign countries. Thus the Colonies—rightly known in many instances as plantations, for they were regarded as private estates to be worked in the interests of their owner, the home country—were rendered cheap sources of supply and private close markets for the home country. The home country did not become a mother country, properly termed, till the Colonies began to be thought of as national expansions for which sacrifices might be made. The new conception was at work beneath the surface even when the Colonial system seemed outwardly to be flourishing in full vigour.

20. Downfall of Mercantilism.—The whole impressive edifice of Mercantilism was shattered in a shorter time than Adam Smith, its great opponent, dared to think humanly possible. Political convulsions in France gave a stimulus to individualism, and in England the Industrial Revolution meant a series of changes so rapid and bewildering that appropriate regulations could not be drafted, and could not have been made sufficiently adaptable if they had been drafted. In the latter country,

before the *Wealth of Nations* had been half a century in the hands of the public, a violent reaction, full of impatience at all restraint, left little standing of the fabric erected by the economic statecraft of the generations preceding it.

21. **Protection.**—The next commercial policy which holds a place in history as a commercial system arose on the Continent and in the United States of America, out of a desire to resist the triumphant industrialism which in England had burst out of the narrow channels in which economic activities had previously been confined. It represented the re-assertion of nationalism against cosmopolitanism in economic affairs, and stood for the industrial development of the backward countries even at a cost. Its exponent best known to fame is Friedrich List. Its classical argument relates to the need for protecting infant industries. English conditions could hardly afford it a footing,—though agriculture could offer some plausible reasons for protection,—but it proved victorious amongst aspiring nations, who saw their small industries feebly sustaining, it would seem, the competition of England. List's National system was commonly carried out to the second stage, that of protecting industries; but to the third step, the removal of tariff barriers, there is still general aversion. This fact points to one weakness of the system, which is a weakness due wholly to popular political forces. It has more than once proved futile to attempt the removal of protection by gradual steps, in view of the see-saw of political affairs and the fact that even a small reduction of duties must, as a rule, result in some small economic convulsion; and drastic action might mean a more serious shock than any statesman would be prepared to risk. Apart from this difficulty, a careful investigation of the plea for protecting infant industries reveals arguments for and against. There are cases in which infant industries would flourish without protection, and cases in which they would not; but protection should certainly hasten industrial development. It would not be desirable for international division of labour to be carried to such an extreme that some countries would be confined to a narrow economic life, providing little else than food or raw materials for other countries; but it must not be assumed that in the absence of protection it would be carried to this extreme.

22. **Fair Trade, retaliation, and reciprocity.**—The third commercial policy to appear, which, however, has been of far less prominence, and has never advanced beyond the phase of advocacy in this country, sprang up in England out of Protectionist sentiment fortified by the disappointment of many half-hearted Free Traders at the continued and increasing Protectionism of other countries. It coincided with the rapid rise of Germany as an industrial power after the Franco-German War. Its advocates ask for 'Fair Trade.' They grant that universal Free Trade would be best for all, but argue that a Free Trade country in the midst of Protectionist rivals must lose. Their position has been attacked, but into the technical *minutiæ* of the points debated we cannot now enter. Associated with the Fair Trade movement was a plea for a flank attack on Protection with the weapons of Protection, *i.e.* for retaliation. Such open tariff wars as have taken place have damaged heavily all parties engaged in them; but the fear of retaliation may, of course, keep restrictions on commerce within bounds. Reciprocity is different from retaliation in that it proceeds by mutual concession; but in the tariff bargaining which has taken place of late, it has been hardly distinguishable in essentials from the more overtly bellicose methods. Reciprocity may be of great service as an aid to the establishment of Free Trade in securing concessions from foreign countries. It was employed in the Cobden-Chevalier treaty of 1860. It can be applied again between Protectionist countries when they are making their new tariffs, provided that each starts by putting forward as a basis for bargaining the tariff which it genuinely wants. When commercial treaties between such countries were first negotiated, no doubt this was done; but there is a prevailing suspicion to-day that the first drafts of tariffs are in part bogus documents intended to threaten, and that therefore retaliation is smothering reciprocity, each nation in effect saying what damage it is prepared to inflict if its wishes are not met. In connexion with retaliation and reciprocity, it should be noted that the most-favoured-nation clause is universally conceded to Free Trade nations. This clause, as hitherto interpreted, declares that no country's goods shall be treated more favourably than those of the Free Trade country. It ensures an important advantage to the Free Trade country. It has been pointed out, however, that a Free Trade country might in effect be discriminated against, if tariffs were made so detailed that the peculiar qualities of goods which it and it alone exported in bulk could be taxed at a rate exceptionally high in comparison with the duties on other qualities which competed with the former to some extent, but in which the Free Trade country did not specialize. Certain persons have of late contended that the most-favoured-nation clause ought to refer only to the duties which apply generally, and not to those lower ones applying to countries which have secured reduction by giving reduction as a *quid pro quo.* Such an interpretation of the most-favoured-nation clause would greatly reduce its value.

23. **Colonial preference.**—The present time has seen in Great Britain the promulgation of yet another distinguishable proposal for altering our commercial system, but, as it is still a matter of political controversy, it cannot be examined at all fully in an article which aims at furnishing an account of commercial policies uncoloured by bias. It must, however, be shortly sketched, especially as it presents certain new features which bear upon the theory of trade expounded above. In the forefront of the new scheme stands the idea of a Colonial Empire on an economic foundation. It is claimed that the bonds uniting the mother country and her Colonies would be tightened if trade within the Colonial Empire were accorded advantages not enjoyed by other commerce touching any of its shores. Opposition has run along two lines. Some persons admit a probable gain, but contend that the cost of getting it would be too great, as a departure from Free Trade in the matter of England's relations with all outside countries would be involved. Others deny the gain even apart from cost. They dwell upon possibilities of quarrels within the Empire over business matters which cannot now arise, and argue that, unless the preference is to be practically valueless to England, the industrial development of the Colonies must be retarded. A subordinate idea attached to the scheme is that a tariff once created will afford a basis for bargaining, that is, render the policy of reciprocity again possible for this country. The third element in the scheme is protection against 'dumped goods,' the necessity of which is urged apart from all other considerations. This is a wholly novel idea, to which some attention must now be devoted.

24. **Dumping.**—It is said that Trust and *Kartell* organization has gone so far that the production of certain important commodities now rests in the

hands of monopolists in some countries. These monopolists find that it pays (*a*) to sell surpluses abroad, that is, anything of the product left over when, the home demand having been gauged, it has been determined what quantity it will pay best to sell at home on the understanding that the remainder realizes something below the existing foreign price abroad; and (*b*) even to produce a surplus to sell abroad below its cost of production, because by making it a saving is realized in the cost of production of every unit of the output owing to increasing returns. It must be admitted at once that theoretically both these courses are possible, and that the first, and perhaps the second to some slight extent, have been pursued. The dumped goods, the argument continues, come naturally to this Free Trade country, and disturb British industries. The reply of opponents is (*a*) that dumping is insignificant in comparison with trade of an ordinary kind, and that its effect is practically negligible; (*b*) that this country gains the cheap dumped goods—but it should be noticed as regards the second reply, that they are not very cheap, as they need not be sold for appreciably less than English goods; (*c*) that the dumped goods could not be distinguished from others of the same sort, and that, therefore, duties on all of the sort would be necessary, which would mean enormous loss and would largely fail in their object, since, *ex hypothesi*, the dumped goods can be sold at a lower price than goods not dumped; and (*d*) that the dangers of protection would be incurred and the advantages of the most-favoured-nation clause cast away. It should be added that the opposition also urges the incompatibility of the three schemes of which the plan is compounded. These are the salient points of the proposed new commercial policy and of the controversy taking place over it. It goes without saying that many arguments, both bad and indifferent, are being used on both sides, and that a recrudescence of other commercial policies has accompanied the promulgation of the new scheme.

LITERATURE.—On subjects so wide as those covered by the survey above the literature is most voluminous. This note on authorities must, therefore, include less than would ordinarily constitute even a very select bibliography. A good realistic and comparative anatomy of commerce has yet to be written, but certain works on special industries exist in which analysis is made of commercial functions and their relations to industrial functions. Of these the present writer's *Lancashire Cotton Industry* (1904) and J. H. Clapham's *Woollen and Worsted Industries* (1907) may be mentioned. Many of the most important generalizations relating to the operation of commercial functions in production will be found in A. Marshall's *Principles of Economics*, vol. i. (last ed. 1907). All other standard works on Political Economy give some account of the subject. The most realistic of these among modern productions are J. S. Nicholson's *Principles of Polit. Econ.*, 3 vols. (1893-1901); G. Schmoller's *Grundriss der allg. Volkswirtschaftslehre* (vol. i. 1901, and vol. ii. 1904), and P. P. Leroy-Beaulieu's *Traité d'écon. politique*, 4 vols. (1896). Useful articles will also be found in J. Conrad, *HWB der Staatswissenschaften*[2] (1898–1901). G. F. Emery's *Stock and Produce Exchanges* (1896) might also be consulted.

The theory of foreign trade as first enunciated will be found in D. Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817). It is further elaborated in J. S. Mill's *Political Economy* (1848). A discussion of the various theoretical points involved will be found in three articles by Edgeworth in the *Economic Journal*, 1894. Useful books on the subject are Bastable's *International Trade* (1887) and *Commerce of Nations* (1892).

The development of commercial policies may be read in the Economic histories of Cunningham (1895) and Ashley (1888-93); J. A. Blanqui's *Hist. of Polit. Econ. in Europe* (1837 and 1842; Eng. tr. 1880), Schmoller's work already mentioned, W. A. S. Hewins' *Eng. Trade and Finance in the 17th Century* (1892), and J. R. Seeley's *Expansion of England* (1883). Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and F. List's *National System of Polit. Econ.* (1841; Eng. tr. 1885) ought not to be omitted. On the Free Trade question the material is legion.

S. J. CHAPMAN.

COMMON SENSE (Gr. κοινὴ αἴσθησις; Lat. *sensus communis*; It. *senso commune*; Ger. *Gemeinsinn*; Fr. *sens commun*.—(1) According to Aristotle, common sense is that department of the soul to which he assigned (*a*) the power of discriminating and comparing the data of the special senses, all of which are in communication with it; (*b*) the perception of the 'common sensibles' (τὰ κοινά), of which the principal are movement and rest, shape, magnitude, number; (*c*) the consciousness of perception; (*d*) the faculty of imagination; and (*e*) the faculty of memory (*de Anima*. iii. 1, 425a, 15; 2, 425b, 12). (2) Ordinary or normal understanding, rational intelligence; in a higher degree, good sound sense, practical ability and sagacity. (3) These qualities objectively regarded as embodied in the human community in the form of universal feeling or judgment; that body of opinion and belief regulating theory and practice which each one finds already existing in the community into which he is born. (4) The alleged faculty of primary truths; the full complement of those alleged fundamental intellectual and moral principles which we can only receive as self-evident truths belonging to man's original constitution, by which he tests the truth of that which he knows and the morality of that which he does; the same regarded as furnishing a complete philosophical system, principally represented by Scottish thinkers (see the art. SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY), called the Philosophy of Common Sense, based on the immediate intuition by all men of self, not-self, and certain intellectual and moral principles as self-evident truths.

The term first appears as a *terminus technicus* in the sense of (1), (above). It is for Aristotle the distinguishing and comparing faculty, since things compared must be brought before a single judging function at the same time. In virtue of its perception of movement we perceive all the other 'common sensibles,' and by means of it we perceive the fact of our perceiving, and have imagination and memory. Common Sense (sometimes 'Inner Sense') came then to stand for the faculty of perceiving what was common to the perceptions of sense, and especially one's own experiences.

Thus Thomas Aquinas: 'Sensus interior non dicitur communis per praedicationem, sicut genus, sed sicut communis radix, et principium exteriorum sensuum' (*de Post. An.* 4); Leibniz: 'Sens interne, où les perceptions de ces différents sens externes se trouvent réunies' (ed. Gerhardt, Berlin and Halle, 1849–63, vi. 501); Locke: 'the notice which the mind takes of its own operations'; Wolf: 'Mens etiam sibi conscia est earum quae in ipsa contingunt . . . se ipsam percipit sensu quodam interno' (*Philosophia rationalis*, 1728, p. 31); Kant: 'Der innere Sinn, vermittelst dessen das Gemüt sich selbst oder seinen inneren Zustand anschaut, gibt zwar keine Anschauung von der Seele selbst als einem Objekt, allein es ist doch eine bestimmte Form unter der die Anschauung ihres inneren Zustandes allein möglich ist, so dass alles, was zu den inneren Bestimmungen gehört, in Verhältnissen der Zeit vorgestellt wird' (*Krit. der reinen Vernunft*, p. 50 f.).

Thus Common Sense became an 'internal' sense, which was regarded as the bond and focus of the five 'external' senses by which the various impressions received were reduced to the unity of a common consciousness. Modern psychology treats the subject under Perception, Self-Consciousness, Apperception, and Attention (*qq.v.*).

In the sense of (3), (above), Common Sense has been used as a basis for metaphysical theory and ethical investigation, and has developed into (4) in the systems of some thinkers. Thus Aristotle held that, since the first principles of morals could be got neither by induction nor by perception, inasmuch as human action implies a choice between alternatives, we must attend to the statements and beliefs of the elderly and experienced, who have developed the *habit* of doing the right thing and have got an eye for it (*Nic. Eth.* 1143b). Thus also, in seeking the definition of the Good for man, Aristotle begins by taking his premisses from the beliefs of the many and wise, though he subjects these to scrutiny (Burnet, *Ethics of Aristotle*, 1904, pp. xxxviii, xli).

From such a start the transition to Intuitionism has proved easy in practice. Sidgwick practically identifies the morality of Common Sense with Intuitionism, holding that the affinity between Utilitarianism and Intuitionism is much greater than that between Universalistic and Egoistic Hedonism. Of course, no thinker may disregard the thought concrete in the world as he finds it; but his reflexion must enable him far to transcend the stage represented by the common consciousness. This seems more obvious and easy on epistemological than on practical points. The Common Sense theory of knowledge of the plain man probably contains little to give the philosopher pause other than its unwavering conviction of the independent reality of the not-self. But the objective standard of right must unquestionably be that which commends itself to the common sense of mankind. Where it seems to deviate from that, it must have the support of the most cultured and experienced among men, and thus merely await universal recognition. It must clearly be held that the meaning and end of human activity have to some extent embodied themselves in the 'facts' of moral life, while at the same time it ought to be recognized that these facts are not without a measure of fluidity and mutability. The conception of Evolution at first seemed disastrous to the conception of a moral standard; it has only overthrown the prejudice that this exists in its absolute form at any given moment in the conscience of man, which is probably best regarded, with Green, as the recognition by subjective reason of the objective reason embodied in the structure of society. Now, while it seems going too far to maintain that human society presents the final and perfect system of relationship into which self-conscious personalities are capable of entering, it may remain trne that such an absolute system is immanent in the less perfect one we know—immanent as an idea —and that men have a faculty of recognizing and establishing it as it progressively reveals itself.

Common sense may generally be trusted on ordinary questions of conduct, but it is an unreliable judge of those exceptional cases which have, after all, the greatest influence on moral development. Never explicitly hedonistic or egoistic, it represents an effort on the part of men to render life increasingly tolerable by the poising of counterbalancing weights of egoistic and altruistic impulse: 'In our science and in our common-sense judgment of things, in our moral convictions and in the instinctive ethics of conduct . . . we live on an indefinite capital of work done in the past' (Lotze, *Microcosmus*, Eng. tr. [1885], i. 641).

The so-called Philosophy of Common Sense was a movement of real philosophical importance. It is true that there is a certain appeal in it throughout to vulgar common sense; but it represents an effort to transcend, while yet embracing, beliefs shared with the unphilosophical majority by the philosopher, who thus seeks to bring the common human element of his intellectual life into consistency with the specifically philosophic. The Anglo-Hegelian School, with its brilliant teachers, seemed to have put an end to the sober speculations of the School of Common Sense; but time brings its revenges, and it may be that much that these thinkers stood for will be more clearly, energetically, and successfully represented in our own times by those thinkers who recognize that Cognition is a direct relation of the mind to the Universe, and who resist any interpretation of knowledge which would make it appear to grow through a purely internal development, while they insist on the relative independence of objects apprehended, and the immense part played in knowledge by immediacy, however that be interpreted. The reader may be referred generally to recent volumes of *Mind* for apposite discussions; and it may be hinted, in conclusion, that the modern Realists may yet prove among the most formidable antagonists of Pragmatism, and antagonists whom the Pragmatists are perhaps not, as yet, fully equipped to encounter.

LITERATURE.—John I. Beare, *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition*, Oxford, 1906; Aristotle, *Ethics* (there is an Eng. ed. by Peters, London, 1891); Andrew Seth, *Scottish Philosophy*, Edinburgh, 1890; Hamilton's *Discussions*, London, 1852, and Notes to his ed. of Reid's works; Sidgwick, *Methods of Ethics*5, London, 1893, and 'The Philosophy of Common Sense,' *Mind*, new ser., vol. iv., 1895, p. 145; G. F. Stout, 'Are Presentations mental or physical?,' *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, London, 1909; H. A. Prichard, *Kant's Theory of Knowledge*, Oxford, 1909.

DAVID MORRISON.

COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD.

Primitive.—See ANCESTOR-WORSHIP, STATE OF THE DEAD.
Chinese (W. G. WALSHE), p. 728.
Christian (G. BONET MAURY), p. 732.
Muslim (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 733.
Persian (E. LEHMANN), p. 736.

COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Chinese). —I. *BELIEFS UNDERLYING THE CONCEPTION.*— The Chinese conception of the after life, or 'dark world,' as it is called, is that it is a replica of the 'bright' or present world—the negative side, of which mundane existence is the positive. The denizens of the 'shades' are supposed to occupy positions similar to those they held when on earth. The deceased Emperor still exercises authority, but over a realm of spirits; the sometime judge administers justice in a ghostly tribunal. The idea is evidently based upon the belief that life persists beyond the term of its exhibition in a physical environment, and that those who have taken a high place in the upper world, whether by virtue of noble birth or great attainments, cannot be relegated to immediate obscurity or unemployment in the post-mortem state. The conviction is also strengthened by the supposition of a heavenly origin of the race, which is traceable in the expression 'reverted to heaven,' commonly applied to the dead, and in the term 'Son of Heaven,' adopted by the Emperor, whose immediate ancestors are supposed to occupy a place at the court of the Supreme Being, and whose remote origin is traced to kinship with the Deity (cf. 'The Book of Odes,' where the beginning of the Shang dynasty [1766 B.C.] is traced to a black bird, *i.e.* swallow, sent down from heaven; and the Chow dynasty is said to have originated from the lady Kiang-yuen [2435 B.C.], who is represented as having trod on a footstep of the Divinity, and conceived, giving birth to How-tsi, afterwards deified as 'patron of agriculture,' and worshipped as an 'associate of God'). A hint is here afforded as to the meaning of the title 'Associate (or 'Mate') of Heaven,' which is frequently applied in later history to Emperors and sages. It seems to imply not only a traditional descent from the Deity, but also the fact that the life-work of such worthies was a fulfilment of the Divine will—they were 'fellow-workers with God'—and that their labours were not wholly suspended when they themselves were called to a higher sphere; they were still regarded as assisting God in the great scheme of His providential government of the world. Other instances

might be quoted; *e.g.* Yen-lo, the god of Hades, originally a just and perspicacious judge, who, after death, was appointed to the office of judge of the infernal regions; and the great warrior Kwan-ti, afterwards apotheosized as the 'god of war.'

It would appear, however, that, in the majority of cases, the bounds of active existence in that world are limited as in this; *i.e.*, just as a living man may be reasonably expected to enjoy three generations of mundane existence before he passes into the shadowy realm of the dead, so, after a similar period of three generations of spiritual existence, he passes away into the unknown, the 'ghostly state,' of which no clue is obtainable, and no theory is permissible. In neither case, however, is he quite forgotten, for even the 'long departed' are remembered in the filial offerings of their descendants, though the nearer ancestors, as is natural, figure more prominently in the thoughts of the worshipper.

The dead, therefore, are regarded as really existing, for the time being, in the world of spirits. They have become 'guests on high.' Heaven is their home, but they are free to come and go as they please, so that their actual location at any given moment is uncertain. They may be present when the ancestral rites are being performed, occupying the 'spirit throne' or 'ancestral tablet,' but of this the celebrant cannot be assured; his duty is to act as if they were actually and consciously present, though no tangible indication be afforded him. Their function is, as already stated, to serve God; and in the pursuit of their vocation they take an active interest in the affairs of their own immediate descendants on earth, on whose behalf they act as mediators with the Deity. Their powers have not become attenuated by the process of disembodiment, but rather augmented by the ghostly attributes to which they have succeeded; and their position and influence have increased by virtue of the fact that they have risen above all the surviving members of the family in the scale of seniority—the most natural basis of authority under the patriarchal system which obtains in China—and are now Patriarchs of the Patriarchs. They are thus credited with greater or lesser powers, according to their station, of inviting blessings or calamities upon their descendants in return for the services which the latter are prepared to render or withhold. The spirits of those, however, who in life egregiously failed in their duty, are not regarded as possessing any influence in the spirit world, and are not supposed to occupy a place in the realm of heaven; like the spirits of those who have left no posterity, or who have been forgotten by their remote descendants, they are relegated to the 'uncovenanted mercies' of the 'ghostly state.'

In this connexion it may be stated that not all the ancestors are regarded as enjoying equal dignity; there comes a time when the more distant ones give way to the newer arrivals; the ancestors of a dynasty which has come to an end are replaced in the highest positions of dignity by those of the new line of rulers. Five representatives of the present Manchu dynasty occupy the chief places in the national Temple of Ancestors; the others have retired to comparative obscurity, but are not altogether forgotten, a place being reserved for them amongst the deceased Emperors and famous ministers of past dynasties, to whom a special temple is dedicated. In the case of private families, as has already been mentioned, the three generations immediately preceding are treated with special attention, the earlier ancestors being represented at the greater sacrifices, but not in the capacity of chief guests. This follows the analogy of Chinese banquets, where there is nominally but one 'guest,' the others being invited to keep him company. Exceptions are made, however, in the case of some of the great dead, such as the founders of dynasties, or the great sages of antiquity. The great Yu, for example, the first of the line of Hia (2205 B.C.), has a special temple on the site of his reputed place of burial; and Confucius is still worshipped in his own temples in every District city.

The ancestral spirits are represented as occupying, next to the Supreme Being, the highest place in the ranks of spirits, being far above those who preside over the several departments of Nature; but their position depends, in the majority of cases, upon the influence which their earthly representatives are able to exert in the world of men. If the descendants are people of no consequence, then, generally speaking, the ancestors have little influence. Thus there is a mutual dependence between the ancestral spirits and their surviving posterity, the former relying upon the latter for the exhibition of those virtues which will make the family great, and therefore enhance their own influence in the world of the departed; the latter looking to the former for the gifts which, through their advocacy with High Heaven, they are able to secure. In illustration of this fact it may be added that, when high rank is conferred upon an officer, his ancestors are ennobled at the same time, in an ascending scale of dignity, to the third generation preceding.

ii. *MEANS OF ESTABLISHING THE COMMUNION.*—The importance of finding a means of communication with the departed, in view of these preconceptions, will at once be evident, and from very early days in Chinese history illustrations are available of both the theory and the practice of communion with the dead. The methods adopted for establishing this communion may be divided into two classes: sacrifice and divination.

1. Sacrifice.—In the various terms employed to denote 'sacrifice' we find a hint of the special object which inspired these offerings. The Chinese character or ideogram most commonly used in this connexion consists of two main parts—one, the radical which primarily means 'to inform,' and which is an essential part of the majority of words connected with 'spirits' and religious rites; the other representing a right hand and a piece of flesh. The whole conveys the idea of an offering to the spirits with a view to communicating with them. A second character, used interchangeably with this, is compounded of the same radical, together with the symbol for 'hour'; and is interpreted as meaning 'a meeting with those who have gone before.' The last of the three characters which express the 'three forms of sacrifice' consists of the two words 'high' and 'speak,' and thus all three seem to point to sacrifice as a 'means by which communication with spiritual beings is effected.'

The Chinese 'Canon of History' and the 'Odes' contain numerous references to the sacrifices which were offered in the Imperial worship of ancestors, and illustrate the importance attached to the practice, of which it is said: 'The first and greatest teaching is to be found in sacrifice.'

The Ancestral Temple (*Miao*) is mentioned as existing in the earliest ages of Chinese history. Of the Emperor Shun (2255-2205 B.C.) we are informed that, 'on his accession to the throne of Yao he worshipped in the Temple of the Accomplished Ancestors'; and also that 'he sacrificed with purity and reverence to the six Honoured Ones,' who probably represent his own ancestors to the third generation preceding, and those of Yao his predecessor, who had adopted him as a son and successor, and whose ancestors were therefore bracketed with his own. Again, when he resigned the throne of Yu, he formally nominated him in

the same temple, as if with the express intention of presenting him to the spirits of the great rulers who had preceded him. Other instances might be quoted where the new ruler was presented to the inanimate form of the deceased sovereign, whilst appropriate sacrifices were at the same time offered before the coffin; cf. the accession of T'ai-kia (1753 B.C.) and of K'ang (1078 B.C.).

It seems probable that Shun introduced some innovations in the ancient methods of worship, for we read: 'He *extended* his worship to the host of spirits' (*i.e.* Nature-spirits)—a phrase which seems to convey the idea of a new departure, especially as the whole clause is introduced by the word 'thereafter,' which seems to support the contention that at this period some important additions were made to the theological ideas of the early Chinese.

During the Chow dynasty (1122–255 B.C.) the rites and ceremonies connected with sacrifices were greatly elaborated, especially about the time of the earliest rulers, Wen and Wu; but, in almost all the early instances which are recorded, it is the worship of the royal ancestors by the ruling monarchs that is depicted, though it is also implied that nobles and commoners were entitled to approach their own ancestors in more modest manner, as became their respective social stations.

An excellent example of the motive and method of communion with the dead is furnished by the case of the Duke of Chow, younger brother of King Wu (1122–1115 B.C.), who, when the king, his brother, fell ill, erected three altars, and prayed to the spirits of his ancestors of the three generations preceding, in the words: 'Your chief descendant is suffering from a severe and dangerous illness; if you three kings have in heaven the charge of watching over him, let me suffer for him. . . . He was appointed in the hall of God to extend his aid to the four quarters of the empire, so that he might establish your descendants in this lower world. . . . O, do not let that precious heaven-conferred appointment fall to the ground,' etc.

It was probably at this time that the practice of employing a 'personator of the dead' was definitely established, and that the 'ancestral tablet' came into general use. A few words of explanation may here be added with regard to these terms.

(*a*) *The 'personator of the dead.'*—It seems that, as early as the Hia dynasty (2000 B.C.), some one was employed to act as the representative of the ancestor to whom sacrifices were being offered, but full details are not forthcoming until the time of the Chow dynasty. The 'personator' was always a near relative, generally a grandson, but never a son, of the deceased. He was dressed in appropriate costume, and took his place in the ancestral hall, when the first part of the flesh of the sacrifice was roasted, to represent the approach of the spirits in response to the sacrificial invitation; he remained seated so long as the offering continued, and when the rites were concluded he was escorted from the hall with the music of bells and drums. The custom fell into disuse at the close of the Chow dynasty; and the 'personator' has now been superseded by the portrait of the deceased, which is hung up on some special occasions when sacrifice is offered.

(*b*) *The 'ancestral tablet.'*—Though the origin of the tablet is traditionally ascribed to the latter part of the Chow dynasty, it is probable that, like the 'personator of the dead,' it was a development of an earlier method; and, judging from the fact that the character for 'tablet' is a combination of the radical for 'stone' and the phonetic 'lord' or 'pillar' (contracted), it seems probable that the tablet was originally a miniature of the headstone at the ancestral tomb, intended for use on the occasions when sacrifices were offered in the ancestral hall instead of at the grave. Modern tablets vary in size and quality. The most usual form consists of two upright pieces of wood, the outer piece fitting into a groove near the top of the inner piece, and both set upright in a socket in a wooden base, thus resembling very closely the usual Chinese tombstone. Both outer and inner surfaces contain inscriptions specifying the names and titles of the deceased, the date of birth and death, etc., and, at the bottom, two characters which mean 'spirit throne.' The latter character is, at first, written imperfectly, and the ceremony of completing it, by the addition of a dot, is regarded as an event of great importance, a high literary official being secured to 'impose the dot,' which thus represents, as it were, the official *imprimatur*, a kind of minor canonization. The tablet is generally kept in the house until the period of mourning is over, and then finds a place in the ancestral hall of the clan, if such exists; or in the domestic shrine within the porch of the house. It is a common mistake to suppose that the tablet is regarded as the constant home of the spirit; it is only when sacrifices are offered before it that the spirit is expected to occupy his throne; and he vacates it as soon as the offering is completed, just as the 'personator' appeared and disappeared in earlier days.

(*c*) *Sacrificial materials.*—Of the nature of the materials employed in the ancestral sacrifices no indications are given in the earliest references. The practice was, apparently, so well established that it was not considered necessary to furnish details; but, judging from the analogy of later usages, and the inherent meaning of the words for 'sacrifice,' we may suppose that the earliest sacrifices consisted of the presentation of a selected animal, the pouring out of libations of pure water, and the offering of appropriate fruits. In the early days of the Chow dynasty, as has already been mentioned, these rites were greatly elaborated, and the 'Record of Rites,' which professedly belongs to this period, contains the most careful details with regard to the animals to be selected; the various kinds of spirits to be used in libations (the use of spirits having been substituted for water after the discovery of distillation, traditionally as early as Yu, 2205 B.C.); the costumes and positions of the celebrants and assistants; the musical instruments and tunes to be played; the dancing, or posturing, to accompany the rites; etc.

In this connexion it may be sufficient to state that, as early as the days of Shun, the animal offered in sacrifice to ancestors was a young bull; and presumably it was of a uniform colour—a point which is much emphasized in later usage; in fact, of such importance was this 'simplicity' considered, that the first duty of the officer, before slaying the victim, was to cut off a portion of the hair behind the ear, and present it before the ancestral shrine, in order to demonstrate the fact of this uniformity. Part of the fat of the victim was first extracted and burned, with a view to inviting, by its fragrance, the approach of the spirits; and their acceptance of the invitation was typified by the entrance of the 'personator' at this stage. The rest of the carcass was then cut up, and a portion of the raw meat was placed before the 'personator.' Prayer was offered to the spirit specially invoked. The meat was then cooked, and various dishes were presented to the ancestor, with goblets of spirits. After a long and elaborate ceremonial, the master of ceremonies announced that the spirit had partaken to repletion, the 'personator' vacated his seat, and the whole company present was entertained at a banquet. The response to the prayer was looked for on the following day, and was delivered by the 'personator.' The animals selected for the more important sacrifices were oxen, goats, and pigs; and in the minor sacrifices of private families the flesh of dogs or fowls was permitted. In the case of 'made dishes,' it seems that the special predilections of the departed were consulted, and a wide range of choice was allowed, the only restriction being that the character of the offerings should be determined by the rank of the recipient, rather than by the status of the offerer. A high official, for instance, was entitled to a funeral becoming his rank, but not to sacrifices of equal dignity, unless his descendants could claim a position equal to that formerly occupied by himself.

At the present day the rites of sacrifice are similar to those mentioned above, but there is observable a greater ostentation in the case of private persons, and a breaking down of the ancient distinctions between the observances permitted to the several classes of the people. The 'personator of the dead' has disappeared, as has already been mentioned.

The Imperial worship of ancestors is associated now, as in very early times, with that of Shang-ti (the Supreme Ruler) at the annual sacrifice of the winter solstice—the tablet representing Shang-ti being placed on the highest platform of the 'Altar of Heaven,' facing south, whilst those which represent the five Emperors are set on either side, facing east and west. The carcass of a calf, carefully selected, is placed before each shrine, together with pieces of silk and a number of sacrificial vessels. The distinguishing feature of the sacrifice to Shang-ti is the whole burnt-offering of a young bull in a special furnace, and the presentation of a large piece of blue jade, emblematic of the highest authority. The whole ceremony, including the preparatory season of fasting and purification, is fully described in the Manchu ritual.

The sacrifices to ancestors, on the part of the people generally, take place at the graves in spring and autumn; and also are performed before the 'tablet of the deceased' on the occasion of the periodic festivals—the first, third, and fifteenth of the first moon; the festival of 'Clear-Bright' (about the 6th April); the fifth of the fifth moon; the fifteenth of the seventh moon; the fifteenth of the eighth moon; the first of the tenth moon; on the last day of the year; and also on special occasions, such as weddings, etc. On less important occasions, such as a betrothal, or the assumption of the cap of puberty by a son of the house, announcements of the fact are made to the tablet, thus signifiying the interest which the ancestors are supposed to take in the affairs of the family.

The manufacture of paper articles, for transmission to the dead by means of burning, affords employment for millions of people; in some cities the beating out of tinfoil, and fixing it to sheets of paper, to be afterwards shaped into imitation dollars or ingots, etc., is the staple industry. The use of these articles is a comparatively recent innovation, and indicates a very serious degradation of the idea of communion with the dead.

(*d*) *Object of the sacrifices.*—The commonly received opinion that sacrifices are offered to ancestors with a view to sustentation, though not entirely erroneous when applied to the case of the more ignorant Chinese, finds little support or authority among the intelligent classes or in the ancient literature. It is true that the spirits are represented as partaking to repletion, and as thoroughly enjoying the offerings presented to them; but these expressions must be taken as figures of speech, which merely imply that the spiritual guests appreciate the good intentions of their filial descendants, on the analogy of a Chinese banquet where such polite phraseology is considered *de rigueur*. In the Chinese classics it is repeatedly stated that the real value of the offering is to be measured by the spirit in which it is made; the true sacrifice is the heart of the offerer, without which the most elaborate ceremony will utterly fail to secure the approbation of the spirits. The exhibition of food which the offerer himself consumes, and the burning of paper money and utensils which benefit none but the manufacturer and retailer, possess no virtue apart from the 'bit of heart' which prompts the offering.

No doubt in early times the idea of communion with the spirits of the dead was a powerful motive in the offering of sacrifices, and is still prominent in the case of the Imperial celebration; but in the popular observances of ancestor-worship selfish considerations are not altogether absent; the distribution of the usufruct of the ancestral property, on the occasion of the annual sacrifices, is a powerful motive to a regular participation in the ancestral rites. Social convention is a very important factor; the desire to make as good a show as one's neighbours is also an active stimulus; and superstition intervenes to confirm the time-honoured rites where the element of faith may be lacking.

Confucius seems to have regarded sacrifices as of subjective value only. Chucius, the great commentator of the 12th cent. A.D., insisted that there was not sufficient ground for the assurance that the spirits really existed; and the popular phrase 'dead and ended' may serve to indicate the real attitude of the Chinese mind towards the question. Thus, though in the Imperial worship of ancestors the good offices of deceased Emperors with the Supreme Being are reverently acknowledged and invoked, in the great majority of cases the offering of sacrifice is regarded merely as one of the 'accidents' of filial piety, which is still considered a virtue of supreme importance, and neglect of which will surely issue in disaster to the unfilial and forgetful, from whatever spiritual source the nemesis may arise.

It may be mentioned that a special festival is held on the 15th of the 7th moon for the benefit of the 'hungry ghosts' who have no descendants to sacrifice to them; and the customary offerings are made to them on the part of the people generally, not altogether from benevolent motives, but partly to obviate the possibility of injury to the living or uneasiness to the dead through the restlessness of these 'orphan spirits.'

2. Divination.—Another method of communion with the dead was by means of divination, which is referred to in the most ancient records. It is mentioned in the time of Shun (2255 B.C.) as being employed with a view to learning the will of the ancestors concerning the choice of a successor to the throne, and again in the selection of officials. P'an-keng (1401 B.C.) is said to have been thus guided by the ancestors in the choice of a site for his new capital. The Duke of Chow (12th cent. B.C.) is frequently represented as consulting his ancestors by this means.

The practice of divination seems to have been entrusted to certain officials, who consulted the omens indicated by the lines of the tortoise shell and the stalk of the milfoil plant. In the former case the upper shell of the tortoise was removed, and a quantity of ink spread over the under side; it was then held over a brazier, and the ink, in drying, formed a number of lines which the diviners professed to be able to interpret. The stalks of the milfoil, or yarrow, 49 in number, were manipulated according to certain prescribed rules, and the diagrams which they formed by combination were regarded as supplying further guidance. Other and simpler methods were in use among the people generally in early days, but those just mentioned were employed at the Court. The omens were generally consulted at the Ancestral Temple, as later references seem to prove.

The pseudo-scientific theories of Feng-shui (*q.v.*) (lit. 'Wind-Water') are closely connected with the subject of communion with the dead, one chief object being the selection of suitable grave-sites, where the dead may be expected to rest in peace, and thus be in a favourable condition for friendly communication with the living. Another and more recent innovation is the practice of inquiring of the dead by means of a ventriloquist in the person of a young girl, who, like the pythoness of Philippi, is supposed to reply on behalf of the deceased. A form of 'planchette,' consisting of a bent twig fastened to a cross piece which rests on the open palms of the medium's hands, is used to trace characters upon a tablet covered with sand, and by this means communications are supposed to be transmitted by the spirits to their living interlocutors. The plaintive cry which may still

be heard in all parts of China, uttered from the roof of the house, and directed towards the north, calling upon the soul, which has just taken its flight, to return to its old home, is mentioned in the 'Record of Rites,' and seems to be of immemorial antiquity. The preparation made for the return of the spirit on a stated day after death, when a table of eatables is placed in the kitchen, and a quantity of lime spread on the floor in front of the stove, with a view to tracing the approach of the spirit, may also be quoted as an instance of the popular view as to the possibility of communication with the dead.

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COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Christian).—The present article will not treat of any such practices as the calling up of the dead, mentioned, for example, in 1 S 28 (see 'Necromancy' in DIVINATION [Chr.]), and brought into vogue again in our own time by the 'Spiritualists' and 'Theosophists' (see SPIRITUALISM and THEOSOPHY). Nor shall we speak of the commemoration of the dead, which has been treated separately above. We shall notice here only the beliefs, rites, and customs concerning the communion of the living with the dead which are based on the Holy Scriptures, and which have been adopted by most of the Christian Churches. The idea of such intercourse has its origin in two fundamental beliefs: the belief in the immortality of the conscious and personal soul, and the confidence that the bonds of affection, religion, and gratitude, formed on earth, are eternal. These beliefs do not belong peculiarly to Christianity; they existed among the Gauls, and still subsist among the Parsis and the Jews.

For these more or less vague beliefs, Jesus Christ substituted an absolute conviction based on His revelations concerning the nature of God who is Spirit, His relations with man, and everlasting life. 'I am not alone,' He said, 'but I and the Father that sent me' (Jn 8^{16}). He was aware of the constant presence of God with Him, and it was from that knowledge that He drew the strength necessary for maintaining to the end the struggle for the salvation of the world. In the same way Jesus lived in spiritual communion with Moses, whose law He had come to accomplish, and with Elijah and the other prophets, whose Messianic promises He fulfilled. We may recall, for instance, the scene of the Transfiguration, in the description of which the Apostles have expressed, in a manner as simple as it is admirable, their belief that their Master, the Messiah, was in spiritual relation with His predecessors. And later, when, in the struggle with the Pharisees and the Sadducees, Jesus foresaw His apparent defeat and death, He did not doubt for an instant that, even after His decease, He would continue to be in communion of spirit with His faithful friends. 'I will not leave you comfortless . . . yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more; but ye see me: because I live, ye shall live also' (Jn $14^{18f.}$). Then, at the moment of His ascension, He exclaimed: 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world' (Mt 28^{20}).

But what are all these declarations worth, however solemn they are, in comparison with the pledge of His communion which He gave and gives still in the Eucharist? Our Lord and Master, in instituting this Sacrament, wished not only to impress deeply on the minds of His Apostles the memory of His supreme sacrifice as a symbol of brotherhood, but to give, through these symbols of His body and His blood, a pledge of His real, though spiritual, presence with all those who should believe in Him and commune with His glorified soul.

The Apostles and the Fathers of the Church inherited this comforting faith, and never doubted that they kept up intercourse with their beloved dead, through the medium of Christ. Hence arose the custom, which seems strange to us, though quite in harmony with faithful love, of letting oneself be 'baptized for the dead' (1 Co $15^{29f.}$). Those in view were certain deceased persons who had died converted to Christianity but without having been baptized; some relative who had a great affection for them, being persuaded that they could not be admitted into the Kingdom of heaven if they did not bear the seal of regeneration, thought he would secure the privilege for them by this vicarious baptism. This custom must have spread very quickly, for we know from Tertullian, Epiphanius, and John Chrysostom that it still existed in their time among some dissenting bodies. St. Paul in other passages (Gal 2^{20}, Ph 1^{21} 4^{13}) asserts his faith in a close union between Christ and himself. Had not his conversion been accomplished by the feeling of the continual presence, nay more, the possession of this Jesus, whom he had the remorseful feeling of having persecuted in the person of St. Stephen? Is not this the meaning of that accusing voice which he heard on the way to Damascus: 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?'

The Apostolic Fathers, and then the Fathers of the Church, down to the end of the 4th cent., taught that it was lawful to remember before God the beloved dead, who died in the faith, and in the same way to pray on behalf of the martyrs, with a view to remission of the sins which they might have committed while on earth. Conversely it was held that these friends, now transfigured, thought of the living. Hence came that sentence inserted in the Apostles' Creed: 'I believe in the Communion of Saints.' According to their point of view, there was a solidarity, and an emulation of thoughts, good actions, and prayers, between the faithful in heaven and those on earth, who had a common faith in Jesus Christ. They believed that these three divisions of the Body of Jesus Christ—the Church Militant, the Church Expectant, and the Church Triumphant—lent each other mutual help. This is the root of the Catholic dogma of the transference of the merit of the saints to the living members of the Church.

We shall now notice the acts and customs by means of which this belief in the communion of the living and the dead showed itself in the Church. In the case of simple members who had passed away from the flock, the bond of affection was kept firm by means of visits to their tombs, by following their good example, and by reading their names, which were written on a diptych, in the church. After this reading, performed by the deacon, the priest used to pray for them thus: 'Horum omnium animabus dona requiem, Dominator Domine Deus noster, in sanctis tuis tabernaculis.' The communion of the faithful ones with the holy Victim of Calvary was maintained by prayer, by the imitation of His virtues, and by the Eucharist. From the time of the first persecutions, the Christians associated the martyrs, those heroic witnesses of Jesus Christ, with Him in their worship. They had a custom of gathering together on the anniversary of the death of the martyrs, at the very spot of their torture, or at their grave, and there, in an *agape* ('love-feast'), they used to

celebrate their sufferings with songs of triumph and prayers (see art. AGAPE). From the beginning of the 5th cent. they no longer prayed for them, for that would have seemed to do them wrong;[1] on the contrary, they commended themselves to their good services. But, it must be noticed, the praise of the saints or the martyrs was never separated from the praise of Christ; it was to Him as the supreme Intercessor, as the inexhaustible Source of holy life and of sacrifice, that the prayers were addressed. This cult of the dead was called *Natalia* or *Natalicia*, *i.e.* birth-day, and is the origin of anniversary masses.

When those Christians who, in the presence of torture, had denied Christ (*lapsi*), and other great sinners who had been excommunicated, wished to be reinstated in the Church after the close of persecution, they had a habit of imploring the intercession of the confessors who had survived the tortures and were enjoying a high reputation with the flock and with the bishop. From this point it was only one step more to attribute the same power to the deceased confessors, *i.e.* to the martyrs, for whom they reserved exclusively the title of *Saints*, and to invoke them as intercessors with God. Now this step was important, for it marks the boundary between that division of the Church which includes Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Lutherans on the one hand, and the Orthodox Greek and Roman Catholic Churches on the other. This step was taken in the 3rd century.

It is a strange fact that it was an Alexandrian theologian, Origen, afterwards condemned as a heretic, who first stated this belief in the intercessory power of the Saints. 'All those men,' he says (*in Cant. Cant.* iii. 75 [*PG* xiii. 160]), 'who have departed this life preserve their love for those whom they have left below, are anxious about their safety, and help them by their prayers and intercessions to God.' Then comes Jerome. In his *Ep. cviii. ad Eustochium* (*PL* xxii. 906), he addresses Paula, her mother, now dead, in these words: 'Farewell, Paula! Come and help by your prayers your very old friend who respects you. Thanks to your faith and your good works, you are associated with Christ. Now, when you are in His presence, you will obtain more easily whatever you ask.' Finally, St. Augustine, by the spell of his genius, consecrated this belief in the intercession of the Saints, and encouraged among the faithful the custom of invoking them apart from, and sometimes instead of, Jesus Christ. Every one knows his admirable prayer on behalf of Monica, his mother (*Confess.* ix. 13): 'I implore Thee, O Lord, to grant her pardon for her sins, for the love of that great Healer of our wounds, who was nailed to the cross. . . . If, during all the years that she lived after her baptism, she fell into any sin, pardon her, and do not treat her like a harsh Judge. . . . The only thing she has commended to us is to remember her at Thy altar, where she used to kneel during her lifetime, and where she had known the Holy Victim shared among the faithful.'

Henceforward the invocation of martyrs and saints, then the prayers addressed to the archangels and the Virgin Mary, as intercessors, became an integral part of the doctrine, ritual, and custom of the Roman Catholic Church. This practice is proved by numerous epitaphs, of which we shall quote a few: '*Et in orationibus tuis roges pro nobis, quia scimus te in Christo*'; '*Vivas in Deo et roges*'; '*Ora pro parentibus tuis.*' But it must be observed that these expressions are later than the 5th century.

[1] Cf. Augustine, *Sermo cccxix. de Stephano Martyre*: 'Injuria est pro martyre orare, cujus nos debemus orationibus commendari.'

Now there is a very great difference to be observed between these prayers addressed to the dead and the custom of having masses said to shorten the time of their stay in Purgatory. A few centuries were required before the Catholic doctrine arrived at this last stage. Masses for the dead originated in the practice of 'private masses,' which was established in the 7th and 8th centuries. Gregory I. was the first divine who taught that the sacrifice of the Mass could improve the condition of the dead in Purgatory. Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) confirmed the custom of private masses. Peter the Lombard (d. 1164) in his *Liber Sententiarum* (iv. 12), and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) in his *Summa Theologiae* (Suppl. part iii. 71, art. 10), completed the theory of the efficacy of the prayers and of the celebration of the Eucharist for the departed souls. Every one knows how this custom, combined with the sale of Indulgences, gave rise to such abuse that many honest priests called for a reform of the Church.

But, in virtue of the adage that 'the abuse of a thing is not an argument against its use,' we must ask ourselves if there is not, underlying these customs, a truly Christian idea, a legitimate sentiment. From the Christian point of view, the communion of the living with the dead derives its origin, as we have already noticed, from two or three beliefs deeply rooted in the human heart and confirmed by the Gospel—belief in the immortality of the soul, in the efficacy of prayer, and in the indissolubility of the bonds of love and religion formed on earth. This connexion is maintained and strengthened by visits and prayers at the grave of our beloved dead; and, in the case of heroes and martyrs, by the mention of their names and the praise of their virtues in public worship. Restricted to these uses, it seems to the present writer to be a legitimate and comforting belief, which may serve to stimulate to piety and virtue. It shows the strength of the ties which bind ancestors to their descendants. It has inspired much Christian poetry, for example the poem of Victor Laprade entitled *Nos morts nous aident*, and the hymn of R. de Saillens which begins with the line, 'Il me conduit, douce pensée,' of which the following are the essential ideas: we are never alone, either in trouble or in joy; besides Jesus, the Divine Shepherd, who always protects and guides His 'sheep,' our dead friends are present not far from us, invisible witnesses, who watch over us, and help us by their prayers; therefore let us faithfully maintain the spiritual communion with our dead which we had begun on earth.

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GASTON BONET MAURY.

COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Muslim). —**1. Pre-Islāmic theory.**—The scanty notices which we possess of pre-Islāmic beliefs about the state of the departed are sufficient to indicate that, like other peoples who buried their dead, the Arabs supposed that some of the habits and capacities displayed during life lasted on beyond it, and that in emergencies the dead body could be called upon to discharge some of the functions of the living body. Just as crippled old warriors were taken to the battlefield, not to fight, but to exercise their good luck (*yumn al-naqība*), so the custom of bringing dead heroes in their coffins to battle lasted on till the 4th cent. A.H. or later. A party of men, we are told, passed by the grave of Ḥatim of Ṭai,

whose hospitality was proverbial. They taunted the dead man with failing to provide them with a banquet; in the middle of the night they heard a voice summoning them to feast on a camel which they found freshly slaughtered by the tomb.[1] In another form of the story[2] the camel was brought by Ḥātim's son, to whom his dead father appeared in a dream in consequence of the taunt. The relation of this apparition to the occupant of the grave would be the same as that of the wraith, or 'phantasm of the living,' to the living; and a commonplace of Arabic poetry, going back doubtless to pagan days, is the apparition of a mistress visiting her lover in a dream. The real person was not the apparition in either case, but the body; and prayers which survived into Islām were that the body might not be far removed, and that the grave might be well watered—water being no less necessary to the dead than to the living.

2. **The innovation of Islām.**—The paradox of Islām lay not in assuming the continuance of consciousness and personality, but in promising their complete recovery at the final judgment. Probably the most logical interpretation of these doctrines was that some fragment of the body would remain as a germ for the future restoration of the whole; and this seems to be the orthodox view. With it there is naturally associated the view ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās, 'the interpreter of the Qur'ān,' who, when asked what became of the soul at death, replied that it went out like a flame.[3] He would have accepted the formula of Aristotle, which makes the soul the *entelechy* of the body.

It was not, however, possible to adhere to the doctrine of the resurrection and the final judgment, when men had to be roused to the sacrifice of their lives in the cause of Islām. The entry of the martyr into Paradise could not be delayed a moment after death. After the second battle and first defeat of the Prophet, a text was revealed forbidding the application to the martyrs of the term 'dead'; they were alive and in Paradise, waiting for their comrades. The next set of martyrs actually sent a touching message through the Prophet to their friends. Nor, again, could the punishment of unbelievers be deferred. After the victory of Badr, when the bodies of the slain pagans were being cast into a pit, the Prophet asked them one by one whether they were now convinced. His followers marvelled that he should address dead bodies; but he replied that they could hear perfectly, though they could not answer. The privilege of retaining consciousness, however, could not be confined to the bodies of unbelievers; those of slain Muslims were presently found to retain their freshness decades of years after their burial. When they were exhumed, blood still flowed from their wounds.

Whereas, then, with the pagans there were the dead body and the wraith, with the Muslims there was yet a third representative of the being, the inhabitant of Paradise or of Hell. The tradition—not without parallels in pagan beliefs—sometimes thinks of the former as a bird, or at least as possessed of wings. The difficulty of reconciling resurrection and judgment with the immediate entry into Paradise or Hell is usually got over by the supposition that there is a foretaste of their final fate in the case of both the pious and the wicked. Al-Ghazālī, in his classical treatise, more than suggests that men enter their final state at death, and that it is correct to say of a dead man that his resurrection has come. In any case, he rejects the supposition that death involves complete loss or

[1] *Kitāb-al-Aghānī*, xvi. 108.
[2] Mas'ūdī, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861–77, iii. 328.
[3] Ibn Qutaiba, *On Conflicting Traditions*, Cairo, 1326 A.H., p. 186.

suspension of consciousness, and he is convinced that the dead continue to take an interest in the affairs of their relatives; when a newcomer arrives, he is met by his relatives, who wish to know what the various members of the family are doing, whether, *e.g.*, the daughters are married. Companions of the Prophet are said to have resisted temptation through the fear of giving pain to their departed relatives.[1] The apparent inconsistency of these beliefs with Qur'ānic texts (*e.g.* 'thou canst not make the dead hear') is got over by allegorical interpretation.[2]

3. **The popular belief.**—The most ordinary form in which communication with the dead is thought to take place is in dreams; and cases in which the fate of the dead is revealed in this way are supposed to have occurred in every century of Islām. The poet Ferazdaq, who died in 110 A.H., seems to have appeared to several persons after his death, and assured them that he was saved; though his accounts of the reason were not perfectly consistent.[3] His rival Jarīr was also seen, 'suspended,' after his death. The free-thinker Abu'l-'Alā of Ma'arra in the 5th cent. A.H. was seen after his death, being devoured by two snakes.[4] One of his works contains a series of imaginary interviews with various dead worthies, chiefly poets, who explain why they were saved.[5] The persons most frequently seen in dreams are prophets and saints. In the year 586 A.H., Ibn 'Arabī in Cordova had a vision of all the prophets together, from Adam to Muhammad; but the only one among them who addressed him was Hūd.[6] Visions of the Prophet Muhammad are specially welcome, because Satan cannot take his form, and such an apparition must be real.[7] One of the friends of the biographer Yāqūt saw the Prophet in a dream; and, as the latter spoke *Persian*, this anecdote appears to be true.[8] In the year 346 A.H. a man appeared at Baghdad in the mosque that is 'between the stationers and the goldsmiths'; he said he was the messenger of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima, who had appeared to him in a dream, desiring that a dirge on her sons should be chanted by a professional mourner, whom she specified; the congregation welcomed her messenger, and offered him a gratuity, which he declined.[9] When the famous traditionalist Ibn 'Asākir had delivered seven lectures on the virtues of Abū Bakr (the first Khalīf), and had then stopped, the Khalīf appeared to one of the audience in a dream, mounted on a camel, to assure him that the course would be continued.[10] Visions of 'Alī and his sons are also common.

4. **Beliefs connected with Ṣūfiism.**—It is recorded that the Prophet was in the habit of visiting graves, and this practice is recommended by Muslim theologians as a religious exercise.[11] The notion of 'visiting' is so closely associated with the grave that the latter is called in Turkish 'a visiting-place.' Saints may, indeed, be visited either at their actual tombs or at the places which they frequented during their lives; so the Sayyid Nefīsa is buried in Maragha, 'near the Long Grave in the main street'; but she 'appears' in the Cairene sanctuary to which her affections were attached. Likewise Sayyid Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī has a tomb in his home Umm 'Ubaida, and another in the desert where he used to perform his devotions; both

[1] *Iḥyā 'ulūm al-dīn*, Cairo, 1306 A.H., iv. 865 ff.
[2] Ibn Qutaiba, *op. cit.* pp. 186–191.
[3] *Kitāb-al-Aghānī*, xix. 45.
[4] *Letters of Abu'l-'Alā*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, Oxford, 1898, p. 132, Arabic text.
[5] *Risālaṭ al-Ghufrān*, published in 1908; excerpted by R. A. Nicholson, in *JRAS*, 1902.
[6] *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, Cairo, 1309 A.H., p. 191.
[7] Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā al-'ulūm*, iv. 395.
[8] *Dict. of Learned Men*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1910, iii. 40.
[9] *Ib.* v. 240. [10] *Ib.* v. 144. [11] Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmā*, xi.

tombs are visited, but it is only in the latter that the visitor feels awe and terror.[1]

The theory which, as we have seen, took shape in the early days of Islām, that the bodies of saints and martyrs retained their vital powers, became with many Ṣūfis something like a dogma. 'I have seen,' says one of these writers, 'four shaikhs who have the same control of their actions in their graves as they had when alive: 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī,' and two others less celebrated.[2] Some details of this belief are given in the mystical encyclopaedia of Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638 A.H.).[3] A saint was being buried, and the person burying him took the winding-sheet off the face of the corpse and let the cheek touch the dust; the saint opened his eyes and said, 'Wouldst thou humiliate me before Him who hath exalted me?' Ibn 'Arabī declares that he had himself witnessed a similar event in the case of his friend Abdallah al-Ḥabashī; the layer-out was, in consequence, afraid to wash the corpse, but the dead saint commanded him to continue. The life of these saints in their graves is, Ibn 'Arabī says, 'psychic,' *i.e.* confined to praising God; hence their oratories after their deaths must not be used for any improper purpose. When a man in an impure state entered the oratory of the dead saint Abū Yazid Bistāmī, his clothes took fire. Similarly, when some lads did mischief near the grave of Abū Sa'īd, the saint called out to them to stop.[4] The remains of such saints continue to do after death what they did in their lifetime; one of them had petitioned to be allowed to pray in his grave after death, and he was seen doing so. In such a case, one who looks at the face of the dead would doubt whether he were alive or not; only he has ceased to breathe, and his pulse has ceased to beat. This was the case with Ibn 'Arabī's father, who had foretold the day of his death fifteen days before its occurrence. 'When we buried him, we were in doubt whether he were alive or dead.'

The writer who tells the most extravagant stories of this sort is the Egyptian mystic Sha'rānī, of the 10th cent. A.H., who has recounted in a lengthy treatise God's favours towards him.[5] One of these was the facility with which he could hold intercourse with dead saints. This, he says, was owing to the courtesy with which he treated them when he visited their tombs, and *his dealing with them as though they were alive.* The experiences which he proceeds to record are certainly remarkable. He had omitted to visit the tomb of Shāfi'ī, founder of one of the law-schools; Shāfi'ī (who had been dead seven centuries) appeared to him in a dream, complaining of this neglect, and saying that he was imprisoned in his tomb aod required the summons of a pious man [to enable him to leave it]. After vainly asking leave to delay his visit till the next day, Sha'rānī left the house where he was staying, and hastened to the tomb, which is in the neighbourhood of Cairo. Before he got there he was met by Shāfi'ī, who took him to the top of the cupola, and there entertained him with a meal of white bread, cheese, and melon of a sort just then introduced into Egypt. On another occasion Shāfi'ī extended the invitation to the whole of Sha'rānī's family, and appears to have entertained him and his daughters (whose names he gives) for some time in the mausoleum. When one of Sha'rānī's friends expressed some scepticism as to this intercourse with Shāfi'ī, the latter appeared in a dream to the friend, who was convinced and apologized. Sometimes the ghostly visitor consented to partake of food, and sometimes, having promised entertainment, he got living persons to provide it in his place. Occasionally Sha'rānī, when calling, failed to find his ghostly friends at home. This was the case when he visited the tomb of the Ṣūfi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ, who appeared the following night, in a dream, to apologize for his absence. Another saint on whom he called had left his tomb to attend a battle in Rhodes.

5. Muslim criticism of these narratives.—The degree of credence which attaches to these stories naturally varies with the intellectual calibre of individuals. Some criticism is thoroughly rationalistic; so the commentator on al-Ghazālī's work, in reference to the tradition that whoever sees the Prophet in a dream sees his real self, points out that this would imply that the Prophet could appear in a dream only to one person at a time, that he must appear as he looked at the time of his death, and that the grave at Medina must be empty on these occasions. Probably many Muslims would agree with the views expressed by Ibn Taimiyya (d. 728 A.H.)[1] in his treatment of the whole subject of apparitions—the occurrence of which he by no means denies. Muslims, he says, visit the tombs of those whom they reverence, and occasionally the visitor sees the tomb unclose, while some one in the form of the dead saint comes out or goes in, riding or walking. The visitor ordinarily supposes the apparition to be the dead saint himself; but, of course, it is a demon, who has taken the dead saint's form. Similarly it often happens that after a man's death some one in his form comes and talks to the living, pays his debts, returns his deposits, and gives an account of the state of the dead. People think (not unreasonably) that the apparition is the dead man himself, but they are mistaken; the apparition is a demon. So there are cases in which, when the corpse is carried to the grave, a hand is stretched out under the bier and put into that of the dead man's son. Sometimes a dying saint says, 'Let no one wash my body after my death; I myself will come from such and such a quarter and discharge that duty myself'; after the death a figure appears in the air and washes the corpse. The person who has received the charge supposes the figure to be the deceased; in reality it is a demon. Sometimes the pious visitor to the grave of the prophet or saint sees (as he thinks) the prophet or saint come out and embrace or salute him; the visitor asks questions of the dead, and receives a reply from some one whom he sees or perhaps only hears. At times, without visiting the grave, he sees in the waking state persons riding or on foot, and is told that they are prophets, *e.g.* Abraham, Jesus, or Muhammad, and saints, *e.g.* Abū Bakr, Omar, or one of the Apostles. Ibn Taimiyya adds that he has known cases in which a Muslim has invoked some shaikh who was absent or dead, and has seen him come and help him. In all these cases the apparition is a demon. If the person invoked from a distance is living, he often knows nothing of the experience; when, as is occasionally the case, he shares it, the demons must have wrought a double illusion. The author attests most of these cases from his personal experience, and adds that pagan countries like India are their usual location. So far from regarding them as a sign of God's favour, he thinks that those who are thus exposed to the deception of the demons must have brought the misfortune on themselves by invoking others besides God.

6. Attitude of modern Islāmic theology towards them.—Reformed Islam, as represented by the Cairene *Manār*, would apparently sweep away all these beliefs, which it supposes to be encouraged chiefly by the keepers of the tombs, who derive a rich harvest from the votive offerings and fees brought by the visitors.[2] The treatment of the subject by an orthodox writer, the Sayyid Taufiq al-Bakrī, head of the Ṣūfī communities in Egypt, in his manual for the guidance of his co-religionists,[3] represents a slight advance on Sha'rānī. In the chapter on the visitation of tombs he quotes (apparently with approval) traditions to the effect that, whenever a man, passing by a tomb, salutes its inmate, the latter returns the greeting; that one of the blest was seen in a dream two years after his death, and stated that every Friday night and morning [with the Muslims the day begins at sunset] he and his companions met at the residence

[1] Sha'rānī, *Laṭa' if al-Minan*, Cairo, 1321 A.H., ii. 11.
[2] Al-Shaṭanufī, *Bahjat al-Asrār*, Cairo, 1304, p. 63.
[3] *Meccan Revelations*, Cairo, 1293, i. 288.
[4] Maihanī, *Asrār al-Tauḥīd*, Petersburg, 1899, p. 484.
[5] *Laṭa' if al-Minan*, ii. 10.

[1] *Al-Jawab al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, 1905, i. 329.
[2] *Manar*, Cairo, 1320 A.H., p. 837.
[3] *Al Ta'lim wal-Irshad*, Cairo, about 1905.

of one of their number and made inquiries about their living friends. 'Your bodies or your souls?' asked the dreamer. 'Our bodies,' was the reply, 'have perished; so, of course, it is a meeting of our souls.' The dreamer went on to ask, 'When we visit you, do you know of it?' The reply was, 'Yes, on Friday evening and the whole of the day, and on Saturday till sunrise.' Another tradition extends the period of consciousness to the day before and the day after the Friday.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Persian).—Among the Parsis no magical or mantic communion with the dead is observed, the feeding and clothing of the dead during the *Hamaspathmaēdaya* (the festival in honour of the Fravashis [see vol. i. p. 454 f.]) being a purely animistic offering to the deceased members of the family. In the official rites of the Avesta, however, we find several practices of communion with the dead, viz. the *Āfrīngān*, the ceremony practised in the houses immediately after a decease; and the *Srōsh Darūn*, the following ceremony in the temple. Both of them serve the purpose partly of cleansing the house and the community from the defilement of death, partly—and more particularly—of helping and strengthening the soul of the deceased on his dangerous journey to the other world and before the judges who decide the fate of the dead.

The *Āfrīngān* is celebrated in the evening, from the lighting of the stars until midnight, by the two priests (the *zōt* and the *raspī*), the elements of the cult being water, flowers, and fruits, and, above all, the sacred fire. The two priests place themselves one opposite the other, and sing the prayers and the confessions, known as *Ahuna vairya* (*Yasna* xxvii. 13), *Ashem vohu* (*Yasna* xxvii. 14), and *Fravarāne* (*Yasna* xi. 16). The hymn used on this occasion is the *Dahma āfritish*: 'the blessing of the righteous' (*Yasna* lx.). Moreover, the daily prayers, the *gāhs*, are said as usual five times in the day; only they are now preceded by the *Srōsh-bāj* (see Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–93, ii. 686 ff.), the adoration of Sraosha (the angel of death, the psychopompos of Persian mythology), and followed by the *Patet* (cf. Darmesteter, iii. 167 ff.), the confession of sin, as a strengthening of the soul, and an amends for the deceased's want of piety and righteousness in his lifetime.

The festival in the temple (*Srōsh Darūn*) has as its sacramental element the consecrated bread (*draona*), a loaf being presented to Sraosha and then broken and eaten by the *zōt* at the culmination of the service. From this sacred bread the whole festival has derived its name, *Srōsh Darūn*. On the afternoon of the third day the family and their friends assemble with the priest to celebrate a final festival, where, in addition to the daily prayers and the confessions of sin, vows are made in honour of the deceased, and alms and legacies are usually promised. The deceased, if he was a wealthy man, would also leave property for the poor, the amount of which is announced on the same occasion. The festival is concluded on the fourth day at dawn. This last moment is of the highest importance: now the fate of the soul is to be decided on the Chinvat Bridge (the bridge of judgment), and all the forces of prayer must be put forth to sustain him in the moment of judgment. Therefore, the prayers of the preceding days are repeated and supplied with four *āfrīngāns*, the last of which is addressed to Sraosha; finally, a *draona* is offered to him and to the Fravashis, the genii of the dead. This concludes the ritual of the ceremony, which is followed by a merry and abundant feast. Sheep are killed, and their fat is thrown into the fire before the eating of the flesh; the priests and the poor are given clothes and money. Arrived in heaven—thanks to this assistance—or in hell—in spite of it—the soul is left to itself without further communion with the living, the ideas and the customs of the cult of the Fravashis belonging to quite another sphere of popular belief.

LITERATURE.—J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–1893, ii. 146–154, 686 ff.; J. J. Modi, 'The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation,' *JASB*, ii. No. 7.

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COMMUNION WITH DEITY.

Introductory (N. SÖDERBLOM), p. 736.
American (H. B. ALEXANDER), p. 740.
Babylonian (A. JEREMIAS), p. 745.
Celtic (E. ANWYL), p. 747.
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Hindu.—See BHAKTI-MĀRGA.
Japanese (M. REVON), p. 774.
Jewish.—See 'Hebrew.'
Muslim (R. A. NICHOLSON), p. 775.
Parsi (N. SÖDERBLOM), p. 776.
Vedic.—See VEDIC RELIGION.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Introductory).—Throughout the whole history of communion with deity a distinction is traceable between *direct* and *indirect* (or mediated) communion. The medium may be a person (occasionally an animal) or a thing. The former category includes ecstatics, heroes, prophets, revealers, saviours, and saints; the latter is represented by organizations like the kingship or the priesthood, and by various institutions, rites, sacrifices, and ceremonies, or by a church. A strong tendency is found in the great mass of religions to concentrate communion with deity upon the mediator. Especially at the primitive stage deity and mediator are readily confounded, for primitive man does not draw any clear distinction between deity and one who has a real communion with deity. Either deity is more or less consciously apprehended as an impersonal mysterious Power present in animals, men, souls, and things; or a man (or an animal, or a thing) is possessed by one of the Powers, *i.e.* by a certain spirit or soul or god. The possession may be occasional (in trance), or perpetual (during the lifetime or after death), or the subject of it may even be an incarnation of a particular deity—for example, the Egyptian Apis, the *avatāras* of Vishṇu, the *imāms* of Shī'ism, the Dalai Lāma, incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, etc. The man full of *mana* (*q.v.*), or in communion—the magician, the king, the priest, the mystic, the *wālī* ('the intimate friend' of God, exalted in Muhammadan worship above the Prophet), the saint, or the incarnation—receives cult as a living god. The Divine man may be worshipped during his lifetime as well as after death. In many cases his intimate communion with deity, *i.e.* his being penetrated with power or divinity, is discovered or duly testified only after death. It may be that only his soul after death, not himself during his lifetime, is provided with *mana* or deity. The Church beatifies only after death; in some cases the sanctitude (*i.e.* com-

munion with deity, and state of being filled with mysterious power [see HOLINESS]), is exercised fully only by the dead (as, for instance, in the process of the beatification of Joan of Arc, healing wonders wrought by her in our time were considered to be especially convincing). The risen Christ is mightier than the Jesus who walked on earth. No more important step was ever taken in the development of religion than the introduction, already in the primitive stage, of the cult of heroes (*q.v.*), in which two motives prevail: the recognition of special communion with deity, *i.e.* of wonderful, supernatural, Divine power, in the living or in the dead (revelation [*q.v.*] in lower and higher sense), and the need of having divinity near and palpable in human history (Osiris, Adonis, Attis, Herakles, Krishna, and Rāma were supposed to have been men before becoming gods). Hence communion with deity may coincide with having Divine character—from primitive religion, which worships one supposed to have first-hand relations with deity, to historical Christianity, where Christ is at the same time the man in full communion with God and the revealer of God, God in human shape, the object of worship ('he that hath seen me hath seen the Father' [Jn 14[9]]; cf. Buddha: 'who sees me, sees the *dhamma*'), and claiming also the fulfilment of ethical duties (Mt 25[40]; cf. Buddha: 'Whosoever would wait upon me, let him wait upon the sick').

Communion with deity has three main forms, roughly corresponding to three stages of development: (1) individual (private), (2) institutional (social), and (3) personal.

1. Individual communion.—Physical abnormalities, particularly trance, are supposed to prove special communion with deity. These signs of communion may come spontaneously (either occasionally or as a permanent quality) or may be produced by austerities (*q.v.*), or by means such as narcotics, frantic dancing, crystal-gazing, etc. The 'supernatural,' ecstatic aptitudes are sometimes so strictly required, that the magician or priest is no longer recognized, or may even be killed, if he loses them. Communion with deity becomes an institution, and its representatives belong to the social order as kings or magicians or priests, with a developed system of preparation and inauguration. But, alongside this institutional magic or religion, private magical practice survives, especially (but not only) as sorcery (black magic), which is not only individualistic, not socially organized, but even anti-social, operating for maleficent purposes against members of the same blood (tribe).

2. Institutional and social communion.—This is managed by magicians, divine rulers, priests, or kings (sometimes without any official priesthood, as in China, ancient Sweden, etc.), and consists in various *rites*—ritual dances, ceremonies, pantomimes, mysteries—intended for special purposes in order to secure food, rain, fire, fertility, success in hunting, or in war, etc., or for general welfare. At a primitive stage this is sometimes (*e.g.* with the Australians) scarcely regarded as communion with a specific divinity or divinities, yet the All-Fathers and the mythical beings fill an important rôle in these rites, while at a more developed stage the rites have a close connexion with chthonic or heavenly Powers.

A special world-wide commerce with deity consists in a *wedding* with the god, in or outside the temple, or in a mysterious receiving of his seed (witnessed to by phallic symbols, myths, and liturgies all over the world, highly elaborated, *e.g.* in ancient Egyptian mysticism). The idea of this *unio sponsalis* still survives in pious language long after the abolition of the rites in question: 'Come into me, Lord Hermes, as the fetus into the bosom of the woman' (Kenyon, *Greek Pap. Brit. Mus.* p. 116). Another cognate, very wide-spread, form of communion is that in which the pupil *dies and is re-born* to a new life. This is exemplified, among primitive peoples, in Africa and elsewhere, and in ancient Greece (παλιγγενεσία), the 'twice-born' Brahmans, etc.

Sacrifice (*q.v.*) constitutes a real intercourse with divinity: (*a*) through presents (from a tobacco-leaf to hecatombs and the firstborn son) and presents in return—*do ut des*, a kind of bargain; (*b*) in order to produce a mysterious increase of the vitality (of the divinity of life, and therewith) of the clan, of the tribe, of the family, of the city, of the State—hanging of sacrifices in holy trees, hanging of skulls of killed enemies in the club-house or the community-hall, the killing of aged kings, etc.; (*c*) as a communion by means of a divine sacrifice, generally eaten as a sacramental-sacrificial meal—ancient Arabs, the Bacchæ, the eating of bread made from the last sheaf, bread representing the Great Mother, Tlaloc, etc., the eating of the colossal dough image of Huitzilopochtli, holy intoxicating drinks, mead, *soma-haoma*, milk, φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, etc.; (*d*) as a way of acquiring supernatural powers through the approaching of deity by means of a victim or through the magical subduing of the divinity (Brāhmanic ritual, Tantrism); or (*e*) as an exercise and education in good manners and in human dignity, through the offerings of food, clothes, perfumes, etc., and through the observing of the rules of respectful conduct *vis-à-vis* the great forefathers and towards the divinities. This moral conception of sacrifice appears to the present writer to be a special feature of Chinese worship, an idea independently worked out in the *Li-ki* and later Chinese works on ritual. Everywhere the rites (sacrifices, etc.) are accompanied by sacred *formulæ*, which also may operate or influence the gods without rites.

Ascetic means are used as a preparation for communion with deity, and thus belong, to a greater or lesser extent, to the mysteries and initiations into manhood, priesthood, war, etc., as well as to sacrifice, and also to the acquiring of supernatural knowledge; but they may also be organized as a special form of holy life (*yogis, śramaṇas, bhikṣus*, Orphic life, Cynics, eremites, monks, dervishes, pilgrims, etc.), implying a nearer relation to deity, and acquisition of Divine power and of superhuman insight (see ASCETICISM, ĀŚRAMA, AUSTERITIES).

3. Personal communion.—The cravings of a humanity ethically and spiritually more developed, not being satisfied with institutional communion, reject it (*e.g.* the heterodox Indian beggar-orders, Heraclitus, Theophrastus, etc.), or give it, more or less consciously, a secondary place after personal communion (the Upanishads, the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, Socrates, Plato, the Stoics, OT prophets). Of course, personal intercourse with deity *may* also find place in institutional communion. When sacrifices cease (*a*) because there is no longer a god to whom to sacrifice (Jainism, Buddhism, etc.), (*b*) because there is no longer a proper place for sacrifice (Judaism after A.D. 70), (*c*) because the sacrifice has been made once for all (Ep. to the Hebrews, evangelical Christianity), or (*d*) when piety is not satisfied with that kind of communion (Upanishads, Lao-tse, the prophets, Orphism, etc.), prayer (*q.v.*) does not cease, but emancipates itself from the rites. Among primitive peoples (Melanesians [Codrington], Queensland [Roth], Bushmen [Orpen], etc.) in need, before going to sleep, and on other occasions, mightier beings (totems, All-Fathers, divinities) are invoked in quite impulsive words or

cries, *which are not supposed by them to belong to their 'religion,'* i.e. to the holy social rites. Prayer, indeed, seems to be older than sacrifice (according to R. Jose ben R. Chanina [*Berak.* 26 *b*], the patriarchs instituted prayer, the rabbis added sacrifice). At a higher stage, such personal outbursts in a finer form have found place in the great collections of prayers and hymns for institutional worship (Rigveda, the Gāthās, the Psalms). Invocations or utterances of an intimate personal kind may be repeated countless times in institutional communion—accompanying sacrifice, the putting on of the holy cord, or other rites—without any apprehension of their content (in some of the great religions without even understanding the language), until they are reclaimed for personal communion. The inward, personal element in the intercourse with God then becomes so predominant that special honour is accorded to *oratio mentalis.* Where an intensely immanent conception of deity obscures the Divine transcendence, and where pantheistic tendencies prevail, prayer passes into intellectual contemplation and illumination, an intuition without seeing anything but the Self (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upan.* iv. 3. 23 ff.; the Ṣūfī: 'I am God'; Eckhart: 'the soul becomes God'). For prayer Buddhism substitutes *dhyāna*, 'contemplation,' the effect of which corresponds, to a certain extent (as comfort, help, inward peace and composure, the finding of expedients in difficulties, etc.), to the hearing of prayer in Christianity. Dramatic tension and dualistic power in communion with deity belong to the theistic religions, where this communion and the whole spiritual life show an incomparably richer history than elsewhere. This is reflected in the Psalter and in the stream of prayer issuing from the Jewish prayer-book, whose characteristic is free spontaneity. Where legalistic, and consequently deistic, piety prevails, *e.g.* in modern Parsiism, free prayer without fixed words is unknown. A form of communion peculiar to synagogal Judaism and Christianity is congregational worship (*i.e.* collective personal communion). This was adopted by some of the eclectic religions of the Roman Empire, and has been introduced into India by the Brāhma Samāj (*q.v.*).

Communion has a somewhat different shape in the two main types of highest religion, corresponding to the two kinds of Mysticism (*q.v.*); the one originating chiefly in the sense of the Infinite, the other in the longing for the Ideal and in the striving for transformation; the one ultimately directed towards an impersonal goal, the other emphasizing personality.

(1) The former is chiefly represented by the two religious movements of universal scope in India and in Greece. (*a*) The Pantheism of Yājñavalkya and the Upanishads was continued in Brāhmanism and Buddhism (except the religion influenced by *bhakti*), and (*b*) Orphism mingled with Dionysiac religion, and, appearing in a new, purified, and sublimated form as Platonism, gave rise to Neo-Platonic Mysticism. This last was propagated, through Syrian mediation (Dionysius the Areopagite), throughout the West and the East, and modelled Christian Mysticism and Persian Ṣūfīism (*q.v.*), but was seldom rigorously carried out. Already Plotinus had inconsistently applied to the One the positive quality of Goodness; and the more consequent theory of negative impersonality in the Godhead, *e.g.* with Eckhart ('goodness is only a vestment for God, covering His true hidden essence'), was counterbalanced by actual practice.

(2) Lao-tse, Zarathuštra, and Socrates show differently conditioned types of another Mysticism. This is still more clearly and thoroughly carried out where the overwhelming sense of God's activity and holiness prevails, *i.e.* with Moses and the prophets, Christ, St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Birgitta, Luther, Bunyan, and others.

These two kinds of communion with deity are intermingled and graduated in manifold ways in real religion, but the difference coincides ultimately with the difference between acosmic salvation and prophetic, or revealed, religion. The communion with deity differs (*a*) as to the place accorded by religion (salvation) to the ethical standard aimed at or recognized in both kinds of higher religion, the ethical duties and ideals being considered on the one hand (α) as only a preparation or means (*vita purgativa*) to real communion (*vita contemplativa*), and (β) as a criterion of the soundness of the mystical experience, or, on the other hand, as the practice (accomplishment, realizing) of communion with God. (*b*) History is in the former case indifferent or troublesome to piety; in the latter it represents God's dealings with humanity, and constitutes the basis of communion with Him. (*c*) On the one side is a lofty detachment and aloofness ('Abgeschiedenheit ist mehr als Liebe' [Eckhart]), ultimately raised above every kind of authority; on the other, an emphasizing of personal and moral authority. (*d*) On the one side there is exaltation of *unio substantialis* (in its original sense [the Lutheran scholastics of the 17th cent. used it in another sense] of real, personal communion in opposition to accidental, impersonal communication of gifts and capacities) and of *unio sponsalis*; on the other side is *unio filialis* at the top of the scale. On the one side there is a higher appreciation of ecstatic states of mind (without despising the moral duties); on the other side, a higher appreciation of trust and of unaffected self-forgetfulness in the presence of the great tasks of life, the beauty of the ideal, and the great works of God (without despising the important rôle played by ecstatic experiences in the history of revelation). The dread of mere feeling and the exaltation of conscience and of moral independence may give to this kind of communion a certain sternness (Amos, Calvinism, Jansenism, Kantianism), which, however, is not essential to the type (Hosea, St. Paul, St. Augustine, Luther). (*e*) The gulf to be bridged by communion is considered by the former type mainly as a gulf between the finite and the Infinite, between temporal succession and change, and timeless contemplation and eternity, between complexity and One-ness; on the other side, between what is and what should be, between sinful man and Holy God. Sin (*q.v.*), disturbing the communion, is first considered as a transgression of the rules of institutional religion; and the consciousness of guilt, so emphatically attested by some hymns to Varuna in the Veda, and especially by the Assyr.-Bab. and the Hebrew psalms, emanates from this underlying reasoning, expressed or latent; one is visited with disaster or sickness, therefore God is angry, therefore one has sinned, therefore one must implore mercy and do penance. A more intimate sense of guilt, originating in a high ideal, not in unhappiness or psychological uneasiness, is manifest in some of the Hebrew psalms; in later Judaism and in Christianity; in Platonism and with the Stoics; in India, at least from Rāmānuja, perhaps earlier with Manikka-vaśagar.

Intellectual mysticism has been accompanied by the *bride-mysticism* as a reaction, a marked opposition (India), or rather as a complement (Christian mysticism, Ṣūfīism). In India the *bhakti-mārga* (*q.v.*), 'the way of affection (faith),' as opposed or added to the *jñāna-mārga*, 'the way of knowledge,' is attested by Buddhist works of the 4th cent. B.C., and by the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, at least for the 3rd cent. B.C., but it is probably older. In

Christianity the spiritual experiences expressed in the fervent language of the Song of Songs, already used in the early Church, *e.g.* by St. Jerome, but taking a new start and importance through St. Bernard (*q.v.*), are intermingled with, or separated from, the classical expressions of intellectualistic, Areopagitic mysticism. The five 'flavours,' or degrees, of *bhakti* (*e.g.* according to Chaitanya of the 16th cent.)—quiet contemplation of deity (or resignation); active service of deity (or obedience); personal friendship; filial, tender attachment; and, at the top, passionate love as that of a bride for her lover—have mainly the same content and pursue the same end as Bernhardian or Herrnhutic mysticism. In spite of the striking difference in temperament and language between a Saṅkara and a Chaitanya, or between a Spinoza and a Zinzendorf (or a Jalal-al-Dīn Rūmī), the bride-mysticism also implies in its fulfilment a complete fusion, obliterating personality, without a distinction between an 'I' and a 'Thou.' But in *bhakti-mārga* (Rāmānuja, Tulasī Dāsa), as well as in Christian bride-symbolism, the symbol of lovers may develop in the same direction of spiritual and personal relations rather than in that of passionate sensual fusion; both *bhakti* and Western bridal symbolism may approach the classical meaning of πίστις, 'faith.'

Communion with deity is a *mystery*. Among primitive peoples, women and children, as a rule, have no access to the mysteries of the tribe. Beside the official holy rites of the natural social bodies, there abound, especially in Polynesia, Melanesia, and Africa, secret societies, to which special inauguration gives admittance. [No one except the priest or king may enter the *adytos* of the temple. The sacrifice (*e.g.* in Israel, and in Brahmanism), is surrounded with prescriptions indicating the mysterious character of the communion effected or maintained by means of a victim.] The distinguishing of quite a number of different degrees of communion, made by primitive secret societies, has been further developed, as to institutional communion, in the mystical religions of the Roman Empire, in the great theosophic systems (of Valentinus, of Mani, etc.), and in the ascetic orders of India, Christianity, and Islām, and was retained in a simplified form by early Christianity. The same process, as to personal religion, is seen in the ladder of mystic states and perfections worked out independently by Indian and Neo-Platonic psychology, and in the compound of Neo-Platonic influence and *nirvāṇa*-mysticism found in later Ṣūfiism. In evangelical religion the same tendency has created (*a*) the conception of *ordo salutis* as a series of pious degrees, and (*b*) in New England revivalism, a rational and experimental method of prayer and the training of souls (continued, as it were, without the practical aim and without the underlying dogmatics, by the modern North American psychological research into religion); but a differentiation of a series of esoteric religious stages is foreign to the spirit of prophetic religion and evangelical Christianity, which in its most genuine forms lacks methodical psychological training, *virtuosité*, and uniformity, but gives more scope for personal peculiarities and different vocations. Hence arises the apparently contradictory result that the communion with deity in ascetic and acosmic mysticism (in India and the West), which has occupied itself so eagerly with psychology, and which has elaborated fine progressive psychological methods of the utmost experimental acuteness (and which, in Buddhism, has become mere self-salvation by means of psychology, without a deity), shows less originality and variety as to the psychological material for solving the problem of personal communion with deity than prophetic or revealed religion, which lays more stress upon the history of revelation than upon the states of mind. The heroes of personal religion, from the Bible onwards, offer a more fruitful field for the psychology of religion than the psychological tracts of Indian or Western mysticism, and the psychological statistics of average pious men and women. Communion with deity is regarded also in the Bible as a mystery, which lies, however, less in a certain spiritual state than in the revealed will of God (1 Co 4[1], Ro 11[25], Col 2[2], Eph 1[9]; to the present writer it is by no means evident that the μυστήριον of Mk 4[11] does not emanate from Christ Himself).

Communion with deity is a mystery, because it is *not the work of man*. The distinction between God-made (spontaneous) and self-made communion and experiences is not confined (as Robertson Smith [*OTJC*[2], p. 297 n.] thought) to the OT prophets, although it is seen more strikingly in them because of their unique sense of God as activity and as living power. The *Kāṭhakopaniṣad* (ii. 23) declares: 'Only the one he (*ātman*) chooses, can understand him.' Socrates distinguished his own conclusions and ideas from the hints of the *daimonion*. In the Egypto-Hellenistic Hermes-religion we read: 'One cannot teach it, only God can awake it in the heart' (cf. the *Shepherd* of Hermas, Mand. 11); Plotinus, in his spiritual chastity and completeness the greatest of the mystics of the Infinite, declared: 'The beggar keeps waiting as near as he can to the door of the rich; perhaps the rich will open and give him an alms, perhaps once, perhaps twice; that is good fortune, not a work of his own' (and other passages); and St. Augustine's mother (*Conf.* vi. 13) and all the great Christian mystics have made the same distinction. At the same time, it is claimed that real communion with the true divinity depends upon the *sincerity of the will and intention* (*Bhagavad-Gītā*: 'true *bhakti* is addressed to the true God, whatever name it gives him'; Luther: 'As your trust is, so is your God, right trust makes right God, wrong trust makes an idol'; Kierkegaard: 'A heathen who heartily and ardently prays to an idol prays in reality to the true God, but he who outwardly and impersonally prays to the true God in reality prays to an idol).

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kinds of Mysticism, the one culminating in Plotinus, the other in Jesus, see N. Söderblom, *Uppenbarelsereligion*, Upsala, 1903, *Religionsproblemet*, Stockholm, 1910, *Uppenbarelse*, Stockholm, 1910.

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COMMUNION WITH DEITY (American).—**1.** It is not until symbolization has proceeded so far that the distinction of seen and unseen world is clearly realized, until there is felt to be a gap between the passive tangible and the active intangible nature of things, that we can accurately speak of 'communion' with a lordlier world. To be sure, in the early stage there are all the germs of religious communion. There are cherishings, offerings, propitiations, pleas addressed to objects vaguely felt to be potent in man's destinies, the beginnings of sacrifice, penance, and prayer; but as yet there is no science of intercourse with a higher reality, for as yet the severance of this from the world of everyday contacts is not felt. Life is still on a sensuous basis, and the ideal world which makes religion possible is in process of creation.

Most of the American Indian peoples had already reached the higher stage when the white man came. They had learned to conceive of a Divine world interlocking with and dominating the human, however grotesquely it was blazoned by the imagination. But with few or none of them was the idealism thorough enough to make the distinction of worlds systematic; in whole areas of experience, primitive, instinctive Animism prevailed. Hence it is that we find everywhere in Indian rite the dominance of magic. For magic is a form not of communion in the strict sense, but of compulsion, and it tends to maintain itself in connexion with the less personalizing, more naive notions of Nature-powers; it is directed to the control not of deities, endowed with independent wills, but of those irresponsible Nature-forces which, if they are personified at all, are regarded as mere genii, slaves of the lamp or of the seal, and are counted in groups and kinds rather than as individuals. Magic is essentially a vast extension of the principle of identity; its universal formula is *similia similibus*, 'like affects like.' The Indian warrior who adorned his body with painted charms believed that he was thereby compelling to his aid the powers of Nature so symbolized; the dance in which he fore-represented the fall of his enemy laid a kind of obligation upon his god to fulfil its promise; the song in which he called down maledictions robbed his foe of strength by its very naming of weakness. The Huancas made tambours of the skins of slain foes, the beating of which was to put their enemies to flight; the Indians of Cuzco lighted fires on clear nights, in the belief that the smoke might act as clouds to prevent frost; the Sioux medicine-man made an image of the animal or other object which he regarded as the cause of disease, and then burned it, thus symbolically curing his patient; and certain tribes of the North-West are said to have made images of the children they wished to have, believing that the fondling of these images would encourage the coming of real children. Perhaps the clearest illustration of the primitive inability to separate the destinies of like things is to be found in the mandate of a prophet to the Ojibwas:

'The fire must never be suffered to go out in your lodge. Summer and winter, day and night, in the storm, or when it is calm, you must remember that the life in your body and the fire in your lodge are the same and of the same date. If you suffer your fire to be extinguished, at that moment your life will be at its end' (*14 RBEW*, pt. 2 [1896], p. 678).

Thus the symbol seemed to give man control over potencies other than his own, and so released him from his primitive servitude to helpless fear; he had but to find out the secret signs of nature to command her inmost forces. But all this is magic; it is not worship. Communion with gods—prayer and its response, sacrifice and its rewards, participation in Divine knowledge, sacramental blessings—is very different from compulsion of Nature-powers by the magic of mimicry.

And yet the ritual of worship plainly springs from the ritual of magic. Magic tends to cling to the lower and less clearly personified conceptions of super-nature; but, just as animistic elements persist into mystic thinking, so do the principles of magic persist in higher rites. Probably the only sure criterion of the transition from magic to worship, from compulsion to communion, is degree of personification; where man conceives a power as a person, capable of exercising intelligent will (as the Iroquoian *ongwe*, 'man-being'), he unconsciously comes to assume towards it the mental attitude which marks his intercourse with his own kind—the attitude of question and answer, gift and reward, service and mastership.

That the magic of resemblance permeates primitive theories of worship is sufficiently shown by the wide use of mummery in feasts of the gods. This was especially characteristic of ancient Mexico, where worshippers and victims were often invested with the symbols of the divinity, as if thereby to partake of the Divine nature. In the Hopi dances the *katcinas* are similarly represented by the dancers. The Aztecs, in their mountain-worship, made edible images of these deities, which, after being worshipped, were eaten as a kind of sacrament. Votive offerings, too, were often in the likeness of the deity. The Mantas, says Garcilasso de la Vega (*History of the Incas*, IX. viii.), worshipped a huge emerald to which emeralds were the acceptable offering; in the Aztec worship of the rain godlings, pop-corn was scattered about to symbolize hail. The tears of the victims offered to the rain-gods were in Mexico, as with the Khonds of India, regarded as omens of the next season's rainfall.

2. As the scale of civilization ascends, magical elements sink farther and farther into the background. Among the more primitive Indians mimetic festivals, including 'mysteries,' or dramatic representations of myths, as well as dances, are the most conspicuous ceremonials. With the more settled and civilized peoples, other elements—temple service, cult—come to the front, and almost every type of ritualistic celebration and every conception of intercourse with the deity are developed.

Of the various types of ritual observance the tribal and national festivals probably retain most pronouncedly the magical element. They are directly associated with the social welfare of the celebrants, and serve to give expression to the ideal of solidarity which makes society possible. In this sense their magic is real; it has a psychical force in the consciousness of the participants, reflecting that change of mind which makes possible the development of a vast commune, like the empire of Peru, out of what must have been a mere anarchism analogous to that of the savage Amazonians. This social significance of the feast is well illustrated in the character of the five principal feasts of the Incas. Of these, the *Citu* was a symbolic purgation of society, probably with some reminiscence of ancestor-worship, analogous to the Roman *Lemuria* or the Greek *Anthesteria*. Of the remaining festivals, the chief was the great feast of the Sun at the summer solstice, at which delegates from all parts of the empire marched before the Inca in their national costumes, bearing gifts characteristic of the products of their provinces—clearly a symbolization of the empire of the national deity. Two other festivals were connected with the production of food: these were the feast of the young vegetation in the spring, designed to avert frosts and other blights; and the harvest home in the autumn, which was a minor and

chiefly family festival. The remaining celebration was the occasion of the initiation of young men to warriors' rank—an annual or biennial observance, the connexion of which with the welfare of the State is obvious.

These feasts may be taken as generally typical of American Indian tribal celebrations. Local conditions vary the period of celebration, the number, and the stress on this element or on that—as the stress on rain-making comes to characterize the 'dances' of the Pueblo Indians, or as the populous pantheons of Mexico caused a great increase in the number of festivals. But the social significance remains throughout, developing from what may be termed the summation of individual into tribal 'medicine' or 'orenda'—as in the magic dances by which game is allured—up to the conception of a sacramental banquet of the worshippers with their god. This sacramental character is obvious in many rites; but it is worth while to instance, in the Aztec worship of Omacatl (god of banquets), the fabrication of an elongated cake which is termed a 'bone of the god' and is eaten by the participants in his festival. The eating of the body of the god recurs in several cults among the Aztecs, with whom ceremonial cannibalism was customary; with the Incas, on the other hand, the typical sacrament was a feast shared by the god with his worshippers, or with such of them as were deemed related to him, for in the great feast of the Sun only the 'children of the Sun' were allowed to partake of the vase of liquor from which their god and ancestor had first been invited to drink.

3. Rites and practices of an ascetic nature are numerous and varied throughout the American Indian world. At the root of such practices is not merely the desire to placate evil powers by self-inflicted punishments, but also the purely social desire to prove publicly one's endurance and valour. The horrible tortures inflicted upon themselves by the Mandans in the so-called 'Sun dance,' and similar practices of other Northern tribes, are probably as much due to a desire to prove worth and endurance as to propitiate the Sun or the Great Spirit. [Father de Smet states (*Life, Letters, and Travels*, New York, 1905) that the warriors of the Arikaras and Gros Ventres, in the fast preparatory to going on the warpath, 'make incisions in their bodies, thrust pieces of wood into their flesh beneath the shoulder blade, tie leather straps to them, and let themselves be hung from a post fastened horizontally upon the edge of a chasm 150 feet deep.']

Similarly, the fastings which introduce so many Indian festivals spring from a variety of motives. Among the hunting tribes, with whom involuntary fasts were a matter of common chance, to fast frequently in times of plenty was a part of the normal training of a 'brave.' The training began early. Eastman, describing his early childhood, says (*Indian Boyhood*, New York, 1902):

> 'Sometimes my uncle would waken me very early in the morning and challenge me to fast with him all day. I had to accept the challenge. We blackened our faces with charcoal, so that every boy in the village would know that I was fasting for the day. Then the little tempters would make my life a misery until the merciful sun hid behind the western hills.'

But there was also a far deeper, a mystical, motive which made the fast a prominent feature of the Indian's life. A fast was endured by the young Indian on the verge of manhood, seeking the revelation of his tutelary in vision or by some oracular manifestation of Nature. Similar fasts, especially by medicine-men and women, seeking revelation in dream and vision, were common. Copway (*The Ojibway Nation*, London, 1850) describes in detail the visions of a young girl of his tribe (the Ojibwa) during a protracted period of fasting. It was in the summer season, and her people were coasting along the lake-side. The girl was taken with a mood of pensive sadness, and spent much time alone.

> 'One evening she was seen standing on the peak of pictured rocks, and, as the sun was passing the horizon, and the waves dashed furiously, she was heard to sing for the first time. Her long black hair floated upon the wind, and her voice was heard above the rustling of the leaves and the noise of the waters. When night came, she could not be seen. She had fled to the rocky cave, from whence were to go up her petitions to her gods.' She was not found until the fourth day, and during all that time she had tasted neither food nor drink. Her friends besought her to return to the camp, but she refused to do so until the gods were propitious to her. The night of the fifth day a young warrior appeared to her in a vision: 'What will you have,' he asked, 'the furs from the woods—the plumes of rare birds—the animals of the forest—or a knowledge of the properties of wild flowers?' She answered: 'I want a knowledge of the roots, that I may relieve the nation's sufferings, and prolong the lives of the aged.' This was promised, but she was not yet satisfied. On following days and nights other visions came. In one of her dreams two beings conducted her to the top of a high hill, whence she could see the clouds and lightning beneath. Her companion said: 'That which is before you, bordering on the great hill, is infancy. It is pleasant but dangerous. The rocks represent the perilous times of life.' At the very summit, where all the world was spread out below, as far as the Western sea, one of the beings touched the maiden's hair, and half of it turned white. In a final dream she was asked to enter a canoe on the lake, and, when she had done so, one of her visitors sang:
>
> 'I walk on the waves of the sea,
> I travel o'er hill and dale.'
>
> 'When becalmed,' said they, 'sing this, and you will hear us whisper to you.' The next day, the tenth of her fasting, she permitted herself to be taken to the camp. 'I have received the favour of the gods,' she said, 'I have travelled the journey of life, and have learned that I shall not die until my hair is turned white.'

It is obvious that there is the making of a mystical philosophy in this vision; and in a number of cases Indian religious sects have originated from the fasting-visions of their prophets. Characteristic of such visions is a journey into the spirit-world, whence the prophet returns to reveal 'the way' to his fellows; and in all Indian life there is nothing more pathetic and beautiful than the naive faith in these revelations.

Fasts of a purely ritualistic character naturally pertain to a more conventionalized stage of religion. In Peru two types of fasts were observed: one perfectly rigorous, the other merely involving abstinence from meat and seasoned food. In Mexico also fasts varied in their severity. In both countries fasts were imposed upon the priests that were not observed by the laity. The Peruvian priests fasted vicariously for the people.

Continence was enjoined as a feature of all important fasts. The notion of perpetual celibacy seems to have occurred only in Peru, where a certain number of priestesses were chosen to be 'Virgins of the Sun'; they were really regarded as the Sun's wives. Garcilasso states that there was a law that a virgin who fell should be immured alive, though there was no recorded instance of occasion for the infliction of this penalty—a law which, like their keeping of the perpetual fire in the temple of the Sun, is strikingly reminiscent of the Roman Vestals.

Penance for sins committed and confession of sins with a view to expiation were probably far more common than our records show. Confession and penance both appear in some North American religions of late origin, but probably from the influence of Catholic teachings. The clear case of native practice is the Aztec, recorded by Sahagun. The confession was secret, and the priest prescribed penance according to its gravity.

> 'They say that the Indians awaited old age before confessing the carnal sins. It is easy to comprehend that, although they had, indeed, committed errors in youth, they should not confess them before arriving at an advanced age, in order not to find themselves obliged to give over these follies till the senile years' (Sahagun, *Gen. Hist. of Affairs of New Spain*, I. xii.).

It is only fair to add that Sahagun's own account of the eagerness of the Indians to confess to the Spanish fathers rather belies this cynicism. The

Mexicans also severely punished lapses on the part of the servitors of the gods. At the festival of the gods of rain in the sixth Mexican month,

'they chastised terribly on the waters of the lake those servants of the idols who had committed any fault in their service. Indeed, they were maltreated to the point of being left for dead on the shores of the lake, where their relatives came to bear them home almost without life' (Sahagun, *op. cit.* I. vi.).

4. Besides the rites considered—magical rites, designed to compel unseen powers to the performer's desire; and rites of service, whether of the nature of placation or of pleasuring ('tendance')—there remains a third form of communion: direct supplication, prayer. Expression of desire is the root of language, and it is, therefore, an idle quest to ask after the origin of any instinctive form of it. But we may, in a general way, classify some of the elementary types of prayer as having a more or less conventionalized character.

It is first to be noted that prayer is not necessarily vocal. It may be conducted by symbols, sign-language; and signs are practically always retained with it: that is, there are conventional postures and gestures with which he who prays naturally or customarily accompanies his words. The beginning and end of almost every formal address to deity by the North American tribes was accompanied by the raising of the calumet or other token. Garcilasso describes a peculiar Peruvian gesture of adoration made by 'kissing the air,' which, he says, was performed when approaching an idol or adoring the Sun.

Father de Smet, at a feast among the Blackfeet, was requested by a chief to 'speak again to the Great Spirit before commencing the feast. I made the sign of the cross,' he says, 'and said the prayer. All the time it lasted, all the savage company, following their chief's example, held their hands raised toward heaven: the moment it ended, they lowered their right hands to the ground. I asked the chief for an explanation of this ceremony. "We raise our hands," he replied, "because we are wholly dependent on the Great Spirit; it is His liberal hand that supplies all our wants. We strike the ground afterward, because we are miserable beings, worms crawling before His face"' (*op. cit.* p. 253).

But other symbols besides gestures are employed. The Zuñis make extensive use of prayer-plumes in their worship of Nature-spirits and ancestors. In a ceremony in which she took part Mrs. Stevenson describes their *modus operandi*:

'After the *te'likinawe* [prayer-plumes] are all stood in the ground, each person takes a pinch of meal, brought by the mother-in-law in a cloth, and, holding the meal near the lips, repeats a prayer for health, long life, many clouds, much rain, food, and raiment, and the meal is sprinkled thickly over the plumes. . . . These plumes remain uncovered until sunset the following day, that the Sun Father, in passing over the road of day, may receive the prayers breathed upon the meal and into the plumes, the spiritual essence of the plumes conveying the breath prayers to him' (*23 RBEW* [1904], p. 120).

In many cases the symbolic objects used as prayers acquire a sanctity equal to or greater than that of a fetish or idol. This was especially true of the calumet and of the feathered wands employed in the Hako ceremonials. The prayer-sticks used in various Indian religions, in a manner analogous to the Catholic rosary, also acquire a fetishistic sacredness. These prayer-sticks are small strips of wood engraved with symbolic characters. Their use among the followers of the Kickapoo prophet Keokuk is described as follows:

'They reckon five of these [engraved] characters or marks. The first represents the heart, the second the heart and flesh, the third the life, the fourth their names, the fifth their families. During the service they run over these marks several times. First the person imagines himself as existing upon the earth, then he draws near the house of God, etc. Putting their finger on the lowest mark, they say: "O our Father, make our hearts like thy heart, as good as thine, as strong as thine.—As good as thy house, as good as the door of thy house, as hard and as good as the earth around thy house, as strong as thy walking staff. O our Father, make our hearts and our flesh like thy heart and thy flesh.—As powerful as thy heart and thy flesh.—Like thy house and thy door and thy staff, etc. O our Father, place our names beside thine—think of us as thou thinkest of thy house, of thy door, of the earth around thy house, etc."' This prayer is 'repeated to satiety,' and in 'a monotonous musical tone' (de Smet, *op. cit.* p. 1085 f.).

In this prayer there are to be noted two characteristics bearing upon the early psychology of prayer-communion. First, it is sung or chanted. Song plays an important rôle in the life of the Indian. It accompanies all his ceremonies, it is the music to which he dances, even his games and gambling are accommodated to its measures. It is a spontaneous and natural expression of his emotion under all life's stresses, and it is only to be expected that his prayers should mostly take this form. Indeed, it may be doubted if all his songs are not of the nature of prayer, either plea or thanksgiving. Some such case is surely implied by his peculiar reverence for proprietary rights in songs. Frederic Burton, who has made an especial study of the music of the Ojibwas, says (*Craftsman*, July 1907) that 'the composer is the owner, and wherever ancient customs are still preserved no Indian ventures to sing a song that does not belong to his family.' This plainly indicates the sacred character of formalized emotional expression: there is prayer in the very utterance of emotion, and wherever the expression is such as to stir the emotions of listening men it is felt that it cannot be less mandatory upon the gods.

The second point to be noticed is the painstaking repetition (much abridged in the example as given): the worshipper goes over the ground step by step, lest any elision of utterance leave a loophole for misunderstanding or failure. This is practically name-magic. It is the principle of the incantation and the spell. The name is not merely a mark of identification; it is a part of the essential being; it is a kind of spiritual essence. In its utterance there is appropriation of the veritable existence of the named object, and control of its activities. This is a commonplace of savage thinking, which lies at the base of the formularization of prayer.

Doubtless there is a secondary, less conscious, motive underlying repetitive expression. For repetition reacts upon the mind, concentrating attention upon the object of desire, and adding to the magic of naming the magic of thinking, *i.e.* the potency which the mere thinking of anything exerts to bring that thing to pass. The primitive mind does not distinguish readily between truth and conception, fact and myth, and it is not surprising that its own activities should seem to it to exercise occult causation (a belief which the more enlightened are slow to let go).

These various motives are admirably illustrated by the Hako ceremonial. The Hako consists of songs and dances with much mimetic action, embodied in some twenty rituals. The first stanza of the first part of the first ritual is as follows:

Ho-o-o!
I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
Heru! Awahokshu. He!
I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

This stanza (there are thirteen in the song, varying only in the fourth verse) is explained by Miss Fletcher in detail (*22 RBEW*, pt. 2 [1904], p. 27): *Ho-o-o* is an introductory exclamation. The verse three times repeated is made up of variants of *I'hare*, which is an 'exclamation that conveys the intimation that something is presented to the mind on which one must reflect, must consider its significance and its teaching.' *Heru* is an 'exclamation of reverent feeling, as when one is approaching something sacred.' *Awahokshu* is 'a composite word; *awa* is a part of *Tira'wa*, the supernatural powers, and *hokshu* means sacred, holy; thus the word *Awahokshu* means the abode of the supernatural powers, the holy place where they dwell.' *He* is, again, a variant of *I'hare*. Many of the songs are of a more dramatic character, and some have stories connected with them which must be understood to make them comprehensible, but this

stanza gives a fair example of the frame of mind in which they are conceived and sung.

The ceremony of the Hako, as a whole, is more analogous to the mystery than to any other form of rite, for it embraces in its purpose the teaching of truths and the sanctifying of the participants, as well as a plea for blessings. But that the Indians themselves consider it as primarily a prayer is evidenced by the statement of the leader:

'We take up the Hako in the spring when the birds are mating, or in the summer when the birds are nesting and caring for their young, or in the fall when the birds are flocking, but not in the winter when all things are asleep. With the Hako we are praying for the gift of life, of strength, of plenty, and of peace, so we must pray when life is stirring everywhere' (*22 RBEW*, pt. 2, p. 23 f.).

This is prayer, but it is prayer not far removed from magic.

Of prayers evincing a more individualized religious consciousness examples are not wanting, especially among the more cultured tribes. The lengthy Aztec supplications which have been preserved for us in what must be an approximately trustworthy form have been termed 'penitential psalms.' They are certainly replete with poetic imagery, though their perusal is likely to leave one with the feeling that the Aztecs were more keenly impressed with the smart and dolour of the general context of life than with any individual conviction of sin. Fine types of devotion are, nevertheless, not wanting. Father de Smet (*op. cit.* p. 326) records the supplication of an Indian who had lost three calumets (than which no greater loss could readily befall):

'O Great Spirit, you who see all things and undo all things; grant, I entreat you, that I may find what I am looking for; and yet let thy will be done.'

5. But we have yet to reach the most characteristic and heartfelt type of Indian religious experience—religious values as they strike home in the individual life. There can be no question that, as a race, the Indians are born mystics, and it is the mystic consciousness—in trance and vision—that is the most impressive factor of their religious life. The mysticism is begun already in the Indian's special view of Nature. For Nature is to him endued with an inner, hidden life, having passions and volitions analogous to man's, so that her whole external form is but the curtaining outer flesh of this inner light. An animist is an incipient pantheist, and a pantheist is but a sophisticated, ratiocinating mystic. Reliance upon dreams, the visions brought on by fasting, the trance and mediumship of shamans and prophets, soul-journeys to the spirit-world—all these are phases of the underlying belief that man may find within himself revelation of a higher life, that the veil which parts the seen from the unseen is of the flimsiest. Possession by a higher power, *enthusiasm*, is also a tenet of Indian mysticism, taking form, amongst those peoples who had invented intoxicants, in the induced inspiration of drunkenness. Again, there was belief in the familiar, the *daimon*. A Pend d'Oreille prophet had foretold precisely a Blackfoot attack upon his people. When about to be baptized, he explained his gift:

'I am called the great doctor, yet never have I given myself up to the practices of juggling, nor condescended to exercise its deceptions. I derive all my strength from prayer; when in a hostile country, I address myself to the Master of Life and offer him my heart and soul, entreating him to protect us against our enemies. A voice had already warned me of coming danger; I then recommend prudence and vigilance throughout the camp; for the monitory voice has never deceived me. I have now a favour to request: the mysterious voice calls me by the name of Chalax, and if you will permit, I desire to bear that name until my death' (de Smet, *op. cit.* p. 475).

Black Coyote, an Arapaho marked by seventy patterned scars where strips of skin had been removed, explained them to Mooney. Several of his children had died in rapid succession. In expiation, to save his family, he undertook a four days' fast. During the fast he heard a voice, 'somewhat resembling the cry of an owl or the subdued bark of a dog,' telling him that he must cut out seventy pieces of skin and offer them to the Sun. He immediately cut out seven pieces, held them out to the sun, prayed, and buried them. But the sun was not satisfied, and he was warned in a vision that the full number must be sacrificed.

Black Coyote was a leader of the 'Ghost dance' in his tribe, and it was through him that Mooney gained his first insight into the Indian understanding of this mystical religion. The 'Ghost dance' religion is the latest of a long series of Messianic religious movements, whereby the Indians have looked for an eventual release from white domination and the eventual restoration of their primitive state. Doubtless Christian doctrines have had an influence in giving form to the idea, and its recurrence and spread are to be largely accounted for by the fact of Indian contact with a strange and troubling race—a contact which has tended to awaken a sense of closer relationship and ethnic solidarity among the native tribes, and to stimulate the Indian mind to many unwonted ways of thought. But in their inceptions these religions, none the less, bear a thoroughly aboriginal cast. They come as revelations to the prophets who are their founders, come in trance and dream, and in large part their *modus operandi* is to induce trance and dream in their adherents—usually in the dances and fastings, perhaps hypnotisms, which dominate the ceremonial.

Wovoka, the prophet of the 'Ghost dance' religion, received his revelation at about the age of eighteen.

'On this occasion the "sun died" (was eclipsed), and he fell asleep in the daytime and was taken up to the other world. Here he saw God, with all the people who had died long ago engaged in their oldtime sports and occupations, all happy and for ever young. It was a pleasant land and full of game. After showing him all, God told him he must go back and tell his people they must be good and love one another, have no quarrelling, and live in peace with the whites; that they must work, and not lie or steal; that they must put away all the old practices that savoured of war; that if they faithfully obeyed his instructions they would at last be reunited with their friends in this other world, where there would be no more death or sickness or old age. He was then given the dance which he was commanded to bring back to his people. By performing this dance at intervals, for five consecutive days each time, they would secure this happiness to themselves and hasten the event' (Mooney, in *14 RBEW*, p. 771 f.).

It is little wonder that, as this revelation passed from tribe to tribe, it came to mean a promise of restoration, here on this earth, of the old life the Indian still holds dear. The whites were to be forced back by the hand of God, the Indian dead were to come to life and re-people the land, the herds of buffalo were to be restored, plenty was to prevail for ever. And the dance became the occasion of vision of this blessed state, a ghostly realization of the hope deferred, sent for the comfort of those wearied in waiting.

How closely the utterances of the Indian may approach to those of the white mystic is shown in the account given by a Puget Sound prophet, 'John Slocum,' of his revelation.

'At night my breath was out, and I died. All at once I saw a shining light—great light—trying my soul. I looked and saw my body had no soul—looked at my own body—it was dead. . . . My soul left body and went up to judgment place of God. . . . I have seen a great light in my soul from that good land; I have understand all Christ wants us to do. Before I came alive I saw I was a sinner. Angel in heaven said to me, "You must go back and turn alive again on earth." . . . When I came back, I told my friends, "There is a God, there is a Christian people. My good friends, be Christian." When I came alive, I tell my friends, "Good thing in heaven. God is kind to us. If you all try hard and help me we will be better men on earth." And now we all feel that it is so' (*14 RBEW*, p. 752).

The ideas here are derived from the teachings of

the whites, but the mystical experience which gives them their force and vividness belongs to no particular race, or, if it belongs to any one more than another, it is surely the Indian whose claim to it is best.

6. In conclusion, a word must be said regarding the reflective aspect of the Indian's thought, his philosophy, and the devotional spirit responding to it. There is, of course, among the Indians, a gradation of conception as great as their gradation in culture, which ranges from the utter savagery of the naked cannibals of Brazil to the grave and refined decorum of men like the Aymara and Maya; but it may be questioned whether the intellectual advancement of the Indian at his best is not greater than that accompanying a like stage of material knowledge elsewhere in the world. The American continents appear not to have furnished the natural facilities for material conquests to be found in Mediterranean and some Asiatic regions; there were not equally ready natural alloys of metal, for example, and no animals comparable with the horse and ox capable of domestication.

Certainly the mental attainment of the Indian, at its climax, may be fairly compared with early Greek and Hindu thought. While Indian speculation had nowhere passed beyond the stage of mythologizing thought, it had, in its mythologies, frequently attained a henotheistic and approached a monotheistic or even a pantheistic conception of the Divine nature. The attainment of such conceptions is, in fact, almost implicit in the evolution of speech, as evidenced by the peculiar sanctity which attaches to a name in primitive thought, and its irresistible tendency to hypostatization. This is curiously illustrated by the Indian notion of an archetypal chief (a veritable Platonic Idea) of every animal species, from which each individual of the species draws its life. The myth of such universals—*universalia ante res*, in the true Scholastic sense—is a plain consequence of the primitive inability to think an abstraction other than concretely; every idea corresponds to a reality because every idea is a present vision of its object. With man's growing consciousness of his superiority to the rest of the animal kingdom, it is inevitable that the archetype of his own species, the anthropomorphic god, should assume the leadership of the whole pantheon of animal deities.

Eventually, too, the Indian conception of the natural world as made up of congeries of active, volitional powers, of *makers* and *doers*, must result in the notion of a Supreme maker, controller of all lesser destinies. The Supreme Being will, to be sure, be concretely represented (that is always a necessity of primitive thinking), but the dominant idea is sure to be betrayed in his names and attributes. The Mexican Tezcatlipoca was represented under the form of a young man, but he was regarded as 'invisible and impalpable,' penetrating all places in heaven, in earth, and in hell. The very names of certain Peruvian deities prove their abstractness: Pachaychacher, 'he who instructs the world'; Chincha Camac, 'the creator and protector of the Chinchas'; Pachacamac, 'he who animates the world,' 'soul of the universe.' Possibly some of these names were originally cult-epithets, but this does not detract from the fact that they came to be considered the proper description of the deity. Pachacamac was originally the god of the Yuncas, by whom he was worshipped under the form of an idol. It is an interesting commentary on the mental pre-eminence of the Incas that, when they had conquered the Yuncas, they assimilated Pachacamac to their own Sun-worship. The Sun was worshipped by the Incas as their ancestor, and, if not as a purely monotheistic god, at least as one infinitely superior to all others. But the god of the civilized Yuncas was not to be disregarded, and from the recorded remarks of some of the Inca emperors it is plain that sun-worship was not wholly satisfying to Inca intelligence. Hence it was that they adopted the belief in Pachacamac, regarding him as the sustainer of life; but they decreed that, because he was invisible, there should be no temples built to him and no sacrifices offered; they were to content themselves with adoring him, says Garcilasso, 'in their souls, with great veneration, as sufficiently appears from the external demonstrations which they made with the head, the eyes, the arms, with the whole attitude of body, whenever his name was mentioned' (*op. cit.* VI. xxx. cf. II. ii.).

In North America the more enlightened tribes seem all to have recognized a 'Great Spirit' or 'Master of Life,' a supreme power to whom was due an especial devotion, as the ultimate giver of all good. And it is curious to note how this belief constantly tends to elevate the Supreme Deity to a sphere remote from human interest; he becomes an impassive spectator of the world he has created, to whom it is useless to address prayers and sacrifices save through mediators.

Thus, the Ojibwas place at the head of their pantheon a Great Spirit or Manitou, whose name is mentioned only with reverence, but who plays no great part in worship. Beneath him is the good Manitou, from whom men receive the mysteries, and between whom and men Manabozho, the 'Great Rabbit,' acts as mediator and intercessor. A similar belief in a Supreme God and demiurgic beings appears among the Pawnees. 'All the powers that are in the heavens and all those that are upon the earth are derived from the mighty power, Tira'wa atius. He is the father of all things visible and invisible' (*22 RBEW*, pt. 2, p. 107). But, 'at the creation of the world it was arranged that there should be lesser powers. Tira'wa atius, the mighty power, could not come near to man, could not be seen or felt by him, therefore the lesser powers were permitted. They were to mediate between man and Tira'wa' (*ib.* p. 27). The following verses, translated by Miss Fletcher from a Pawnee ritual, show how nearly this conception approaches the monotheistic ideal:

'Each god in his place
Speaks out his thought, grants or rejects
Man's suppliant cry, asking for help;
But none can act until the Council grand
Comes to accord, thinks as one mind,
Has but one will, all must obey.
Hearken! The Council gave consent—
Hearken! And great Tira'wa, mightier than all' (*ib.* p. 367).

The name of the Supreme Being is never uttered by the Indian save with devout reverence. Indeed, one missionary, in commenting upon the lack of oaths in Indian tongues, states that the Indians are not merely shocked but terribly frightened at the white man's swearing. This points in the direction of name-magic, but that name-magic can be no full account of the Indian's attitude, that this attitude is indeed one of intense and earnest reverence, the barest acquaintance with Indian psychology makes sure.

But the Indian is not entirely free from that scepticism which advance in reflective thinking must always entail. It is recorded of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui that he questioned the divinity of the Sun on the ground that in following always the same course through the heavens it was acting the part of a slave rather than a free and regnant being. And there are certain utterances of the Aztec (such as that in which Tezcatlipoca is addressed: 'We men, we are but a pageant before

you, a spectacle for your sport and diversion') which imply an unlooked-for maturity of reflexion, and give promise of philosophic developments which we can scarce but regret the history of the world should not have made possible.

LITERATURE.—The literature of American Indian religious life is the literature of American Indian life in general, which is at once extensive and widely distributed. For North America the *Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1879 to date), together with the *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, previously published in part under the auspices of the Department of the Interior, are of first importance; and among these publications special mention should be made of the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, pt. 1 [1907], in which extensive bibliographies are given, and also of *14 RBEW*, pt. 2 [1896], embodying 'The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890,' by James Mooney, perhaps the most valuable single contribution to the study of the religious psychology of the Indian. Only second in value are the 73 vols. of Thwaites' ed. of *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cincinnati, 1896–1901), with which should be mentioned the 4 vols. of the *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet, S.J.* (New York, 1905). The works of George Catlin, H. R. Schoolcraft (especially *Algic Researches*, New York, 1829, and *Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indians of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1853), and Daniel G. Brinton (especially *Myths of the New World*, Philadelphia, 1868), deserve particular mention among earlier writings. The principal earlier works regarding the Indians of both Americas are given in the bibliography annexed to the article, 'Indians, American' in *EBr*[9]. For the religions of Mexico and Peru the best general summaries are still those of Prescott (in his *Conquest of Mexico*, 1874, and *Conquest of Peru*, 1874), where bibliographical references will be found. For Peruvian religion no single work is so valuable as Garcilasso de la Vega's *History of the Incas*—in Spanish, French, and English editions (the latter by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1869); and for the religion of the Aztecs the most notable work is that of Bernardino de Sahagun, especially in the scholarly edition of Jourdanet and Simeon, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (Paris, 1880). The *Maya Chronicles* (tr. Brinton, Philadelphia, 1882), and the Quiché *Popol Vuh*, a native work written down after the conquest (Fr. tr. by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, Paris, 1861), are Central American documents of the first value.

H. B. ALEXANDER.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Babylonian).—The supreme concern of all religions, as is maintained by Kant in his *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* (1793), is redemption. Religion is a striving after communion with Deity by a process of deliverance from the evil inherent in man and in his environment. In the religion of Babylonia, so far as it is historically known to us, the essential element manifests itself in the investigation of the 'mystery of heaven and earth' (*niṣirtu šamê u irṣitim*), which 'the knower (*mudû*) guards and hands down to his son.' As in all mystery-religions, the interest centres in (1) the mystery of the cosmos, which alike in its totality and in its isolated phenomena is regarded as the revelation of a single undivided Divine power; and (2) the mystery of life—that life which in the cycle of phenomena arises out of death.

The inscriptions supply no direct evidence bearing upon the Bab. mysteries. These were concerned with things 'which fear of the Deity prohibits from being communicated to others.' Our knowledge of them must therefore be gathered from the mythology. The myths of the Babylonians are the materializing expression of a monistic cosmic doctrine, the leading axioms of which are (1) that the world is an embodiment of Deity; and (2) that the terrestrial structure corresponds to the celestial, every phenomenon in Nature being a revelation of the Divine.

To look for traces of a primitive religion in the Bab. records is a bootless task. In the historical period known to us religious thought rests upon a monistic conception of the Universe, while the mythology, which expresses this monistic conception in the language of symbol, provides in turn a basis for the cultus and the festive drama. The cultus, whether national or local, was designed to utilize the cosmic mystery for the benefit of the people at large and of the individual; the festive drama represented the warfare of cyclic phenomena—the victory of light over darkness, and of life over death. Here we come upon the sources of religious deterioration. At the very heart of the cultus lay the *art of the astrologers and the cult of the magicians* (even hepatoscopy, according to which the structure of the cosmos was to be traced in the liver of the sheep, was neither more nor less than the practice of astrology transferred to the shambles of the priest, and its object was to apply the cosmic doctrine to the history of the individual), based upon the belief in demons, and this belief, again, was likewise a creation of mythology.

Alike in the mysteries and in the public religion of the Babylonians the motive power was *the aspiration after communion with Deity*, and the cult of magic which was based upon demonology had a similar object in view. In 1 Co 10[20] St. Paul, the greatest of religious philosophers, speaks thus of the heathen: *ἃ θύουσιν . . . δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ θύουσιν· οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς* **κοινωνοὺς** *τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι* (cf. v.[16] *κοινωνία*, in the Lord's Supper; and v.[18] *κοινωνοί*, of the Israelites in their sacrifices).

The mystery of communion with Deity may assume either of two forms: the ascent of man to the Divine sphere, or the incarnation of the Deity in a human person. Traces of both are found in the Bab. records, and, if we possessed literary evidence regarding the religious mysteries, we should more clearly identify the two categories. In several important features the mysteries of Mithra may be adduced by way of illustration, as the religion of Mithra is simply a Persian reproduction of that of Babylonia. In the original Bab. sources we note the following phases of our subject:—

1. The ascent of the cosmic tower as a religious ceremony.—In the centre of every Bab. city stood a storeyed tower. 'Its pinnacle shall reach to heaven': so runs the regular formula in the later inscriptions upon buildings. This tower was regarded as the earthly replica of the heavenly sanctuary, whose storeys (the three regions of the Universe, or the seven spheres of the planets, rising to the highest heaven, the seat of the *summus deus*) lead to the *summus deus* (cf. the symbolical language in 1 Ti 3[13] *βαθμὸν ἑαυτοῖς καλὸν περιποιοῦνται*; 2 Co 12[2] *ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ*). Gudea (*c.* 2600 B.C.) says: 'Ningirsu ordains a good destiny for him who ascends to the top of the temple with the seven *tupkat*.' In the mysteries of Osiris and Mithra the place of the tower is taken by the ladder (in the Mithra cult, the ladder of the seven metals, corresponding to the seven planets; in the Manichæan *bîmâ*, five steps, to correspond with the number of the planets less the unpropitious two) which is ascended by the devotee. It is possible to regard the climbing of this *scala santa* as a mere *opus operatum*—an act to which as such the gods assign a reward. But we hold it to be by no means impossible that even in ancient Babylonia the physical mystery was associated with ethical conceptions, precisely as we find in the mysteries of a later date ('the soul's ascent to heaven'). Babylonian mythology, as, *e.g.*, in the solar hymns, presents features of such moral intensity that we may venture to assume the presence of ethical ideas even in the beliefs that underlie the myths.

2. The religious festival of the death and restoration of Tammûz.—The community celebrated this festival by wailing and rejoicing, and by the performance of appropriate symbolic ceremonies. The observance is attested by numerous hymns in praise of Tammûz, and by the conclusion of 'Ištar's Descent into Hell,' in which he is honoured as the resuscitated deity. The celebration was meant to express the longing of the individual to link his own destiny with the mystery of life. The same motive shows itself quite un-

mistakably in the Osiris mysteries of the Egyptians (cf. 'Egyptian' section of this article).

The identical conception is found in the Attis-Adonis-Dionysos-Mithra cults. As a matter of fact, all these are, so to speak, but dialects of the same spiritual tongue. Nor can there be any doubt that a similar idea lies at the basis of the myth and cult of Tammūz. Although our available material relating to the cult of Tammūz has not as yet supplied any direct evidence regarding the mysteries of that god, the epic of Gilgamesh shows indirectly that the idea of such mysteries was current in Babylonia. In this epic the myths which originally represented the doings of the gods are applied to heroes; to derive the mystery from the hero legend is to reverse the actual process of development. Gilgamesh is the Dr. Faustus of the Babylonians. He goes forth to seek his ancestor, who had at one time been received into 'the fellowship of the gods,' and who therefore bore the name *Ut-napištim* ('he saw life'). On an island beyond the river of death, moreover, Gilgamesh finds the herb that endows him with life. The story of his passing through suffering and death to life is then transferred to historical kings, and the king receives 'the food of life' from the gods, though other mortal beings reach the same goal, as may be gathered from the use of certain metaphorical expressions. Thus, an officer of the court, who has been emancipated by the king, gives thanks that the latter 'has held the herb of life to his nostrils.' The penitential psalms of the Babylonians likewise give expression to the idea that he who has suffered and gone down to death receives liberty and 'life.' Precisely as in the mysteries of Osiris, his destiny is compared with what happens to the moon, which proceeds through death to new life, *i.e.* through the three days of invisibility to the new moon which is welcomed with rejoicing.

3. **The idea of a Divine incarnation in the person of the king.**—The underlying principle of this has already been explained. The king, as man κατ' ἐξοχήν (cf. the ideogram which indicates him as the 'great man'), is a microcosm. The Deity becomes incarnate in him. In the Etana myth, Bel and Enlil make search for a shepherd who shall govern the world. Sceptre, band, cap, and staff all lie ready before Anu. In a certain hymn Gilgamesh, who seeks and finds 'life,' is worshipped 'as the deity; he surveys the regions of the world; he rules the earth; and kings, governors, princes kneel before him.' Ninib, in a heroic poem, utters the wish 'that his royal dominion may extend to the confines of heaven and earth.' In the inscriptions the determinative of deity is affixed to the names of Sargon and Naram-sin, the founders of the first world-empire of history, as also to those of other Bab. kings. Naram-sin is 'the mighty god of Agade.' Esarhaddon, who sought to restore the ancient Bab. world-empire, 'ascends the throne of the deity.' Nor does the absence of the symbol of deity in any particular case imply that the king in question did not rank as Divine. The idea of the divinity of kings was always present, though it was not applied in every case. But the attribute of deity belonged in the ultimate to every individual. According to the regular form of expression, man is 'created in the image of the Deity'; he is 'the child of his god.' The hymns and prayers of the Babylonians are all founded upon this conception of communion with Deity.

4. **The penitential psalms.**—These are called 'threnodies for calming the heart,' and in the form in which they now appear in the library of Ashurbanipal they are part of the system of magic ceremonies. The psalms themselves, however, are of remote age, being products of the ancient Bab. period. A transcript of one of them, together with a linguistic commentary, has been discovered at Sippar. The moral and religious intensity of the psalms would favour the theory that several of them at least were originally independent poetical compositions. Their impressive sense of guilt, the agony of being forsaken by the gods, and the pathetic cry for deliverance from deep distress remind us of the view expressed by Kant in his *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, viz. that morality, *i.e.* the tragic struggle against the principle of evil waged by a man intensely conscious of his need of redemption, is the root of all religion. It is true that the psalms were supposed to be spoken by the king, or by one of his high officials. But the suppliant was regarded as the representative of the people; the monarch suffered vicariously—as the shepherd of men; and the more strenuously he applied himself to good works—principally of a ceremonial kind, it is true—the more acutely did he suffer, and the more earnestly did he sigh for salvation. The suppliant of the psalms speaks in the main with the Deity. He laments that the inner bond of communion which unites him as 'the child of his god' with 'his god' is broken. The sufferings which he describes are not merely those of the body, but also those of the soul. The psalms conclude with the utterance of joy as the speaker sees that his deliverance is at hand, and that he is to be brought back again 'to life.'

We give here a version of the most profound of these penitential psalms from the library of Ashurbanipal. This is the psalm of which a duplicate fragment and a philological commentary were found at Sippar.

'I attained to (long) life, it exceeded the term of life;
Whithersoever I turn, there it stands ill—ill indeed;
My affliction increases; my prosperity I see not.

If I cried to my god, he did not vouchsafe his countenance to me;
If I entreated my goddess, her head was not vouchsafed;
The soothsayer did not read the future by soothsaying;
By means of a libation the seer did not restore my right;
If I went to the necromancer, he let me understand nothing;
The magician did not unloose by a charm the curse upon me.
What confusion of things (is there) in the world!

If I looked behind me, trouble pursued me,
As if I had not offered a libation to my god,
Or at my meal my goddess had not been invoked,
My countenance not cast down, my act of prostration not seen.
(As one) on whose lips had ceased prayer and supplication;
(With whom) the day of God had been discontinued, the feast-day disregarded;
Who was remiss, did not give heed to the utterance (?) (of the gods),
Fear and worship (of God) did not teach his people,
Who did not invoke his god, ate of his food;
Forsook his goddess, brought no petition (?) before her.
Who him that was worshipped—his lord—forgot;
The name of his mighty god uttered contemptuously—so did I appear.

But I myself thought only of prayer and supplication.
Prayer was my custom, sacrifice my rule.
The day of divine worship was the pleasure of my heart;
The day of the procession of the goddess was gain and riches (to me).
To do homage to the king, that was my delight;
Likewise to play for him, that was pleasant to me.
I taught my country to respect the name of God;
To revere the name of the goddess I instructed my people.
The adoration of the king I made giant(?)-like;
Also in the veneration of the palace did I instruct my nation.
Did I but know that before God false things are acceptable!
But what seems good to oneself that is evil with God;
What is vile to one's mind that is good with his god.
Who could understand the counsel of the gods in heaven?
The purpose of a god—full of darkness (?)—who could fathom it?
How shall frail men comprehend the way of a god?
He who still lived in the evening was dead in the morning.
Suddenly was he distressed; swiftly was he crushed.
At one moment he still sings and plays;
In an instant he shrieks like a mourner.

Day and night their thought changes.
If they hunger, they are like a corpse;
If they are full, they think to equal their god.
If it be well with them, they talk of mounting to heaven.
If they are full of pains, they speak of going down to hell.
(Here a considerable fragment is missing.[1])
The house has become a prison unto me.
In the shackles of my flesh my arms are set;
My feet have been thrown into my own fetters.
(Here a line is missing.)
With a whip he has scourged me, full of . . .
With his rod he has pierced me—the thrust was violent.
All the day the pursuer pursues me;
During the night he does not let me breathe for a moment.

By rending (?) my joints are severed;
My limbs are dissolved, are . . .
In my ordure did I roll (?) like an ox;
Was bemired like a sheep with my own excrement.
My symptoms of fever remained obscure (?) to the magicians;
And the soothsayer has left my prognostications in darkness.
The exorcist has not handled my illness successfully;
Nor has the diviner set a termination to my malady.
My god did not help me, did not grasp me by the hand;
My goddess did not pity me, did not go by my side.

My coffin was (already) opened; they were preparing for my burial (?).
Though not yet dead, the dirge was performed for me;
My whole country cried: "How he has been evil-entreated!"
When my enemy heard this, his countenance shone;
It was told to my enemy (f.) (?)—her (?) spirit waxed cheerful.

But I know of a time for my whole family,
When amidst the shades their divinity shall receive honour' (?).

In the tablets of the library of Ashurbanipal this psalm was followed by a song of thanksgiving for Divinely wrought deliverance, but as yet the linguistic commentary to it contains all that has been discovered. According to the commentary, the conclusion of this thanksgiving gave expression to the following thoughts:

'He made my power equal to (that of) one who is perfect in power.
He wiped the rust from off me; he made me to shine like red gold;
My troubled course of life became serene.
By the divine stream, where the judgment of men is held,
The stain of slavery was cleansed away from me, the chain unbound;
In the mouth of the lion which would have devoured me,
Marduk has put a curb.'

The counterpart to these penitential psalms appears in the ethical counsels which are spoken of as being inscribed upon tablets setting forth the conditions of communion with Deity. In the text given below we see the mythopœic process being applied to the Deity—more particularly in the case of Šamaš (the sun), and there is other evidence to show that moral ideas were in a special manner associated with the Šamaš myths. In a certain long hymn to Šamaš we find the constantly recurring refrain: 'That is acceptable to Šamaš—his life is prolonged.' The most important portion of the ethical text referred to runs as follows:

'Before thy god shalt thou have a heart of purity (?).
It is that which is due to the Deity.
Prayer, supplication, and casting down of the face
Shalt thou render to him early in the morning, then he shall send plenty.
In thy learning (?) look at the tablet:
Fear of God brings forth grace;
Sacrifice gives increase of life;
And prayer cancels sin.
He who fears the gods will not call in vain (?);
He who fears Anunnaki prolongs his life.
With friend and companion thou shalt not speak (evil);
Base things shalt thou not utter, kindness . . .
If thou dost promise, give . . .
If thou dost encourage, . . .

Thou shalt not rule tyrannically;
He who does so—his god is offended with him.
He is not acceptable to Šamaš: he (Šamaš) will recompense him with evil.

[1] Some lines can be restored from the commentary already mentioned, and from a duplicate in Constantinople. These cover a description of the speaker's afflicted state, this description having been introduced by the words: 'An evil spirit of death has come forth from his cavern.'

Offer food, give wine to drink;
Seek (?) truth, provide, and . . .
One who does this—his god has delight in him.
He is acceptable to Šamaš: he (Šamaš) will recompense him with good.'

These texts likewise, with all their profoundly religious spirit, are polytheistic in form. But it must be remembered that to the enlightened mind the various phenomena of Nature were not gods, but rather the manifestations of a single Divine power; and it was with this power that the man who felt his need of redemption sought to establish communion. The Babylonian religion, as is well known, developed a doctrine of redemption, specially associated with the figure of Marduk. The conception of redemption tends to embody itself in history; the representative of each new age is invested with the mythical elements of the conception. It became at length actual fact of history in Him who—*teste David cum Sibylla*—came to offer to mankind the gift of perfect communion with God.

LITERATURE.—H. Zimmern, in *KAT*[3], 1903, p. 609 f., also *Der alte Orient*, vii. 3 [1905], p. 27 ff. (containing the above interpretation of the penitential psalms); A. Jeremias, *Monotheistische Strömungen innerhalb der bab. Religion*, Leipzig, 1904, also *Das AT im Lichte des alten Orients*[2], Leipzig, 1906, p. 205 ff., and (for the Osiris mystery) *Im Kampf um den alten Orient*, Leipzig, i.[2] [1903], p. 62 ff.

A. JEREMIAS.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Celtic).[1]—Among the Celts the methods of communion with Deity appear to have varied with the level reached in the process of religious development (and here, as elsewhere, we find a certain correlation between the means employed and the stage to which the evolution had attained), as well as with the nature of the deities themselves. In the main centres of Gallo-Roman civilization, for example, under the Empire, the methods of religious worship and communion with Deity were practically assimilated to those of the Græco-Roman pagan world, with its temples, altars, images, votive tablets, prayers, and the like (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* viii. 15, i. 29 (32); *de Virt. S. Jul.* 5). The remains of the Celto-Roman world, as well as the testimony of early post-Roman Christian writers, make this abundantly clear. At the same time, glimpses are visible in the classical writers, as well as in later folk-lore, of more primitive conditions, which present points of analogy with the methods of communion with Deity known to us from religions of a less advanced type.

1. Communion with Nature-deities.—A very large number of Celtic deities were the gods and goddesses of particular localities. These were, doubtless, closely associated with certain local natural phenomena, such as wells, rivers, caves, islands, arms of the sea, and the like. The practical part which these deities were thought to play in the life of their particular district was, no doubt, connected with the growth of crops; the continuance of sentient life (both animal and human); the restoration of man and beast to health; and the defence, both of the individual and of the community, from all enemies, visible and invisible. The methods employed for coming into communion with these purely local Divine beings were of various kinds, based upon the idea of contact; but little direct evidence is extant as to their character. The Celtic root *tong* ('to swear') probably meant 'to touch' (Lat. *tango*). The various charms and incantations (see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Celtic]) of Celtic countries (founded largely on the principles of sympathetic magic) doubtless represent some of the methods employed; but it is not certain that the use of magic implies a steady and unwavering belief in the existence of Divine beings; and, at certain levels of thought, even in Christian

[1] Cf., throughout, art. CELTS.

countries, unscientific attempts of a magical type to influence Nature may have sprung into being.

In the case of pagan Gaul, we are fortunate in having some ancient evidence as to the methods of communicating with the deities of springs in the eight leaden tablets, found in June 1845 in the principal spring of Amélie-les-Bains, in the Pyrénées Orientales, which appear to contain an invocation to the spring-goddesses (Niskai), asking for restoration to health. These tablets have, unfortunately, been lost since 1849; but their finder, Col. A. Puiggari, had made a copy of them, which was published in *RA* iv. pl. 71. [This has been (imperfectly) transcribed in *CIL* xii. 5367, and, with greater care, by Nicholson, *Keltic Researches*, London, 1904, p. 154 ff.] The address of Ausonius to the spring of Bordeaux as 'Divona, Celtarum lingua, fons addite divis' is of interest in this connexion.

Part of the value of the above tablets consists in the light which they throw on certain practices familiar to students of Celtic folk-lore (see Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 354–395), such as the throwing of pins, buttons, rags, or other small objects into wells in order to obtain restoration to health; or the affixing of some fragment of a garment to a tree near a well. In all these and similar methods an attempt is made to link the person who requires the boon with the local supernatural being that can bestow it, through some object that has been in contact with the former, and that can be brought into contact with the latter, thus serving as a kind of channel of benefaction from one to the other. When, as occasionally happened, the assistance of the well-spirit was invoked against an evil-doer or an enemy, the well-spirit was brought into hostile knowledge of the enemy in question by the action of the seeker of Divine assistance in uttering the name of the enemy or evil-doer against whom the help was needed (Rhŷs, *op. cit.* i. 364). The devices adopted would vary according to localities, or according to the kind of natural object which the deity or spirit haunted, when it was sought to establish communication therewith.

Celtic folk-lore also appears to point to occasions when the local deity was not merely passive and invisible in the act of communion, but active; and there are suggestions that the being that was normally hidden from view might at times reveal himself in visible form. Sometimes the form which the manifestation takes is animal, as in the case of the water-bull, the water-horse, sacred fish, and other creatures; but sometimes it is human, as in the case of the Welsh *Afanc* (= Irish *abacc*, 'a dwarf'), the *Fenodyree*, or brownie, the Welsh *Cyhiraeth*, the lake-maiden, and the water-hag (see Rhŷs, *op. cit.* i. 32). These manifestations were, in the eyes of the pagan Celts, probably as varied in their motives as those of man to man, and comprised manifestations of vengeance or hostility (as in the production of floods), as well as of beneficence.[1] It is easy to see how many stories imaginative races might weave out of the accounts of these manifestations; and many of the legends, both past and present, of Celtic countries show unmistakable traces of derivation from this source (Rhŷs, *op. cit. passim*).

2. Communion with tribal deities.—Side by side with local Nature-deities we have the deities of human racial communities. These were probably, in many cases, identical in practice with the deities of the soil, when a community had been long settled; but they are clearly distinguishable from them in idea, and, owing to tribal wanderings, they were doubtless, in many cases, distinguishable from them in fact. As for the forms under which the deities of this type were conceived, it was as natural for early man to picture them, like the local Nature-deities, in animal or plant as in human form—perhaps at one time it was even more natural. The animal-deities of the Celts may have been, in origin, partly local gods, partly communal gods, varying in character with the form which the community took. The worship of the *Matres* and the *Matronæ* among the Celts probably reflects, for example, a stage of society in which the human counterparts of these goddesses were the most conspicuous social elements in the community. In this stage the Divine father of the community may have been conceived sometimes as a tree or a plant, sometimes as an animal, and sometimes, not impossibly, as a man. In the idea of communion with Deity in this connexion, the bond emphasized would be that of identity with the Divine nature rather than local contact. This would be attained partly by lineage, and partly by periodical consumption of the flesh of the Divine being.[1]

In Dio, lxii. 7, the Britons are represented as 'sacrificing and feasting' (*θύοντές τε ἅμα καὶ ἑστιώμενοι*), and there is a passage of Arrian (*Cyneg.* xxxiv. 1) which suggests a certain tribal co-operation in a sacrificial worship of a goddess, whom he identifies with Artemis. For each animal taken by the hunter a certain sum was paid into the tribal treasury, and once a year, on the birthday of Artemis (*τὰ γενέθλια τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*), the treasury was opened, and from the joint fund animals for sacrifice, such as a sheep, a goat, or a calf, were bought. After sacrificing, first of all, to the 'Savage Goddess' (*τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ*), the worshippers and their dogs feasted, and on that day, Arrian adds, they adorned their dogs with garlands. It is not impossible that we have here an account of an ancient communal feast, where the older participation in the flesh of certain hunted totems was later commuted into that of feasting upon other animals. The reference of Cæsar, too (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 13. 4), to excommunication by the Druids among the Gauls ('si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt') implies that communion in sacrifice was a vital social bond, and, originally, it may well be that its essence was communion of substance with the tribal deity.

There is a suggestion also of a communal sacrifice in a passage of Diodorus (v. 284), where he says that, on certain religious occasions, there were, close to the worshippers, 'hearths laden with fire, and having upon them cauldrons and spits full of the carcasses of whole animals' (*πλήρεις κρεῶν ὁλομερῶν*). In later times there may be an echo of these ceremonies in Magnobodus (*Vita Maurilii*, 19 [*AS*, 13 Sept., vol. iv. p. 74 D]), where reference is made to an ancient pagan feast which was conducted with much hilarity and some disorder ('tanta stultorum hominum singulis annis turba conveniebat, ut diebus septem solemnia ibi sacrilega exsolverent bacchando, et choros gentiles ducendo; sed et frequenter post vina et epulas insurgentes in se multorum caede mutua sanguinem effundebant').

In those harvest customs where the last sheaf cut is called the Maiden, and a feast is held in its presence, it is not impossible that the festival was originally a communal sacrifice. Such a feast is annually held, according to Frazer (*GB*² ii. 184), in the district of Lochaber, while there is a Devonshire practice called 'Crying the neck' (*ib.* 258 f.), which may originally have been the killing of the corn-spirit for the purpose of a sacrificial meal. The way in which the corn-spirit is conceived in certain districts of Scotland, for example (*ib.* 269), as a cock, a hare, or a goat, points clearly in the same direction.[2] Apparently, in some districts each farm has its own embodiment of it. There are traces of a period of similar communion with Deity among the Welsh, Scots, and Bretons in the respect paid to the wren, and the solemnity with which it was periodically slain (Frazer, *op. cit.* 442 f.).

Another method of communion with animal tribal deities was by imitation, as when men clad themselves in the skins of animals of the same kind as the deity. There was, for example, a

[1] The 'bacucei' (Cassian, *Collat.* vii. 32. 2) and the 'dusii' (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23) were probably hostile divinities of this type.

[1] On traces of totemism among the Celts, see art. CELTS, above, p. 297 f.

[2] The significance of the names 'the Maiden' and 'the Hag' for the corn-spirit is discussed by Frazer (*op. cit.*) at length.

Highland custom, whereby, on a certain day of the year, a man (doubtless as a representative of his tribe) clad himself in a cow-skin (see John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the 18th Cent.*, ed. 1888, ii. 438). Nor does this reference stand alone, for in Elton (*Origins of English Hist.*^{2}, 1890, p. 411) there is quoted an old injunction prohibiting any masquerading in animals' skins ('si quis in Kal. Jan. in cervulo vel vitula vadit, id est, in ferarum habitus se communicant, et vestiuntur pellibus pecudum, et assumunt capita bestiarum,' etc.).

3. Communion with Deity strengthened or renewed.—It is impossible to read the accounts of the classical writers as to Celtic religion without observing the prominent place given therein to the idea of propitiatory sacrifice—a sacrifice which, at one time, appears to have meant the offering of human victims. It is by no means easy to discover the precise history of the ideas which led to these human sacrifices; but they appear to be based on the conceptions (*a*) that there could be no true communion with an angry deity if the worshipper was empty-handed; and (*b*) that the occurrence of calamities and catastrophes suggested that the gods had been treated with neglect, and so the deficiency of attention to them had to be made up by means of special offerings. With these ideas there was also associated that of the necessity of purging society, as well as the land, from undesirable elements; and, in some cases, there may have survived a reminiscence of the practice discussed in GB^2 of slaying the human representative of a god before his vigour had begun to decay, in order to preserve the tribe. Of the latter practice, however, the writer has been able to discover no trace on Celtic soil, in spite of the fact that the tabus (*gessa*) laid upon the Irish kings of Tara suggest that they bore a certain sacred character (*The Book of Rights*, ed. J. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1847, pp. 3–8). Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 16. 1–3) says distinctly that men who were seriously ill, or who were in the midst of war or great peril, would sacrifice, or vow to sacrifice, human victims, their theory being that the Divine majesty could be appeased only when a life was given for a life. Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 30) refers to the Britons as thinking it right to offer up the blood of captives, and Lucan (*Pharsal.* i. 444–446) speaks of such sacrifices as offered to the gods Esus, Taranis, and Teutates. This passage is also quoted by Lactantius (*Divin. Institut.* i. 21. 3, 'Esum atque Teutatem humano cruore placabant'). Diodorus (v. 32. 6) says that every five years the Celts offer up their evil-doers (κακούργους) by impalement (ἀνασκολοπίζουσι) to the gods, and consecrate them with other sacrificial rites—notably by the construction of huge funeral piles. He says, too, that captives of war were also offered up, and that along with them certain animals taken in war were sacrificed, by burning or otherwise, among some tribes. In another passage (v. 31. 13) he speaks of a certain general as having sacrificed to the gods the youths that were most handsome, and who were in the flower of their age. Plutarch (*de Superstit.* 13, p. 171 B) also refers to the human sacrifices of the Gauls, which, he says, they considered the most perfect form of sacrifice (τελεωτάτην θυσίαν). Athenæus (ii. 51, p. 160^{e-f}) refers to the Gaulish sacrifice of prisoners of war in the case of a defeat; and, in view of the statement of Cæsar (vi. 16), it is difficult not to accept this as true. As for human sacrifices on other occasions, it is probable that Cæsar (*loc. cit.*) gives the correct account of them, as being rewards to the gods for deliverance, and as being, in the case of certain tribes, a purification of society for the purpose of re-establishing more harmonious relations with a deity. Cæsar alludes to the burning of certain huge images (*simulacra*), whose limbs were made of wicker-work. In these, men were enclosed and burnt. In selecting men as victims, he states that criminals, such as brigands and thieves, were chosen by preference; but if the number of these was insufficient, then innocent victims were sacrificed. In Roman times, Gaulish human sacrifices were suppressed by Tiberius (according to Pliny); but a trace remained in the practice, which Mela (iii. 2. 18) mentions, of cutting off a portion of the flesh of those condemned to death, after bringing them to the altars. The commentator on Lucan, i. 445, speaks of human sacrifice to Teutates (whom he identifies with Mercury) in one sentence as a thing of the past ('qui humano apud eos sanguine *colebatur*'), while, in another sentence, he speaks in the present tense of a mode of appeasing the same god by thrusting a man head foremost into a full vat ('plenum semicupium'), and keeping him in this position till he is dead. Of Taranis (identified by him with Juppiter), the commentator says that he used to be appeased with human victims, but that he was now fully satisfied with cattle. Of Esus (whom he identifies with Mars), the commentator speaks in the present tense, and says that a man is hanged on a tree until his limbs waste away ('usque donec per cruorem membra digesserit'). In his note on Vergil, *Æn.* iii. 57 ('Auri sacra fames,' etc.), Servius says that there is a reference to a practice of the Gauls whereby, in Marseilles, a poor man volunteered to accept hospitality for a year at the public expense, and then, taking upon himself the sins of the whole community, to be thrown from a height as a propitiatory sacrifice.

The passage is a striking one, and is in keeping with usages known to exist elsewhere: 'Nam Massilienses quotiens pestilentia laborabant, unus se ex pauperibus offerebat alendus anno integro publicis < sumptibus > et purioribus cibis. Hic postea ornatus verbenis et vestibus sacris circumducebatur per totam civitatem cum execrationibus, ut in ipsum reciderent mala totius civitatis, et sic proiciebatur.'

In his account of the inhabitants of Thule, Procopius (*de Bell. Goth.* ii. 15) speaks of them as regarding the sacrifice of their first prisoner of war as the best; and the victim in this case, he says, was not merely slaughtered, but was hanged from a tree, thrown amid thorns, or put to death in some other horrible fashion. There are features of these sacrifices, in the accounts of the commentators in question on Lucan and on Vergil, as well as in that of Procopius, which forcibly suggest some connexion between them and the promotion of tree or plant life. That the religion of Gaul, in some districts at any rate, concerned itself with agricultural life is clear from the reference of Gregory of Tours (*de Glor. Conf.* lxxvii.), taken from the account of the Passion of St. Symphorian, that an image of the goddess Berecynthia used to be carried out on a waggon, for the protection of the fields and vineyards. Similarly the reference in Strabo (iv. 4. 6, p. 198), taken from Artemidorus, as to the worship of Demeter and Persephone in an island near Britain, points in the same direction, and likewise Pliny's account (*HN* xvi. 251) of the gathering of the mistletoe. The oak was, undoubtedly, sacred among the Celts (Pliny, *op. cit.* xvi. 249, etc.; Maximus Tyrius, *Diss.* viii. 8). The various customs described by Frazer, which are connected with the growth of vegetation, the harvesting of corn, the death of the Carnival, and the like, have been exemplified by him and others from the usages of Celtic countries (see esp. GB^2 i. 200, 223, ii. 78, 79, 176, 177, 184, 185, 236, 258, 259, 269, 317). How far these deities of vegetation are to be regarded as local or tribal, or a fusion of both, is a matter which cannot be determined with certainty.

One remarkable instance of tribal totemistic communion in the North of Ireland is given in Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topogr. Hib.* dist. iii. c. 25), but the story is indignantly denied by Keating, the Irish historian. According to this account, on the

accession of the king of Tyrconnell, a horse was slain and boiled, and the future king bathed in the broth. Then he and his people ate the flesh of the animal, and he drank of the broth in which he had bathed. The story, as given, indicated that the king was obliged to do everything that he could to identify himself with the nature of the animal that was killed; and this certainly suggests some form of totemism. E. Spenser's reference (*View of the State of Ireland*, ed. 1809, p. 101, in Morley's *Ireland under Elizabeth and James I.*, 1890) to cases in which he knew of the drinking of friends' blood deserves consideration in this connexion.

4. Vestiges of Celtic sacrificial communion.—There appear to be in Celtic folk-lore various vestiges of the ancient practice of sacrifice, whether communal or propitiatory. The Welsh MS of poetry called the *Book of Aneirin* contains an allusion to this practice, while Rhŷs, in his *Celtic Folklore* (i. 305, etc.), mentions a few instances from the Isle of Man. Traces of the practice, too, are to be found in Devonshire (Worth, *Hist. of Devonshire*, London, 1886) and in Scotland (J. Sinclair, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1791–99, xi. 620; Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*³, Warrington, 1774). In Brittany, too, similar survivals exist (Sébillot, *Coutumes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, 1886, p. 227 f.), and the periodical bonfires of Celtic countries (*e.g.* the Beltane fires of the Central Highlands) all point in the same direction. One of the aims of these bonfires—notably in winter, as Frazer points out—may have been to help the sun in his course by the communion of co-operation (*GB*² iii. 253, 259, 261, 280, 281, 284, 289, 290, 291, 293, 320, 321, 323, 325).

5. Communion for revelation.—One of the leading aims of communion with Deity is the acquisition of information as to the unknown, especially the future. In Celtic countries, practices of divination and the like were prevalent, and substantially the same methods were employed in them as in other lands. Ælian (*Var. Hist.* ii. 31) tells us that the Celts believed that the gods gave indications of the future through birds and signs, as well as by means of entrails and in other ways. The picture that Lucian (*Herakles*, i.) gives of the Celtic 'Ogmios' is that of a god who had pre-eminently the gift of speech. Diodorus (v. 31. 4) mentions the Celtic seers as foretelling the future through the observation of birds and the sacrifice of victims. Further, he says that it was their custom, in any matter of supreme importance, to offer up a human victim, 'to strike him over the diaphragm with a sword, and, on the fall of the person struck, to derive omens from his manner of falling and the writhings of his limbs, as well as from the flow of the blood.' Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 13. 4) speaks of interpretation being given by Celtic seers in matters of religion. There is a reference to Celtic augury in a passage of pseudo-Plutarch (*de Fluviis*, vi. 4) which seeks to give an explanation of the name *Lugdunum*. In the practices of later folk-lore in Celtic countries there are numerous survivals of divination and prognostication through omens, dreams, and otherwise (Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, i. 318, 319, 325, 330). In a Welsh MS of the early 16th cent. (Peniarth MS, 163) there is a statement that, in the Isle of Man, men could see in full daylight those who had died. If strangers wished to see them, they had only to tread on the feet of the natives, and they, too, could see what the natives saw. The Welsh 12th cent. *Black Book of Carmarthen* refers to omens taken from sneezing (*trew*), and the Welsh word for 'a bonfire,' *coelcerth*, means literally 'a sure omen.' The practice of divination in connexion with bonfires is widely attested for Celtic countries.

6. Ministers of communion with Deity.—Aristotle (frag. 30, p. 1479ᵃ, 32) says that there were Druids among the 'Celti' and 'Galatæ,' and the connexion in which the words are used shows that the office was viewed as a sacred one. Diodorus (v. 31. 4) speaks of the Druids as philosophers and diviners, and says that the Celts had also prophets, whose special function it was to foretell the future. In all sacrifices, however, he says that a philosopher (*i.e.* a Druid) was present. According to Cæsar (*op. cit.* vi. 13. 4), the Druids were also teachers, and were exempt from military service and from taxation. Strabo (iv. 4. 4, p. 197) refers to the existence among the Celts of οὐάτεις (Lat. pl. *vates*, 'prophets'). In Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 30) the Druids are represented as praying with hands upraised to heaven, while Dio Chrysostom (*Orat.* 49) says that they were concerned with soothsaying (μαντική). In Hirtius (*de Bell. Gall.* viii. 38. 3) there is a reference to a certain type of priest (of Mars), called a 'gutuater.' Pliny (*HN* xxx. 13) tells us that Tiberius abolished the Druids by a decree of the Senate ('namque Tiberii Cæsaris principatus sustulit Druidas eorum et hoc genus vatum medicorumque per senatusconsultum'). In Ireland, the term 'Druid' for a seer is frequently found in the literature, and a hymn of St. Patrick in the *Liber Hymnorum* (a MS of the 11th or 12th cent.) asks for protection from the charms of Druids as well as of women. The term 'derwydd,' sometimes found in Welsh mediæval literature, was especially associated with the composition of Welsh metrical vaticinations (see BARDS [Welsh], vol. ii. p. 417ᵇ). For later survivals of sorcerers in Celtic countries, see Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, ch. xi. The existence of women who acted as intermediaries with Deity among the Celts has been much debated; but the probability is that here, as elsewhere, women played a part in religious ritual. Plutarch (*Mul. Virt.* p. 257; *Amator.* 22) mentions a certain Camma, who was hereditary priestess of Artemis, but it is only in late writers that reference is made to *Dryades*, 'Druidesses' (*e.g.* in Lampridius, *Alex. Severus*, 60. 6; Vopiscus, quoted in Numerianus, 14; and Aurelian, 44. 4). These 'Druidesses' appear to have been only sorceresses.

Much discussion has arisen concerning the statement of Posidonius (quoted by Strabo, iv. 6, p. 198 f.) and that of Mela (iii. 6. 48) referring to certain prophetesses on an island opposite the mouth of the Loire and the shores of the Ossismi (Mela). In spite of the ingenious attempt of S. Reinach (*Cultes, mythes, et religions*, p. 195) to explain the origin and growth of Mela's account, the survival, in certain Celtic countries, of witchcraft and wind-making (Rhŷs, *op. cit.* i. 330; Frazer, *GB*² i. 121) makes it not impossible that the passages in question are based on some measure of fact; and the references to female well-attendants among the Celts seem unmistakable.

7. Places of communion.—In addition to wells and caves, those mysterious sacred spots of Celtic nature-religion, groves and clearings in groves, appear to have been held by the Celts in special regard. Diodorus (v. 27. 4) speaks of temples and sacred precincts; and there is abundant evidence that the Gauls had temples and, in Roman times, images. Diodorus (*loc. cit.*) mentions the sanctity, in the eyes of the Gauls, of sacred places, and the safety of the gold stored therein, in spite of Gaulish cupidity. The Celtic term for a sacred place was *nemeton* (Ir. *nemed*; Welsh, *nyfed*), a term which probably meant originally 'a clearing in a wood.' The name of the Galatian temple was *Drunemeton* ('the sacred place of the oak'). Even in Christian times, springs and groves continued to be held in respect, as may be seen from the *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum* (*c.* 8th cent. A.D.), vi. 223: 'de sacris silvarum qua nimidas (= nemeta) vocant.' There is a similar explanation in the *Cartulaire de Quimperlé* (A.D. 1031): 'silva quae vocatur Nemet.' For an account of later survivals of sacred groves Celtic lands, see Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 187).

8. Attitude of communion.—On this head little information is obtainable; but Dio (lxii. 6) says that in prayer Boudicca (Boadicea) held up her hand to heaven (τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνασα εἶπε). Athenæus (iv. 36, pp. 151ᵉ–152ᵈ) quotes from Posidonius a statement to the effect that the Celts turned to the right in worshipping the gods

(τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ στρεφόμενοι). Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 30) speaks of women with hair loose, holding torches before them, and of Druids praying with hands upraised to heaven. Both Tacitus and Strabo (iv. 198 f.) instance the Bacchic frenzy of the women who took part in Celtic rites, and Dionys. (*Perieg.* 570–574) speaks of them as garlanded with ivy. There is no reference to kneeling or the closing of the eyes. It is remarkable that Celtic philology throws very little light either on the attitude of Celtic communion with Deity or on its characteristics generally.

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E. ANWYL.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Chinese).—The early settlers in what we now call 'China' seem to have carried with them, into the land of their adoption, certain well-defined religious ideas, amongst which the recognition of a Supreme Being and the possibility and duty of entering into relations with Him were prominent and pre-eminent. The term by which the Deity is described is *Shang-ti*, composed of two Chinese ideograms: *shang*, meaning 'that which is above,' 'the top,' and hence 'supreme'; and *ti*, said to consist of an ancient form of the same character *shang*, and the word 'to pierce,' and hence meaning 'an autocrat,' 'one who stands alone, whose authority is unequalled and unparalleled.' Thus *Shang-ti* is interpreted as the one supreme and unchallenged 'Sovereign on High,' or 'Supreme Ruler.' By some Chinese commentators Shang-ti is described as the 'Lord of Living Creatures,' and by others as being synonymous with 'Heaven.' The character employed to denote 'Heaven' is also deserving of notice; in its earliest forms it seems to present a rude picture of a human being, and thus, as it were, to invest with personality the mysterious and unknowable Shang-ti; but in the present mode of writing it is the character for 'one' over that for 'great'; and thus seems to stand for 'the Great One Above,' though it is generally used in an impersonal sense, as 'Providence,' contrasted with the more personal God, Shang-ti:

The name Shang-ti is introduced in the earliest recorded history without preface or apology, as requiring no explanation and admitting of no misunderstanding—in much the same way as 'Elohim' appears in the first chapter of Genesis, without any attempt at definition or prologue. His worship appears to go back to the very earliest ages of the Chinese people. Of Hwang-ti, one of the five sovereigns who bore rule at the dawn of Chinese history (2697 B.C.), we read that he sacrificed to Shang-ti, wearing his royal robes, and presenting a whole burnt-offering upon a round hillock, the latter representing the conventional shape of Heaven. The Emperor Shun (2255 B.C.), on his accession to the throne, sacrificed to Shang-ti; and from that time, in an almost unbroken line, the rulers of China have maintained their worship, with little change, down to the present moment. In the annual sacrifices, offered at the Altar of Heaven in Peking to-day, an almost exact parallel with the earliest recorded sacrifice to God is presented, *mutatis mutandis*, unaffected by the later developments of Confucianism in the 6th cent. B.C., or the materialistic school of the 12th cent. A.D., uncontaminated by the advent of Buddhism, or by the various religious systems which have become so firmly established in Chinese society, and undisturbed by the floods of invasion which have swept over China from time to time, or by the fact that the present rulers represent an alien race.

1. Object of communion with Shang-ti.—It was because Shang-ti was regarded as 'Lord of the Azure Heavens,' the 'Disposer Supreme' of thrones and dynasties, the 'Restorer of torpid life to Nature,' and the 'Giver of every good and perfect gift,' that he was approached by kings like T'ang the Completer (1766 B.C.), who initiated his attempt to overthrow the Hia dynasty by reverent sacrifice and fervent prayer; and Wu, the founder of the Chow dynasty (1122 B.C.), who acknowledged his indebtedness to the Supreme Ruler, for the gift of the throne, by appropriate sacrifices, attributing the failure of his predecessor of the former dynasty to the fact that 'he did not reverence God above.' Throughout the Chinese classics the 'Divine right of kings' is everywhere regarded as depending upon the 'appointment' or decree of Heaven; and even as early as 2356 B.C. we find a hint of this fact in the adoption of the title 'Son of Heaven' by Shun, the king at that period, in acknowledgment of the decree of Heaven to which he traced his appointment. The same truth is referred to in the 'Doctrine of the Mean,' quoted from the Odes:

'He received from Heaven the emoluments of dignity. It protected him, assisted him, decreed him the throne,' etc., to which the compiler adds the inference, 'We may say, therefore, that he who is greatly virtuous will be sure to receive the appointment of Heaven.'

The Duke of Chow (12th cent. B.C.), in his proclamation to the people of Yin, speaks in unmistakable terms on the subject:

'From T'ang the Successful down to the Emperor Yih, every sovereign sought to make his virtue illustrious, and duly attended to the sacrifices; and thus it was that, while Heaven exercised a great establishing influence, preserving and regulating the house of Yin, its sovereigns, on their part, were humbly careful not to lose the favour of God, and strove to manifest a good-doing corresponding to that of Heaven.'

Such being the relations between the Ruler on earth and the 'Ruler on High,' it was essential that the vicegerent of Heaven should be prepared to acknowledge the high, over-ruling power which was the ultimate source of his authority, and to offer that highest expression of filial submission and devotion which was implied by the sacrificial ritual; for only so long as the sovereign acted in accordance with the dictates of Heaven could he expect to maintain his high estate; and the fall of kings and dynasties is always attributed to the neglect of this supreme duty.

The ever-presence of the Deity is assumed in many passages of the Chinese canonical books, as, for example, the Odes:

'Say not Heaven is so far, so high,
Its servants; It is ever nigh;
And daily are we here within its sight.'

The most intimate relations are recorded as existing between the Supreme and His earthly representative, as, for example, in the case of King Wen (1231–1135 B.C.), of whom it is repeatedly said, 'God spake to Wen.' Not only so, but, since the king was regarded as the father of his people, and, under the patriarchal system, as the high priest of the great family represented by the nation, it was fitting that he should present on its behalf the common wants and cravings of the myriad people, in connexion with the recurring seasons and the 'kindly fruits of the earth.' Thus we find numerous instances of prayer being offered in case of drought; for example, King T'ang (1766 B.C.) is represented by Mencius as praying:

'I, the child Li, presume to use a dark-coloured victim, and announce to Thee, O Supreme Heavenly Sovereign, now there is a great drought,' etc.

Again, in the Odes, we read King Suan's appeal to Heaven in similar circumstances:

'For good years full soon I prayed, nor was late at any shrine with my first-fruits. God in Heaven, heedst Thou never prayer of mine. . . . To High Heaven I look and cry, O the endless agony.'

The institution of the first 'Harvest Festival' is attributed to How-tsi (2255 B.C.), lord of T'ai; and in the Odes a vivid picture is presented of the ceremonies which marked the offering of first-fruits in acknowledgment of the gifts of Heaven. The infliction of plague, pestilence, and famine is also traced to Heaven's displeasure in consequence of national disobedience.

Thus the operations of Heaven are recognized as extending to all departments of national and domestic life; but since, by the fiat of Chwan-hü (2513 B.C.), formal approach to the Deity was limited to the sovereign, while the people were forbidden under severe penalties to offer sacrifices to Shang-ti, they have been compelled to direct their prayers and express their thanks to the host of subordinate deities, such as How-tsi, patron of agriculture, the spirits representing the various forces of Nature, the spirits of the soil and grain, and the local and domestic deities—these being regarded as mediators between man and the Supreme Being, much in the same way as the provincial officials act as the 'middlemen' between the people and the sovereign. It thus happens that, though the Emperor alone, as the federal head of the race, approaches directly and immediately the presence of Shang-ti, the people in their family capacity are also permitted access to Him, though only by means of intermediaries, viz. the spirits and deities above mentioned; and thus, though the method of approach may vary in the degree of intimacy which obtains in the several cases, no one is altogether debarred from communion, direct or indirect, with the Deity.

2. Methods of communion.—

(1) *Sacrifices.*—See art. CONFUCIAN RELIGION.

(2) *Dreams.*—Another method of communion with the Deity is by dreams, of which we find instances as early as 1323 B.C., when Wu-ting, who had lately ascended the throne, had a revelation, in a dream, of the features of the man whom he was seeking for promotion to the office of chief minister. King Wu also (1122 B.C.) found corroboration, in his dreams, for the schemes which he was adopting, and which he believed to be dictated by Heaven. It is a common practice, nowadays, for people to repair to certain temples and spend the night there, in the hope that dreams will be given them, whereby the will of the Deity may be indicated to them.

(3) *Divination.*—Divination in various forms is also resorted to, with a view to discovering the intentions of Heaven, as is expressly stated in the case of King Wu. (For the special methods, cf. art. COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD [Chinese].) One form of divining which is very common is that of spirit-writing, a form of 'planchette,' the 'properties' consisting of a table covered with fine sand, and a peach stick, bent at one end and fastened to a cross-piece which rests upon the open palms of the medium. Sacrifices are first presented, and a prayer is offered to the Deity, requesting that a spirit-messenger may be dispatched to the house where the séance is to take place. When the spirit is believed to have arrived, he is invited to occupy a chair at the table, and another chair is placed for the use of the Deity who is supposed to have commissioned him. The fact of his arrival is announced by the peach stick tracing on the sand the character for 'arrived.' Worship is now offered, and libations are poured out. Questions are addressed to the spirit in due course, and answers are written upon the sandy surface. The questions must be written, and burnt, together with some gold tinsel, before the spirit-answer can be given.

Another method of inquiry is that of the *chiao*, generally made of a short piece of the root of the bamboo, split in halves, each piece presenting a concave and a convex side. These are thrown into the air, after an invocation of the Deity, and the positions which the *chiao* assumes on reaching the ground are supposed to indicate the nature of the response. If the convex side of one piece and the concave of the other are uppermost, the answer is supposed to be favourable; if two convexes are exposed, the answer is negative; if two concaves turn up, the answer is indifferent.

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W. GILBERT WALSHE.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Christian).

—Communion with God is that close intimacy between man and God which had long been sought for in many ways, and reached its climax in Him who is truly God and perfectly man, Jesus of Nazareth. As Himself uniting God and man in His own Person, and as the means of union between men and God, He is at once the Example and the Giver of communion. One form of communion, seen both in Him and in the earliest exponents of Christianity, is **Prayer**. The first motion of the individual soul towards invisible realities, however elementary the environment of religion and culture may be, should find its expression in prayer, which, however, is not only a starting-point but also an invariable concomitant, and, so far as the present life is concerned, a climax, of the soul's progress towards deity.

The acts and words of our Lord, and the practice and teaching of the earliest Christians, carry on and develop the characteristics of prayer which accompany the earlier searchings after God within the sphere of revealed religion in the OT, which, as the Christian era is approached, appear to grow in intensity, notwithstanding their insufficient solution of the problem of communion with God. Our Lord Himself prayed at the time of His baptism (Lk 3^{21}), before the Transfiguration ($9^{28f.}$), before choosing the Twelve ($6^{12f.}$), before raising Lazarus (Jn $11^{41f.}$), on the way to Gethsemane (17), in the Agony (Mk 14^{35-39}, Mt 26^{39-44}, Lk 22^{41-45}), and on the cross ($23^{34.46}$). In these events His abiding communion with the Father[1] takes the form of prayer, as prayer is made a means of (1) request, (2) union, or (3) intercession. The same aspects of prayer are in His teaching, as, *e.g.*, in (1) Mt 7^{7-11}, Mk 11^{24}, Lk 11^{5-13} 18^{1-8}; (2) Jn $16^{26.27}$; (3) Mk 9^{29}. These three aspects of prayer are summed up in the Lord's Prayer. The first two words raise the concise clauses which follow into the sphere of the most spiritual communion, teaching that the Absolute is a Father listening to His children as they bring to Him their temporal wants, their spiritual cares, and their intercessions for the world around them. Prayer, again, as a means of communion was used by the earliest Christians, influenced in part, perhaps, by their traditional Jewish beliefs, and certainly largely by the example and precept of their Master. Prayer led to the outpouring of the Spirit (Ac 1^{14}), the choice of St. Matthias (vv.$^{24-26}$), the journey of Ananias to St. Paul (9^{11}), the raising of Dorcas by St. Peter (9^{40}), the release from prison of St. Peter (12^{5}), and of St. Paul and Silas (16^{25}). Prayer so efficacious suggests that those using it were through it in close communion with God; and in the case of St. Stephen, prayer and the vision of the unseen together mark the supreme dedication of his life (7^{55-60}). Thus by means of prayer the earliest Christians continued not only in the Apostolic fellowship (2^{42}), but also in union with God. How actual Christian communion in prayer linked on to the ways of preparation may be illustrated by observing that the meditation which rested on the habitual prayers

[1] It is worth while to notice the use of the word 'Father' in Lk 10^{21} 22^{42} $23^{34.46}$.

of Cornelius, before he was a Christian, was an instrument for his conversion no less than the devotion of the Apostle who was to bring him to Christ (Ac 10). So also in the Epistles, prayer has the same aspects, and is similarly a means of communion. As in the Acts (9^{14} 22^{16}), calling on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ is spoken of by St. Paul as a mark of a Christian (1 Co 1^2). Elsewhere St. Paul refers to intercessory prayer—his own for his converts and theirs for him, and that of Christians in general for all men and for special classes and persons; to the help afforded to Christians in prayer by the Holy Spirit; and to constant prayer in the Spirit as accompanying the use of the 'armour of God' (*e.g.* Ro 8^{26}, Eph 6^{18}, Col 4^{2-4}, 1 Th 5^{17}, 1 Ti $2^{1f.}$). Thus, in the mind of St. Paul, prayer necessitates and expresses the closest possible relation on the part of Christians with the Holy Trinity. In the rest of the NT the very incidental character of the references to prayer shows the extent to which it had become an ordinary and regular mode of communion between Christians and the Holy Trinity. St. James briefly alludes to 'the supplication of a righteous man' which 'availeth much in its working' (Ja 5^{16}), and, in commanding the prayer of the presbyters of the Church, says that 'the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick' (v. $^{14f.}$).

These dogmatically worded statements as to the efficacy of prayer necessarily imply that it establishes and maintains most intimate relations of fellowship between man and God. St. Peter gives as a reason for the observance of practical advice, 'that your prayers be not hindered' (1 P 3^7); urges sound mind and sobriety 'unto prayer' (4^7); and repeats the teaching of the Psalmist (Ps 34^{15}), that the ears of God are ready to hear the supplication of man (1 P 3^{12}). The brief statements in 1 Jn $3^{21f.}$ $5^{14f.}$ show the confidence in prayer which is a sign that the heart is with God; and 3 Jn $^{1f.}$ indicates prayer as the means of converse with God concerning the prosperity and health of an earthly friend. St. Jude connects prayer with abiding in the love of God, when he exhorts those to whom he writes: 'building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Spirit, keep yourselves in the love of God' (Jude $^{20f.}$). In the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in the Apocalypse, there are crowning statements as to the value of intercessory prayer, not only in regard to its efficacy as intercession, but also as illustrating the close access to God which it affords. Of Christ Himself it is said that He 'ever liveth to make intercession' (He 7^{25}), and that He so intercedes 'at the right hand of the throne of God' (12^2); and His presence in the Heavens affords to Christians boldness and security in approaching the throne of grace (4^{16} 10^{22}). In the Apocalypse the nearness of prayer to the central presence of God is strikingly depicted. Before the Lamb are presented by the four and twenty elders 'golden bowls full of incense which are the prayers of the saints' (Rev 5^8). 'Underneath the altar the souls of them which had been slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they held,' cried out to their 'Master, the Holy and True' ($6^{9f.}$). To 'the prayers of all the saints' is incense added, which with them goes 'up before God' ($8^{3f.}$). Those who have the special inspiration of the Holy Spirit join with the whole Church in praying for the coming of the Lord; and their prayer has such impetratory power in effecting His presence, that all who are athirst are able to draw near and take freely the water of life (22^{17}).

Teaching of specific books of NT on communion with God.—(1) *The Synoptic Gospels.*—In the life and death of Christ the principle of sin, which lay between man and communion with God, is done away. Christ's life on earth was the answer to the fact and presence of human sin. As the goal of the life of man is the full and complete realization of his Divine sonship, so sin in its deepest reality includes all that lies between the human will and the Divine will as a barrier and separation. The gospel of Jesus Christ is, above all, the gospel of human salvation. But the salvation is more than salvation from guilt and the present power of sin; it includes the reception of strength for righteousness and of union with God. As a step towards realizing this, it is important to grasp the idea of the final conquest of sin in the life of Christ. At the beginning of His ministry our Lord's exhortation was to repentance (Mt 4^{17}, Mk $1^{14f.}$). His ministry itself included works of forgiveness. During it He claimed to forgive sin (Mt 9^{2-6}, Mk 2^{5-11}, Lk 5^{20-24}). At the Last Supper He connected the pouring out of His life-blood with the remission of sin (Mt 26^{28}). His death was a sacrifice for sin. The sacrificial aspect is expressed in the words, 'the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many' (Mt 20^{28}, Mk 10^{45}). In the words from Heaven at the Baptism and the Transfiguration (Mt 3^{17}, Mk 1^{11}, Lk 3^{22}; Mt 17^5, Mk 9^7, Lk 9^{35}) the description of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah (Is 42^1) is applied to our Lord. At the institution of the Eucharist the words of Christ recall the Covenant Sacrifice of Ex 24^{3-8}, and the promise of a New Covenant in Jer 31. Not only these references, but also the time, place, and Paschal festivities all combine to suggest that the death of Christ preserved an especial sacrificial significance. And, further, they indicate that the efficacy of this sacrifice consisted in the power to annul the principle of sin which lay between man and communion with the Father of all spirits. Our Lord's own words, Apostolic interpretation, and our own experience prove the power of the death of Christ to do away with sin. But when we ask how or why, in the immutable counsel of God, the death of His Son availed to abolish sin and death, that question is not explicitly raised or answered in the Synoptic Gospels. Incarnate love could be revealed only in this world of perishing souls; in all its beauty and grandeur it was conditioned by the facts of human sin and suffering. The life of Christ on earth was a long, slow process of a translation of pain and suffering into the terms of penitence. The sacrifice of the sinless Christ had part of its atoning value because, in His death, suffering and temptation were conquered and transmuted into the consummation of penitence. By the power of His offering of a perfect and vicarious sacrifice in the hour of death, He has abolished for ever all sin which lies between the heart of man and the mind of God. In the Synoptic Gospels the negative aspect of Christ's work precedes the inauguration of the Kingdom of God. In so far as we may speak of a conquest or forgiveness of sin in His days on earth, we may speak of the Kingdom as a present reality. Again, in so far as we see in His death the final conquest of sin, so far we may speak of His Kingdom as inaugurated and consummated in idea by His death. Christ then has overthrown the barrier of sin which lay between man and communion with God.

It may now be asked, What has Christ done positively and constructively to make possible the life of communion between God and man? (*a*) His unique teaching sums up all that was full of promise in the search for God recorded in the OT. The manner and method of it are more unique than its contents. Many of the ideas, *e.g.* the Fatherhood of God, the high destiny of man, the

value of the human soul, had been stated before in OT literature. What is new is the deep spiritual insight which sees into the very centre of truth. Not less noteworthy are the sureness and authoritativeness of His teaching. He spoke 'as having authority, and not as the scribes' (Mk 1^{22}, cf. Mt 7^{29}). He dealt mainly with the Kingdom of God, its nearness, the conditions for entrance into it, its nature as heavenly and eternal, not as a political world power; and with the life in the Kingdom, its approaching and epoch-making consummation. In His wonderful portrayal of life under the reign of God's will, our Lord showed what the life of communion with God essentially is. It is the life of love and humility, outwardly a continuous act of obedience to God, inwardly a life of spiritual prayer and utter self-surrender and dependence upon God. Careful study of the Divine meaning of His words, meditation and contemplation upon them, love for the life portrayed in the Gospel, are steps towards likeness to God. But purely subjective efforts alone cannot bring man into essential harmony with God. (*b*) Beyond the teaching about God, man, and the Kingdom, Jesus in His own life upon earth is an example of the most perfect communion with God. His mind is in such essential harmony with the Divine mind that He can say in the Agony, 'Not what I will, but what thou wilt' (Mt 26^{39-42}, Mk 14^{36}, Lk 22^{42}). By efforts on the part of Christians, the purity and love of Jesus may be partially apprehended and assimilated into their lives. But this is but man's unaided effort after righteousness, not the righteousness of God. The Christian life must be more than a shadow of the reality. (*c*) Through the institution of the Eucharist is given the means whereby Christians may make the mind and heart and will of God their own. Our Lord describes it as the gift of His manhood (Mt 26^{26-28}, Mk 14^{22-24}, Lk $22^{19f.}$). Hence it affords the possibility of union with His human life; and, since He is God as well as man, with the Divine life itself.

(2) *St. Paul.*—Much has been written on the relations of the teaching of St. Paul to our Lord—how far Christianity would have succeeded in becoming the world-religion but for St. Paul, how much of the Gospel teaching is genuinely Christ's teaching and not due to Pauline influence. The present writers are not here concerned with these questions. They believe that our Lord was conscious of the establishment of communion between God and man through Himself; and that this was apprehended by St. Paul. The present question is simply how St. Paul assists in interpreting this stupendous fact. To St. Paul, God is endowed with all the essentials of the absolute, eternal, transcendent, yet immanent, Godhead. But, first and foremost, St. Paul presupposes the Fatherhood of God, the fundamental article of our Lord's teaching, without which communion between God and man would have been impossible. This Fatherhood is characterized by (*a*) righteousness, (*b*) wrath. Righteousness is the ethical ground of God's dealings with His children, the norm of their admission to communion with Him. Wrath is called forth by their refusal or failure to make the best use of pre-Christian means of communion. It was the righteous curse of God under which they lay when Christ 'in the fulness of the time' (Gal 4^{4}) manifested God. But, as righteousness is of the essence of the Father who reveals Himself to man, so righteousness is the *sine qua non*, the presupposition and postulate, of the possibility that man should come into communion with God. Here it is that St. Paul sees the necessity for Christ, even on the negative side. Man had been created in the image and glory of God (1 Co 11^{7}), but the guilt of the Fall became hereditary in man (Ro 5^{12}), and so man was dominated, not by righteousness, but by sin in his flesh. Man's vision of God and his sense of communion with Him were dimmed. He was in a state of unrighteousness (Ro 1^{18}). How was this unrighteousness to be done away? How was the possibility of communion (righteousness) to be re-established? St. Paul answers—through Christ Jesus, and through Him alone. He emphasizes this point by contrasting Christ's removal of the obstacles with (not, be it noted, by deriding) two earlier attempts to restore man's righteousness—two attempts which, in the long run, had only led man to wallow still deeper in the mire of sin, and to wander still further from communion with God.

(*α*) The first attempt had been in the possibilities of partial communion held out to the Gentiles by the fatherly and forbearing Providence which gave them the bounties of Nature and sought to direct their gaze to heaven through the work of creation, and by means of the conscience and intelligence implanted in them individually. The result had been, not a heightening of the possibilities of communion with the all-loving Father, but—strangely paradoxical as it may seem—the increasing of their unrighteousness, by their communion with the god of this world, Satan, so that they sacrificed to demons, not to God (Ro 1^{18-32}, 1 Co 10^{20}). (*β*) The other attempt to do away with the law of sin and death which made communion with the righteous Father impossible had been equally a failure. The Jewish Law had been far from providing a perfect means of access to God. St. Paul, looking back, saw in it only a more thorough obscuring of the path which leads to the presence of God. It had increased, not decreased, transgression. It had set man further from, not nearer to, righteousness (Ro 1–6, 9–11).

Man, therefore, still stood in need of the removal of the disabilities to communion, and it was, in part, to remove these that Christ came. With this removal, as a means to make communion with God once more possible for man, St. Paul deals exhaustively in metaphors, some drawn from the forensic terminology, and others from the ceremonial of the Great Day of Atonement. The act of Christ, His death on the cross, on which is based the justification or acquittal in the court of the Divine justice, is vicarious and representative in character, universal in its scope, a legal expiation, a justifying act, an obedience even unto death, annulling the condemnation resultant from the disobedience of the one man. The shedding of Christ's blood was, on the one hand, a propitiation set forth by God, who commended His own love toward us sinners and delivered Him up for us all; on the other hand, a sacrifice made by man, effecting redemption, resulting in reconciliation. Only one subjective act on man's part avails—the act of faith; and even this comes of, and has as its objective, the grace and power of God working through Christ. It is preceded or accompanied, indeed, by repentance, as man turns to God from idols, or comes to know God, or dies to sin, or crucifies the flesh, or puts off the old man; but it is itself the simple, childlike, submissive, enthusiastic, unconditional self-surrender of the man's whole being—intellect, affections, and purpose—to the will of God revealed in Christ Jesus.

Such in general terms is the Pauline teaching concerning the precedent and accompaniment of the Christian's initial justification, or restoration to a position of righteousness before God, the condition of fellowship with Him. And the power for this great movement of the whole being of man is derived from the death and resurrection of Christ (Romans, *passim*; cf. *e.g.* 1 Th 5^{9}, 1 Co 15^{12-19}, Eph 2, Col $1^{13f.}$, 1 Ti 2^{3-6}, Tit $2^{13f.}$). On the positive side, the writings of St. Paul, to whom sin was a deadly reality and the righteousness of God was the goal of human life, contain a wealth of ideas relating to communion with God. In the risen and exalted and glorified Christ there are possibilities surpassing even those in the crucifixion and death of the Messiah. In the Pauline speeches

in Acts, our Lord is still pre-eminently the Jewish Messiah who has come, and is, moreover, about to judge the world. Through this Jesus are remission of sins and justification for every one that believeth. If the Christ is not accepted, a day of judgment is at hand for those who reject Him (Ac $13^{40\,f.}$). To take the speech at Pisidian Antioch as illustrative of the Apostle's ideas at this period, the life of righteousness and communion with God depends directly upon the acceptance of the crucified Jesus as the promised Messiah. The life of communion with God means life in the new era, which will soon be ushered in when Jesus shall reign in the Kingdom of the Blessed. The choice between life and death depends upon the acceptance or rejection of Christ Himself, not of His moral or social teaching. The language of Thessalonians yields us evidence for the same period. In 1 Th 4^{13-18} and in the so-called Apocalypse of 2 Th 2, the Apostle not only insists upon the resurrection of Christ, but also on the resurrection of others, of the faithful, with Him. 'For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also that are fallen asleep in Jesus will God bring with him.' The fact of the resurrection does not in itself secure the life of communion with the Father. The resurrection is with Christ. At this period St. Paul appears to have been looking for the return of the Lord from heaven in the near future. The expectation of His hourly coming was so strong at Thessalonica that all work was being suspended in view of it. In this case his eschatological belief gave, at least, form to the thought of St. Paul. The heavenly Christ was soon to appear, and the saints, both the living and those asleep, were to reign with Him in the heavenly kingdom (1 Th $4^{16f.}$).

Some of the deepest and most mystical of St. Paul's teaching is in the second group of Epistles—1 and 2 Cor., Gal., and Romans. For convenience' sake it will be well to consider Romans as illustrative of St. Paul's mind at this period. In Ro 3^{25} the negative aspect of this subject is well stated in the words, 'whom God set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, by his blood, to show his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God.' In some sense the righteousness of God has been expressed in the death of His Son. On whatever grounds the death of the Eternal Son may be said to have possessed expiatory power, the fact of that power is unquestioned. Again, the 'gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth' (1^{16}). There is in the gospel not only that which is able to cleanse from past sin and guilt, but also a positive power for our salvation. Here salvation is made to depend directly upon faith—'to every one that believeth.' The same fundamental idea occurs again, expressed in the words, 'the righteous shall live by faith' (1^{17}); 'we reckon, therefore, that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law' (3^{28}). It has been claimed that there are in this Epistle two fundamentally opposing conceptions of salvation: (*a*) the juridical, expressed in the forensic language of the OT, which St. Paul inherited from Judaism; and (*b*) the Christian or mystical conception, based on a faith which means union with Christ. It is impossible to deny an element of truth to this theory, inasmuch as the Apostle describes the process of human salvation in two sets of terms and images. But more than this it is difficult to admit. The ultimate ground of our acceptance in either case is not the work or merit of man, but the gracious mercy of God. We have access to this grace only by our faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. 'Being therefore justified by faith, let us have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ: through whom also we have had our access by faith into this grace wherein we stand' ($5^{1.2}$). While we were still in a state of sin and alienated from God, we were reconciled to Him by the death of Christ. But, beyond reconciliation through death, we have life, we are saved by the life of the Son (5^{9-11}). The positive aspect of the subject is stated very clearly in 5^{12-21}. As death and sin entered the world through one man, Adam, so grace and eternal life come through Jesus Christ. The gift of grace from the loving Father through the Son is the guarantee for the eternal life of communion with God. When the question is raised how this gift of life is infused into us, the answer is—through baptism. In that sacrament we are baptized into Christ's death, that is to say, into death as a victory over sin. But, as we have died with Him, so also we shall be raised in the general resurrection with Him and reign eternally. 'Even so reckon ye also yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus' (6^{11}). In ch. 7 the conflict of the good and evil in the human soul is graphically presented. As this passage forces on the mind the horror and reality of sin, it also emphasizes the necessity of a positive aid and power coming from without to our help. This power which enters within us, enabling us not only 'to will' but also 'to do' the right, is none other than the Spirit of Christ. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this Pauline idea of the indwelling of the Spirit of Jesus or of God in man. Apart from this indwelling and union with Christ, man is impotent. He is dead in sin and without hope.

It has been seen that in the earlier group of Epistles the Lord Jesus is conceived essentially as the Messiah now in heaven, but who is shortly to return and bring the Kingdom of Heaven into actuality. In this second group He is essentially the Second Adam 'who to the rescue came.' As the first Adam brought sin and death on humanity, so the second and heavenly Man brings life eternal. As the power of sin and death which created and maintained the barrier between God and man was due to an act of disobedience, so the positive power which gives life and communion with God is infused into humanity through a life of active obedience.

It has been pointed out how the guilt and power of sin have been removed and the principle of life and grace infused into humanity. These two necessary aspects in the work of salvation involve certain fundamental ideas as to the Person of the Mediator. Further, when it is asked how this life is infused and assimilated into the individual believer, the answer depends upon mystical views of Christ's Person and work. Through prayer, through the sacraments, through the Church, man may attain that oneness with God which the work of the Son has made possible. The effect or result of prayer is the rest in the presence of God which is essentially communion with Him (15^{30-33}). Again, prayer is salvation. 'Whosoever shall call upon the Name of the Lord shall be saved' (10^{13}). Christians are to continue steadfastly in prayer, which is not fitful or irregular, since it means the realized presence of God (12^{12}). In 1 Co 11^{20-26} St. Paul gives an account of the institution of the Eucharist, which he claims to have received directly from the Lord (v.^{23}). That which is given in this rite is the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Himself (vv.$^{24.25}$). The service has a memorial significance (vv.$^{24.25}$). It proclaims the 'Lord's death till he come' (v.^{26}). Thus this passage contains explicit teaching that in the sacrament we feed on the body and blood of our Lord, that here we partake of and assimilate Him. In the most literal and real sense we may speak in this connexion of union with Christ. Thus we gain the

benefits which by His precious blood-shedding He hath procured for us, the life of communion with God.

Lastly, as a member of a society—the Christian Church—the Christian has his fellowship with Christ and God. The Church is the body of Christ of which we are the several members (12^{12}). At Baptism the believer is baptized into His death, and becomes a mystical member of His body. In the later Epistles, Christ is the Head, and the Church is the body. These metaphors of body and members have a deep and spiritual meaning which only the use of metaphor could illustrate. If this language means anything, it means the real, full, and complete union of the believer with Christ in the sacraments of the Christian Church. Here lies the centre of gravity in the Christian religion. It is the sense of a union and communion with God realized and actualized in the life and death of His Blessed Son. It is only the sacramental system of the Christian society that makes possible the fullness of spiritual life in communion with the Father.

In the later Epistles there is drawn out more fully the cosmic significance of the Incarnation. But, as in 2 Co 5^{19} there is the idea of 'God in Christ reconciling the world to himself,' so in Ephesians the idea of reconciliation is prominent: 'But now in Christ Jesus ye who were in time past far off were made nigh by the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who made both one, and brake down the middle wall of the partition' (Eph 2$^{13.14}$). Not only has Christ broken down the barrier which lay between Jew and Gentile, but He has also removed all hindrances between these, when united to one another, and the presence of the Father. Again, 'He has raised us up with Him and made us to sit with Him in the heavenly places' (v.^{6}). The final result of the work and teaching of our Lord is that 'through him we both (Jew and Gentile) have our access in one Spirit unto the Father' (v.^{18}). Again, in 3^{12} we have not only access to the throne and presence of God, but access with confidence, and this through the power of our faith in Christ. In this Epistle, St. Paul is dealing with universals and absolutes. The finality and absolute character of Christ's work (1) in the removal of sin, and (2) in the securing of our access to God, *i.e.* communion with Him, are marked. Lastly, the motive of all this is the love of Christ which passeth all knowledge.

(3) *St. James.*—This Epistle emphasizes that aspect of communion with God whereby man's part here and now, rather than what God has done in Christ, is considered (Ja 1^{27}). The state of being in perfect communion with God, which is expressed by pure and undefiled religion, must be grounded, and find outward expression, in the doing of good work. The writer is conscious of man's ultimate high destiny as made in the image and likeness of God. But there have been many who have chosen the friendship of the world instead of the friendship of God, and so have given themselves over to do the work of Satan. Thus the idea of communion with God, or with the devil, is made to depend fundamentally on man's choice of the Father's friendship, or on his rejecting and vexing the Holy Spirit. In times past, and at present, man has been ruled by lust and evil desire, which have borne sin and death. If the writer's argument be dissected, it will be seen that this falling away from God's holy presence was due not so much to man's inherent depravity and utter sinfulness as to the imperfection of the Law. The life of communion with the Father is represented as a life in obedience to the perfect, royal law of liberty. This life with God was not possible under the OT dispensation, because the law of the OT was external and compelling. The new law is inner and impelling, and is therefore the law of liberty.

It is not necessary here to make a detailed examination of the relation of 'faith' and 'works' in this Epistle to the same terms in St. Paul's letters. To St. Paul, as has been seen, faith was a real condition of communion with God. This St. James would not deny. For to him the term 'faith' conveyed the idea of a purely intellectual apprehension, not an assimilation and enthusiastic self-surrender to Christ as in Romans. 'Works' are not the legal works enjoined by the law, but deeds of mercy and kindness prompted by spontaneous self-imparting love for God and men. Hence salvation is based upon works, the works of man. God has in Christ removed sin, in that He has removed sin's power to keep man from God. The Father has accomplished this by a revelation of Himself in a perfect law of liberty, a royal law where obedience means life with Him (1^{25}).

The contrast between the life with God and existence apart from Him may be illustrated by the distinctions between the two wisdoms. There is one wisdom 'earthly, sensual, devilish,' which involves jealousy, faction, confusion, and every vile deed; 'the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without variance, without hypocrisy' (3$^{15-17}$). Man must not neglect his part in the conquest of the devil (4^{7}). The Christian's duty of prayer is inculcated (5$^{15-20}$). Man has been freed from sins by the gift of a perfect revelation of the will and mind of God in a perfect law. Man's final attainment of the righteousness of God, which means eternal communion with Him, will depend upon his obedience to God's Law. How far, then, does God give grace and strength to actualize this perfect obedience which is essentially communion with Him? God has planted in our hearts a 'word' which, unless rejected, is able to save souls (1^{21}). This salvation is the consummation of right relations with God. The 'word' is a free gift from the Father. It is, or gives, the strength and grace necessary to obey the royal law of liberty. All things are from Him, life itself included (1^{17}). The wisdom which is opposed to earthly wisdom is not man's own but God's; it is from above. All that Christians do, or are, depends on the free gift of God.

This Epistle contains the gospel of piety and good works, rather than that of faith. But the good works do not depend on initiative and power. The process of salvation must be expressed in good works. But they bring no merit. It is not through man's merit that he is enabled to obey the law. This royal law is fundamentally the law of love (2^{8}). The life of obedience to the ideal law revealed through Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, is a process of drawing nigh unto God (4^{8}). The power of prayer is mighty in its working. It is a source of comfort and strength to man in the life of obedience. The prayer of faith shall save him that is sick (5$^{15f.}$). Through the manifold gifts of God the grace necessary for obedience is vouchsafed. This obedience in outward action is fundamentally the law of love, implanted by the Father in the heart. This is the ground and guarantee of communion with Him.

(4) *Hebrews.*—In this Epistle, Jesus Christ is presented as a supernatural, eternal, and uncreated Person. He is the Son in an absolute sense, superior to a long and illustrious line of prophets and servants of God. He is 'the effulgence of' the Divine 'glory,' 'the express image of the essence' of God. He was the Agent in creation, and is the Principle lying behind the moral order of the universe. The OT terms used to designate Jahweh are applied to the Person of the Son. On the other hand, he was man, tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin. Because of His sufferings and death, He is crowned with glory and honour. He learned obedience by the things which He suffered. He is not ashamed to call men brethren (chs. 1–4). Thus there are expressed the two dominant factors in the Incarnation—Jesus presented as the Eternal

and Uncreated Son; and Jesus, the Captain of our Salvation, who underwent a perfect human experience. These thoughts underlie the development of the argument, and determine the result of His work. The results of the work of Jesus are absolute in their efficacy, universal in their application, and the expression in the world of time and sense of spiritual realities and eternal laws.

To grasp the significance of the writer's thought on the negative aspect of Christ's work as destroying or annulling that which lay between the consciousness of man and the realization of communion with God, it is necessary to bear three things in mind: (*a*) He conceives religion as essentially a covenant relation between God and man. Communion is a relation which entails responsibilities and confers privileges. Many of the distinctions turn upon the essential differences between the covenant inaugurated by Moses and the New Covenant promised by Jeremiah and sealed by the death of Christ. (*b*) As the destiny of man, according to the Synoptic Gospels, is life in the Kingdom of God, and in the Fourth Gospel is eternal life, so in this Epistle the end of man's existence is eternal rest in the peace of God. This heavenly rest is contrasted with the rest which Israel in older times sought in the promised land, on the other side of Jordan. (*c*) The distinction between this world of sense and the unseen world of reality is evidence of the writer's dependence upon Alexandrian thought.

The death of Christ is compared with the covenant offerings of Ex 24[3-8], with the burnt-offerings of the Law, and with the sin-offerings of the Day of Atonement (Lv 16). The efficacy of His death considered as a sacrifice is asserted in 9[13f.]. On the problem of the remission of sins, the cancelling of guilt, the writer repeats the OT idea that apart from the shedding of blood there is no remission. But, in view of the majesty and eternity of His Person, the Blood of Christ avails to atone for all past sin. In virtue of the power of His blood He has entered within the veil, into the very presence of God. This is the end of all religions—to secure perfect and uninterrupted communion with God. Sin has always acted as a barrier. Hence in the OT dispensation ordinary Israelites could not enter into the Holy of Holies at all, nor could the high priest, except once a year, to offer burnt- and sin-offerings for himself and the people. But now, by His own offering of Himself, Christ has perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Whither He has gone before, Christians may follow with boldness, and draw near to the throne of grace. Offering Himself as a sacrifice for sin, Christ has destroyed every barrier of sin which formerly lay between man and God. The sacrifice in which He is both High Priest and Victim secures this result in the world of spirit, whereas the Levitical worship had availed only to the cleansing of the flesh.

Although the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice rests fundamentally upon the majesty of His Person, His sacrificial death may be contrasted with the Levitical bloody sacrifices in the following points: (*a*) they are many and repeated: His is once for all; (*b*) they are of dumb animals: His is the voluntary act of the human will; (*c*) they are offered by sinful priests who do not fully represent the people: His is offered by a sinless Offerer who is perfectly at one with His brethren; (*d*) they as sacrificial acts are transactions in the world of time and sense: His High Priestly act is an expression of the Eternal Spirit of the Divine Love; (*e*) they avail to cleanse the flesh from physical impurities: He cleanses the conscience from guilt, to serve the living God.

In this interpretation of the meaning of Christ's work we are in the realm of the Eternal Spirit. Christ as the sin-offering for humanity has freed all men potentially from the guilty consciousness of sin, and brings Christians to the heavenly rest of God. Yet in this Epistle the emphasis is not so much on the surrender of Christ's life as on the presentation of that life within the veil. Christ, our High Priest and the Author of our salvation, is the Perfecter and Finisher of our faith. (*a*) He is our Example, being tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin. In the light and strength of His victory we are to run the race set before us with confidence. (*b*) He is the Object and Ground of our faith. Faith is defined as 'that which gives reality to things hoped for, the proving of things not seen' (11[1]). In the Person of Jesus, in the Incarnation of the Eternal Son, the spiritual world of abiding reality is brought into the world of human ken. To those who hold fast with confidence to this faith, victory is assured in the end. (*c*) In the heavenly ministry of Christ He ever 'liveth to make intercession for us.' Our High Priest, because of His sufferings and death, is crowned with glory and honour. He has passed through the heavens, and now sits at the Father's right hand to plead the merits of His eternal sacrifice. The love and merciful kindness of God which were manifested in time and in the earthly ministry of Jesus are eternal and changeless principles, perpetually operative in our behalf. This must ultimately be the ground of our acceptance and the assurance of our life in communion with Him.

In this Epistle the thought of the perfection of Christ's sacrifice is parallel with St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. The benefits and efficacy of His perfect sacrifice are conditioned by our attitude of faith and trust. This is a necessary and fundamental element in the process of salvation. But behind and above all the perfection of Christ's sacrifice and His eternal ministry of love in heaven are the assurance and guarantee of the life of communion with God.

(5) *1 Peter.*—In the Petrine speeches in the Acts our Lord is the great Prophet whose mission is attested by His mighty works. He is identified with the Suffering Servant of Jahweh (Ac 3[13-26], cf. 4[27-30]; see Is 42[1] 52[13] 53[11]). He has suffered death by the foreknowledge and counsel of God. God has highly exalted Him and made Him to be both Lord and Christ. The allusions to the Servant of Jahweh suggest the atoning and saving significance of our Lord's sufferings and death. The prophets of old have spoken explicitly of the sufferings of Christ. Repentance and forgiveness of sins are brought into close connexion with these sufferings and His death (Ac 3[18f.]). In those speeches our Lord is the suffering Messiah. In His name repentance and remission of sins are preached. His death has wrought such a change in the status of man before God that he is in a position by a deliberate act of his own choice to attain forgiveness of sins and the life of communion and peace with God. With the growth of St. Peter's thought in the course of years, the process of salvation is more explicitly stated by him. The sufferings of Christ are followed by 'the glories' (1 P 1[11]). From past sins and corruptible life, Christians have been redeemed by the blood of Christ (v.[19]). 'He bare our sins in his body upon the tree, that we having died unto sins might live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed' (2[24]). The writer is not here dealing with the principle of sin as St. Paul did, but with individual sins. The thought is that we have been freed from the dominion and power of sin through a literal transfer of our sins to Him, and a literal substitution of the sinless Person of the Redeemer for the persons of us sinners. He was sinless, but in His own body He suffered the consequences and results of our sins. The avenging holiness and righteousness of God find expression in the vicarious sufferings and death of the Christ of God. It is far from the writer's intention to ascribe to Christ's sufferings as such the moral quality or value of punishment. The sufferings and death are ours because the sins which He bore are ours. There is a clear statement on salvation in the words, 'Because Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh but quickened in the Spirit' (3[18]). Our Lord suffered for sins which were not His own. He the righteous was offered in sacrifice for the unrighteous. Two

main ideas seem to be contained here: (a) that sin deserved punishment; and the wrath of God must be expressed, if not on the person of a sinner, on that of a vicarious sufferer; (b) that the righteous may by God's gracious provision suffer for the unrighteous. Further, 'He went and preached to the spirits in prison' (3^{19}). Our Lord's saving work is not limited to this world, but extends into all spheres. There is no realm in which His saving activities do not reign. By the sufferings and death of Christ, which came to pass in the eternal counsels of God, man has been freed from the guilt and power of sin. He is sprinkled and glorified by the blood of Christ. Only on this condition is communion with God the Father made possible. Thus the death and sufferings of Christ have availed to secure the negative element in the process of human salvation—forgiveness of sins. How then is the necessary power and strength given to man whereby he may continue in the state of communion and fellowship with God? This question is evidently prominent in St. Peter's mind: 'Concerning which salvation the prophets sought and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come to you' (1^{10}). There is in salvation a positive aspect which means the infusion of grace. This gift of God has been the subject of the revelation of God to man through the prophets in the OT. It is now given through Christ, and is most intimately connected with His sufferings and death. He 'was manifested at the end of the times for your sake, who through him are believers in God, which raised him from the dead, and gave him glory: so that your faith and hope might be in God' ($1^{20f.}$). The faith and hope of man which make possible communion with the Father are here associated with the resurrection of Christ from the dead. His glorious resurrection as a spiritual fact was the symbol and emblem of His final and absolute victory over the forces of sin and death. The resurrection is the ground and guarantee of a new life, and gift of strength to man to overcome the power of Satan and to enter God's presence. As the soul of man has been purified through the blood of Christ, the life of the purified soul is the life of love ($1^{22f.}$). The life of communion with God which has been ensured by Christ's death and the coming of grace into the heart finds its necessary complement in the life of love for the brethren (cf. the Johannine statement in 1 Jn 3^{14}). The Jewish figure of Divine election is used to describe the life of the Church redeemed from sin (1 P 2^{5}; cf. St. Paul in Romans). The process of salvation of individual souls has for its end the creation of a redeemed community, a holy Church, a spiritual house. The function of the redeemed is to be a priesthood offering spiritual sacrifices (1 P 2^{5-10}, cf. Ex $19^{5f.}$). The idea of the priesthood of all believers is here stated explicitly. All Christians are sacrificing priests, elect of God; the life of communion with the Father is essentially a life of the offering of a sacrifice. The ultimate basis of the Christian's union with God is God's holiness (1^{16}). The saving work involved in the life and death of Christ expresses in the world of time and sense the eternal laws of that redeeming holiness. In the death, and more especially in the resurrection, of His Son, are given grace and strength to abide in the life of love and sacrifice with God the Father.

(6) *St. John's Gospel*[1] *and Epistles.*—The ideas of Christ's Person enunciated in the Prologue lie behind the work as a whole. The distinctions between light and darkness, the world and the heavenly sphere, God and man, time and eternity, are repeatedly insisted on by the Evangelist. Christ as the Eternal Logos of the Father, incarnate and dwelling among men, is a perfect revelation of the being and will and character of God. He who has seen Jesus the Son has seen the Father (Jn 14^{9}). Christ, the incarnate Logos, is the Way, the Truth, and the Life (14^{6}). Only through a knowledge of His Person and through faith in Him can man pass out of death into life. In 1^{29} John the Baptist hails Him as 'the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.' Whether this is a reference to the Suffering Servant of Isaiah or to the lamb of the sin-offering, it certainly involves the sacrificial significance of Christ's death as availing to remove sin. But this idea is not completely worked out in the Gospel. God the Father is essentially love; the Son is love incarnate. To gain eternal life, which is a spiritual state of communion with God, man must know God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. By appearing as Light in the midst of darkness, the Eternal Son offers to every man the opportunity of seeing and joining himself to that light. Acceptance or rejection of this choice is left with man himself. The Son judges no man; the judgment or acceptance is automatic. The world in which men lie cut off from communion with God is represented as the abode of death or destruction; but the effect of Christ's mission is to implant in all who 'will to believe' in Him the principles of eternal life. As the Son is in virtue of His Divine power victorious over sin, hatred, and darkness, so man, by knowledge and faith in Him, may in the end achieve the same victory. As communion with God is expressed in the Synoptic Gospels as the reign of holiness in the Kingdom of God, so in the Fourth Gospel the same idea is represented by the phrase 'eternal life.' Eternal life is essentially the knowledge of God and His incarnate Son. Hence in the work of making possible a perfect communion with God, the negative aspect of Christ's work was to overcome and vanquish the ignorance and darkness in which the mind of man lay. The revelation of the love and light of God in the life and death of the Eternal Son is, on this side, a conquest of the realm of darkness and sin. On the positive side, the thought of an eternal life which begins now, overleaps death, and endures unto the ages of the ages, means an existence in communion with the Father. Christ is to prepare in the heavenly sphere a place for His disciples also. As He rests eternally in the bosom of the Father, so they in the end are to come whither He has gone. In this Gospel the doctrine of the Person of Christ is the fullest and richest in the NT literature. And as to the motive of the Incarnation, there is the sublime statement: 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life' (3^{16}). The facts of the Incarnation, the life and death of Christ, were prior neither in time nor in principle to the merciful love of God. The love of God is not powerless till justice is satisfied. Rather, the Incarnation with all its attendant circumstances is an expression of the love of God which has existed from eternity. God is love, and love implies the revelation and gift of self. In the Fourth Gospel the Incarnation is God's gift to man of a perfect revelation of Himself. An acceptance of this supreme gift by knowledge of and faith in His Son means the closest communion with God and life eternal. 'If a man love me, he will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him' (14^{23}); 'I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live:

[1] Notwithstanding much recent criticism which tends to minimize the historical value of this Gospel, it is here regarded as containing, upon the lowest estimate, a very large substratum of genuine discourses of our Lord.

and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die' ($11^{25f.}$). In the Eucharistic discourses in ch. 6, our Lord speaks of Himself as 'the bread of life.' By feeding on the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of man, men have life in themselves. By unaided efforts they cannot attain life eternal. Life and communion with God are essentially gifts from a merciful Father through the Son. Though there is no account of the institution of the Eucharist in the Fourth Gospel, the necessity and fundamental importance of the sacramental life are repeatedly dwelt upon. The Son is the Bread which cometh down out of heaven and giveth life to the world. Life means an apprehension and assimilation of the flesh and blood of the Son which are food and drink indeed. It might almost be said that the final purpose of His Incarnation is stated in these terms: 'I am the living bread which came down out of heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever.'[1]

Finally, in this Gospel we are moving in the world not of time and sense, but of abiding spiritual realities. Death is more than the physical fact of fleshly dissolution. Life does not mean mere animate existence. Death is the spiritual and moral fact of a separation from, and incompatibility with, the Divine love. It is not an event in a moment of time, but an eternal loss. So life is more than existence; based on knowledge and faith, it means existence in the holy presence of God, in accordance with His will—in the last resort, communion with Him. This life is the gift of God to man through the Eternal Son of His love. As the Son in His human life possesses the most perfect achievement of communion with the Most High, so He is Himself the most perfect means whereby there is communion between men and God.

The mystical idealism of the Johannine Gospel is maintained in the First Epistle. But in the latter the Gospel message finds its actual realization in the ordinary practical life of the 1st cent. Christian community. The author reiterates Christ's negative work of removing the barrier—an act made possible by His Divine Sonship ($3^{5.16}$ 4^{10}). On this Divine Sonship is based also the positive aspect of communion. That which has been seen and heard in His manifestation is declared as a means towards the fellowship of Christians with one another and 'with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ' (1^{1-3}). By means of this union Christians are made children of God (3^{1}), and they continue to possess the actual indwelling of God if (*a*) they acknowledge Jesus as come in the flesh and as the Son of God ($4^{2.15}$), and (*b*) prove their acknowledgment by the love for one another (4^{12}) which shows that they have passed out of death into life (3^{14}).

(7) *2 Peter and Jude.*—Through the work of our Lord the cleansing of sins has been effected (2 P 1^{9}). This cleansing is from sins, not the principle of sin.[2] It is an act or transaction in past time which the writer's contemporaries were in danger of forgetting. Yet it also demands some appropriation of its effects on the part of the individual searcher after union with God. The Christian's righteousness and faith in God are determined by the Person and work of the Lord Jesus Christ. Both freedom from sins and power to work the righteousness of God at the present time depend directly upon faith and knowledge of Him (2 P 1^{5-9}). Salvation is a personal and moral apprehension of, and adhesion to, Him. He is the unique figure who Himself bridges the chasm between God and man. The long categories of sins show that the presence and power of sin in the world as the negation of communion with God are very real to the writer's consciousness. Not only man, but the angels also are involved, or have been involved, in this apostasy (2 P 2^{4}, Jude ^{6}).[1]

A distinction is made between the objective and subjective elements in the work of salvation. The cleansing of sins, regarded as in some sense completed in past time (2 P 1^{9}), may be called the objective element in the Atonement. Throughout 2 Peter strong emphasis is laid on knowledge, and in 2^{20} the knowledge of Christ is said to have enabled man to be free from sin. This may be called the subjective element in the Atonement. In the world of time and sense, atonement was wrought in the life and death of the Son of God. But this transaction can have no meaning or saving value without knowledge of Jesus Christ. Such knowledge means an inner and spiritual apprehension and assimilation of His work and Himself with the very inmost being. By the knowledge of Christ and His death which has cleansed from sins there is approach through Him to God the Father. Thus, all the Christian's relations to God are conditioned by the Person and saving work of the Son; through Him cleansing has been wrought; through a knowledge of Him there is approach to the Father. For the present and future the life of communion with God is expressed by the OT imagery of Divine election (2 P 1^{10}); and entrance into the eternal Kingdom of Christ is attained by virtue of faith and knowledge and apprehension of the cleansing from sins (v.[11]). There is here a link with the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels. Here, as there, the life of communion with God is represented by the idea of entrance into and life in the Kingdom of God and Christ. As members of that Kingdom, Christians abide in His presence and love, in communion with Him. Man has not yet fully entered into the Kingdom, and the process of salvation will not be complete 'until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts' (v.[19]) at the consummation of the Kingdom (cf. Mt 25). The great day of judgment and separation, and of the reign of Christ with His saints in glory, was coming as a thief in the night, and was to mean a changing of all things and a new heaven and earth ($3^{10.13}$). For the present the life of man must be in peace, and blameless. As the long-suffering of the Lord has wrought salvation (3^{15}), the lives of Christians here must be of the same kind. The life of communion with the Father is to find its consummation in the new heaven and earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. When, through the knowledge of Christ, the righteousness and peace of God are attained, there will be the new heaven and earth. Hence for the man who has attained the righteousness of God there is no death. He passes from this world order into the eternal and heavenly kingdom (Jude $^{24f.}$).

(8) *The Apocalypse.*—The language of this book points to a period of severe and prolonged persecution. A mighty war is being waged on earth between the Church of God and the powers of evil. There is a clear grasp and apprehension of the difficulties which lie before the Church and her consummation in the Kingdom of God. The Roman Empire, and the city of Rome in particular, are the incarnation of the spirit of evil (Rev 17^{4-6}). The account of the war in heaven in 12^{7-9} suggests the mighty conflict fought out on earth between the

[1] There can be no doubt that in these passages there is a reference to the Eucharist, since the writer of the Gospel is looking back on some seventy years of Christian practice. To characterize the language as mere metaphor and symbol, without any corresponding reality, is to do violence to every accepted canon of criticism or exposition.

[2] A link with the Petrine rather than with the Pauline soteriology.

[1] With this thought of the alienation of all created beings from God's presence, compare the idea of the absolute and universal range of our Lord's saving work in 1 P 3^{19}.

powers of light and darkness. Man's final victory over the forces of sin which separate him from God has been gained through the death of Christ as the Lamb of God (1^{5}). The soteriology of this book, with which its relation is concerned, depends directly on the Christology. Our Lord is 'the Son of God' in the highest sense (2^{18}), that is, the author insists on the same exalted dignity of our Lord's Person as in the Fourth Gospel. The favourite designation for Him is 'the Lamb,' this title being applied to Him twenty-nine times in the book. He is not only the Lamb, but the Lamb who has been slain; and the effect of His death has been the purchase and redemption of mankind (5^{9}). All mankind were in bondage under the dominion of sin and death. By the death of the Lamb the purchase price has been paid. Man has been bought for God's own possession. His true life and destiny—communion with the Father—have thus been made possible. This power of the Lamb slain is due to His being the Eternal and Divine Son. Salvation is from God the Father and God the Son (5^{12} 7^{10}). The ultimate motive is to be found in the love of God; the immediate agency is through the death of the Lamb, the Eternal Son made man. The final effects of the death of the Lamb as an act which has purified all men from sin depend on the choice and action of the redeemed. Salvation includes a human as well as a Divine element. Man must make use of, and appropriate, those saving powers which the love of the Son, as expressed in His death, has provided (7^{14}). Like St. Paul, the writer insists on the importance of Christ's resurrection in this connexion (1^{18}). The resurrection of Christ as a spiritual fact expresses His final victory over the power of sin and death. Though the Lamb has been slain, yet there is victory in His death. He 'is alive for evermore,' He has the keys which open the way to life, that is, to a life of communion with the Father. By the death of the Lamb, the whole community has been purchased to be a kingdom of priests (1^{6}). The Christian is set free from all that had hindered the offering of a perfect sacrifice to God. The death of Christ (the Lamb) as a sacrifice has freed man from sin. The life of communion with God thus gained is a life of uninterrupted sacrifice. This being so, how is power given to individual Christians whereby they are strengthened for this perfect ministry? How is there such a relation as is expressed in the phrase 'the patience and faith of the saints' (13^{10})? The writer interprets this relation in (*a*) the language of metaphor taken from the Jewish ceremonial (19^{8}), (*b*) the language of the works of the Law (2^{26}), and (*c*) the description of keeping the commandments of God and holding the testimony of Jesus (12^{17}). Thus, the idea of man's right relation to God and of communion with Him is expressed in a variety of images. Similarly, image after image—mostly taken from the OT, but not uncoloured by the Jewish apocalpytic writings—is used to denote the communion with God in which the true Christian abides, and the prayer and dedication by means of which it is gained and realized ($2^{7.\,10.\,17.\,28}$ $3^{5.\,12.\,20.\,21}$ 5^{8} $7^{13\text{-}17}$ 8^{4} $14^{1\text{-}5}$ $20^{4\text{-}6}$ 21. 22). At the centre of all is the stream of life which proceeds from the being of God, mediated through the manhood of the Son (22^{1}). Through all the stages of communion, the Church in the power of the Holy Spirit reaches that perfect attainment in which the Divine life is fully received (22^{17}).

CONCLUSION.—Christian life is thus the highest form of communion with God which is attainable in the present stage of being, and the closest means of approach to that complete communion which is the true destiny of the human race. Led up to by divers methods of preparation, Christianity supplies the individual Christian with a definite gift, which is made possible through the union of God and man in Jesus Christ. That definite gift is in the soul of the individual as his personal possession; but he has it through his place in the society which the incarnate Son of God constituted (see CHURCH). Intellectual powers are used in the reception of truth and grace; but they are assisted by Divine revelation. The communion of the spirit of man with the spiritual God fails in its purpose except so far as it is a means towards bringing the human life into conformity with the Divine life. All through the history of such communion there are the two sides—the inner and the outward The Christian life will be well proportioned which makes due allowance for them both. The communion will be expressed by, and will find its realization in, such different means as the study of the Biblical records, the life of the Church in past times, and the histories of the saints; the use of public worship; the observance of sacred days and seasons; the intimate relation between the soul and God which is found in private and personal acts of prayer; the expression of a philosophy of religion which has as its aims both the further progress of believers and the conversion of unbelievers; the reception of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit; the partaking, with the knowledge and faith and right intention which the Holy Spirit makes possible, of the life of Christ communicated in the Sacraments, as the Christian is spiritually uplifted to be with Christ in heaven, and as Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit, acting on His sacred Manhood, and on the gifts offered by the Church, is present on earth. Employing such means, it moves on towards the consummation which has its mark in limitless perfection (1 Co 13^{12}, 1 Jn 3^{2}).

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DARWELL STONE and D. C. SIMPSON.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Egyptian).—It is difficult to define this subject, as it will naturally appear under many different forms in other articles. The snbjects of (1) offering, (2) theophagy, (3) covenant, (4) symbiosis, (5) magic, (6) oracle, (7) prayer, (8) adoration, (9) inspiration, (10) dream, (11) mysticism, and (12) trance, all

comprise communion with Deity, and it is not possible to deal with the latter except under some form of these various headings. All we can do here is to illustrate these different modes of communion as seen in Egyptian remains.

1. **Offering.**—The Egyptian idea was not that of burning a sacrifice in order that the smell of it might ascend to heaven, but that of setting out a table of food for the god, especially at the times when all his worshippers were assembled at a feast. Then the god and his adherents feasted together, with portions assigned to each (XXth dyn., Harris papyrus). The same is seen in the feasts held in the temples in later times, as illustrated by the well-known invitation 'to dine at the table of the Lord Serapis in the Serapeum' in the 2nd cent. A.D. (*Oxyrh. Papyri*, i. 177). Thus the essence of the offering was co-mensalism with the god.

2. **Theophagy.**—From a very early stratum of the religion comes the idea of feeding on the god. The animal-gods were so used in a communion feast, as seen at Memphis, where the sacred bulls were eaten, only the heads being preserved with the fragments of bone after the sacramental feast (XIXth dyn.). The same is implied at Thebes, where the sacred ram was killed each year. In pre-historic times the flesh was removed from the dead, and the bones were broken to extract the marrow, probably showing the practice of anthropophagy with a view to transmitting the virtues of the deceased. In the future life the dead fed on the gods; cf. the pyramid of King Unas (Vth dyn.):

'It is Unas who eats men, who nourishes himself on the gods. . . . It is Unas who devours their magic virtues and who eats their souls; the great ones are a repast for Unas in the morning, the middling ones at noon, and the little ones are the food of Unas for the evening. The old ones, male and female, are burnt up in the ovens.'

3. **Covenant.**—The greater offerings and endowments for the gods were one side of a business contract or covenant.

'I give to thee wine,' or other offerings, says the king. The god replies, 'I give to thee health and strength.' 'I give thee joy and life for millions of years.' In his battle-prayer Ramses II. appeals to Amen on the ground of his great offerings to the god, and therefore demands his help in distress.

4. **Symbiosis.**—In the future life the dead were thought to go and live with the gods, generally in the boat of the sun-god Ra, with whom the dead performed the daily journey through the under world. In the Book of the Dead (ch. 178) the gods are besought thus: 'Feed N. with you; let him eat what you eat, drink as you drink, sit as you sit, be mighty as you are mighty, navigate as you navigate.'

5. **Magic.**—The essential idea is to compel the gods by magic formulæ (Wiedemann, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1897, p. 269). In the early tales of magic the gods are not prominent; it is rather the course of Nature that is compelled, as in the vivification of a wax crocodile, or the joining of the head and body of a decapitated bird (Petrie, *Egyp. Tales*, i. [1895] p. 11). But the later magic formulæ are addressed to the gods and spirits, and threaten dire results if the magician is not obeyed. They are not unnatural for their time, as the little Greek boys threatened terrible results to their fathers if they could not have their own way (Papyri letters in *Oxyrh. Papyri*, i. 186).

Another part of magic in communion was the Divine marriage of Amen with the queen, resulting in the supernatural conception of the heir, as is recited of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III. Here the community with the Deity in procreation is similar to the Bab. priestess being a spouse of the god in his shrine. The king also was in communion with the Deity, as he dressed and acted in the marriage as the incarnation of the Deity. The frequent use of little images of the gods, often protected in miniature shrines, hung round the neck, suggests a magic communion, like that of Louis XI. with the leaden images in his hat-band.

6. **Oracle.**—Oracular responses were given by the nodding of a statue of the god in reply to questions. In the XXIst dynasty Men-kheper-ra, the pontiff, went to visit Amen,

'saying, "O my good lord, there is a matter, shall one recount it?" Then the great god nodded exceedingly, exceedingly. Then he went again to the great god, saying, "O my good lord, it is the matter of these servants against whom thou art wroth, who are in the Oasis, whither they are banished." Then the great god nodded exceedingly, while this commander of the army with his hands uplifted was praising his lord' (Breasted, *Anc. Records of Egypt*, 1906–7, iv. 318).

Again, in an inquiry about accusations in the XXIst dynasty, the pontiff Painozem

'came before this great god. This great god saluted violently. He placed two tablets of writing before the great god: one writing said . . . there are matters which should be investigated . . . the other writing . . . there are no matters which should be investigated. . . . These two tablets of writing were placed before the great god. The great god took the writing which said . . . there are no matters which should be investigated' (*ib.* 328).

In a religious fiction of later date the chief of Bekhten, in Asia, desires that the image of the god Khonsu be sent to Bekhten to perform the cure of his daughter. The king of Egypt

'repeated before Khonsu in Thebes, saying, "O my good lord, I repeat before thee concerning the daughter of the chief of Bekhten." Then led they Khonsu of Thebes to Khonsu the Plan Maker. . . . Then said his majesty before Khonsu of Thebes, "O thou good lord, if thou inclinest thy face to Khonsu the Plan Maker . . . he shall be conveyed to Bekhten." There was violent nodding. Then said his majesty, "Send thy protection with him, that I may cause his majesty to go to Bekhten to save the daughter of the chief of Bekhten." Khonsu of Thebes nodded the head violently. Then he wrought the protection of Khonsu the Plan Maker four times.' At Bekhten 'then this god went to the place where Bentresh was. Then he wrought the protection of the daughter of the chief of Bekhten. She became well immediately' (*ib.* iii. 193). The phrase 'wrought the protection' here is literally 'did [or made] the *sa*.' The *sa* was a Divine emanation which was conferred from the gods by the laying on of hands.

7. **Prayer.**—An example of direct appeal—beyond all the usual formulæ—is that of the battle-prayer of Ramses II.:

'"What is in thy heart, my father Amen, does a father ignore the face of a son? I have made petitions, and hast thou forgotten me? Even in my going stood I not on thy word? . . . What is thy will concerning these Amu [Syrians]? Amen shall bring to nought the ignorers of God. Made I never for thee great multitude of monuments? . . . Amen! behold this has been done to thee out of love, I call on thee, my father Amen, for I am in the midst of many nations whom I know not, the whole of every land is against me. . . . I end this waiting on the decrees of thy mouth, Amen! never overstepping thy decrees, even making to thee invocations from the ends of the earth."' 'Amen came because I cried to him, he gave me his hand and I rejoiced: He cried out to me, "My protection is with thee, my face is with thee, Ramessu, loved of Amen, I am with thee, I am thy Father, my hand is with thee' (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iii. [1905] 56 f.).

8. **Adoration.**—The Egyptian always stood with his hands raised, and the palms turned forward, when in adoration. Of the mental attitude there are many examples in the hymns of adoration to the gods, expatiating on the glory and power of the deity; but there is little trace of a personal expression. One remarkable maxim is: 'When thou worshippest him, do it quietly and without ostentation in the sanctuary of God, to whom clamour is abhorrent. Pray to him with a longing heart, in which all thy words are hidden, so will he grant thy request, and hear that which thou sayest, and accept thy offering' (Erman, *Egyp. Rel.*, Eng. tr., 1907, p. 84). A striking instance of official adoration is when Pankhy the Ethiopian (XXIIIrd dyn.) went to perform the royal ceremonies at Heliopolis. He ascended the steps to the shrine of Ra, he drew back the bolts, and, opening the ark, he looked on Ra in his shrine, and performed adoration before the two boats of Ra. Then he shut and sealed the doors. The address of Lucius to Isis (*Golden Ass*) is one of the finest passages of adoration in late times; but it is Greek rather than Egyptian.

9. Inspiration.—The impulse to perform great works was ascribed to the inspiration of the gods. Hatshepsut (XVIIIth dyn.) relates at the base of her great obelisk at Karnak:

'I sat in the palace, I remembered him who fashioned me (Amen, the divine parent of the miraculous birth of the queen), my heart led me to make for him two obelisks' (Breasted, ii. 132). 'I have done this from a loving heart for my father Amen; I have entered upon his project of the first occurrence, I was wise by his excellent spirit, I did not forget anything of that which he executed. My majesty knoweth that he is divine. I did it under his command, he it was who led me; I conceived not any works without his doing, he it was who gave me directions. I slept not because of his temple, I erred not from that which he commanded, my heart was wise before my Father, I entered upon the affairs of his heart' (p. 131).

Direct inspiration of words was also accepted, as when Un-amen was detained at the court of Byblos (XXIst dyn.):

'Now, when he (the king of Byblos) sacrificed to his gods, the god seized one of his noble youths, making him frenzied, so that he said, "Bring up the god (the image of Amen owned by Un-amen), bring the messenger of Amen who hath him, send him and let him go." Now, while the frenzied youth continued in frenzy during the night, I found a ship bound for Egypt' (*ib.* iv. 280).

10. Dream.—The belief in dreams as communications from a deity is seldom mentioned. The main instance is the dream of Tahutmes IV. (XVIIIth dyn.); when he

'rested in the shadow of this great god (the Sphinx), a vision of sleep seized him at the hour when the sun was in the zenith, and he found the majesty of this revered god speaking with his own mouth, as a father speaks with his son, saying, "Behold thou me! see thou me! my son Tahutmes, I am thy father Har-emakhti-Khepra-Ra-Atum, who will give to thee thy kingdom. . . . The sand of this desert upon which I am has reached me; turn to me to have that done which I have desired, knowing that thou art my son, my protector; come hither; behold, I am with thee, I am thy leader." When he had finished this speech, this king's son awoke' (*ib.* ii. 323).

A stone head-rest or pillow, of the usual form, was found at Memphis having a small shrine hollowed in the side of it, evidently to contain an image of a god close beneath the sleeper's head. This was probably to favour communications in dreams. The Egyptians adopted the Semitic idea of dreaming in a temple, or in front of a sacred shrine, when seeking guidance in a Semitic land, as seen in Sinai (Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, 1906, p. 67). The Greeks in Egypt had the custom of dreaming in the temples at Memphis, Kanobos, and Abydos (see, further, art. INCUBATION).

11. Mysticism.—The absence of documents relating to personal religion during the Egyptian monarchy prevents our finding mysticism, which is absent from the official religion. But in the later age we have the Hermetic books of about 500–200 B.C., and the accounts of the Ascetics of the 1st cent. A.D. In these we meet with the various emblems of Conversion—the Ray of Light, Baptism, and Re-birth.

'Good is holy silence, and a giving of a holiday to every sense.' 'Pray to catch a single ray of thought of the Unmanifest (God) by contemplating the ordering of Nature, inanimate and animate.' 'To reach re-birth throw out of work the bodily senses, and withdraw into thyself; will it, and the Deity shall come to birth.'

Of the Ascetics it is said (A.D. 10) that

'they are carried away with heavenly love, like those initiated in the practice of Corybantic Mysteries; they are a-fire with God until they behold the object of their love. After dancing and singing all night, thus drunken unto morning light with this fair drunkenness, with no head-heaviness or drowsiness, but with eyes and body even fresher than when they came to the banquet, they take their stand at dawn, when, catching sight of the rising sun, they raise their hands to heaven praying' (Petrie, *Personal Religion in Egypt*, 1909, pp. 92–98, 77).

Probably much of this mysticism was due to the influence of Indian thought from the Buddhist mission.

12. Trance seems to have been outside of the very practical and material ideas of the Egyptians, but it probably entered into the Ascetic system of later times. The devotees lived in solitary dwellings, each of which contained a shrine or *monasterion* into which no other person ever entered. Here, in solitude, they performed the mysteries of the holy life. No food or drink was ever used in it, but there the devotees rested for even a whole week at a time, without food or any external impression. Such a condition would certainly lead to trance and visions, like those of the later hermits.

In each of these modes of communion we have only samples, which do not give any complete view of the subject, but which illustrate its nature at one or two periods. These samples must not be thought to be general in their application; there must have been various views current together in the very mixed condition of Egyptian religion. As a modern parallel, we have simultaneously every shade of belief about Divine communion in the Eucharist, from the full theophagy of the Roman Church to the purely spiritual contemplation of the Plymouth Brethren. An extract from any religious work of the present day touching this subject would as little represent the variety of present thought as an extract from ancient writings can show us the extent of ancient thought.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Fijian).—A Fijian took no important step without the support of his god, conveyed to him by the priest in the frenzy of inspiration. Among the tribes under Polynesian influence in the Eastern islands he presented a whale's tooth to the priest of the tribal deity; among the Melanesian tribes of the interior he made his offering at the grave of the late chief, the last representative of the ancestor-god. Thus, in the revolt at Seanggangga in 1895, the first act of the rebels, after throwing off Christianity, was to weed the grave of their late chief and present a root of *kava* to his *manes*.

The priesthood was generally hereditary, but outside the precincts of the temple it enjoyed no social consideration. There was no access to the god save through the priest, and, except on rare occasions, such as a campaign in a distant island, the priest could be inspired only in the temple. When the oracle was to be consulted, a message was sent to the priest; and the envoys, dressed and oiled, found him lying near the sacred corner of the temple-hut. He rose and sat down with his back against the white cloth by which the god visited him, the others sitting opposite. The chief envoy presented a whale's tooth, and explained the project for which Divine favour was sought. The priest took the tooth and gazed at it, absorbed in thought. All watched him attentively. Presently he began to tremble. Slight spasms distorted his features, his limbs twitched, and gradually the whole body was convulsed with violent muscular action; the veins swelled, the lips grew livid, the sweat poured down, and the eyes protruded unnaturally. The man was now possessed, and every word he uttered was that of the god. He began to cry in a shrill voice: '*Koi au! Koi au!*' ('It is I! It is I!'). The answer, generally couched in figurative and ambiguous terms, was screamed in falsetto, and the violent symptoms then began to abate. The priest looked about him, and, as the god screamed '*Au sa lako!*' ('I depart'), collapsed prone on the mat, or struck the ground with a club. At the same moment some one outside the temple announced by a blast on the conch, or a shot from a musket, that the god had returned to the spirit world. The convulsive twitchings continued for some time, even though the priest had so far recovered as to eat a meal or to smoke.[1]

Williams gives the following example of the pronouncements of an oracle. Ndengei's priest cried, 'Great Fiji is my small club; Muaimbila is the head; Kamba is the handle. If I step

[1] There are several words to denote possession; *sika* means 'to appear,' *kundru*, 'to grumble'; the one refers to the appearance, the other to the sound, of possession by a god.

on Muaimbila, I shall sink it into the sea, whilst Kamba shall rise to the sky; if I step on Kamba, it will be lost in the sea, whilst Muaimbila could rise into the skies. Yes, Viti Levu is my small war-club; I can turn it as I please; I can turn it upside down' (*Fiji and the Fijians*, 225).

The propitiatory offering was invariably food, of which part, called the *singana*, was set aside for the god, and was eaten by his priest and a few privileged old men, for it was tabu to youths and women; the remainder of the feast was divided among the people.

The inspired paroxysm is something more than conscious deception. Williams heard a famous priest of Lakemba declare: 'I do not know what I say. My own mind departs from me, and then, when it is truly gone, my god speaks by me.' No doubt this man was absolutely sincere. Williams says that he 'had the most stubborn confidence in his deity, although his mistakes were such as to shake any ordinary trust. His inspired tremblings were of the most violent kind, bordering on frenzy' (*ib.* p. 228).

Christianity did not put an end to this kind of seizure, for in the first heat of conversion it was not uncommon in the mission services for a man to be inspired (by the Holy Spirit, as he said) and to interrupt the service with a torrent of gibberish, accompanied by all the contortions that seized the heathen priest. His companions would pat him gently on the shoulder with soothing exclamations. The missionaries, who had told them the story of Pentecost, could not well condemn the practice. The 'revival' at Viwa in 1845 was an extreme instance of this kind of possession. To judge from John Hunt's account (*ib.* p. 269), the whole island was seized with a kind of religious hysteria, and 'business, sleep, and food were entirely laid aside' for several days.

Another form of communion was confined to young men only; there was no recognized priesthood. The object of the rites, called *kalou-rere* or *ndomindomi*, according to the part of the group where they were practised, was to allure the 'little gods'—*luve-ni-wai* ('children of the water'), a timid race of immortals—to leave the sea and visit their votaries. It is not clear that the 'little gods' conferred any boon upon their worshippers, except to make them invulnerable in battle, and to afford them such amusement as may be enjoyed by amateur spiritualists who keep secret from their elders their dabbling in the black art. In a retired place near the sea a small house was built and enclosed by a rustic trellis-fence, tied at the crossings with a small-leafed vine, and interrupted at intervals by long poles decorated with streamers. No effort was spared to make the place attractive to the shy 'little gods'; the roof of the miniature temple was draped with bark cloth, the walls were studded with crab claws, and giant yams and painted coco-nuts were disposed about the foundation for their food and drink; within was a consecrated coco-nut or some other trifle. A party of twenty or thirty youths would spend weeks in this enclosure, drumming on the ground with hollow bamboos every morning and evening to attract the sea-gods. They observed certain tabus, but otherwise spent their days in idleness. In one case, cited by Williams (*op. cit.* p. 237), a jetty of loose stones was built into the sea to make the landing easier. When the gods were believed to be ascending, flags were set up to turn back any who might be disposed to make for the inland forests. On the great day another enclosure was made with long poles covered with green boughs, pennanted spears being set up at the four angles. Within this sat the lads, gaily draped, with their votive offerings before them, thumping on the earth with their bamboo drums. Presently the officers of the lodge were seen approaching, headed by the *vuninduvu*, a sort of past-master, capering wildly with a brandished axe; the *lingaviu* (fan-holder) circling round the drummers, waving an enormous fan; the *mbovoro*, dancing with the coco-nut which he was about to break on his bent knee; and the *lingavatu*, pounding a coco-nut with a stone. Amid a terrific din of shrieks and cat-calls the gods entered into the *raisevu*, who thereafter became a privileged person. Then all went mad; the *vakathambe* (landing-herald) shouted his challenge; the *matarutha* shot an arrow at him or at a coco-nut held under his arm; and all were possessed with the same frenzy as the inspired priests. One after another they ran to the *vuninduvu* to be struck on the belly with a club, believing themselves then to be invulnerable, and sometimes he did them mortal injury. On the west coast of Vitilevu, the favourite landing-place of the *luve-ni-wai* is marked with a cairn of stones to which each worshipper and passer-by adds as he goes. In the more republican tribes of the west, commoners have risen to great influence through their adventures as *raisevu*.

The *mbaki* or *nanga* rites were peculiar to the western and inland tribes of Vitilevu. They were held in a sort of open-air temple—a parallelogram of flat stones set up on edge, with two rude altars dividing the enclosure. As a rule they were built not far from a chief's grave. Tradition ascribes the origin of the rites to two castaways, called Veisina and Rukuruku, who drifted to Fiji in a canoe from the westward, and at once began to teach Fijians their mysteries. The *nanga* was the 'bed' of the ancestors, that is, the spot where their descendants might hold communion with them, and the rites were four in number, according to the season: (1) the initiation of the youths; (2) the presentation of the first-fruits with prayers for increase; (3) the recovery of the sick; and (4) making warriors invulnerable. The votaries formed a secret society to which only the initiated in each village belonged; and so strict was the bond that, when votaries of the same *nanga* were at war, they could attend the annual rites in an enemy's country without fear of molestation, provided they could make their way thither unobserved. Each lodge comprised three degrees: (1) the *vere matua*, old men who acted as priests of the Order; (2) the *vunilolo*, the grown men; and (3) the *vilavou*, (lit. 'new year's men'), the novices. The great annual festival was the initiation of these youths, who were thus admitted to man's estate and brought into communion with the ancestors. During the ceremony the votaries lived upon food that had been consecrated months before—yams, and pigs which had been turned loose in the vicinity of the *nanga* after their tails had been cut off. The rites were designed to frighten the novices into respect for their elders and into secrecy. The *vere* became inspired like the priests, and, while in that state, they admonished the novices upon the virtues of valour and generosity, and announced to them the penalty of insanity and death to him who betrayed the mysteries to the uninitiated.

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BASIL H. THOMSON.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Greek and Roman).—The scheme proposed in this article is to avoid attempting any full survey of the widest sense of 'communion' through religious rites and practices in general, and to direct attention to

communion through special forms of ecstasy, such as resulted from orgiastic worship, or initiatory rites, or philosophic exaltation, and to indicate traces of communion, whether in the Mysteries or in sacrificial feasts. It will be serviceable to consider Greek religion, as a whole, before Roman.

I. *GREEK.*—1. **Certain aspects of communion in early Greek religion.**—A chronological consideration of communion at succeeding epochs of Greek history is not a completely suitable mode of treatment in view of the fact that almost all the degrees of 'communion' are either explicitly or implicitly present at most of the historical stages. Without, however, attempting a chronological résumé, one may take a preliminary glance at some aspects of communion in early Greece. The article on ÆGEAN RELIGION (vol. i. p. 141) will serve to illustrate the presence of what we might term the more ordinary phases of communion in the religious observances of that brilliant civilization which included among its epochs the 'Minoan' and 'Mycenæan' ages, and which started as a true primitive religion from a Nature-faith without images. In its more developed worship of a Great Goddess with a Divine Son (resembling the cult of Ashtaroth with Tammuz or Cybele with Attis), this early age presents easily recognizable parallels with the ritual of later times, under such aspects of ritual as adoration, libation, and sacrifice (though apparently not *burnt* sacrifice). There are also, as in a seal-design from the palace at Knossos, indications of the sacred dance by women in 'Minoan' Crete, suggesting the aim at an intimate approach to the Divine through religious excitement. In this connexion it is an interesting probability that the religion of the Cretan Great Mother of the gods developed certain ideas of mystic communion with the divinity which were dominant in the Sabazian Cybele-ritual of Phrygia (Farnell, *CGS* iii. 297).

With the Homeric poems we reach a stage in Greek religion where the primitive is already largely obscured by the artistic, and where the discerning mind will feel the want, in religious inquiry, of something more than purely literary evidence. For in Homer religious usage itself is not always consistent, while the anthropomorphism of the gods and the forms already assumed by many of the legends indicate considerable changes upon the original religious conceptions, though at the same time they naturally do not indicate the survival of such original conceptions in actual contemporary belief or practice. At first sight, the anthropomorphic conception of Deity evident in Homer might seem to allow small possibility of any mystic communion between gods and men, for the gods may appear in the flesh (ἐναργεῖς, *Il.* xx. 131) and play their part as warriors. Yet, in the thought reflected in the *Odyssey*, at any rate, they have become more remote; for there 'the gods in no wise appear visibly to all' (*Od.* xvi. 161, οὐ γάρ πω πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς). It is also in the *Odyssey* that the highly spiritual pronouncement is made touching the yearning of man for God. Often, doubtless, the yearning might be for help viewed externally—for the practical assistance lent by a heavenly ally; but often, too, for some more internal support, a mysterious but confident sharing in Divine quality which approximates to our notion of communion. The context in the *Odyssey* is significant. It is the reason given by Nestor's son to Athene, disguised as Mentor, to explain why prayer should be made by guests who have chanced to arrive during a festival of Poseidon; after drink-offering and prayer, Mentor is bidden hand to his fellow-guest the cup of honeyed wine for the purposes of a similar ritual, 'inasmuch as he too, methinks, prayeth to the deathless gods—for all men have need of the gods' (*Od.* iii. 48, πάντες δὲ θεῶν χατέουσ' ἄνθρωποι). Further, it is in sacrifice that Homeric religion best illustrates communion—not so much in the gift of a holocaust to be completely consumed by the deity as in the more prevalent conception of the sacred feast common to both deity and worshipper.

2. **Communion through ecstasy.**—It is worth while, as it is certainly convenient, to examine ecstasy separately, although logically it may accompany any feature of religious life or practice, and although the illustrations of it must perforce trench on the subject of mysteries and sacraments. The phenomenon of ecstasy—a familiar accompaniment of both barbaric and developed religions—consists in a transcending of the bounds of ordinary consciousness and a resultant feeling of communion with a Divine nature (see the analysis in Rohde, *Psyche*[4], ii. 14–22). The stirring of unrestrained ἐνθουσιασμός lifts the spirit of the human votary completely out of workaday surroundings and beyond ordinary laws. The Greek notion of this process is observable in the terms ἐξίστασθαι and ἔκστασις, and in the conception that the ecstatic condition is attended by the entrance of a Divine element; the devotee is ἔνθεος, 'filled with the god,' Divinely maddened. The Mænad feels herself to be, and names herself, Divine; and it is significant that Plato refers to the Bacchanals as drawing Divine inspiration like that of his enthusiastic lovers (ἐνθουσιῶντες), who by contemplation and memory acquire something of the Divine nature, 'so far as it is possible for man to partake of God' (*Phædr.* 253A, καθ' ὅσον δυνατὸν θεοῦ ἀνθρώπῳ μετασχεῖν). The extreme forms of ecstasy are connected with 'the old and savage doctrine that morbid phantasy is supernatural experience' (Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*[4] ii. 415), and may be compared with the 'ivresse spirituelle' of Ruysbroeck, which is discussed by M. Hébert in *Le Divin*, ch. ii., while a more intellectual type of communion may be compared with the 'degré suprême de l'union extatique' attainable through meditation, and discussed by Hébert in ch. iii.

Among the most usual means whereby the abnormal state of mind under examination may be induced are self-abandonment to emotion, frenzied outcries, unrestrained gestures, giddy dervish-like dancing, outlandish music, brandishing of torches, and the use of drink or drugs. An ecstatic mental condition or morbid exaltation may be the product of rigorous fasting observed with a view to attain, through dreams or visions, relationship with, and revelation from, spiritual beings. This is well illustrated by the 'incubation' (*q.v.*) of patients within the precincts of Asklepios at Epidauros. Somewhat analogous was the belief in delirium, trance, or fainting fits as promising direct spiritual intercourse with a deity. The Pythoness was supposed to obtain a communication of the Divine will in her ecstatic trance, and she made herself ready for the afflatus by the ritual acts of chewing sacred laurel and drinking water possessing a miraculous virtue. Farnell proposes to define such ritual as 'a mantic sacrament,' declaring that 'the chewing the laurel may be regarded as a simple act of sacrament, whereby through contact with a sacred object she established communion between herself and the deity' (*CGS* iv. 188). The worship of Cybele exemplifies other modes of ecstatic communion. In the priest-king at Pessinos—himself identified with Attis, and possessed of mighty secular as well as sacred power through his credited union with the godhead—we have the finished pattern on which the catechumen might model his aspirations; and in this worship not only was there ecstasy through the orgiastic dance, and regeneration through food

and the blood baptism of the *taurobolium*, but, as Farnell points out (*CGS* iii. 300),

'the process of regeneration might be effected by a different kind of corporeal union with the divinity, the semblance of a mystic marriage.' Even self-mutilation implied an ecstatic craving for assimilation to the goddess, so that in the Cybele-service Farnell finds 'a ritual of communion that used a sexual symbolism.'

The 'ecstatic ritual' of communion is examined by Farnell (*op. cit.* v. 151–181), and the evidence disposes him to believe that orgiastic ritual was not confined to the private *thiasoi* of Greece, but that the State-cults were less tempered by the Hellenic spirit than has been imagined (*ib.* 159). Ecstatic ritual persisted down to a late period at Thebes and Delphi at least; and among the island communities the primitive tradition of Bacchic enthusiasm was nowhere maintained with such fidelity as in Crete (*ib.* v. 157; cf. iii. 297). There, at an early date—probably before Homer, in Farnell's opinion—the Thraco-Phrygian Dionysos cult was engrafted on the pre-Hellenic orgies which celebrated a Mother-goddess.

The tasting of the blood or the devouring of the raw flesh of an animal regarded as incarnating the god is also a common way of arousing similar excitement. This potent method of charging oneself with the personality or force of divinity by the drinking of blood will be more fully considered as an aspect of sacramental communion. At this point it may be enough to say that it played a part in native Hellenic ritual (*CGS* v. 164), was prominent in certain imported rites, and lasted until the later days of paganism, when the Cretans, for instance, at a Divine funeral-feast still rent a living bull with their teeth (Firmicus Maternus, p. 84, cited in *CGS* v. 303). It is a salient characteristic of the ecstasy of the Mænads; and it is about their frantic omophagy, their devouring of raw flesh and hot blood in haste lest the spirit might escape, that Arnobius writes: 'in order that you may exhibit yourselves filled with the majesty of godhead (*ut uos plenos numine ac maiestate doceatis*), you mangle with gory lips the flesh of bleating goats' (*adv. Gent.* v. 19. Farnell (*CGS* v. 166) cites in further illustration Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* 11 P, *ὠμοφαγίᾳ τὴν ἱερομανίαν ἄγοντες καὶ τελίσκουσι τὰς κρεανομίας τῶν φόνων*). The scathing words of Arnobius unwittingly contain the original secret of these savage and hurried dismemberments of bull, goat, or fawn. The votaries, aiming at the mystic relation between god, victim, and themselves, believed, indeed, that the banquet of raw flesh filled them with 'the majesty of the divinity.'

A reasonable question arises regarding the object aimed at in the ecstasy of frenzy described. Rohde inclines to hold that an adequate motive is found in the consciousness of communing with Deity and of absorption into the Infinite. And this heaven-sent possession may have been the end in itself in historic Greece. It is, however, fair, as it is scientific, to point out, with Farnell, that among primitive peoples such religious ecstasy is not generally an end but a means. Though doubtless regarded as a strangely pleasurable sensation, it is excited for some practical object, such as prophecy or exorcism. In the early stages of religious ecstasy there is much of what is termed vegetation-magic, the desire in some way to influence Nature, contro' the weather, and secure good harvests. And from such germs may be evolved in time the more spiritual aspirations after communion with Deity.

Yet, by way of contrast, it must not be forgotten that there was a very different avenue towards ecstasy, and one, curiously enough, associated with the same wild Dionysiac worship, where the rapturous communion with Deity was achieved through orgiastic rites and a savage sacramental act. As Farnell asks (*ib.* 162), 'what are we to say of the "silence of the Bakche," alluded to in the strangest of Greek proverbs' (*Paroemiog. Græc. Diogen.* [Gott. 1851] 3. 43, Βάκχης τρόπον· ἐπὶ τῶν σιωπηλῶν, παρ' ὅσον αἱ Βάκχαι σιγῶσιν)? Was this simply physical exhaustion—a merely natural reaction—or was it the 'zenith reached by the flight of the spirit, when voices and sounds are hushed, and in the rapt silence the soul feels closest to God'? Farnell cites in illustration the similar method for attaining the highest and deepest communion known to the ancient theosophists (*ib.* v. 162; with references to Sudhaus, 'Leises und lautes Beten,' in *ARW*, 1906, p. 200; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, p. 42). But perhaps one of the most interesting illustrations lies in the fact that Euripides, in the very play which so powerfully dramatizes the excesses of half-religious hysteria associated with the Dionysiac orgies, also shows his appreciation of the spiritual good and inward joy to be drawn from a tranquil life of holiness (*e.g. Bacch.* 385–391, 1002–1012; cf. G. Norwood, *The Riddle of the Bacchæ*, 1908, pp. 114–117).

3. Philosophical communion: Neo-Platonism.—This is an appropriate point at which to glance at the idea of communion with Deity which culminated in Neo-Platonism (*q.v.*). In much philosophy there was an absolute negation of communion with Deity. The Epicurean system furnishes an obvious example: and Aristotle's Deity, which *κινεῖ ὡς ἐρώμενον*, admits but little possibility of mystic and spiritual communion. The Platonic theory of *ὁμοίωσις*, however, in its doctrine of an elevation of the human spirit into the realm of a Divine *νοῦς*, through a ratiocination which should transcend the particulars of sense and time, was open to mystic refinement. For the extreme development of the idea of Divine transcendence we have to pass to the first half of of view, important, not merely for the philosophical the 3rd cent. A.D. Plotinus, the greatest representative of Neo-Platonism, is, from our point lineage of his system, but for its relation to his times. In its yearning after Divine illumination it is typical of its age; for it was a period whose natural precursor might be found in the 1st cent., when Philo Judæus represented an Alexandrian endeavour to Platonize historical Judaism, and, through a theistic treatment of the Platonic 'ideas,' to reach a consummation of unequivocal surrender to the Divine influence. It was a period, too, foreshadowed some generations earlier than itself, when Apollonius of Tyana (*q.v.*) and the 'Neo-Pythagoreans' based their idea of attaining relationship with Deity upon their eclectic Platonism; while a more vulgar mode of communion with Deity was illustrated in the thaumaturgic feats of Alexander of Abonoteichos (*q.v.*). Neo-Platonic mysticism itself is the best type of ecstatic philosophic communion. According to Plotinus, the One which transcends existence (*ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας*) is not directly cognizable by reason; and the coveted identification with transcendent Deity comes not so much through knowledge as through ecstasy, coalescence, contact (*ἔκστασις, ἅπλωσις, ἁφή*). Much of the doctrine in his *Enneads* bears a resemblance to Oriental Mysticism, but—though this has not always been admitted—it appears to have been purely Hellenic (Zeller, *Phil. d. Griech.* iii. b. 69 ff., 419 ff.; Benn, *Gr. Philos.* ii. 341; Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists*, p. 106). It was lineally from Plato that Plotinus developed the doctrine of that ecstasy which supervenes upon the contemplation of intellectual beauty, and through which a supreme union with the Divine and Absolute One may be achieved. This subjective intensity of the mystic, as a kind of individual communion, forms a strong contrast to the more usual religious desire for some common act of impressive ritual. There is, further, no excitement in the preparation for the mystical attainment, as in many worships. A long process of internal quietude, of abstraction from sense, and of absorption in reason must attune the soul (*Enn.* VI. ix. 3); and Plotinus's religious position is that the soul, thus worthily prepared by active contemplation, must then passively wait, in a kind of hypnotic trance, for the manifestation of the Divinity. The Divine 'intoxication' of passion comes with that beatific vision which rises beyond beauty to the One Cause (*Enn.* VI. vii. 35). This climax of full communion with God was reached by Plotinus four times within the knowledge of Porphyry, who himself reached the consummation only once, namely in his sixty-eighth year (Porph. *Vit. Plot.* 23).

4. Deterioration of Neo-Platonism.—The system, then, culminated in a mystical act; and, as a matter of history, mystical observances tended to obscure

the theoretical basis. Iamblichus, for example, the Syrian pupil of Porphyry, influenced by Eastern superstitions, claimed that absorption into the Deity was dependent upon the use of divination and magic. A striking phenomenon is presented in this degeneration of the pure Mysticism of Plotinus into the superstition of the Neo-Platonists of the 4th and 5th centuries, who defended or adopted heathen sacrifices, divination, and wonder-working. But it is logically incontrovertible that the germs of superstition were inherent in the Neo-Platonic system, which postulated an unapproachable One and emanations involving secret affinities throughout the universe of Being.

'If man by almost superhuman effort, transcending any effort of the reason, can rise in ecstasy to an immediate vision of the inscrutable One, he can also communicate with lower powers. He finds allies in the invisible world in the dæmons who mediate between the world of pure intelligence and the world of reason. Thus the Neo-Platonists of the 4th century found place in their system for the ancient gods, and found no difficulty in communicating with them by prayer, oracle, or oblation (S. Dill, *Rom. Soc. in last Cent. of Western Empire*², 104).

5. **Communion with Deity through initiation in Mysteries.** — As opinions are divided on the question whether initiation culminated in a sacramental ritual, certain aspects of the Mysteries may be discussed independently of the subject of the sacrificial meal. Anrich, as a preliminary to his discussion of ancient Mysteries, emphasizes the deeper yearnings after fellowship with the Divine ('Gemeinschaft mit Gott,' 'Teilnahme am göttlichen Leben,' 'Genuss des Göttlichen' [*Das antike Mysterienwesen*, 37]), which account for much of the Greek attitude towards Mystic religion, and for the acceptance of Oriental cults. The various secret worships classed as 'Mysteries' subserved the feeling that, besides the commoner modes of drawing near to a god, there were others revealed only to a select number of initiated. The most famous of the Mysteries were those whose names Lobeck used as titles for the three books of his famous *Aglaophamus, sive de theologiæ mysticæ Græcorum causis*, 1829—namely Eleusinia (the most holy of all), Orphica (the expiatory lore of which affected the Mysteries of Eleusis), and Samothracia (the venerated Pelasgian, rather than Phœnician, cult of the Κάβειροι). [See MYSTERIES.] There were also—under the titles of θίασοι, ἔρανοι, and ὀργεῶνες—numerous religious associations which charged themselves with the celebration of private Mysteries—frequently of barbarous origin (F. B. Jevons, *Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* 334–348; Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*). That the Eleusinian Mysteries persisted, as proved by literature and inscriptions, down to the close of paganism (Anrich, *op. cit.* 40), is not surprising, in view of the power of their esoteric symbolism to minister to the desire for a Divine communion more intimate than was possible for perfunctory worshippers. Certainly the Eleusinian Mysteries reached a considerable degree of spirituality, and made far deeper demands than simple ceremonial purity. The nine days' fast, the long procession from Athens to Eleusis, the play of mysterious illuminations in the Great Hall, the sacred drama, the reverent exhibition of holy symbols, the homilies addressed to the initiated, the drinking of the sacred draught even as once the goddess had refreshed herself, and the handling of the sacred things were all methods of bringing the reverent worshipper into closer communion with Deity (see the well-known formulary recorded by Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 18, 'I have fasted and I have drunk the κυκεών,' etc.). From ancient times initiation at Eleusis was believed to secure a happier lot in the other world ('*Homeric*' *Hymn to Demeter*, 480–482; Pindar, frag. 102; Soph. frag. 719 [Dind.]; Isoc. *Paneg.* 28; Cic. *Legg.* II. xiv.), and the balance of ancient authority suggests that communion in the Eleusinian Mysteries was considered to exercise effects permanent enough to mould for better the life of the initiated in this world. This is supported by the evidence of Diodorus and of Andoeides.

'According to Sopater, initiation establishes a kinship of the soul with the divine nature; and Theon Smyrnæus says that the final stage of initiation is the state of bliss and divine favour which results from it' (W. M. Ramsay, art. 'Mysteries,' in *EBr*⁹, with reference to Diod. Sic. *Hist.* v. 48; Andoc. *de Myst.* 31; Sopat. *Diær. Zetem.* p. 120, in Walz, *Rhet. Græc.* 1832–36; Theon Smyrn. *Mathem.* i. 18; cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 39, 188–189; Ramsay's art. 'Mysteries' gives the chief authorities on the subject between 1829 [the date of *Aglaophamus*] and 1884, and includes references to inscriptions).

One highly important feature of the Eleusinian Mysteries was their ultimate admission of the alien. As early as the time of Herodotus (viii. 65), they were open to any Hellene who might choose to go through the prescribed ritual; and, after the condition of membership came to be initiation (μύησις) instead of citizenship, they could so appeal to mankind that Ælius Aristides in the 2nd cent. A.D. might fairly eulogize Eleusis as 'a common sanctuary for the world' (κοινόν τι τῆς γῆς τέμενος, *Eleus. Orat.* i. 256 [Jebb]).

Jevons has contended (*op. cit.* ch. xxiv. 'The Eleusinian Mysteries') that the start of the broader appeal made by Eleusis coincided with fresh stirrings in religion which spread from Semitic lands to Greece in the 6th cent. B.C. So it was that the opening of the Eleusinian sanctuary to the Athenians was the first step in the expansion of the cult of Demeter from a merely local agricultural worship into an element of national and afterwards of cosmopolitan religion. The belief grew stronger, he maintains, that more intimate communion with Deity was attainable than that secured by the gift-sacrifice. Hence a resuscitation of the old sacramental theory of sacrifice, along with an ancient ritual wherein that theory was bodied forth. Holy places like Eleusis, which had conserved archaic Hellenic rites, became popular with worshippers bent upon such communion. At the same time came an influx of Oriental worships—some of them readily identified or associated with existing native cults. Wandering *agyrtæ* introduced 'Mysteries,' and founded religious communities for the worship of alien deities—Iacchos, Zagreus, Sabazios, Cybele—who were now rapidly acclimatized in Greece. The new cults throve, fostered by their likeness to the cult of Dionysos, and by the Orphic myths which suggested that Iacchos, Zagreus, and Sabazios were one and the same with Dionysos. The association of Iacchos with the Eleusinia added a dramatic element, but did not change the central portion of the ritual—which, in Jevons's view, consisted in the administration of the sacrament of the κυκεών and the solemn exhibition of the ear or sheaf of corn to represent the Corn-Mother.

'As the worshippers of animal totems at their annual sacrifice consumed the flesh of their god and thus partook of his divine life, so the worshippers of the Corn-Goddess annually partook of the body of their deity, *i.e.* of a cake or paste or posset made of the meal of wheat and water' (Jevons, *op. cit.* p. 365 f.; *Hymn to Dem.* 208, ἄλφι καὶ ὕδωρ. Wine, being 'the surrogate of blood, was excluded from the non-animal sacrifice offered to cereal deities' [Jevons, *op. cit.* 380]).

This theory is attractive and thoroughly consistent with practices wide-spread among mankind. It has the difficulty of being necessarily in part conjectural because of the absence of evidence regarding a secret ritual which it was impiety to divulge; and it has been opposed by Farnell, who does not accept its totemic basis, and who submits that, for all we know, the sacred κυκεών might have been drunk by individuals apart, and not in communion. In a field so obscure, it is not surprising that interpretations should be numerous and varied. The recent theory of Lawson (*Modern Gr. Folklore and anc. Gr. Rel.* 572) may be mentioned, that 'the doctrine of the [mystic] marriage of men with their gods was the cardinal doctrine of the mysteries (for the other doctrine of bodily survival is merely preliminary and subordinate to this),' and that 'some dramatic representation was given as a means of instilling into men's minds the hope of attaining to that summit of bliss' (cf. Farnell's footnote, *CGS* iii. 186, referring to the evidence collected by Dieterich in *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 'proving in much ancient ritual the prevalence of the belief that mystic communion with the deity could be obtained through the semblance of sexual intercourse: it is found in the Attis-Cybele worship, and in the Isis-ritual (Joseph. *Ant.* XVIII. iii.), and it probably explains the myth of Pasiphaë.'

6. **Communion through a sacrificial meal or theophagist ritual.** — The subject of the Mysteries obviously shades into that of the sacramental feast, which probably accompanied many of them. It will be seen that this portion of the subject is bound up with the ritual meaning of eating, sacrifice, and blood (see artt. BLOOD, SACRIFICE). The

examination of rival theories concerning sacrifice does not fall within the purview of this article, but passing allusion to them is unavoidable. Certainly, on any basis, it is clear that, in sacrifice and usages attendant upon it, we have what worshippers have historically regarded as one of the most potent means of intimate relation with Deity. 'Toutes les religions,' says A. Réville, 'considèrent le sacrifice, plus ou moins transformé, comme le moyen par excellence de réaliser l'union de l'homme avec la divinité' (*Prolégomènes de l'histoire des religions*, 1886, p. 179).

Though Frazer, (*GB*² ii. 293) has maintained that the evidence is not yet convincing in favour of totemism among Aryan tribes, there are noted authorities on Comparative Religion who feel that, according to the analogy of usages and beliefs widespread over the globe, many features in Greek mythology and Greek ritual can find their ultimate explanation only as sacramental feasts on a totemic basis. This is a contention in A. Lang's *Custom and Myth* (1884). So, too, Reinach, building upon Mannhardt's demonstration of the wide prevalence of totemic rites in Europe, and supported by comparison with Robertson Smith's exposition of the theory of Semitic sacrifice, claims that, when the ancestors of the Greeks became agriculturists, the totemic rites of the nomads and shepherds, instead of completely vanishing, received a new interpretation in myth and rite. And similarly, although Farnell objects (*CGS* iii. 194–197), Jevons, as already indicated, has propounded the hypothesis of a corn-totem eaten sacramentally at Eleusis.

Some of Reinach's examples may be given. Aktaion is a typical one with which to start. The Aktaion myth, according to Reinach (*Cultes, mythes, et religions*, iii.), arose from a sacramental rending (σπαραγμός) of the stag by women-worshippers masquerading as 'hinds,' in honour of Artemis, the hind-goddess of a totemistic clan. The traditional legend would arise from a semi-rationalistic interpretation of an old communion sacrifice; the devotees who tore the sacred stag to pieces became, euphemistically, the hunter's 'dogs.' Such sacramental σπαραγμός was, as we have seen, a feature of Dionysiac ritual wherein the Mænads aimed at securing communion with their deity so as to increase their influence upon the fertility of vegetation. (It may be noted in passing that Farnell, in *Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1908, suspects that 'the Boeotian Aktaion story was originally Bacchic, and that Artemis came only accidentally into it.') Such elucidation is to be contrasted with the older meteorological explanation, whereby the hunter torn by his hounds is viewed as an image of the fair verdure of earth scorched by the sun in the dog-days ('ein Bild des durch die Hitze der Hundstage zerstorten schonen Erdenlebens' [Roscher, *s.v.* 'Aktaion']). Reinach holds Aktaion, Hippolytos, Dionysos Zagreus, and Orpheus to be, like Adonis and Osiris, suffering heroes who are lamented as slain, but in the end resuscitated. In all such cases, he thinks, the myth implies an ancient sacrificial ritual, in which a sacred totem was slain and eaten in communion by the faithful. Frazer's view differs in so far as he would refer the origin of the death and resurrection of Adonis, Attis, Osiris, and Dionysos to simple rustic rites at harvest and vintage. But, while he regards them as vegetation-spirits rather than as totems, he admits the sacramental character in the harvest supper, when the divine animal is killed and devoured by the harvesters as an embodiment of the corn-spirit. On this theory, as much as on the totemic theory, we find communion with Deity through corn and wine. And it is a communion on the basis of the logic of primeval religion. By eating the body of the god the worshipper shares in the god's attributes and powers; for corn, it is argued, is the true body of a corn-god; and analogously, drinking the wine in the rites of a vine-god is a solemn and significant sacrament instead of mere revelry, for the juice of the grape is the god's blood (see Frazer, *GB*² i. 358 ff.).

Such beliefs are, in the ultimate resort, consonant with the savage psychology which argues the possibility of the acquisition of Divine properties by eating, and of which a simple instance is the ancient Maori practice whereby a warrior swallowed the eyes of his slain enemy on the ground that the *atua tonga*, or divinity, was supposed to reside in them (R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*², 1870, quoted by Frazer, *Psyche's Task*, 1909, p. 6; cf. 'Eating the God,' in Frazer, *GB*² ii. 318–366). Further, it is a fair induction from a mass of anthropological evidence that no more sacred and intimate bond of union could be secured in a primitive community than the sharing in the periodic sacrifice of a god viewed under the aspect of, or as incarnate in, an animal. It is a necessary inference, as many hold, following Robertson Smith, that the idea of communion, so far from being a later development, plays a great part in primitive sacrifice, and precedes the gift-sacrifice (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*⁴, vol. ii. ch. xviii., upholds gift-sacrifice as the most primitive, on the analogy of man's dealings with his fellow-man, and argues that the savage treats a god as he would a chief. Tylor assigns to sacrifice three stages, viz. (1) gift, (2) homage, and (3) abnegation).

After this brief glance at fundamental theories, it may be interesting to add certain examples given by Farnell from cults observed in Greece which illustrate ideas of communion. In the case of the mysterious βουφόνια at the Diipolia on the Acropolis, he inclines (*CGS*, vol. i. p. 88 ff.) to favour Robertson Smith's explanation regarding the ox which was slain as victim, and whose slaying brought guilt upon the slayer; for here the sacrificer was subjected to a mock trial, and the instrument of slaughter was alone declared guilty and thrown into the sea. This suggests a Divine animal akin to the clan, and recalls the familiar feature of totemism whereby the clansmen claim kindred with an animal-god or sacrosanct animal, from whose flesh they as a rule abstain, but which, on solemn occasions, they eat sacramentally in order to strengthen the tie of kinship between them and the Divine life. This seems more satisfactory than Frazer's view (*GB*² ii. 38–41), that the ox represents the corn-spirit sacramentally devoured at the close of harvest in order that he may rise with fresher powers of production. So, in the worship of the originally Oriental goddess, Aphrodite, the mourning for Adonis (who is fundamentally the same as Attis) is probably not a lament over decaying Nature, but 'official mourning over the slaughter of the theanthropic victim in whose death the god died'; and the most ancient Adonis sacrifice would be the offering of a sacred swine to the swine-god—a sacramental Mystery wherein participators attested their kinship with the animal-god by immolating an animal which, save in such ritual, it would be *tabu* to slay (cf. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*² 290). Farnell recognizes the same mysterious idea in the ceremonial sacrifice of a bear at Brauron by bear-maidens in honour of Artemis as a bear-goddess (*CGS* ii. 435); in the sacrifice of the bull-calf to Dionysos at Tenedos (*ib.* v. 166); and in the sheep-offering to Aphrodite in Cyprus, if we accept a very plausible emendation made by Robertson Smith on a passage in Joannes Lydus (*CGS* ii. 645; Lydus, *de Mensibus*, 4, p. 80, Bonn ed., πρόβατον κωδίῳ ἐσκεπασμένοι [for ἐσκεπασμένον] συνέθυον τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ).

Equally mysterious are traces in ritual which point back to the sacrifice of a human victim. Abundant proof has been forthcoming from modern anthropological research to confirm the world-wide association of human sacrifice with harvest ritual and the cults of vegetation-spirits (Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, 358–361; Frazer, *GB*² ii. 238 ff.). There are such traces of an original human victim in the cult of Ge (*CGS* iii. 19–21) and in the legends concerning Orpheus. Farnell accepts the dismemberment of Orpheus by furious Thracian votaries as typical of that form of ritual whereby worshippers slay the priest who temporarily incarnates the god. Parallels are familiar from Frazer's *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*. Sacramental cannibalism on occasions of extreme religious excitement is discoverable at a fairly high level of culture, and is credible in the Thracians (Reinach's theory, in *Cultes*, etc., ii. 107–110, of Orpheus as a fox-totem rests on the rather slender evidence for taking βασσαρίς or βασσάρα as a Thracian word for fox [Farnell, *CGS* v. 106 n.]).

In some ceremonies at the altar the difficulty is to decide whether any clear sacramental concept was involved. There are signs of it at Argos in a peculiar cathartic communion, and there is reason

to suppose that the victim at Delphi called ὁσιωτήρ, 'giver of holiness,' which was slain when the ὅσιοι were elected, was considered a temporary incarnation of deity, so that contact with flesh, blood, or skin, could communicate holiness. There is also likelihood in the view that the goat sacrifice in the Laconian Κοπίδες was a genuine sacrament, where worshippers presumably believed they entered into communion with Apollo by devouring sacred flesh in which his spirit was (Farnell, *CGS* iv. 257–258). We know too little to affirm any sacramental idea in the local Attic cult of Apollo Agyieus at Acharnæ, whose worship was administered by παράσιτοι (*ib.* iv. 158). Something, however, more suggestive appears in Arcadia, a fit abode for primeval worships, where the sacrifice to Apollo Parrhasios must be consumed in the sanctuary (ἀναλίσκουσιν αὐτόθι τοῦ ἱερείου τὰ κρέα, Paus. viii. 38, cited by Jevons, *op. cit.* 146); and similarly with another instance which Jevons gives:

'The festival at which the Athenians made sacrifice to Zeus Meilichios, the Diasia, was one of the most ancient of their institutions; but . . . the Locrians of Myonia were still more faithful to the ritual which they had received from the common ancestors of Locrians and Athenians alike, for, like the Saracens and the Prussians, they offered the sacrifice by night, and consumed the victim before the rising of the sun' (ἀναλῶσαι τὰ κρέα αὐτόθι πρὶν ἢ ἥλιον ἐπισχεῖν νομίζουσι, Paus. x. 38).

In a less mystic sense the term 'sacrament' or 'communion' might be applied to the feast shared by deity and worshippers which is familiar from the earliest Greek literature. And there are many other cases of ritual where we cannot safely pronounce how far the idea of communion extended. Evidently the existence of παράσιτοι of Apollo at Acharnæ and at Delos is no proof that in the rites concerned the worshippers supposed Apollo to be dying a sacrificial death (Farnell, *CGS* iv. 258). In some cases a social, tribal, or political element has prevailed over the religious idea of communion with which it was originally bound up. For instance, primeval notions, only partially understood, survived at Athens in feasts at which the *hestiator* entertained his tribe (Jevons, *op. cit.* 159; *CIA* ii. 163, 578, 582, 602, 603, 631; cf. Jul. Pollux, *Onom.* iii. 67, φυλῆς ἑστιάτωρ, τὴν φυλὴν ἑστιῶν, κρεανομίας ἐπινέμων). One could, of course, always describe a non-tribesman, in terms of religion, as one who was not in communion with the god of the tribe.

The evidence here collected shows that the idea of sacrificial communion certainly persisted in Greece among worships both indigenous and imported. But its persistence, apart from the Mysteries and private Orphic societies, was presumably sporadic. It is reasonable, therefore, to agree with Farnell in doubting whether the ritual and doctrine of communion sacrifice 'exercised a vital influence upon religious thought in the older Hellenism.' Certainly, although in this of all matters the argument from silence can count but little, it is a striking omission that Iamblichus, while analyzing other phenomena of relationship with the Divine in the *de Mysteriis*, betrays no knowledge of sacramental communion (*CGS* iii. 196). And yet history shows that this idea had a great career before it; and, if in the older Hellenism it remained largely occult, in later Greek times and in the later Roman world, as we shall see, it counted as a vital religious force.

II. *ROMAN.*—**1. The practical nature of a Roman's relationship with the gods in ordinary ritual.**—Boissier (*La Religion rom. d'Auguste aux Antonins*[6], i. 19), has an instructive sentence:

'Les Romains ont une façon particulière de comprendre les rapports de l'homme avec la Divinité: quand quelqu'un a des raisons de croire qu'un dieu est irrité contre lui, il lui demande humblement la paix, c'est le terme consacré (*pacem deorum exposcere*), et l'on suppose qu'il se conclut alors entre eux une sorte de traité ou de contrat qui les lie tous deux.'

In short, this implies a kind of traffic rather than communion with Deity—man must buy protection by prayers and offerings, and the Deity who has received a sacrifice is expected to respond by conferring favours. If this is broadly true of the practical Roman worshipper, it may further be said that neither the Roman as statesman nor the thinker reflecting upon Roman religion was inclined to view it much in the light of an avenue of spiritual communion with Deity. Polybius (vi. 56) thinks of the salutary effect of keeping the multitude in check by 'mystic terrors and solemn acting of the sort' (τοῖς ἀδήλοις φόβοις καὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τραγῳδίᾳ), and in the same chapter refers to the scrupulous fear of the gods as the very thing which kept the Roman commonwealth together. Varro, cited by Augustine, held it to be the interest of the community to be deceived in religion ('expedire igitur existimat falli in religione ciuitates,' *de Civ. Dei*, IV. xxvii. cf. VI. v.). Livy (I. xix.) credited Numa with putting the fear of the gods upon his folk as the most effective deterrent for an ignorant populace. Many such pronouncements—erroneous enough as explanations of the rise and strength of religion—taken along with the actual policy of rulers like Augustus, serve to show that much of the Roman State-religion was imposed, as it were, from without upon the worshipper for the good of the community. There was little, therefore, in all this which tended towards the spiritual. Yet in the primitive religion—in the ritual which had grown up out of aboriginal needs and had not been imposed—just as in primitive religions generally, there had been the genuine sense of dependence upon Deity and some recognition of the value of communion with Deity.

2. Comparative absence of ecstasy in Roman religion.—In comparison with the Greek, there was in the Roman decidedly less religious ecstasy or enthusiasm. Roman religion, when not domestic, was mainly political; and the whole was regulated by law and custom. Religious emotion was distrusted by the authorities, and the stern suppression of the Bacchanalia in 186 B.C., even if in part due to political motives, was typical of the strong objections felt to a ritual of excited transports, the nature of which has been made evident in earlier portions of this article. The cult of the Phrygian goddess Cybele and of Attis, though received in Rome from the times of Scipio Nasica, as is well known, was characteristically placed under restrictions; and the frenzy of this worship was almost as abnormal in Roman religion as the tumultuous Galliambics of the *Attis* of Catullus are in Roman literature. Such alien religions only gradually increased their hold upon Rome; they did so as the desire for religious excitement became stronger; and hence it may be said that among the reasons for the attraction which the African and Oriental cults exercised upon many Romans of the Empire, and especially upon women, were, first, their more powerful and rapturous excitation of the emotions, and, secondly, their promise of a closer *rapprochement* to Deity than was proffered in the grave and calm State-religion. Some notable access of spiritual aspiration at Rome seems a necessary presupposition of many religious phenomena of the Imperial epoch. It is probably the real explanation of the extent to which such alien cults as that of Isis (*q.v.*) gained a footing. (A good picture of Isis worship is given in Apuleius, *Metam.* bk. xi., in connexion with the threefold initiation of Lucius into the Isis mysteries.) But it is right in this connexion to note the *caveat* which Boissier enters against overstating the theory. He points out (*op. cit.* ii. 211–212) that the welcome offered to foreign cults by Romans of the Empire, and especially by women, did not imply a protest against the national religion, but

was rather a consequence of the religious sentiments developed in the heart by the old worship. There was, it was recognized, a communion with Deity more intimate and mystical to be attained in the more emotional Eastern rites. In Boissier's view, then, this is more logical than to consider the acceptance of Eastern cults as a revulsion from national cults to something entirely novel. Certain it is that Rome, as it became a world-power, grew cosmopolitan in religion, and found room for votaries of Attis, Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Sabazios, and other deities, so that outlandish rituals, often coloured with mysticism, competed with the grave and restrained usages of Roman antiquity.

3. Ideas of sacramental communion in native Roman religion.—Accumulating evidence tends to show that, even if relatively deficient in imagination, the indigenous Roman religion exhibited from the earliest times, like so many early religions, clear traces of the common sacrificial feast partaken of for the purpose of uniting a deity more closely with his worshippers. Throughout Roman history there persisted a prominent illustration of the ancient theory that all meals were capable of being hallowed as sacred feasts common to both deity and worshipper (*e.g.* Athenæus, v. 19). This was the offering to the twin Lares observed by the Roman family at meals (Serv. *ad Æn.* i. 730; Ov. *Fast.* ii. 633). In the marriage ceremony, too, of *confarreatio* there probably was a similar implication (cf. C. Bailey, *Relig. of Anc. Rome*, 1907, p. 47). Broadly speaking, as Glover says (*Conflict of Religions in Early Roman Empire*, 1909, p. 15), 'the worship of all or most of these spirits of the country and of the home was joyful, an affair of meat and drink. The primitive sacrifice brought man and god near one another in the blood and flesh of the victim, which was of one race with them both' (cf. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2] Lect. xi.). Now, this domestic communion with Deity—a communion doubtless varying enormously in greater or less spirituality—possesses the special interest that it is the portion of Roman religion least tinctured with Orientalism or scepticism. Despite wide-spread secular opinion in the Augustan era, there was yet much sincere, even if vague, religious feeling among the less cultured ranks of society. The home-religion was a powerful early association in many minds, and Horace's tasteful ode on rustic piety to Phidyle (III. xxiii.) touches the spiritual value of the simplest sacrifice (*farre pio*) to the gods of home and hearth, in a manner that suggests something deeper than a literary exercise.

A few prominent instances may be given, where, either in the victim or in the substituted sacrifice, primitive Italian ideas of communion are suggested. At the Parilia in April, the shepherd, after purifying his sheep, brought offerings to the god (or goddess) Pales—including cakes of millet and pails of milk. 'The meal which followed, the shepherd himself appears to have shared with Pales' (W. Warde Fowler, *Rom. Festivals*, p. 81; cf. Ov. *Fast.* iv. 743–746, esp. 'dapibus resectis'). The deity was then entreated to avert evil from the flocks and to overlook unwitting trespass.

'We can hardly escape the conclusion,' says Warde Fowler (*ib.* footnote), 'that the idea of the common meal shared with the gods was a genuine Italian one; it is found here, in the Terminalia (Ov. *Fast.* ii. 655 ["spargitur et cæso communis Terminus agno"]), and in the worship of Jupiter.'

Let us turn to the Feriæ Latinæ in honour of Juppiter Latiaris held on the Alban Mount under the presidency of Rome (Warde Fowler, *op. cit.* 95–97). This festival—older than historic Rome itself—was a common festival of the most ancient Latin communities. In the presence of representatives from the different members of the league, the Roman consul offered a libation of milk; other cities sent sheep and cheeses. But the central rite was the slaughter of a pure white heifer that had never felt the yoke. The flesh of this victim, sacrificed by the consul, was distributed amongst the deputies and consumed by them. Herein, certainly, there were political implications and obligations, but the religious element was most powerful; for it was felt that to be left out of this common meal or sacrament would be equivalent to being excluded from communion with the god of the Latin league. Indeed, the anxiety displayed to secure the allotted flesh, which emerges in cases where some one city had not received its portion (Livy, XXXII. i., XXXVII. iii.), exhibits a primitive trait recalling a well-known barbaric alacrity for communion, which may be illustrated in Hellenic omophagic rites, or in the frenzied hacking and devouring of the victim-camel sacrificed by Arabs, as described by Robertson Smith. *Rel. Sem.*[2] 338. Warde Fowler (p. 97) deduces from the ritual that

'we are here in the presence of the oldest and finest religious conception of the Latin race, which yearly acknowledges its common kinship of blood and seals it by partaking in the common meal of a sacred victim, thus entering into communion with the god, the victim, and each other.'

Of the offerings it may be observed that they are characteristic of a pastoral rather than of an agricultural age. Helbig has commented on the absence of any mention of wine as proof that the origin of the festival must precede the introduction of the grape into Italy; and he holds its antiquity to be confirmed by the character of the ancient utensils dug up on the Alban Mount (*Die Italiker in der Poebene*, 1879, p. 71). In the white victim may be seen a reminiscence of a pre-historic breed of sacred cattle, which it was forbidden to slay, except at the annual renewal of kinship among the clansmen in their sacrament. This festival lasted for centuries after Juppiter Optimus Maximus of the Capitol had overshadowed the Latin Juppiter, and after some communities had so dwindled as scarcely to be able to find a representative to receive their portion of the victim (Cic. *pro Planc.* ix. 23, 'quibus e municipiis uix iam, qui carnem Latinis petant, reperiuntur'). Its antiquity and its duration are noteworthy.

'Perhaps no festival,' says Warde Fowler (*op. cit.* 96), 'Greek or Roman, carries us over such a vast period of time as this; its features betray its origin in the pastoral age, and it continued in almost uninterrupted grandeur till the end of the third century A.D., or even later' (*CIL* vi. 2021).

Briefer notice will serve for the remaining examples. A sacrificial meal was part of the August observances in honour of Hercules (Warde Fowler, *op. cit.* 194). It is among the usages prescribed by Cato for the invocation of Mars Silvanus on behalf of the cattle (*de Re Rust.* 83, 'Ubi res diuina facta erit, statim ibidem consumito'). The eating of the victim with the blood so as to participate thereby in the common Divine life—a primitive usage found among the heathen Semites—has its parallel at Rome in the piacular swine-offerings of the Fratres Arvales (cf. above, vol. ii. p. 10[b]). Again, the eating by worshippers of loaves at Aricia, perhaps baked in the image of the slain king of the grove, has parallels all over the world, among which may be mentioned the dough images of gods eaten sacramentally by Mexicans (Frazer, *GB*[2] ii. 337–342). The suggestion is that these loaves in human form were sacramental bread, and that, in the old times when the Divine priest-king of the grove was annually slain, the loaves were made in his image, to be eaten by worshippers.

'A dim recollection of the original connexion of these loaves with human sacrifices may perhaps be traced in the story that the effigies dedicated to Mania at the Compitalia were substitutes for human victims' (*ib.* ii. 344).

4. Certain ideas in Roman literature and philosophy regarding relationship with Deity.—In

many such feasts at Rome, as elsewhere, the original sacramental ideas were in time weakened and rationalized. By the period of the later Republic there were thinkers who found it hard to understand how any worshipper could suppose that by eating bread or drinking wine he thereby consumed the body and blood of a deity.

'When we call corn Ceres, and wine Bacchus,' says Cotta in Cicero's *de Nat. Deor.* (III. xvi. 41), 'we use a common mode of speaking, but do you imagine anybody insane enough to believe that the thing on which he feeds is a god?'

It is no part of the scheme of this article to trace ideas of communion as they may be represented or criticized in Latin literature as a whole; for attention has rather been directed to the practice and meanings of actual ceremonial. Yet it may be legitimate to allude to certain representative authors. Unfortunately, the *de Nat. Deor.* labours from inconclusiveness, because Cicero prefers refuting the opinions of others to stating his own; and so from his indeterminate Academicism, whether here or in the *de Divinatione*, we reap little or nothing to our purpose. In the very next generation Virgil furnishes us, in the *Æneid*, with one of the greatest artistic treatments of human dependence upon Deity, and of the realized need for close communing with the Divine. The variety of religious attitude in intellectual Rome is proved by the fact that while, on the one hand, we have Sceptic and Epicurean denials of all possibility of communion with Deity, we have, on the other hand, lofty utterances indicating appreciation of the doctrine that full communion with God may be independent of sacrifice, and that the primitive potencies of blood are needless where there is a true spiritual oblation of the worshipper's will and heart. To some such aspiration the great pronouncement of Persius marks an approach: 'Duty to God and man blended in the mind, purity in the depths of the heart, and high-souled nobleness—grant me to present these at the shrine, and a handful of meal shall win me acceptance' (*Sat.* ii. 73–75). In a similar spirit Seneca writes that God has no delight in the blood of bulls (*Ep.* 116, 'Colitur Deus non tauris, sed pia et recta uoluntate'); and true communion or true worship is defined by him in almost the same words elsewhere, as consisting 'in pia ac recta uoluntate uenerantium' (*de Ben.* I. vi. 3). The Deity is to reside in the heart (*Ep.* 46, 'Sacer intra nos spiritus sedet'), and for all men there is open a communion in that one body which is, according to Seneca's view, God or Nature (*Ep.* 93, 'membra sumus magni corporis'). This is stated from his cosmic standpoint—his pantheism; and on the moral side the doctrine becomes one of communion through assimilation or imitation: 'Vis deos propitiare? Bonus esto. Satis illos coluit quisquis imitatus est' (*Ep.* 95). And so we come round to the Stoic notion of partial elevation towards the Divine essence through the perfect self-possession of a sage. Perhaps we may take Quintilian's remarks on the praises of the gods as representative of the attitude of educated Romans at the close of the 1st cent. A.D. In III. vii. he mentions the topics suitable for employment in eulogies upon the gods—namely, their greatness, power, and bounties; but a typical aloofness in his treatment indicates that Quintilian at least felt little need for close communion with a Higher Power.

5. Attraction to alien worships under the Empire.—How far, however, did Quintilian's contemporaries strain after closer relationship to the Divine? There is evidence that, though many thinkers adopted a similar attitude of aloofness, there was a wide-spread recognition that a more intimate relationship was a needful solace for the human soul. This is not the place to examine that evidence; but broadly it may be said that the religious conditions of the Roman world during the early centuries of the Empire were such as to favour the triumph of Eastern cults (see S. Dill, *Rom. Soc. from Nero to M. Aurelius*, esp. chapters on 'Magna Mater,' 'Isis and Serapis,' 'The Religion of Mithra'; cf. T. R. Glover, *Conflict of Religions*, 1909, p. 260). The comparative inability of the ancient religion of Latium to satisfy any deep desire for moral regeneration or communion with Deity accounts for the ready welcome extended to alien worships, and even to many gross superstitions. Regeneration was the promise held out in the *taurobolium* (see the description in Prudentius, περὶ Στεφάνων, x. 1006–1050), or ceremony of the cleansing blood, which formed part of the worship of Cybele, though apparently so far not proved to have been included in that worship in the West until Hadrian's time. Inscriptions prove the belief in the renewal of life conferred through the Attis ritual: 'taurobolio criobolioque in æternum renatus' (Orelli, 2352, 6041), and a mystic sacramental communion was the central charm in the religion of Mithra.

6. Mithraism.—Of this religion a full account will appear under the article MITHRAISM, but it comes partially within the scope of our present inquiry, as the cult which in the Roman Empire—quite apart from such other analogies as its doctrines on morality, celibacy, fasting, mediation, salvation, and bliss—presented the closest resemblances to the sacramental ideas of Christianity, and as a cult which in some parts of the world bade fair to prove a successful rival (Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, i. 344; Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*[7], 1893, xxxi. 579). Although, in general, it remained alien to the Greek world (art. 'Mithras' in Roscher, tr. from Cumont), and, although only by degrees had it by Trajan's time gained some footing in the West, since the Romans first came into momentary contact with Mithraists through the Cilician pirates in 67 B.C. (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 24), yet Mithraism spread mainly, but not exclusively, as a soldier's worship, and won adherents in the capital, and especially on the frontiers; *e.g.* along the Danube, in Germany, and in Britain at military stations facing Wales or on Hadrian's Wall. [For conflicting views on the classes from which Mithraists were drawn in the Roman Empire, see de Jong (*Das antike Mysterienwesen*, p. 59), who favours Gasquet's opinion (*Essai sur le culte et les mystères de Mithra*, 1899, p. 140) that Mithraism did not penetrate the population outside the cantonments. C. H. Moore, in a paper on the distribution of Oriental cults in Gaul and Germany (*Trans. of Amer. Philolog. Assoc.*, 1908), argues that Mithraism had even less exclusive connexion with the army than Cumont claims.] After enjoying the favour of some emperors, including Julian, Mithraism gradually lost ground; and the holy caves were destroyed in A.D. 378.

Mithra, the Persian god of light, in the perpetual sacrifice which he was conceived as offering, presented a type of the struggle after a higher and better life. The human soul, parted from the Divine, might, it was held, regain communion with Deity through fasting, penance, initiation, and a series of probations in ascending grades which finally should lead the victorious devotee—the faithful soldier of Mithra—into unimpeded alliance with the Divine nature. The sacrifice of the bull, so prominent in the worship, seems to indicate that in remoter times a sacred bull, assimilated to the Sun, was immolated as Divine, its flesh and blood being consumed in a communion meal (S. Reinach, *Orpheus*, Eng. tr., 1909, p. 69). The victory-meal of the true Mithraic soldier consisted of water (or sometimes wine) and bread; and was denounced by early Christian writers as

a demoniac parody of the Holy Sacrament (*e.g.* Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 66; Tert. *de Præscr.* 40 [ii. 38, Oehl.]). In contrast thereto, much modern feeling regards it as a historical phenomenon, to be accepted without repugnance, 'that both the idea of sacramental worship and the forms under which it is performed by the Christian Church are the almost universal heritage of mankind.' (W. R. Inge, in *Contentio Veritatis*, 1902, p. 279).

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COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Hebrew).—Communion with God, broadly speaking, means sharing in the thought or the spirit or the life of God. Any way in which men can be thought to share in the life or vitality of God, or in which it is believed that God's thought can be communicated to them, is a means of communion. Since the OT represents several centuries of history—centuries during which the Hebrews passed from barbarism to a high type of civilization—several conceptions of the nature and the means of communion with God are recorded in it, corresponding with the different stages of development through which the people passed.

1. At feasts.—To begin with the oldest of these, we must consider communion at feasts. W. R. Smith has shown[1] that at least one important feature of Semitic sacrifice—he thought it the all-important feature—was the sacrificial meal, at which, in early times, the god was supposed to be present and to partake of the viands. This was believed to be real communion; for, as the god and the worshipper partook of the same sacred flesh, they were thought to share in a common life. In our oldest OT source—the J document—there is a trace of this form of communion, with a slight modification of its crassest features. In Ex 24^{11} Moses and the seventy elders of Israel behold God, and eat and drink, *i.e.* they eat and drink in His presence. This is but a slight modification of an older view that God ate and drank with them. According to J, this commensal communion sealed the covenant between Jahweh and Israel. A kindred instance, though still somewhat further removed from the crassest primitive ideas, is found in 1 S 1. The feast which the parents of Samuel attended was a feast of commensal communion, for Hannah believed it to be the most favourable time to make her request to God. Communion was no longer confined to the physical side alone; it embraced also the interchange of ideas, and yet it hovered about the old commensal meal, for it was thought that God was then more easily approached than at other times.

Closely akin to the commensal conception of Ex 24^{11} is that of Gn $15^{17.18}$, where the pieces of the sacrifice are piled in two heaps, and God comes in the form of a smoking furnace and a flaming torch, and walks between them. This confirms the covenant with Abraham. It is not stated that Abraham did the same, but the writer apparently meant to imply it. God and Abraham, by coming mutually under the influence of the sacrificial flesh, entered into a communion of mutual obligation.

Closely connected with the commensal idea of communion are the passages in which Jahweh or His angel appears to a man and speaks with him, imparting some specially important information; the man offers Him the hospitality of some refreshments, of which the Divine being partakes, and then vanishes. The instances of this all occur in the J document (Gn 18, Jg 6 and 13). Those to whom Jahweh is said to have appeared were Abraham, Gideon, and Manoah's wife. In all these cases the communion was partly oral and partly commensal, *i.e.* God ate or consumed the food which a human being had prepared for Him. To the same stratum of thought belong a number of instances where God appeared to men in human form and talked with them, without any connexion with sacrifice. For example, in Gn $3^{8ff.}$ God came down and walked in the garden in the cool of the day and talked with Adam and Eve and the serpent. In Gn $32^{24ff.}$ God came to Jacob near the Jabbok, and wrestled with him nearly the whole night. That this was regarded as real communion is shown by the fact that a later age looked back upon it as the turning-point in Jacob's character. In that night they believed he ceased to be a supplanter and became a prince of God. Another instance, taken, like the two preceding, from the J document, is found in Ex $4^{24ff.}$, where Jahweh met Moses and his family and sought to kill Moses, and was deterred only by the circumcision of his son. According to this passage, it was thus that God communicated to Moses that circumcision was necessary.

In the period presented by the J document, then, communion with God was thought to be half

[1] *Rel. Sem.*², Lectures vii.–ix.

commensal and half conversational. In either case God was anthropomorphically conceived, although the crassest phases of anthropomorphism were passing away.

In this same early period of thought the manifestation of Jahweh for the deliverance of His people from oppression was regarded as a theophany. Perhaps this could not properly be called communion, and yet it borders closely upon it. The conception of the worshipping unit was the nation, and Jahweh's manifestation of power for the deliverance of the nation was a communication of His will which thrilled the worshipping unit with joy, and revived its enthusiasm for the service of Jahweh. Such a manifestation of Jahweh is commemorated in the Song of Deborah, Jg $5^{4.5}$, where Jahweh is pictured as coming in a thunderstorm for the deliverance of His people. In Ps 18 this theophanic manifestation of God is revived (vv.$^{7-15}$). If the 'I' of the Psalm represents the nation, the worshipping unit here is identical with that of Jg 5, and the Psalm represents a sort of national communion with God arising out of deliverance in the hard experiences of life. Again, in Hab 3^{3-14} this form of theophany is poetically reproduced. Probably the experience of deliverance here commemorated is national also, since the poem once stood in a psalter, but the chapter is open also to a personal interpretation, and it may be that, when it was written, the older view that God thus revealed Himself to the nation in time of stress was passing over to the conception of an individual revelation and an individual deliverance. At all events, in the book of Ezekiel the theophany by means of the lightning playing in a cloud has become a means of individual revelation (cf. Ezk $1^{13.14.27b}$).

2. Through dreams.—When we pass from the J to the E document, *i.e.* from the 9th cent. to about 750 B.C., we come to a more exalted conception of communion. God no longer appears in human form, freely to converse with men; it is in dreams and visions of the night that He appears to impart His will and to give inspiration. Thus in Gn $20^{3ff.}$ God appeared to Abimelech in a dream. In Gn $28^{12ff.}$ Jacob in a dream had a sacramental vision which moved him to make a new covenant with God. The dreams of Joseph in Gn 37, of the chief butler and chief baker in ch. 40, and of Pharaoh in ch. 41, though at first sight they appear to belong to a different class, because God does not directly appear in them, are in reality instances of the same thing, for by means of the dream God is represented as imparting knowledge concerning His will for the future. The same may be said of Jg $7^{13ff.}$, where we are told that one of the Midianite invaders of Palestine dreamed a dream. In 1 S $28^{6.15}$ it appears that dreams were recognized as one of the channels through which God gave His answers. In 1 K $3^{5.15}$ the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream and made a sacramental revelation, which, according to the narrative, influenced all the king's future. Dt $13^{1.3.5}$ classes the dreamer of dreams with the prophet, and Jer $23^{25ff.}$ recognizes the dream as one of the ways in which the prophet ascertains the Divine will. That this means of communion long survived among the Hebrews, is shown by the fact that Eliphaz is represented in Job $4^{12ff.}$ as telling impressively of a Divine confirmation of his theology which came to him in a vision of the night; and in Dn $2^{1ff.}$ revelations are made to Nebuchadnezzar in dreams.

3. In ecstasy and visions.—Another way in which God was thought to come especially near to men was in ecstatic frenzy. In such frenzy the nervous or emotional excitement inhibits the ordinary control of the brain, and the actions of the subject are controlled by the reflex working of lower nervous centres. In all parts of the world people have been thought, when in such paroxysms, to be under the control of a supernatural being.[1] The subject speaks incoherently, laughs, rolls on the ground, exhibits various bodily contortions, and often in the end becomes unconscious. Among the Phœnicians at Gebal there was, about 1100 B.C., as an Egyptian record shows,[2] such a prophet who exerted great influence. That the earliest form of prophecy in Israel was of this character is clear from a number of passages. For example, in 1 S $19^{23.24}$ one of the signs of the coming of the Spirit of God upon Saul for the prophetic anointing was that 'he also stripped off his clothes, and he also prophesied before Samuel, and lay down naked all that day and all that night.' That this kind of frenzy was regarded as of Divine origin is further shown by the fact that the word *nābhī* means in Hebrew both 'prophet' and 'lunatic.' A trace of this ecstatic conception of communion with God is found in the history of the prophet Elisha. We are told in 2 K 3^{15} that, when on a certain occasion an oracle was requested of him, he caused a minstrel to play to him till the necessary prophetic ecstasy was excited. Such frenzy was accordingly for a long period of Israel's history regarded as an extraordinarily good means of communing with God.

Midway between the dreams and visions of the earlier time and the more spiritual insight of the prophets to be treated below, stand the inaugural visions of such prophets as Isaiah and Ezekiel. The vision of Isaiah described in Is 6 was apparently not a dream (at least he does not speak of it as such), and yet in the vividness of its details it recalls the dream. This vision had also the strongest kind of sacramental significance for the prophet. He felt that in it his lips were cleansed, his grasp of the work God would do for His people was enlarged, God's need of him as a helper was brought home to his conscience, his will was moved so that self-consecration to the Divinely appointed task followed, and he was convinced that God had communicated to him what His future message was to be. The vision of Ezekiel (Ezk 1^1–3^{15}) is narrated with less literary simplicity, and exhibits fewer elements of the full sacramental value of it to the prophet; but it is clear that by it he received his commission and his message. The more personal elements may be lacking only because the book of Ezekiel is throughout written in a less personal way than the book of Isaiah.

4. Spiritual insight of prophets.—The word חָזוֹן (*hāzôn*) survived from the early and crude conceptions of the means of discerning the Divine will which have been described above, and was applied in later times to the utterances of all the literary prophets. Jastrow[3] has made it probable that it may have originated in an inspection of the entrails of animals. However that may be, it lost that significance in later times, and stood for all prophetic visions. Some of these were undoubtedly visions of the night, akin to the dreams of an earlier time, such as the visions attributed to Daniel (Dn $8^{1ff.}$); but the term, when it stands in the title of a prophetic book, is, at least by implication, made to cover the results of the enlightened thinking of the prophet, which were commended by his judgment and conscience. Jeremiah, for example, tells us of no inaugural vision similar to those experienced by Isaiah and Ezekiel. He simply tells how the word of Jahweh came to him, how he naturally shrank, on account of his youth, from public service, and how he was assured that Jahweh's power would sustain him and carry him through. No mention is made of external acces-

1 See Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, 1905, chs. i.–iii.

2 See Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 1906–1907, iv. 280

3 *JBL* xxviii. [1909] 50 ff.

sories to the vision. The impression is left that the Divine Spirit was working directly upon the mind and heart of the man, quickening his intelligence and his conscience. That the prophet who could conceive the covenant of Jahweh with His people as a matter of the inner spirit, the laws of which were inscribed on the heart, should be able to lift prophetic vision, and with it the conception of communion with God, out of all the objective accessories which cling to it with greater or less persistence from the cruder conceptions of earlier days, need not surprise us.

Having discerned this view of communion with God thus set forth in Jeremiah, we find, in turning back to the literary prophets who preceded him, that it was not new. Amos gives us no hint that his philippics against the sins of the nations had their birth in anything less spiritual than his intellectual and spiritual insight quickened by the Spirit of God. Hosea makes it clear that he was made a prophet by a flash of Divine illumination which enabled him to see the yearning love and sorrow of God for Israel, as well as his Divine patience and redemptive nature, all reflected, as in a mirror, in the tragic experiences which had darkened the prophet's home and broken his heart. His messages to Israel are not paraded as the thoughts of an unsubstantial dream, but are given forth as the ripe utterances of an illumined mind, a loving heart, a tender conscience, a chastened spirit. The great messages, too, of Isaiah, such as the beautiful Song of the Vineyard in ch. 5, are clearly the vigorous expressions of a new conception of duty and religion, born of a newly awakened ethical and spiritual insight.

In the great prophets, then, from the beginning of the prophetic writing, we have a spiritual conception of communion with God taken for granted. Visions and dreams are still at times spoken of, as in Is 29^{7} and Jer 14^{14} 23^{16}. The prophet's career sometimes began with a vision akin in its form to the dreams of an earlier time, as we have seen to be the case with Isaiah and Ezekiel; but in reality each of these prophets was a spiritual leader in his time, and remains to our day an inspiring guide because he recognized in fact, if he did not clearly express, the truth that those great moments when the mind grasps new and larger truth, and the depths of being throb in consequence with new emotions, so that the will is moved to make the endeavour to realize in one's self or in one's nation a higher ideal of life, are moments of the highest sacramental significance, moments of most real communion, moments when God's thought is communicated to His servant, and God's purposes and life are shared by him.

With Jeremiah and Ezekiel the conceptions of communion with God entered upon a new stage. This resulted from the doctrine of the individual nature of religion taught by these prophets (see Jer $31^{29.30}$ and Ezk 18). Down to this time the prevailing notions of religion had been national. Religion was a relation between Jahweh and His people, the Israelitish nation, rather than a relation between Jahweh and individuals; and this had profoundly affected the conceptions of communion. Of course, a nation is made up of individuals, and the personal element in religion had never been wholly lacking. Even when the earliest and crassest conceptions prevailed, there must have been many examples of individual piety, of individual prayer which received an individual answer, of which the case of Hannah (1 S 1. 2) is but one instance. Nevertheless, when it was thought that Jahweh looked upon the nation as a nation, that He visited the sins of the fathers upon the children even to the third and fourth generation, this fact must have tended to obliterate moral distinctions in the individual, and to cast a blight over the highest type of personal communion and piety. It is not an accident, therefore, that in the poetry of the time after the Babylonian exile we find many expressions of personal communion of a spiritual character.

5. Expressions of personal communion.—One of the earliest of these is in the book of Job. This poem depicts the inward struggles of one who, overtaken by misfortunes, found the traditional theology in which he was reared out of accord with the facts of experience, and in his despair nearly made shipwreck of faith. With the energy of a hunted animal he demands a solution for a hundred puzzling problems. At last God answers him out of the whirlwind. In this answer no solution to one of Job's problems is offered. On the contrary, he is made to feel his littleness in contrast with God. And yet the Divine vision is portrayed by the poet as sacramental. Job declares ($42^{5.6}$):

> 'I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear;
> But now mine eye seeth thee,
> Wherefore I abhor myself,
> And repent in dust and ashes.'

The problems are not solved, but in the sacrament of the Divine vision the heart has learned to trust One who knows the solution.[1] Modern exegetes agree that Job does not represent the nation; he is thoroughly individual. His sufferings, agony, doubts, and vision are epochs in the growth of an individual soul. That the poet should find his solution in a sacramental vision in which, in self-abhorrence, the soul enters into communion with God, is a striking testimony to the place that real spiritual communion with God had come to hold in the minds of Israel's greatest thinkers.

This conception of the spiritual nature of communion finds frequent expression in the Psalter, which was the hymn-book of post-exilic times. In their original form some of the Psalms may be of pre-exilic origin, but hymn-books are from time to time re-edited; sentiments which are no longer congruous with the religious feeling of the age, though owing to religious conservatism they may for a while be sung, are at last dropped, and language capable of expressing adequately the devotional life of the time is substituted for them. The Psalter no doubt underwent such revision, so that, even if the torso of a few psalms be pre-exilic, in the main it reflects the sentiments of the post-exilic time. In many passages in the Psalter the older forms of expression with reference to religion are maintained, and it is difficult to tell to what extent the psalmist had made his religion a matter of the spirit, but in others this difficulty vanishes. For example, Ps $63^{6.8}$ was written by a man whose religion was inward, and whose life drew its strength from spiritual communion with God. Briggs translates these verses as follows:[2]

> 'When on my couch I remembered thee,
> In the night watches was musing on thee,
> My soul did cleave after thee;
> On me did take hold thy right hand.'

These words depict an experience of the sacramental consciousness of God's presence as the author had known it in his night-meditations. Religion was to him no longer conformity to a set of rules, or mere participation in a gorgeous ritual; it was to have his spirit re-vivified and invigorated by real communion with the living God. The author of Ps 51 held similar views and knew of similar experiences. He says[3] (vv.[10-12]):

> 'In me, O God, create a clean heart,
> And a spirit that is steadfast renew in my breast.

[1] See Peake, 'Job,' in the *Century Bible*, p. 19, *Problem of Suffering in the OT*, p. 100 ff.
[2] 'The Psalms,' in *ICC* ii. (1906–1907) 72.
[3] So rendered by Wellhausen-Furness in Haupt's *PB* (1895).

'Cast me not off from thy presence,
And thy holy spirit, do not take from me.
Give me once more the glad sense of thy help,
And strengthen thou me with a spirit that is joyous.'

The man who could write thus knew of Divine disclosures such as come in real communion with God, not simply in an initial experience which should change the whole life, like that described in Job $42^{5, 6}$, but, like the author of Ps 63, he had known it as the sustaining bread of each prosaic day—the vitalizing experience which gave him strength to live.

The Psalms, however, reflect a great variety of points of view. Pss 42, 43, and 84 move, so far as outward expression goes, in the realm of ceremonial religion; but, in the intensity of the feeling expressed and as regards the quality of that feeling, their authors are in accord with the writers of Pss 51 and 63. The writer of Pss 42, 43 was a Levite who had been torn from the temple and its service, and who accordingly felt that he had been torn from God. Nevertheless, as he sings (Ps $42^{1, 5}$):

'As the hart pants for the water brooks,
So pants my soul for thee, O God.

Why art thou cast down, O my soul . . .?
Wait thou on God, for even yet shall I praise him,'

he convinces us that under the outward form of temple festivities, processions, and ceremonial his soul had known the mystic touch of the Divine Spirit, and that it was longing for the renewal of that mystic touch to which he was giving expression. So the writer of Ps 84 speaks of the outward temple, when he says (v.[10]):

'I choose to stand at the threshold of the house of my God,
Rather than dwell in tents of wickedness.'

Yet no one can doubt that v.[2], 'My heart and my flesh cry out for the living God,' is the cry of his personality, not for a sacred building, but for God Himself.

In this post-exilic period there was great variety. To some, like the author of Ps 50, ritual was foolishness, and religion consisted not in offering bullocks, but in righteousness and thanksgiving. To others, as the prophet Malachi, those who did not offer the bullocks were robbers of God (Mal 3^{8}). The author of Ps 119 exhausts language in his effort to praise the Law. He loves the Law because it guides him into a pure life and directs his way to God. Of inward communion he clearly was not ignorant, but his communion is cold and formal in comparison with that of the authors of Pss 42, 51, 63, and 84. The author of Ps 73, like the author of the book of Job, had wrestled with doubts which threatened his sanity. He had found peace, as Job did, in a moment of sacramental illumination.

The second Isaiah and a number of psalmists regarded the contemplation of Nature as a means of communion with God. In Is $40^{12ff.}$ the prophet calls to mind the work of God in creation, and takes his hearers out into a Babylonian night to behold the marvels of God in the starry heavens, in order to beget in them the sacramental mood. Similarly in 41^{25} $43^{14ff.}$ 44^{28} $45^{1ff.}$ he points to the unusual events of current history for the same purpose. Psalmists also tell us that the contemplation of Nature is a means of communion with God. Thus in Ps $8^{3ff.}$ we read:

'When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers,
The moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained;
What is man, that thou art mindful of him?
And the son of man, that thou visitest him?
For thou hast made him but little lower than God,
And crownest him with glory and honour.'

The contemplation of Nature made the Psalmist conscious of his exalted religious privileges. Similarly the author of Ps 19^{1-6} found the heavens a means of creating the sacramental temper:

'The heavens declare the glory of God;
And the firmament showeth his handywork.'

The author of Ps 107, after passing in review the wonders of Nature, declares:

'Whoso is wise and will understand these things,
Even they shall understand the loving-kindness of Jahweh.'

Upon the same theme the writers of Pss 146, 147, and 148 speak with persuasive beauty. One theme runs through all. The stars, the growing grass, the care bestowed on dumb animals by God, the creation of the marvellous snow, the hoar frost, ice crystals, and the silent destruction of these, sea-monsters, fire, hail, stormy wind, and many other wonders—all are grounds for praise, and helps in apprehending God.

Side by side with this variety of personal experience, the Levitical ceremonial continued. The loaves of shewbread continued to be piled on the table in the sanctuary; they were a symbol of that old physical communion with God in which the primitive Israelite had believed. Perhaps the more superstitious still thought that God ate of this bread, and that thus in a sense the priests sat at God's table. Year by year the high priest entered the Holy of Holies with the sacrificial blood—a symbol of the way in which it had been in the olden time supposed that communion with God was restored. It may well have been that, as some witnessed this ceremonial, their hearts were stirred to realize more clearly their own union with God. Other ceremonies, such as the morning and evening sacrifice, probably acted on many in a similar way. Many there must have been who gave little attention to personal religion, but rested content in the performance of the ceremonies. And so it came about that in the last pre-Christian centuries Judaism presented as great a variety of types as does modern Christendom. There were the careless, there were the formalists, there were those who combined with formalism a mild type of spiritual religion, but there were also the passionate mystics, who rested not till their hearts were made alive by sacramental union with God, and their daily bread supplied through communion continually renewed.

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GEORGE A. BARTON.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Japanese).—Like all other races, the Japanese have naturally experienced the desire to bring themselves into communication with their gods in order to obtain from them solutions of the various questions which perplex them. For this purpose, in the first place they had recourse to divination (*ouranahi*), either to the official 'greater divination,' by omoplatoscopy, or to other secondary processes. This important part of Shintoism will be treated in art. DIVINATION (Japanese). Secondly, and subsidiarily to those fixed consultations, we find the Japanese entering into contact with the Deity by means of inspiration (*kangakari*), a kind of possession, in which hypnotism seems to play the chief part, and which will be discussed in art. INSPIRATION (Japanese). In the present article we shall content ourselves with the inquiry whether, in Japan, these relations with the Deity took the special form of a communion properly so called, in the sense in which the theologians understand it.

In this connexion we find the custom of 'eating the god' on Japanese soil among the Ainus (*q.v.*), who ceremonially consume the bear brought up by them as a deity, and who also, when eating their rice, address a prayer to it as if to a god. But, it

may be asked, did such a belief exist among their conquerors, *i.e.* among the Japanese themselves? A curious text in the *Nihongi* reads as follows:

'The Emperor [Jimmu] commanded Michi no Omi no-Mikoto [a 'minister of the way'], saying: "We are now in person about to celebrate a festival to Taka-mi-musuhi-no-Mikoto ['High-august-Producer,' one of the foremost primitive gods; see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Japanese)]; I appoint thee Ruler of the festival, and grant thee the title of Idzu-hime ['Sacred princess,' this office, in ordinary circumstances, being held by women]. The earthen jars which are set up shall be called the Idzube, or sacred jars; the fire shall be called Idzu no Kagu-tsuchi, or sacred-fire-father; the water shall be called Idzu no Midzu-ha no me, or sacred-water-female; the food shall be called Idzu-uka no me, or sacred-food-female; the firewood shall be called Idzu no Yama-tsuchi, or sacred-mountain-father; and the grass shall be called Idzu no No-tsuchi, or sacred-moor-father." Winter, 10th month, 1st day: The Emperor tasted the food of the Idzube,' etc. (*Nihongi*, iii. 19 f., tr. Aston, London, 1896, i. 122).

What are we to conclude from this document? Must we see in it an act by which the first legendary Emperor desired to assimilate the body of a deity, who, in this case, would be the famous 'goddess of Food' (Uke-mochi, for whom Idzu-uka no me is simply another name)? By no means. True, the food-offering is divinized, but the fact of participating in it does not imply any mystic idea. At the festival of first-fruits (*Nihiname*), which took place exactly at the time of year mentioned in this text, the Emperors are always seen to taste the food offered to the gods, but simply as a guest takes part in a banquet, and not as a worshipper communicating. Besides, it was quite natural that the Mikado, who himself was regarded as a living god (*iki-gami*), should thus associate himself with the feast of the celestial gods. But, after having offered the sacrifice of food to the gods, the worshippers also, in their turn, might eat of it. This is done even at the present day by the pilgrims to the temples of the goddess of the Sun and the goddess of Food at Ise. Further, even a stranger may be admitted to this rite; *e.g.*, about a dozen years ago, the writer was present at a sacred dance of priestesses in an old temple in Nara, and was politely invited to eat a cake of sacred rice; and one morning, at a service held in the great temple of Nikkō to celebrate the peace after the Chino-Japanese war, the priests offered him the divine *sake* in a red earthenware cup of antique form.

Hence our conclusion is that, among this simple and matter-of-fact race, communion with the Deity has never been imagined in the highly mystical form which it has assumed among other races. In the sphere of religion proper, it does not exist at all, and in fact it appears only in the form of divination and inspiration, *i.e.* in processes which, especially in Japan, belong peculiarly to the sphere of magic. M. REVON.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Muslim).—In many passages of the Qur'ān, Allāh is represented as an absolute sovereign, working His arbitrary will in solitary grandeur as though there were no possible relation between Him and His creatures except that of master and slave. This aspect of the Supreme Being was perhaps the dominant one in Muhammad's mind, but, inasmuch as he was guided by feeling rather than logic, it did not exclude the very different notion of a God near to men's hearts, who is the light of the heavens and the earth, and whose face is visible everywhere. Thus direct access to the Unseen is open not only to prophets and saints, but to all Muslims; inspiration, ecstasy, and dreams are phenomena of the same kind, however unlike in degree; hence it is said in a well-known tradition: 'Vision is a forty-sixth part of prophecy'; and dreams in which God Himself is seen are often recorded as matters of ordinary experience. As regards the prophets, Ibn Khaldūn (*Muqaddima*, Beyrout, 1900, p. 98) says that they 'are created with the power of passing over from humanity, its flesh and its spirit, to the angels of the upper region, so that for a moment they become angels actually, and behold the heavenly host, and hear spiritual speech and the Divine allocution.' This is the state of prophetic inspiration (*waḥy*).

But among Muslims the idea of communion is best exemplified, as it was most fruitfully developed, by those who lived the mystical life (see ṢŪFĪISM). The aim of the Ṣūfīs is the attainment of union with God. Such union is a Divine gift, and cannot be acquired by study or effort; it is bestowed only on those who purify their hearts, banish all worldly thoughts and ambitions, and devote themselves entirely to God. Although the Ṣūfīs have no term precisely corresponding to κοινωνία,[1] their technical vocabulary comprises a large number of words which express the notion of more or less complete communion with the Deity: e.g. *qurb* ('nearness'), *uns* ('intimacy'), *mushāhadat* ('contemplation'), *muḥādathat*, *musāmarat*, *munājāt* ('spiritual conversation'), *ḥuḍūr* and *muḥāḍarat* ('presence'), *sukr* ('intoxication'), *wuṣūl* and *jam'* ('union'), *fanā* ('annihilation'), and *baqā* ('subsistence'). A few extracts from Ṣūfī writers will show, as clearly as is possible, what meaning these terms are intended to convey. Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj († A.D. 987) says in his *Kitāb al-Luma'* (MS, private collection):

'The state of nearness (*qurb*) belongs to one who beholds with his heart the nearness of God to him, and seeks to draw nigh unto Him by his piety, and concentrates his mind on God's presence by thinking of Him continually. There are three classes of them: (1) those who seek to draw nigh by divers acts of devotion, because they know that God hath knowledge of them and that He is near to them and hath power over them; (2) those who realize this profoundly, like 'Āmir ibn 'Abd al-Qais, who said, "I never looked at anything without regarding God as nearer to it than I was." And the poet says: "I realized Thee in my heart, and my tongue conversed with Thee secretly, and we were united in some ways but separated in others. If awe has hidden Thee from the sight of mine eyes, yet ecstasy has made Thee near to mine inmost parts"; (3) the spiritual adepts who lose consciousness of their nearness, and in this state God draws near to them.'

Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī († A.D. 857) was asked, 'What is the sign of true intimacy (*uns*) with God?' He replied:

'To be grieved by associating with His creatures, and to be distressed by them, and to choose with the heart the sweetness of remembering Him.' He was asked, 'And what are the outward signs of one who is intimate with God?' He answered: 'He is isolated in company, but concentrated in solitude; a stranger at home, at home when he is abroad; present in absence, and absent in presence.' On being requested to explain the meaning of 'isolated in company, but concentrated in solitude,' he said: 'He is isolated in remembrance of God, engrossed in reflecting upon that which has taken possession of his heart, pleased with the sweetness of remembrance; and he is isolated from others by his own state, although he is present with them in body.' He then said, in answer to a further question: 'He who is concentrated in solitude is one who is concentrated by his thoughts and has made them all into a single thought in his heart, since all that he knows is concentrated in heedful contemplation and seemly reflexion upon the Divine omnipotence, so that he belongs entirely to God in his understanding and heart and thought and imagination' (*Ḥilyat al-Auliyā*, Leyden MS, ii. 241).

Contemplation (*mushāhadat*) is defined as spiritual vision of God, which is produced either by soundness of intuition or by the power of love, according to the tradition that God said: 'My servant seeks to draw nigh unto Me by pious works until I love him, and when I love him I am his ear and his eye.' It is a state that cannot be described in words. The earliest definition of *fanā* ('annihilation') seems to be due to Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz, who died towards the end of the 9th cent. A.D. He defined it as 'dying to the sight of human abasement ('*ubūdiyyat*), and living in the contemplation of Divine omnipotence (*rubūbiyyat*)'; *i.e.* the true servant of God is so lost in contemplation that he

[1] The Arab. root meaning 'to participate' (*sharaka*) could not be used in this sense, as it had already been appropriated by Muhammad to signify the attribution of partners to God, *i.e.* polytheism.

no longer attributes his actions to himself, but refers them all to God.

Some account of the theories concerning union with the Deity which are held by Ṣūfīs of the pantheistic school will be given in art. ṢŪFIISM. Without entering into psychological or metaphysical subtleties, we may quote the following passage from the *Ḥilyat al-Auliyā*, ii. 194, as a characteristic illustration of Muslim views on the nature of the mystical life:

'Some one said to Dhu 'l-Nūn of Egypt († A.D. 859): "The Ṣūfīs know that God sees them in every circumstance, and they guard themselves by Him against every one besides." Another companion of Dhu 'l-Nūn, an ascetic, Ṭāhir by name, who was present among the audience, cried: "Nay, Abu 'l-Faiḍ,[1] they behold the Beloved of their hearts with the eye of certainty, and see that He is existent in every case and near at every moment, and that He knows all that is wet and dry and foul and fair. . . And through His government and providence and strengthening they become independent of their own providence, and plunge into seas and cross mountains through the joy of beholding His regard for them, and cleave the darkness asunder by the light of His contemplation. They are inspired by the sweetness of His being to drink deep of bitterness; and through His nearness and His standing over them they support adversities and endure afflictions; their confidence in His choice causes them to hazard their lives in what they do and suffer; their love of His will and their obedience to His pleasure make them well-pleased with the states in which He places them; and they are angry with themselves because they know what is due to Him, and because, on account of His justice towards them, they are ready to undergo punishment. This leads them to be filled with Him, so that in their veins and joints there is no room for love of aught except Him, and not even the weight of a mustard-seed in them remains empty of Him, and nothing is left in them save Him. They are His entirely, and He is their portion in this world and in the next. They are content with Him and He with them; He loves them and they love Him; they are His and He is theirs; He prefers them and they prefer Him; they remember Him and He remembers them. Those are the party of God (Qur. lviii. 22), and the party of God are the prosperous."'

Other matters bearing on this subject, such as the methods by which the state of 'union' may be induced, and the miraculous powers vouchsafed to those who have attained or are capable of attaining it, will be discussed under ṢŪFIISM.

LITERATURE.—Most works on Ṣūfiism contain relevant matter. See D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* (Chicago, 1909); and R. A. Nicholson, Translation of the *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (London, 1910).

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Parsi).—

1. The Avestan religion contains only one instance of a real, well-defined mysticism, viz. the glimpses from the Prophet's inner life, still extant in the Gathic literature. The most important indications of Zarathushtra's mystical vision of Ahura Mazda and of his intimate intercourse with the Heavenly Powers are to be found in *Yasna* xliii. 5-13 (see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 1899, pp. 40, 46). The obscurity of *Yas.* xxx. 3 makes it uncertain whether we have to do with a revelation of the two spiritual antagonists to the Prophet in a dream or not. In an inferior order of civilization, Zarathushtra is one of the classical instances of a mysticism applied to the will rather than to the feelings.

2. Zarathushtrianism having produced no second prophetic mind of original power, communion with God has found scope—without such personal mysticism—chiefly in the religious and moral practice, *i.e.* in the life-programme devised (at least partly) by Zarathushtra, and in rites, originating in the ethnic and naturalistic religion before him or outside his influence. Communion with God and the Heavenly Beings is sought for and exercised through strenuous obedience to religious and moral duties (consisting in the struggle against the demons), through attention to the fields and the cattle, and through strict observation of the rules of worship and of purity. The characteristics of this godly life are the absence of any ascetic means of bringing the soul into mystical communion with God (see ASCETICISM [Persian]), and the legalistic spirit that pervades it.

[1] Abu 'l-Faiḍ is the 'name of honour' (*kunyat*) of Dhu 'l-Nūn.

3. A survival of (or a borrowing from) a lower, naturalistic kind of communion with Deity is preserved in the Avestan worship—the holy intoxicating drink, the *haoma*. But its effect of bringing the priest into immediate communion with God, so strongly expressed in the Vedic hymns about *soma*, is obsolete in the Avesta. The intoxication by *haoma* is alluded to in *Yasna* x. 13 ff., but already in the Avesta its use has become a mere rule of the ritual, without any effect on body or mind. Later, and especially modern, Parsiism has developed the moral side of that behaviour which constitutes communion with God. NATHAN SÖDERBLOM.

COMMUNISM.—

'The most useful way in which we can employ the terms Communism and Communistic . . . is to restrict them to those schemes or measures of governmental interference for equalizing distribution which discard or override the principle that a labourer's remuneration should be proportioned to the value of his labour.'

This statement of Sidgwick (*Principles of Pol. Econ.* bk. iii. ch. vii. § 3) brings to the front the difference between Collectivism or Socialism (*q.v.*) and Communism. Socialism aims at putting the instruments of production into the hands of the State, so that all the product may be available for division among the various factors of production. At present, Socialism alleges that an altogether undue proportion of the product is captured by the capitalist, the employer, and the middleman. But Socialism does not, except in the views of some unrepresentative extremists, intend to divide this product without regard to the efficiency and the productive capacity of the worker. Communism, on the other hand, thinks rather of distribution than of production. It would be tolerant as to the methods of production if only the product were divided, not on the basis of absolute merit, but on that of the need of the consumer. A man should receive his share, not on the ground that he is a competent producer, but simply on the ground that he exists. Thus Socialism and Communism both start from the brotherhood of man. But Socialism deals with production, Communism with consumption; Socialism claims to be economic, Communism rests itself upon sentiment; Socialism would try to make work efficient by letting each man feel that the results of his labour were to accrue to him and to his fellow-workmen instead of becoming the perquisite of the capitalist employer; Communism would consider that the claim came not so much from the fact that the man had created something, as from the stern necessity of his having to subsist.

These differences are represented in two broad ways—intellectual and historical. The feature of Socialism, since the days of Karl Marx, has been its desire to establish itself on some unassailable economic position, on some labour theory of value, or some testimony of the wastefulness of competition. It quite realizes that if it is ever to command assent it must create intellectual conviction, not only among the masses, whose thinking is biased by their hard conditions of life, but also among the thinking classes, whose mental processes are carried on under a white light. But Communism has no economic literature. It has appealed to religion—most communistic attempts have been religious in their initiation; it has appealed to the brotherhood of man; it has adduced the undoubted anomalies of the present condition of things. But it has produced nothing in its justification that has had the same economic grip as Marx's *Capitalism*. Communistic literature has been the product of the dreamers. That is not to say that it has been without its far-reaching influence. The dreamers, after all, have been behind most of the great events of human history. But it is proof

that Communism as a theory is not to be criticized only from the economic standpoint. It has made its appeal to that in human life which goes deeper than even the postulates of economics. If, intellectually, Socialism and Communism have thus been severed, a historical difference is also apparent. That Socialism is spreading rapidly is not a matter requiring proof. Communism, however, is distinctly losing ground. It held a more prominent place in men's thoughts half a century ago than it does to-day. It is impossible to imagine a group of thinkers now being captured by a system of Communism as the intellectuals of Paris were held by the views of Saint-Simon. The conception of the possible in human society has dwindled with the extension of the possible in physical science. We are more certain of progress in the mastery of Nature than we are of progress in the mastery of human conditions. The history of the various communistic efforts, even carried out as they have been upon a scale small enough to allow of adequate superintendence, has been lamentable. The conviction has grown that the solution of the social problem is not to be found in those large schemes of human amelioration in which a man's need constitutes his primary claim for assistance. Optimism has waned as humanity has grown older.

Of all the attempts that have been made to constitute on paper an ideal Commonwealth, Plato's *Republic* remains the most noteworthy, because in it the problems that have manifested themselves in the practical effort to realize a communistic society have been clearly foreshadowed. Economics, as we understand the term, scarcely presented itself to the Greek thinkers; but it is just because Plato was concerned with the whole of human life, rather than with any particular theory of value, that his picture of a communistic society possesses such value. He is, of course, limited by the conditions of his time: he cannot think of a society that does not have the assistance of slave labour. But he sees that in a communism the position of women and the regulation of the family are all-important. If all things are to be held in common, is this principle to extend to the position of women? Are they individuals, regulative parts of the society, and capable of making a contract? Or are they things, part of the common stock of property? His view is that there must be a community of wives. To leave untouched the institution of the family is to perpetuate individualism. But then there will arise the danger that in a society where all the obligations are shared the sense of responsibility will suffer, and children will be brought into the world so recklessly that the permanence of the new society will be endangered. Hence arises the second change in the family condition. Children are to be begotten only under the control of the State, which is to regulate not merely their number, but also their parentage, and the age at which marriage may be entered on. The children are to be brought up together, ignorant of their parentage, in institutions where privilege will have no place, inheritance no influence. The preparation of the child for the purposes of the State will be all-important. The surplus population, which is anticipated, will be dealt with by migration, emigration, and colonization.

In Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), on the other hand, there is no attempt made to alter the institution of the family; but, just because of this, the *Utopia* fails to grapple with the special problem that all communistic efforts have had to face. Sir Thomas More thinks of a community of about four million souls living without private property, and having their labour superintended by elected officers. People are not always to be kept at one task; they are to be moved about from one labour to another; and, as agricultural labour is the hardest of all, every one has to take his turn at it. The population question is dealt with by a levelling process. The surplus children of large families are to be adopted by those who have few or no children; and, if this will not meet the need, the excess of population is to emigrate. The native greed of mankind will disappear before the fact that, as all are delivered from the fear of want, no one will wish to take more than his share, while, as each man works in full view of the community, there will be no sluggards; the popular judgment will be a sufficient stimulus to industry.

Before we come to consider the conceptions of Communism, and the attempts at their realization which may have been supposed to spring from the views of the perfectibility of man current from the middle of the 18th cent. onwards, it would be well to go back and consider what was the relation of primitive Christianity to Communism. One great argument adduced in favour of Communism is that it is the system which has Biblical and Christian sanction. The assumption is that the Jerusalem Church was communistic. Of this there is no proof. We are told that 'as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold . . . and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need' (Ac $4^{34f.}$). But this communism was no essential part of the polity of the primitive Church. If a man cared thus to give his wealth, it was counted as a good deed; but the special mention of 'Joseph surnamed Barnabas' ($v.^{36}$) in this connexion shows that the practice was by no means universal. The sin of Ananias and Sapphira was not that, having sold their land, they gave only a part of the price, but that they represented that part of the price to be the whole. Their sin was not refusal to surrender property, but lying. There was no obligation on them to give anything. As St. Peter said, 'Whiles it remained, did it not remain thine own? And after it was sold was it not in thy power?' (Ac 5^4). At the same time, it is probable that the Jerusalem Church was largely communistic, and its subsequent history affords but a sorry argument in favour of Communism. That Church existed in a state of chronic poverty, and had to be supported by those young Churches that the Apostle Paul founded in Asia Minor and elsewhere. But here, again, it would be rash to attribute the poverty solely to the communistic ideas. It is clear from St. Paul's letters that the conception of the imminence of the Second Advent of the Lord resulted in the abandonment by many of their labour, and in their throwing of themselves upon the charity of the Church for their sustenance in the days that were to elapse before the elements were melted with fervent heat.

But it is quite possible that the primitive Church, in any approach it made towards Communism, had before it the remarkable example of the Essenes (*q.v.*). Every one in Palestine must have been familiar with the practice of these enthusiasts, who lived mainly in the Wilderness of Judaea, although scattered colonies existed throughout the land. They probably derived their name from Syr. חסא (pl. חסין, emph. חסיא), 'pious' (see Schürer, *GJV*³ ii. 560), and numbered altogether about 5000 souls. The account of them written (c. A.D. 20) by Philo of Alexandria (*Quod om. prob. lib.* 12 13) shows that at the very time of our Lord's human life they were a subject of public interest:

'No one had his private house, but shared his dwelling with all; and, living as they did in colonies, they threw open their

doors to any of their sect who came their way. They had a storehouse, common expenditure, common garments, common food eaten in *syssitia* (or common meals). This was made possible by their practice of putting whatever they each earned day by day into a common fund, out of which also the sick were supported when they could not work. The aged among them were objects of reverence and honour, and treated by the rest as parents by real children.'

Eusebius, in the *Præp. Evang.* (viii. 11), preserves a fragment of Philo's *Apology for the Jews*, which repeats, but also supplements, the information already given:

'There are no children or youths among them, but only full-grown men, or men already in the decline of life. . . . They are very industrious, and work hard from early sunrise to sunset as tillers of the soil, or herdsmen, or bee-farmers, or as craftsmen. Whatever they earn they hand over to the elected steward, who at once buys victuals for the common repast.' No Essene, adds Philo, on this account, marries, but all practise continence. 'For women are selfish and jealous, and apt to pervert men's characters by ceaseless chicanery and wiles; while, if they have children, they are puffed up and bold in speech, driving their husbands to actions which are a bar to any real fellowship with other men.'

The sect, says Pliny († A.D. 79), was kept up by recruits who were filled with the sorrow of this world:

'The number of their fellows is kept up and day by day renewed: for there flock to them from afar many who, wearied of battling with the rough sea of life, drift into their system. Thus for thousands of ages, strange to tell, the race is perpetuated, and yet no one is born in it. So does the contrition felt by others for their past life enrich this sect of men' (*HN* v. 17).

This communism of the Essenes, however, differs from most of those modern communistic efforts which we are now to consider, in having as its basis a profound pessimism. It did not put itself forward as a solution of the world's problem, but only as an escape from it. It was, as Pliny says, contrition that made men Essenes, not the abounding hopefulness which characterized the dreamers of eighteen hundred years later. Over this whole gap we may now leap, and find the genesis of modern Communism in those ideas of man's natural perfectibility that were current in France before the Revolution. Rousseau, in the *Contrat Social* (1762) had given utterance to the feeling of oppressed men that the system under which they were living had nothing inevitable about it, and could be radically altered if the plain man, in whose interest any system of government should be rooted, cared to bring about an alteration. Morelly, in the *Code de la Nature* (1755), said the same thing, with a more limited application. Man's depravity, he declared, was due to bad institutions; naturally man was virtuous. Consequently, if the institutions under which he was living were improved, his natural virtue would reassert itself. As things were, no one could work well, because of the hopelessness of poverty, on the one hand, or because of the disinclination to work that riches bring, on the other. But under regenerated conditions every one, as he was able, would contribute to the upkeep of, and in return would be maintained by, the State. These views tried to express themselves in 1796 in the conspiracy of Babeuf and his associates, who called themselves the 'Secte des Egaux.' They met, to begin with, in the Pantheon as a club. When the meetings were stopped by Bonaparte, the members organized themselves into a secret society, and the extent of the appeal which their views made may be judged from the fact that they soon had 17,000 well-armed men in the membership, and had also the support of several quarters of Paris. A manifesto written by Sylvain Maréchal, one of their number, declared:

'We will have real equality, no matter what it costs. Woe to those who come between us and our wishes. . . . If it is needful, let all civilization perish provided that we obtain real equality. . . . No further private property in land; the land belongs to no private person. We claim, we require, the enjoyment of the fruits of the land for all.'

The 'Equals' had imbibed the views of the Physiocrats as to land being the real source of all wealth, and in the pursuit of their plans were prepared to go to any lengths. But Paris was in strong hands in 1796. The conspiracy was discovered, and 'a whiff of grape shot,' or its equivalent in cold steel, put an end to Babeuf in February 1797.

The really important contribution of France to the history of Communism was that made by Saint-Simon and his followers, from 1820 to 1832. Almost every well-known thinker in the France of that time was a Saint-Simonist, and Saint-Simon stands behind Auguste Comte and Positivism. If we ask ourselves how it was that views which now seem so extreme, because so logical, ever found a footing in so learned a society as that in which Comte, Leroux, Lesseps, Hippolyte Carnot, and Augustine Thierry had their place, we have to remember the exhaustion that had followed upon the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. The Saint-Simonists put forward their views in a time of reaction. Men were tired of the militarism and absolutism which had brought France to the dust. They were a little ashamed, too, of the brutality that had characterized the Revolution. They did not desire to go back upon what the Revolution had done, but they longed to see a government based upon the consent of the whole, in which the actual reins of power should be in the hands of the wisest. The Revolution had abolished privilege in official matters; the Saint-Simonists wished to abolish privilege altogether. But it would be impossible ever to secure equality, so long as the children of those who had wealth were to be granted special educational and social advantages. As things were, there was not only hereditary wealth, but hereditary poverty. Mental inefficiency perpetuated itself, because those who might have become efficient, had they had the opportunity, were left in the condition into which they had been born. Hence inheritance of all kinds was to be done away with. A man could have no more than a life interest in his property; and even then he was to use it to the utmost, not selfishly, but for the good of the community. Saint-Simon was himself an aristocrat, a scion of the same house as the famous Saint-Simon of the *Memoirs*, and the paradox that views such as these should have proceeded from him may have given them a wider hearing than they would otherwise have received. But he died, after a life passed mainly in great poverty, in 1825, and his views were elaborated specially by his followers Bazard and Enfantin. In a letter which they addressed to the President of the Chamber of Deputies on 1st Oct. 1830 they said:

'The followers of Saint-Simon believe in the natural inequality of men, and look on this inequality as the basis of association, as the indispensable condition of social order. All they desire is the abolition of every privilege of birth without exception, and, as a consequence, the destruction of the greatest of all these privileges, the power of bequest, the effect of which is to leave to chance the apportionment of social advantages, and to condemn the largest class in number to vice, ignorance, and poverty. They desire that all instruments of labour, land, and capital, which now form, subdivided, the inheritance of private means, should be united in one social fund, and that this fund should be operated on principles of association by a hierarchy, so that each one will have his task according to his capacity, and wealth according to his work.'

It was this 'hierarchy' that led very soon to difficulty. Saint-Simon had intended that the industrial chiefs should be men of science. On his death, Bazard and Enfantin, aided by a remarkable group, carried on the work largely through the *Globe* newspaper. But Bazard seceded, and Enfantin removed the community to Menilmontant. What happened there belongs rather to the domain of morals than of economics. The question of a Priestess emerged, and a doctrine of free-love was stated. In August 1832, Enfantin was condemned, in a none too squeamish France, for the promulgation of articles injurious to public

morality. Saint-Simonism was extinguished in a burst of popular laughter.

Charles Fourier (1772-1837) was another dreamer whose dreams had much less foundation in things as they are than had those of Saint-Simon. He had a curious apocalyptic conception of the world, and its duration in all for 80,000 years. In the State that he imagined, neither duty nor self-interest was to be the chief motive of man, but his passions. Every one was to work according as his inclinations dictated. He thought of the world as becoming gradually covered with a system of *phalanges* which were to take the place of municipalities. In the centre of each phalange there was to be a phalanstery where the members were to live a life in common. The division of the workers into various trades would be arranged by each man following his own fancy; and each group, when arranged, would go out to work as soldiers go out to drill. This working group was to be the unit. Nationality under such a system would disappear, for the phalanges were to cover the globe, and were to number 2,985,984! The ruler of the whole system was to be the *Omniarque*, who was to live at Constantinople. Each phalange was to use the product of its own work, and exchange its surplus with other phalanges; each phalange might own capital, and in the phalange capital was to receive four-twelfths of the profit, labour five-twelfths, and ability three-twelfths. The scheme, of course, was a pure phantasy, and under it the marriage relationship was to become a species of polyandry. But the interest of this scheme is that, just as Saint-Simon stood behind Comte, so Fourier stood behind Louis Blanc.

It may be worth while stating at this point that Communism has nothing to do with the Paris Commune of 1871. In France the 'commune' is the municipality or borough. The Paris communists felt that the national affairs had been so badly handled that they desired to secure the communal or corporate independence of Paris and a democratic Republic. The movement was political, not economic.

While Europe may have supplied most of the communistic theory, the actual attempts at Communism in Europe are hardly worth considering. Robert Owen's 'Queenwood Community' at Tytherley in Hampshire (1839-1844) belonged to his old age, when the intellectual balance of his early and middle years had been largely lost. The United States have supplied almost numberless object-lessons, and several of these experiments are so significant—rather for the direction they have felt compelled to take than for any real success they have achieved—that they will be dealt with in a separate article (COMMUNISTIC SOCIETIES OF AMERICA; cf. also art. AMANA SOCIETY). Those efforts have resulted in almost uniform failure. Any material success that one or two of them have achieved has been gained at the cost of almost all the variety and the gladness of life.

Some of the reasons for the failure of these communistic efforts are the following:

(1) *The question of the family* has been found to be insoluble in Communism. The danger in a society in which all are supported by all is that the individual may lose the sense of responsibility, and propagate his kind beyond the power of the community to maintain the increase of population. This difficulty has been met in various ways: by the insistence on celibacy—an unnatural and unhealthy state of things; by the attempt to regulate the sex relationship within the home—an interference that independent spirits will not tolerate; and, lastly, by a variety of experiments in free-love, in which the fact that the community carries the burden has been made the excuse for practices that would mean the death of society. The Saint-Simonists got themselves laughed out of existence, but there was something in their contention that the prime necessity of Communism is the abolition of all inheritance; and, if inheritance is to be abolished, individual parentage must no longer be recognized. The children must belong to, and be nurtured by, the community, not by the parents.

(2) Any communistic success is conceivable only at the price of *the absolute surrender of liberty.* It is not unthinkable that a strong character might create a rich and powerful society, but he could do so only by acting as the autocrat, and by resolutely putting down all opposition. He would have to control everything absolutely—the family life, even in its most intimate aspect, as well as the commercial undertakings. But to live under such a tyranny is too great a price even for the meanest spirited to pay for an assurance of a mere subsistence. Unless some are to do more than their share of production, a watch has to be kept over the labours of all. The hours of rising are fixed for every one, the clothes they must wear, the food they must eat—all these things have to be ordered in the interests of the diligent as well as of the lazy, and the result is a perpetuation through a man's lifetime of the condition of the child at school.

(3) The various communistic attempts *have never been able to keep the best of their young people*, and so there are left only the dull and the unenterprising. The life within the commune itself is devoid of variety. The best wish to succeed, but they cannot find the conditions under which success is possible, when all their labour goes into one common stock, and where, as in almost all the communistic efforts, education is discouraged. Some of the keenest criticisms of Communism have come from members of a Society. Zoar was an attempt that died only lately. The blacksmith's comment was: 'Think how much I would have now, had I worked and saved for myself. Some in the Society have done hardly any work, but will get the same that I do. This way of doing business is not natural nor right.' See, further, p. 784b.

(4) None of the communistic societies has been able to give any play to *man's desire for culture.* They have been founded with the highest aims, and yet have been compelled by the general inefficiency of the labour to concern themselves solely with the problem of a bare existence. Few have been able to satisfy any other wants in their members than those of food and clothing. Not one of the attempts has made any contribution to the world's art or literature, or music or learning. In these respects they have been absolutely sterile. The Shakers preferred the absence of dust to the presence of art. This negative virtue is characteristic of Communism.

(5) *On its economic side*, Communism is just as open to attack. The chronic poverty in which these attempts have mostly existed has been due to elements that are inseparable from the system:—(*a*) *Increased idleness.* It is not possible, human nature being what it is, to induce the ordinary man to work as hard for the community at large as for himself. He may, indeed, be roused by patriotism or by pride in his work; he is not insensible to the power of an idea. But those who are attracted by Communism are not men of this sort. Religiously they are often Quietists; in the practical affairs of life they lack energy; and the fact that they share only to an infinitesimal extent in the product of their own labour gives no spur to exertion.—(*b*) *Lack of thrift.* One observer after another has remarked the extravagance of communistic societies, in spite of the rigidity with which they may adhere to a simple dress and a simple life. In domestic affairs there is not likely to be the same attention to thrift in food and firing when the community is responsible for all defici-

encies, nor will the workman be so anxious to get the most out of his piece of cloth or block of stone when he feels that one of the ideas on which the communistic society rests is that the efficient should bear the burden of the inefficient.—(c) Idleness and thriftlessness imply *small capital and small efficiency of capital*. The population question would not have pressed so seriously upon communistic societies if it had not been for the fact that their capital, owing to the inefficiency of labour and the small amount of saving, remained small, and the efficiency of that capital, owing to the lack of competent direction and individual initiative, was relatively unimportant. It is this that has put an end to all dreams of the eventual adoption of Communism as a mode of life. Communism has to compete with the marvellously efficient enterprises of our modern time, with great combinations of capital in which every unit is being pushed to its utmost limit in yielding a return. One can conceive that, under a system of Socialism where the instruments of production belong to the community but where the products are divided not merely according to the need of the producer but according to the value of the product, the efficiency of capital might be maintained; but to begin with the consumption end of this problem is to ignore the facts of life.

It is small wonder, then, that with those who are utterly dissatisfied with the present individualist conditions, Communism has given place to Socialism as a possible solution. The attractiveness of the communistic idea of self-contained communities, labouring without selfishness for their own support and suffering none to lack, has been shown by the number of attempts that have been made to realize what great thinkers have dreamed of. The result has been uniform failure. The history of modern philanthropy shows that the strong are not unwilling to carry the burden of the weak. They wish, however, to carry that burden while yet having the opportunity of exercising their strength. They also wish the weak to feel that, while they will be supported, their weakness is itself no virtue, but rather a condition to be removed, if possible, by all the resources of education and the hope of individual reward.

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COMMUNISTIC SOCIETIES OF AMERICA.—If the theories of modern Communism have been largely European in their origin, experiments in the communistic life have mostly found their seat in the United States. This has been due, partly to the willingness of a young people to make sociological ventures, and partly to the fact that unoccupied land has been easy to acquire. The number of experiments has been almost endless. J. H. Noyes in 1870 enumerated over one hundred such, but many ventures have been tried since that date, and we shall probably not err on the side of excess if we estimate that some two hundred communistic efforts have been made, between the Jamestown Colony of 1607 and Ruskin-Tennessee of 1894. Robert Owen, after his visit to America in 1824 and the institution of New Harmony, gave a great impetus to communistic effort, while the Chartist movement in England and the enthusiasm that led men to try to realize the dreams of Fourier had a similar effect. But the communistic trend of mind has always been at work, and the broad division that can readily be drawn in such movements is between those that were religious and those that were secular. Generally speaking, the religious efforts have succeeded best; but it would not be wise to conclude from this that a Communism with religion as its motive is ever likely to succeed. Too many questions are involved that are not religious but economic and social. Goldwin Smith's criticism is completely justified by events:

'A religious dictatorship seems essential to the unity and peace of these households, but when they have prospered economically the secret of their success has been the absence of children, which limited their expenses and enabled them to save money. Growing wealthy, they have ceased to proselytise, and if celibacy was kept up, have become tontines. They afford no proof whatever of the practicability of communism as a universal system' (*Questions of the Day*[2], 1894, p. 9).

One of the surprising things to those who know Nordhoff's book on *The Communistic Societies of the United States* is the rapidity with which some of the colonies, which seemed at that date (1875) to be prosperous, have collapsed. The study of those efforts—made, most of them, with such devotion and self-sacrifice, with picked settlers, under carefully chosen conditions that did much to ensure success if success could be ensured—shows clearly that Communism is not a practicable form of society, and explains how the interest, in our day, has passed from Communism to Socialism. It is possible only to select some of the more outstanding of those attempts. The Amana Society has already been treated in vol. i. p. 358 ff.

1. The Harmony Society (or Rappites, or Economists) was founded by George Rapp, son of a small farmer at Iptingen in Württemberg. Rapp was born in 1757, and received the usual sound, if somewhat scanty, education of the South Germany of those days. His reading consisted mainly of the German mystics; and this, with his own personal piety, made him profoundly discontented with the Christianity presented to him by the Lutheran Church. In 1787 he began to preach in his own house, and soon he gathered round him a very considerable congregation; in six years 300 families had associated themselves with him. Generally speaking, the teaching was Quietism—he taught obedience to the law, but, in the matter of worship, he claimed the liberty to act as he pleased. He was prosecuted, fined, and imprisoned, but, in spite of this, he prospered in worldly things. In 1803 he and his adherents determined to emigrate to the United States for the sake of liberty. With his son John and two trusted friends, Rapp went out first of all to prospect, and bought 5000 acres of wild land in the valley of the Conoquenessing, about 25 miles north of Pittsburg. Frederick, an adopted son of George Rapp, had been left behind in Germany to superintend the removal of the emigrants, and he turned out to be a man of rare business capacity. The subsequent success of the scheme must be ascribed, not only to George Rapp's genuine gift of spiritual leadership, but also to Frederick's organizing power.

The transference of so large a number of people was effected with apparent ease. On 4th July 1804, three hundred of the settlers landed at Baltimore, and, a few weeks later, another three hundred at Philadelphia. They were, almost all, either sons of the soil or artisans; and, during that

first winter, while Rapp and his best workmen were building houses on the newly acquired land, the emigrants scattered themselves throughout Maryland and Pennsylvania. On 15th February 1805 they gathered together and formally constituted themselves 'The Harmony Society.' They agreed to put all their possessions into a common fund; to adopt a uniform and simple style of dress and house; and in their labour to keep before them the welfare of the whole community. By summer they numbered 122 families, rather less than 750 persons in all. Their communism had not been in their minds when they left Germany; it had been forced upon them by facts. Some of the members were so poor that, but for the help of the community as a whole, they must have failed to make a beginning. But, from the first, the settlement was a success. The settlers were of the right kind: the men were all used to working with their hands, and the women were thrifty German housewives. Their management of the land was excellent, and, as they believed that the Second Coming of the Lord was imminent, their work was carried on in a faith which permitted no carelessness.

In 1807 a religious revival broke out amongst them, and, as they had been led to their communism by hard facts, so they seemed to be led to their next distinctive position by the revelation of God. They determined to refrain from marriage, and those that were already married lived as brother and sister. A few withdrew from the society as the result of this change of things, but they seem to have had no difficulty in maintaining this position once they had adopted it. No precautions were taken to separate men and women. The life was perfectly free and open; the exercise of discipline seems to have been almost unknown. The religious faith of the community was strong enough to support them even in so unnatural a conclusion. They interpreted Gn 1[26f.] literally, believing that Adam was a dual being combining both sexes in himself, and that, if he had remained in his original state, he would have brought forth new dual beings like himself to replenish this earth. The Fall consisted in Adam's yielding to impulse and demanding a mate for himself. In answer to his request God withdrew the female element from him and made it his counterpart. Jesus Christ was made in the image of Adam; *i.e.* He also was a dual being. Hence celibacy was the natural state of man, whereas marriage was the fallen state. Consequently the regenerate man would live a celibate life. In 1814 the Rappites moved from their first settlement, which had proved unsatisfactory in some respects. It had no water communication, and it did not grow vines; and the Rappites, while they abjured tobacco, loved sound drink. They bought 30,000 acres of land in the Wabash Valley in Indiana, and sold their old settlement with all that was on it for the very small sum of 100,000 dollars. In 'Harmony,' as the new settlement was called, they made rapid progress, all the more rapid because of the experience they had already gained. In 1817, one hundred and thirty new settlers joined them from Württemberg, and the best proof possible of the fact that they were satisfied with communism is to be found in the circumstance that in 1818, after seriously considering the matter, they burned the book in which were stated the amounts that each family had originally brought into the community. But in the second settlement they were troubled with malaria; accordingly, in 1824 'Harmony' was sold to Robert Owen for 105,000 dollars, and began afresh to make history under the name of 'New Harmony.' The Rappites removed to a new situation on the Ohio, near Pittsburg, where they built 'Economy.' Again, as twice before, prosperity flowed in upon them. There was still sufficient youth among their members to let new efforts be undertaken. A woollen mill and a cotton mill, a saw mill, and a grist mill were built; a silk industry was established; and vineyards were planted. After six years of this life, they were greatly tested. An adventurer, Bernhardt Müller, who called himself the Count de Leon, was received into the settlement, and began to propound views that soon wrought dissension concerning marriage and the need of a more varied life. A vote was taken, and the new views were defeated. In 1832 the dissentients withdrew, and it is a proof of the prosperity of the colony that there was paid out to them in one year 105,000 dollars.

Up till this time the articles of association under which they had been living had been briefly these:

All the property of the individual members was conveyed absolutely to the association; obedience was promised to the superintendent, and each member undertook for himself and for his family to give hearty and willing labour; but, if any should withdraw from inability to conform to the wishes of the society, he renounced all claim for services rendered. In return, the association promised religious privileges and education; and also a sufficiency of food and clothing. Members falling into ill-health were to be maintained and nursed, and orphans were to be provided for by the community. After the de Leon episode a provision that any one withdrawing from the association should have refunded to him the value of all such property as he might have brought into it was repealed.

The life in 'Economy' seems to have been fuller than in most of the other communistic societies. Order was maintained without restraint; the members were not overworked; they lived well; they had the German love for, and proficiency in, music. Each family took what was required, and there was no stint; the tailor and the bootmaker, we are told, took a personal pride in seeing that the members were well-dressed and well-shod. But the inevitable came about—the members did not concern themselves regarding the future of their experiment because they believed the Second Advent to be so near. George Rapp, who died only in 1847, expressed this faith in a very touching way at the age of 90: 'If I did not know that the dear Lord meant I should present you all to Him, I should think my last moments come.' When members were asked as to the destination of the society, the only answer was, 'The Lord will show us a way.'

In 1874, at the time of Nordhoff's visit, there were living in this well-planned, well-built settlement only 110 persons, 'most of whom are aged, and none, I think, under 40' (*op. cit.* p. 68). The mills were closed, because there were no young people to work them; and yet, with their touching faith in the immediate end of all things mortal, no new members were sought. Rapp was succeeded by R. L. Baker and Jacob Henrici. Baker died in a short time, and on Henrici's death, in 1892, it was found that the affairs of the society were very involved, and that lawsuits were pending concerning the disposition of the property. John Duss was appointed by the courts as trustee; but, before this time, the Rappite organization had ceased to be a community, and had become a close corporation administered for the benefit of a dwindling membership. In 1903 the Liberty Land Company of Pittsburg purchased the entire Rappite estate of 2500 acres for 4,000,000 dollars, and this brave attempt that had lasted for a century came to an end. Celibacy had killed it.

2. The Shakers, or The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, are the oldest communistic society in existence. The parent society was established at Mount Lebanon, in the United States, in 1787, and, although within the last thirty years they have greatly diminished in

numbers, they are still wealthy, and immovable in their views. In contrast to so many of the communistic efforts, they are English and not German in origin; but in religion, like the members of Amana, Zoar, and Economy, they are Quietists. A Quaker revival in England in 1747 resulted in the formation of a small sect, headed by Jane and James Wardley. To this sect there were added in 1758 Ann Lee and her parents. Persecution and imprisonment soon fell upon the members; and in 1770, as Ann Lee lay in prison, she had a revelation of the nature of sin and the reality of eternal life. She believed that in her Jesus Christ had become incarnate for the second time; and she was from henceforth acknowledged by the society as mother in Christ, and called 'Mother Ann.' Ann Lee was a married woman, and had had four children, who all died in infancy; but she is said to have regarded the marriage state with great repugnance. This fact probably conditioned her view of sin and of the character of the regenerate life. She declared that sexual lust was the evil of evils, and that no soul could follow Christ in the regeneration while living in the works of natural generation or any of the gratifications of lust. It is interesting to notice that this view of the relationship of the sexes belonged to the Shaking Quakers before their communism had been thought of. In so many of those communistic efforts it was the necessity for the restriction of population that led to peculiar views of the married state. With the Shakers, however, celibacy was from the outset a cardinal matter. In 1774, local persecution drove them, six men and two women, to America, and they settled at first in the woods of Watervliet, about seven miles north-west of Albany. Their courage was sustained by Mother Ann's constant prediction that in a short time they would see a great increase to their number, and, after waiting for five years, they saw the prophecy fulfilled. In the spring of 1780 there had taken place in the neighbourhood of New Lebanon a religious revival, and some of the converts, dissatisfied with the instruction they were receiving, wandered off until they found in the little Quaker fellowship that which they required. Ann Lee's stern teaching of the repression of all passion met their new-found earnestness. After this, Mother Ann spent two years preaching from place to place, and acquiring the reputation of being a faith-healer. She died in 1784, without having attempted to gather into communities those who had accepted her view of truth. She remained to the end quite illiterate; but she must have possessed a great deal of spiritual power, together with much practical wisdom. She believed in the sanctifying influence of hard work.

'Put your hands to work and give your hearts to God,' was one of her sayings. In the springtime she said to some farmers: 'It is now spring of the year, and you have all had the privilege of being taught the way of God, and now you may all go home and be faithful with your hands. Every faithful man will go forth and put up his fences in season, and will plough his ground in season, and put his crops into the ground in season; and such a man may with confidence look for a blessing' (Nordhoff, *op. cit.* p. 129).

She was succeeded in the leadership by Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright. After twelve years Meacham died, and again, for the next twenty-five years, the sole rule devolved upon a woman. This is a fact of importance, when we consider that the society in all its formative years was shaped by women. A good many of its peculiarities, and perhaps its virtues, depend on this. As the society had originated in a Revival, and had been increased by a Revival, so now it was the great Kentucky Revival of the first year or two of the 19th cent. that gave the Shakers a footing that has become so permanent. Although Kentucky was a thousand miles from Mount Lebanon, the Shakers, hearing of the wonderful things that had happened, sent three of their number to 'open the testimony of salvation to the people, provided they were in a situation to receive it.' These missionaries, on arriving at their destination, were violently opposed, with the result that, spiritually, they prospered. Attention was drawn to their teaching; they made many converts. They founded five societies—two in Ohio, two in Kentucky, and one in Indiana. In Ohio, two other societies were afterwards formed; in New York, one. The Indiana society removed to Ohio, and it was in those years that the Shakers exhibited themselves as an aggressive religious force. Since 1830 no new societies have been founded, and since Nordhoff's visit the numbers have rapidly diminished.

Their religious beliefs are briefly the following:

(1) They hold, with the Rappites, that God is a dual person, male and female; that Adam likewise had in himself both sexes, being created in the image of God; and that 'the distinction of sex is eternal, inheres in the soul itself, and that no angels or spirits exist that are not male and female.' (2) They believe that Christ, one of the highest of the spirits, appeared first in the person of Jesus, representing the male order, and then in that of Ann Lee, representing the female element. (3) They believe that the Day of Judgment, the beginning of Christ's Kingdom on earth, began with the establishment of their church, and will be completed by its development. (4) They say that the five most prominent practical principles of the Pentecostal Church were: common property, a life of celibacy, non-resistance, a separate and distinct government, and power over physical disease. All these, except the last, they claim to have, and this they confidently expect that they will have. They believe that disease is an offence to God, and that men may be healthy if they will. (5) They reject the doctrine of the Trinity, of the Bodily Resurrection, and of an Atonement for sin. They do not worship either Jesus or Ann Lee, holding both to be simply elders in the Church, to be honoured and loved. (6) They believe that it is possible to communicate with the spirit-world, and that the special gifts of the Spirit have not ceased. (7) They believe that sinlessness of life is not only a possibility, but an obligation. (8) They hold that the world will have the opportunity of salvation in the next life.

In the practical working out of their belief, three things are specially noticeable: their celibacy, their communism, and the stress they lay upon open confession of sins. Any one who desires to join the society has to undergo a novitiate of at least a year, during which time he does not live in one of the 'families,' but is admitted to all the religious meetings, and is thoroughly instructed in the doctrines of the sect. No pressure is put on any one to join the society. If, at the end of the year, the novice is of the same mind, he has to set all his worldly affairs in order, and make sure that he is indebted to none. Married couples are admitted, but, when admitted, must live as brother and sister, each in a separate division of the family house. A husband may join, but only with the free consent of his wife; a wife, but only with the free consent of her husband. It is not necessary that any one applying for membership should possess property; but, if he have any worldly wealth, it must be made over in irrevocable gift to the community. Great stress is laid on confession before admission; those who desire to become members are required to confess to two of their own sex everything in their life that has been wrong. Memory is prompted, that this confession may be complete. It constitutes the break with the old life; it is the cleansing of the temple in which the Holy Spirit is henceforth to dwell. In making over his property, the novice undertakes never, directly or indirectly, 'to make or require any account of any interest, property, labour, or service which has been or may be devoted by us or any of us to the purposes aforesaid; nor bring any charge of debt or damage, nor hold any demand whatever, against the Church, nor against any member or members thereof on account of any property or service given, rendered, devoted, or consecrated to the aforesaid sacred and charitable purpose.' No account is rendered to the members, or published to the world, of the temporal affairs of the society.

The government of the community is a close oligarchy, practically an autocracy. The Ministry, consisting of males and females, is composed of not fewer than three or more than four members. When there are four, two are of each sex. Out of this Ministry one is appointed as the head of the society. The Ministry appoints the ministers, elders, and deacons. It is taken for granted that these appointments will receive the approval of the society, which is not consulted directly in the matter.

The communal life is of a very plain but substantial character. The members live in 'families' consisting of from thirty to eighty or ninety individuals. Each 'family' lives in a large house, divided in the upper storeys between men and women, each dormitory containing about four beds. Scrupulous cleanliness reigns everywhere. There are no pictures on the walls, because pictures gather dust.

'The beautiful,' said Elder Evans, the head of the community at the time of Nordhoff's visit, 'as you call it, is absurd and abnormal. It has no business with us. The divine man has no right to waste money upon what you would call beauty, in his house or his daily life, while there are people living in misery' (Nordhoff, *op. cit.* p. 164).

It may be said that this distrust of the beautiful is shown in the clothing of the members. The clothing is all made by themselves, and formerly they used to manufacture their own cloth. The men wear a very broad, stiff-brimmed felt hat, and a long light-blue coat. The dress of the women is so contrived that female charms shall be obscured. The bodice is quite straight, and the many-pleated skirt hides the figure; even the hair is concealed beneath a bonnet which also shrouds the face.

'Each brother is assigned to a sister, who takes care of his clothing, mends when it is needed, looks after his washing, tells him when he requires a new garment, reproves him if he is not orderly, and keeps a general sisterly oversight over his habits and temporal needs' (*ib.* p. 140).

The family rises in summer at half-past four, and in winter at five. Breakfast is at six, dinner at twelve, supper at six, and by half-past nine all have retired to rest. Great stress is laid now, as it was by Mother Ann, upon the importance of manual labour. They believe, and their belief has been justified by the result, that agriculture must be the foundation of a communistic life. They say that their mistakes have been made when they have undertaken manufactures. In the industries, such as shoemaking, which they maintain, they aim only at supplying their own needs. If the women work in the fields, it is only at the very lightest labour; their sphere is the house. None are allowed to overwork; and their history shows that, in a community where there are no children to labour for, a large measure of material prosperity may be attained with comparative ease. Their amusements are of the simplest character. In the evenings they all meet together. On one night extracts may be read from the newspapers, on another new hymns may be practised, on another a prayer-meeting may be held.

The most characteristic thing about their worship is a peculiar religious dance to music, but they have no religious ceremonies. Those who are moved to do so may address the meeting. An elder may perhaps speak upon holiness of life and consecration; another will ask for prayer in some special difficulty. It need hardly be said that in such a community, pledged to celibacy, the intercourse of the brothers and sisters is very strictly guarded. They have indeed a good deal of social intercourse; geniality is by no means frowned upon; but the utmost care is taken that no scandal shall be brought upon the order. The workshops of the men and women are separate. At table and at worship the sexes are kept apart. Men and women never meet alone. The whole life is ordered and regulated with unceasing vigilance. Hervey Elkins, who had spent fifteen years as a Shaker, wrote:

'Not a single action of life, whether spiritual or temporal, from the initiative of confession, or cleansing the habitation of Christ, to that of dressing the right side first, stepping first with the right foot as you ascend a flight of stairs, folding the hands with the right hand thumb and fingers above those of the left, kneeling and rising again with the right leg first, and harnessing first the right-hand beast, but has a rule for its perfect and strict performance' (quoted by Nordhoff, *op. cit.* p. 170 ff.).

Of all the communistic efforts this is the one that most resembles what we know of the Essenes.

The population difficulty the Shakers settle by condemning their followers to celibacy. It is a life passed in negatives. It is no solution of the problem of a distraught society; and it is not surprising that, in spite of its honourable history and comparative economic success, the attempt is failing. New members are not joining the society, and it bids fair to collapse as completely as the Rappites have done. In 1874 the Shakers had fifty-eight communities with 2415 souls, and owned 100,000 acres of land. In 1905 the number of members had dwindled to about 1000.

3. **The Society of Separatists at Zoar** ceased to exist in 1898 after a life of over 80 years, but its history is so illustrative of the causes of ultimate decay in a communistic group that it deserves mention here. The Separatists of Zoar originated, like the Rappites, in Württemberg, the home of so much of the Pietism of Germany. In the beginning of the 19th cent. these dissenters from Lutheranism refused to send their children to the clergy schools or to allow their young men to serve as soldiers. They were so harassed and persecuted in consequence that life became almost impossible for them. The men and women who afterwards settled at Zoar had in Germany, for some years, formed a little group apart. Their trials had come to the notice of some English Quakers, who aided the wealthier members of the little sect in supplying funds for their emigration to America. Their leader was Joseph Bäumeler, and, on the arrival of the party at Philadelphia in August 1817, Bäumeler and a few others went on in advance to take possession of a tract of 5,600 acres which they had bought in the wilderness of Ohio. For this land they paid 3 dollars an acre, with credit for 15 years, while no interest was charged on the debt for the first three years. Bäumeler and his pioneers built the first log hut on their property on 1st December 1817; but, as winter was on them, the emigrants had to take service wherever they could find it among the farmers of the neighbourhood. When they left Germany, communism had been no part of their plan, but the fact that there were a number of old people among them and also many who were too poor to pay for their land, brought the leaders to see that, if the experiment was to go on at all, it would have to be on a communistic basis. In April 1818 they agreed to this community of goods. The 225 persons who composed the colony were most of them agriculturists, but there were also a number of weavers and other artisans. Altogether, in character and by training, it was such a company as to give a communistic experiment a good chance.

For the first ten years they were extremely poor. They were in debt, of course, for their land, and debt to communisms has generally been fatal. But the making of a canal in their neighbourhood in 1827 supplied them with profitable work. They soon found themselves out of debt, and from that time began to prosper very considerably. Joseph Bäumeler continued to be their leader, but the spelling of his name was modified through local pronunciation into Bimmeler, and the society came sometimes to be known as the 'Bimmelers.' Marriage was at first prohibited amongst them,

but between 1828 and 1830, Joseph Bimmeler himself married an inmate of his own household. He had several children; and marriage, though not encouraged, was permitted in the community. They tried as far as possible to be self-contained; agriculture was, of course, their mainstay, but gradually they built a woollen factory, two flour-mills, a saw-mill, a planing-mill, a machine-shop, and a tannery. By 1874 they owned 7000 acres of land, had 300 members, and were supposed to be worth more than 1,000,000 dollars.

In their religious faith, there were no such distinctive or peculiar doctrines as have marked out the Rappites and the Shakers. Their religious constitution bears evident marks of its having originated in Germany. They thus declare in their twelve articles of faith that they cannot send their children into the schools of Babylon, *i.e.* schools of the State Church in Germany, and that they 'cannot serve the State as soldiers, because a Christian cannot murder his enemy, much less his friend.' While they gave loyalty to constituted authorities, they refused to give mortal honour to any, either by uncovering the head or by bending the knee. All religious ceremonies they banished. In their services they read the Bible, sang hymns, and read one of Bimmeler's discourses, which they carefully avoided calling sermons. They had no preacher or minister, but they encouraged music. The church had an organ; many of the households, poor as they were, had pianos; the boys were taught to read music and to play in a band. Two of their twelve articles of faith concerned marriage. The first declares that marriages are contracted by mutual consent and before witnesses; that they are then notified to the political authority, and 'we reject all intervention of priests or preachers.' The next related to the marriage state itself: 'all intercourse of the sexes except what is necessary to the perpetuation of the species we hold to be sinful and contrary to the ordinance and command of God. Complete virginity or entire cessation of sexual commerce is more commendable than marriage.'

Those changes in the policy of the society led to alterations in the constitution, and it was not till 1832 that this was finally settled. Under it the members were divided into two classes—the novices and the full associates. The novices had to serve at least a year before they were admitted to the society. During this year they bound themselves to labour with all industry in return for their board, clothing, and medical attendance. The children even of members had to serve this novitiate year if, on reaching their majority, they wished to join the society. All disputes had to be settled by arbitration within the society. When a novice wished to become an associate, a month's notice was given to the members of the society, and, if no objection was taken to him and he had no debts, he then made over by an absolute disposition, not only all the property he then had, but also all that might afterwards come to him by inheritance. He also undertook to obey 'with the utmost zeal and diligence, without opposition or grumbling,' the commands of the trustees; and undertook also that his children, until they reached their majority, should be considered as indentured to the society.

The administration was in the hands of three trustees, whose term of office was three years, although they might be re-elected an indefinite number of times. But in Zoar there was no absolutism such as existed among the Shakers. These trustees were elected by a ballot of the whole membership, including the women; and, while on the one hand they were supposed to have complete control over the temporal affairs of the society, on the other hand they required the general consent of the society. There was also a standing committee of five, the purpose of which was to settle difficulties that might arise between individuals of the society, or between the rank and file and the administration.

Bimmeler died in 1853, but at the time of Nordhoff's visit the society was still flourishing. Its rapid collapse was brought about by the intrusion of the individualist spirit, by the fretting of the younger people at what seemed to them to be arbitrary restrictions, and by a number of small causes which separately might have had no disintegrating effect, but taken altogether meant the wreck of the experiment. As the doctor of the community said to a trained inquirer, as the end loomed in view, 'the old ones are not so anxious to quit, but the young ones are bound to wind up. They go out and get a taste of the world and its opportunities and activities, and they become discontented and restless.'

As Zoar came to be in the midst of a population of increasing density, more opportunities offered themselves to the members of making a little private gain. Some thrifty housewife would rear poultry and sell the eggs; was she entitled to keep what she received, or had this pittance to go into the common stock? A man might build a boat and hire it out in the summer evenings on the river; was he to share the results of his industry with those who idled in their leisure time? In a hundred ways this difficulty arose—in the catching and selling of fish, in doing laundry-work for the neighbourhood, etc. When Randall visited the community, he found in it one bicycle. He asked the lad who was riding it if Zoar had paid for the bicycle. 'No,' said the lad, 'I earned money nights working for the railroad and bought the wheel.' Other sources of discontent were involved in the very being of a communism. There was trouble over the apportionment of the tasks—some were hard, others were easy; some were cleanly, others were dirty. And then there was the difference between the willingness with which the members did their work. One member roundly declared that this system of communism put a premium on indolence. Then one member might desire to go for a holiday, and, as he had no money of his own, the community had to pay his expenses. Was this benefit to be extended to all, and were all to have a change of air, necessarily at the expense of the society? When enthusiasm ran high, questions such as these would not be asked; but, when they did begin to be asked, the movement was nearing its end. The diminution in the membership was of itself altering the character of the community. At Bimmeler's death, in 1853, there were 500 individuals in the society, including children. In 1885 there were 390; in 1898 there were 222, of whom 136 were members. The result was that, for the working of their very considerable estate and industries, they had largely to depend upon hired labour. Thus insensibly the whole character of the experiment had changed. It was no longer a communism in the strict sense of the word, but rather a limited liability company, in which each member held an equal number of shares.

In March 1898 it was agreed that the society should be dissolved, and in May the apportionment began. The society had become a tontine; the representatives of those who were dead had lost their rights. The membership, such as it was, would have been still smaller if members had not held on in the hope of sharing in the inevitable division. To begin with, by the sale of timber, etc., each member received 200 dollars; the estate was then valued and apportioned, and it was sup-

posed that each member received property to the value of about 2500 dollars. The result of the break-up was rather interesting. Most of the membership remained upon the plots that had been assigned to them in the division. Some had become so accustomed to the paternal government of the community that they had lost their power of initiative. Others found that competition required more energy than communism. The blacksmith said, 'I'm my own boss now, but I've got to work harder.' But perhaps the most remarkable thing was the pleasure of the people in the fact that they had something they could call their own. Randall was talking to the baker's wife when a buggy drove up with a good horse between the shafts. It was genuine human nature when she said with pride, 'That is *ours*; we *bought* it. Isn't it nice to have your own horse?'

4. **Icaria** ceased to exist in 1895 after a desperate struggle of 40 years. Its significance lies, not in itself, but in the object lesson that it gives of the need of a strong and almost absolute leadership and a unifying religious faith if a communism is to have any chance of success. Étienne Cabet was a barrister by profession, but a revolutionary by instinct. He was born at Dijon, in France, in 1788; after the revolution of 1830 he obtained a small appointment in Corsica, but his criticism of Louis Philippe was so vigorous that he was prosecuted, and to evade punishment had to flee to England. On the amnesty of 1839 he returned to France, and next year he wrote a romance, *Voyage en Icarie*, in which he set forth his communistic views. Through a paper which he conducted he secured the means of making an effort to realize his dream. He announced the purchase of a considerable tract of land on the Red River in Texas. Early in 1848, 150 persons set out for this colony, but they were attacked by yellow fever, and sent back such a report of the place that Cabet's conduct in the matter was judicially investigated. He was exculpated, and next year set out himself for America. On his arrival, he found that the Mormons had been expelled from Nauvoo, their town in Illinois. Thither, in May 1850, Cabet transferred his followers.

This effort seemed to have in it the germs of success. To begin with, it had become very widely known, and at one time Cabet had gathered round him no fewer than 1500 people. But he seems to have lacked all gift of leadership, as he certainly lacked all business instinct. In 1856 he was expelled from his own society, and went with those who still believed in him to St. Louis, where he died the same year. Nauvoo was sold, and the membership was dispersed, a few joining an offshoot that was making its attempt at Icaria, near Corning in Iowa. Here for years they maintained a most precarious existence. They had 4000 acres of land, but they owed 20,000 dollars. The debt swamped them: they had to give up the land to their creditors, but with the condition that in a certain number of years they might redeem half of it. This, by the utmost economy, they managed to do. When Nordhoff visited them they owned 1900 acres, much of it covered with valuable timber; they numbered 65 persons divided among 11 families. Of those individuals 20 were children, and only 23 members were voters, as women had no share in the management of the community.

After the Paris Commune of 1871 and the break-up of the International Working Men's Association in Geneva, they had several additions to their membership. These members, together with the younger section of the community, thought that the older members had become lax in the practice of their communistic theory. In 1877 the dispute came to a head over the merest trifle. Attached to three houses of the community were small strips of ground on which the members who lived in those houses spent their leisure time in growing flowers and some grapes. Communistic theory, it was declared, required that what was grown in 'les petits jardins' should be divided amongst all. Nineteen voted in favour of this vestige of private property, thirteen against. The matter was carried to the law courts, and in August 1878 the society was dissolved on the technical ground that it had gone beyond its charter as an agricultural society in putting up and working a mill. The two bodies began life again side by side—the younger members calling themselves the 'Icarian Community,' while the older ones, late in applying for registration, had to be content with the title of the 'New Icarian Community.' In 1883-84 the younger section moved to California, where it has established itself on a semi-proprietary basis, as 'Icaria-Speranza.' After having wrecked the society on the question of the grapes, it now allows its membership to hold its apparel, furniture, and household goods as private property. Icaria in Iowa ceased to exist in 1895.

5. **The Perfectionist Community of Oneida** is perhaps the most widely known of the communistic experiments of the United States. Its revolutionary treatment of the marriage state brought it prominently before the public, and in 1880 the pressure of opinion could no longer be resisted. The communal experiment was abandoned, and Oneida was turned into a limited liability company. John H. Noyes, the founder, was born in 1811, and graduated at Dartmouth College. His original intention was to become a lawyer, but he eventually studied for the ministry. He was a man of unquestioned ability. The Oneida publications are numerous, and his own writings have a great deal of vigour and some style. In 1834 he came through what he believed was a genuine religious experience, and adopted Perfectionist views. He returned to his father's house at Putney, in Vermont, and began to gather disciples about him. One of these converts, Harriet Holton, a woman of good birth and some wealth, became his wife in 1838. Noyes held that selfishness was the root evil of the world, and that, in order to be completely unselfish, it was necessary not only that property should be held in common, but that no man should count any woman as linked to him by some proprietary right. In the community of believers every man should be the husband of every woman, while every woman should be the wife of every man. This detestable doctrine was the very essence of Noyes's communism, and he and his followers made no secret of it. In pamphlet after pamphlet—the British Museum possesses a complete set—the whole matter was stated. At Putney, where the first experiment in this communal life was made, riots arose; Noyes and his associates found refuge with some who agreed with them at Oneida, in Madison County, New York; and this Oneida Colony, together with one at Wallingford, became the headquarters of the group. As the societies grew, a considerable amount of wealth was brought into them; the members were intelligent and thrifty. Agriculture, to which they added the production of garden seeds, was their mainstay; but one of their number who had been a trapper showed them how to make traps, and this rather curious industry, together with a saw-mill, a blacksmith's shop, and a fruit farm, began to put them beyond the reach of want. For the seven years 1860-1866 their annual profit averaged 23,309 dollars, while their farms, plants, and buildings were lavishly kept up. In February 1874 they numbered altogether 283 persons, of whom

64 were under 21 years of age. They published, two or three times a week, the *Oneida Circular*, a bright, well-written paper, and generally made great use of their printing press in keeping their views before the public. Those views, extraordinary though they may seem, were never concealed. The Oneida Community until its dissolution was always propagandist.

The distinctive religious doctrine of the community was Perfectionism. Noyes taught that salvation from sin could and ought to be reached, not by any following out of cold duty, but as the result of an experience of fellowship with God. He insisted that the tap-root of all sin was selfishness. When selfishness was destroyed, the soul was rid of sin. To forsake self was to forsake sin, and the deduction drawn was the system of polyandry, or 'complex marriage,' under which no man claimed special relationship with one woman more than with another. Within the community, as has been said, any man could cohabit with any woman, but in practice this liberty had several restraints. Anything of the nature of courtship was sternly disallowed as partaking of selfishness. All requests for cohabitation—and they could proceed either from men or women—had to be made through some third person, and no one was obliged to receive attentions that he or she did not welcome. On entering the community the more youthful of one sex were always paired with the more aged of the other. Children, after they had been weaned, were put into a general nursery; the parents lost all special rights to them, and were not supposed to show any special interest in them. To have done so would have been a sign of selfishness, a proof that all had not been forsaken.

The administration of the society was characterized by great flexibility and a large amount of worldly wisdom. New members were admitted sparingly, and only after a considerable probation. On entrance they signed the creed of the society, and also an agreement to claim no wages for their labour while in the community. Noyes was himself the government of the society, and apart from his peculiar views guided it with great ability and business capacity. But he himself claimed that its prosperity depended on the daily evening meeting in which all the affairs of the society were freely discussed, and especially on the institution of Criticism. Under this every member from time to time invited the criticism of his fellows, and this criticism was no matter of form. The person whose turn it was to meet the judgment of his fellows sat silent under the ordeal, while one member after another unfolded his most intimate faults or commended his struggles and attainments. Perhaps the theoretical severity of the exercise was a little mitigated by the consciousness that the critic would in turn be the criticized; but the testimony of eye-witnesses is that the experience was a real ordeal, although it was conducted in no spirit of mere bitterness, while Noyes, in his summing up, was able to soften asperities.

Naturally enough such a society, practising its peculiar beliefs, not only without concealment, but with the aggressiveness of a propaganda, aroused intense hostility. It was the subject of constant agitation, to which Noyes replied with the greatest readiness. But there was no gainsaying the force of public opinion, and in 1880 Oneida was turned into a company, and the communal experiment was given up. Its commercial success had been considerable: it counted itself as latterly worth 600,000 dollars. Liberal terms were granted to the members by the new company. Support was first offered to all elderly and infirm persons in lieu of stock; a guarantee of support and education was given to all the young people of the society up to sixteen years of age; and members able to work were guaranteed employment in the new company.

6. The communistic schemes of Fourier were in the United States preached with all the vehemence of a crusade by Albert Brisbane in the *Social Destiny of Man* (Philadelphia, 1840); and by Horace Greeley in the *New York Tribune*. Presently a newspaper called *The Phalanx* was wholly devoted to the teaching of Fourierism, and in 1845 this was superseded by *The Harbinger*, published at the Brook Farm Society. This paper was conducted with rare power, for behind it there were Horace Greeley, George Ripley, William Henry Channing, C. A. Dana, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Elizabeth Peabody. The result of this propaganda was the founding within two or three years of no fewer than twenty-nine Fourierist Communes or Phalanxes. Their history is a somewhat melancholy one; their average life was two and a half years. (Hinds [*Amer. Communities*, etc.] gives a complete list of these experiments.)

Brook Farm, near Boston, was founded in 1841 by George Ripley, who soon gathered round him a notable company of intellectual people. The effort had the cordial support of Emerson, but financially it was soon in difficulties. In 1844 it was swept into the Fourierist movement and lost the aid of Emerson and his coterie. Fourier's system was far too complicated for a little group of seventy people. The Phalanstery too, a building which had cost 7000 dollars and was capable of housing 150 people, was burned down. In 1845 the community ceased to exist.

The North American Phalanx was the longest lived of all the Fourier attempts. Its success, such as it was, was due to the fact that to it Horace Greeley devoted both his time and his means. The farm lay near Red Bank, New Jersey, about 40 miles from New York city, and consisted of 700 acres of good land. It was organized in August 1843, and soon there came into existence a mansion house accommodating one hundred persons (each family having a sitting-room and two bed-rooms), a saw-mill, a steam flour-mill, a packing house, etc. The community carried on a dried fruit business as well as agriculture generally. In 1854 there were 100 members, and the property was valued at 67,000 dollars. So far it might have been counted a success. It had paid its members wages, and an average of 5 per cent upon the capital invested. But all at once trouble arose. At a meeting which had been called to discuss the site of a new mill, larger questions were raised, and a vote was taken as to whether it was worth while continuing the experiment. A majority was in favour of giving it up; the property was realized, the shareholders receiving about 66 per cent of their holdings. The causes of this sudden break-up are difficult to state. There was certainly dissatisfaction with the wages paid, but that only shows that the enthusiasm was cooling. The manual workers could not understand that brain workers deserved a greater reward. Bucklin, who was chief of the agricultural department, received only ten cents a day more than the labourers. A school-teacher—and their school was famous—received nine cents an hour, but commanded easily in the competitive world five dollars for two hours. But the personal equation is also to be considered. Boredom is the shadow on most communes, and the settlers after thirteen years seem to have wearied of one another's society.

The Wisconsin Phalanx (1844–1850) seemed to have all the conditions of success. It possessed

1800 acres of fine land, situated near Ripon, Wisconsin. It had no debt, no religious difficulties, and no scandal amongst its membership. But the members got tired of it and dissensions broke out. Noyes said of it:

'Died, not by any of the common diseases of Associations, such as poverty, dissension, lack of wisdom, morality or religion, but by deliberate suicide, for reasons not fully disclosed.'

The Alphadelphia Phalanx was a similar effort.

The Altruist Community is a very small affair, led by Alecander Longley, one of the survivors of the North American Phalanx of more than half a century ago. They own 8½ acres at Sulphur Springs, 23 miles from St. Louis on the Mississippi.

The Bethel-Aurora Communities were founded by William Keil of Nordhausen in Germany. He emigrated to the United States in 1838, and worked as a tailor and as an agent for the German Tract Society, and then became an independent preacher. Bethel was begun on Government land in Shelby County, Missouri, in 1844. Keil had only two or three families to begin with, but the colony increased so rapidly that at one time it had 1000 members, almost all Germans. The settlers busied themselves in agriculture, tailoring, shoe-making, and machine work. As the community prospered, Keil's ideas grew, and in 1855 he set out for the Pacific coast with about eighty families, and founded Aurora, 30 miles from Portland. Soon Aurora owned 18,000 acres, and had between three and four hundred members. The characteristic of those two settlements was the wisdom of Keil's management and the fluidity of the organization. Keil was president, and had as his advisers four of the older members selected by himself. There were no set hours of work, no one was compelled to labour at a task he did not like, and the universal testimony is that the religious life of these communities was maintained at a very high level. But when Keil died in 1877 the guiding hand was withdrawn. Bethel dissolved in 1880 and Aurora in 1881.

The Brotherhood of the New Life was founded by Thomas Lake Harris, a spiritualist minister of English birth. It was not his first experiment in communism, as in 1851 he had founded the **Mountain Cove Community of Spiritualists** in the State of Virginia. He believed that he had found there the actual site of the Garden of Eden; but, if so, the serpent again entered in, and the Brotherhood was broken up. In 1866 he made his new venture at Salem-on-Erie, and the experiment has attracted more attention than it deserved, from the fact that with it Laurence Oliphant and his mother were connected. The system was patriarchal; all the members were counted as the guests or slaves of Harris, and had to do exactly as they were told. The picture in Mrs. Oliphant's Life of her namesake is not overdrawn. Laurence Oliphant put nearly £20,000 into the community, but in 1880 the breach took place with Harris, and the enterprise collapsed. Harris and his friends went to Santa Rosa in California, and began another community, which broke up in 1900.

The Ruskin Commonwealths were, as the name indicates, an outcome of the economic teaching of John Ruskin. J. A. Wayland, a newspaper proprietor, published at Greenburg, Indiana, a paper called *The Coming Nation*. He resolved to devote the profits of this paper to the establishment of a communistic society, and the ability of his management and the enthusiasm for the object were such that in August 1894 a beginning was made. A site was chosen that proved to be intractable land; so in 1895 the settlers moved to Cave Mills and began again. Wayland, at this stage, withdrew. Prosperity came to them at once. Printing and agriculture were their mainstay, and soon 36 of the American labour papers were printed at Ruskin. But the Arcadia was soon destroyed. The members quarrelled amongst themselves; anarchistic views found adherents; and accepted moral standards were challenged. The community broke up in July 1899, while it was still solvent. Two hundred and forty-nine of the settlers went and joined the **American Settlers' Co-operative Association** at Duke, Ga.; but this venture also broke down in the end of 1901.

The Woman's Commonwealth was founded by Mrs. Martha MacWhirter at Belton, Texas. The movement was the fruit of a religious revival, and its adherents were, to begin with, greatly persecuted; but they were diligent, thrifty, and pious, and achieved material success. They do not exclude men from the membership, but the only man who joined the community withdrew after a few years. They have removed to Washington, D.C., and in 1906 numbered eighteen women.

The more important communistic societies throughout the world will be dealt with in separate articles under their own names.

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R. BRUCE TAYLOR.

COMMUNITY OF GOODS.—See COMMUNISM.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION.—See RELIGION.

COMPETITION.—*Introduction*.—'Competition' is the name commonly applied to that kind of relation which exists between rivals who are striving to attain the same end or object; it is a term characteristic of the system of modern commerce and industry, on which (on the hypothesis of free bargaining among sellers and buyers of goods or services) prices, rates of wages, and interest are determined. The 'higgling of the market,' as it has been called, is assumed to give free play to the forces of supply and demand, and out of the conflict of interests there emerges a price, or rate, which tends to equalize the supply and the demand; by the operation of competition a market value is obtained which is deemed the equitable rate in the circumstances. Competition of this kind is seen at its best on the Stock Exchange and in wholesale markets, where the conflict of interests is between experts who are practically on a par as regards their means of forming a judgment upon the economic conditions of the problem. But competition is by no means limited to commercial affairs; it is the chief method of determining the course of action in most cases of conduct where alternatives are presented, and the question is one of value or worth in which the fittest is a desideratum.

In the absence of competition, value is fixed by some customary standard, or it is arbitrarily determined by authority, or it is regulated by the self-interest or caprice of a monopolist individual

or ring sufficiently strong to control the conditions of sale. Economists have generally regarded competition in which the market is free and the competitors are on equal terms as the most equitable mode of securing a fair price. On the other hand, competition has often been assailed as an instrument of injustice and harshness, and it has been denounced by socialists, as a means of oppressing the labouring classes. It will be found, on examination of instances adduced in support of this charge, that the competition in such cases is not really free, but that, owing to some defect of ignorance, weakness, inability, etc., the competitors are not on equal terms, *e.g.* the employees may be keenly competing for the work, but the employer (in a sweated industry) may be *de facto* a monopolist who can dictate terms. This is not a case of genuine free competition.

To avoid any apparent approval of this one-sided and imperfect competition, the term 'free enterprise' has been adopted by economists as more correctly expressing the system under which individuals, or groups of individuals, combined in societies, freely compete to dispose of their goods or services, and others strive on like terms to purchase their goods or services; thus, by the play of the various forces, a rate is arrived at which will, in the circumstances, tend to equilibrium between supply and demand, satisfy the wants of society, and allow production to be carried on.

In primitive times, custom was the chief force in determining shares; and, though now a declining force, custom still survives in the form of 'customary' charges, fees, and rates. At a later period, authority fixed prices and wages for the labouring classes. The famous Apprenticeship Statute of Elizabeth (1563), which, along with its other regulations, authorized a local assize of bread, and fixed the wages and hours of labour, was a typical example of the views and practices long prevalent in England on these matters. The Industrial Revolution, which began in the latter part of the 18th cent., fostered the competitive system, though for many years its very partial operation acted adversely to the interests of the factory employees. The social and economic reforms of the 19th cent. have been instrumental in removing those disabilities, and have rendered the competition of the workers effective by measures affording education, liberty of combination, and collective bargaining, and by regulation of the processes of industry—in fact, by bringing about a set of conditions in which the parties to the industrial contract are placed upon approximately equal terms.

In some countries monopoly in the form of rings and trusts has gained a strong hold upon industry and commerce, and places restraints upon competition which tend to enrich the monopolists at the cost of the community. Socialism, again, advocates the substitution of the State for the individual in the ownership of wealth and the control of production as the means to an equitable distribution; but it is not yet proved that this system would afford the needful incentive to production, and it would probably be attended by evils far greater than those of a modified competitive system. Cf. COMMUNISM, SOCIALISM.

1. Various forms.—Meanwhile it may be urged that competition is an inherent factor in human nature; it is much more than a commercial or industrial phenomenon, and displays itself in a thousand forms.

(*a*) *In games and sports.*—In games and sports of every kind the competitive struggle is the essential feature; the spirit of rivalry, the keen desire for success in the contest between opponents, and the strong partisan spirit of the onlookers, all demonstrate the competitive instinct and exhibit the gratification afforded by its exercise. Such competition does not necessarily beget ungenerous sentiments between individuals or nations. It is held to cultivate a manly and honourable spirit, to train men to seek success by fair and honest striving and to bear defeat with dignity. 'To play the game' is a phrase that is now applied to the serious affairs of life, and carries with it the connotation of honourable competition. Under the name of 'emulation,' competition is approved as a stimulus to rivalry in well-doing, and the competitive instinct is admitted as a wholesome factor among the forces which tend to develop human life and character.

(*b*) *In public service.*—In the public service and many other employments, appointments are made by competitive examination. In every occupation there is rivalry for place and priority; in the legal and medical professions the competition is for employment and rank, while the fees are usually fixed by custom. The selection of men for prominent posts in business, in politics, and in the Cabinet is a matter of competition in which relative merit is the avowed test. In every walk of life the competitive element appears; the reward may be pay, position, rank, power, dignity; the criterion is comparative worth. The competitive value of ability, capacity, industry, or skill of a kind suitable for the task is advanced as the only satisfactory ground of the award, and appointments which do not accord with the competitive idea are not deemed to be for the public advantage.

The universality of this competitive spirit, and the desire that the best man, instrument, or method shall be employed, and that superiority shall be established by fair contest, afford convincing proof that competition is a strong factor in human nature, and one which is apparently ineradicable. Every new invention that reduces the severity of labour, or adds to human comfort or convenience, competes with methods already existing, and tends to displace them by its superior efficiency; old trades are extinguished by the advent of new ones, just as wooden ships have given place to steel ships, and as the motor seems likely to drive out horse-traction. Economic progress is a competitive process; the best methods tend to survive, and inferior ones to disappear, in the contest for the highest utility.

2. Advantages.—Competition is not a thing, a force or agent; it is a method or mode of action, a relation between a number of conflicting forces at a point. The problem has some resemblance to that of the mechanical composition of forces. Competition has been denounced as the unrestricted action of self-interest, but many various interests enter into the determination of human conduct, and some self-interest at least is essential in every human being who lives by doing useful work; further, the interests of those dependent upon the worker are amongst the most potent in making him seek the best return for his labour. Again, there can be no competition unless individual self-interest is curbed and held in check by other competing self-interests; and it has been shown that the play of these various interests in a perfect market tends to give the rate most generally advantageous in the circumstances. Moreover, it is incorrect to suppose that competition always lowers prices and wages; it quite as frequently raises them; its action is an equalizing or levelling tendency. If, for example, prices be low in an isolated seaside village, and a railway be extended to reach the village, prices speedily rise to the level of other places offering like conveniences. If in any occupation there is an increased demand and more labour is required, wages tend to rise; if the trade declines and the demand for labour is

reduced, wages tend to fall. The Bank rate of interest fluctuates frequently; *i.e.* it rises or falls according to the relative scarcity or abundance of loanable capital. Competition simply seeks to produce equilibrium between supply and demand by bringing the whole of the competing factors to one level. Experience shows that, as human nature is at present constituted, self-interest stimulates industry, the acquisition of skill and knowledge, and enterprise, all of which are active agents in advancing the material well-being of the race.

Combination to some extent restrains the self-interest of the individual, but only to direct it more effectively in union with that of others. Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, and Joint-Stock Companies do not remove competition; they organize it in groups of interests, and all alike aim at securing as large a share of wealth as possible for their members. The individual interest becomes a combined, yet still competitive, interest. If, however, combination develops into a monopoly, it extinguishes competition; the interests of the trust are adverse to those of the rest of society on which its tendency is to prey; monopoly gives full play to the action of selfish instincts.

Competition is often charged with causing waste, as by advertising, overlapping, and duplicating the machinery of supply. There is ground for the complaint; every institution devised by man has imperfections; they arise from his imperfect knowledge and from moral defects in human nature. Excessive advertising implies an over-eagerness for gain, and a desire to monopolize; it is a symptom of greed. The tendency to organize businesses on a large scale, both in production and in distribution, reduces the waste incidental to small businesses without destroying necessarily the advantages which flow from free competition.

3. Disadvantages.—The most serious defects of competition, however, arise from the fact that in practical affairs there are many limitations to its free action; the conditions of life do not afford equal opportunities, the competitors do not start on a par, either in education, capacity, opportunity, or means; hence competition is not usually, as the abstract theory assumes, real and effective; one party enjoys some advantage over the other, and the system seems to work out unfairly. The ill-effects of imperfect competition are illustrated in the 'sweated industries,' in underselling by a strong and wealthy rival with intent to crush out a weaker opponent, and in various modes of unscrupulous dealing. These cases give rise to an outcry against 'unrestricted competition,' and create a demand for some form of legislative interference. The previous analysis will have shown that the evil is not in *competition*, but in the circumstances which cause it to be imperfect and ineffective; the remedy, therefore, lies in removing the obstacles which render it ineffective. This is a difficult and tedious task, but it can be accomplished by patient and well-considered measures, which can only be briefly indicated here. (1) The first is the method of placing restraints upon particular abuses; of this method a century of social legislation offers a multitude of examples, such as laws forbidding the employment of women in mines, and of children under a certain age in any occupation, the protection from dangerous machinery, and rules and regulations under which certain industries may be carried on. (2) Other remedies aim at strengthening the weak by education, by the diffusion of special information and aids to organization, and by various measures which tend to render them effective in the defence of their own interests; these methods are manifold and costly, and they require time for their effective development. (3) Another method is for the State or municipality to undertake the operations which tend to become monopolies, or which cannot be successfully carried out in the public interest except as single undertakings. The Post Office, waterworks, street-lighting, and tramways supply examples of this class.

In every case the mode and degree of Government interference should be determined only after full investigation and after the expediency of such interference has been proved, and it should not be of a kind to check free enterprise where that is possible. The joint application of these various methods has already accomplished much in modifying the defects of imperfect competition; it has raised whole industries from ineffective to effective competition, and has elevated the general standard of living of the masses. New developments of industry constantly call for new modes of interference. The aim, however, is not the elimination of competition; that seems to be undesirable and indeed impossible unless human nature first be greatly altered. The object is rather to give freer and ampler play to the efforts of men to exercise their powers of self-help and to develop their own individuality, to give them better opportunity, and to stimulate them to manly self-reliance and voluntary co-operation by offering greater security for the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry.

Conclusion.—Competition is not a system of life; it is not even an institution in the proper sense of the term; it has evolved as a method of dealing with certain relations which inevitably arise out of the existing organization of men in societies; it is limited in its operation to fields in which it is found expedient, and its bearing is economic and utilitarian. The acceptance of competition does not conflict with any of the nobler instincts or the exercise of the higher virtues. That the Bank rate should be determined by competition is most convenient and expedient, but every individual receiver of interest is at liberty to devote his receipts to purposes of philanthropy, to public or private charity, or to the promotion of any religious movement or end that he deems desirable. Even in these fields he will encounter competitive claims.

The old idea of competition as an original law of nature, ordained under evolution to work out the survival of the fittest and suppress inferior forms in every department of nature by its unimpeded action, has long ceased to receive acceptance in the domain to which ethical principles apply. The advocates of the *laissez-faire* principle in industrial competition during the early part of the 19th cent. professed to deduce their views from Adam Smith's doctrine of natural liberty. Adam Smith, however, had no experience or conception of the factory system; his efforts were directed to the removal of the disabilities which hampered trade and labour in his day. He advocated liberty, opportunity, education, freedom of enterprise, and he held that enlightened self-interest would in such circumstances work out happier and more prosperous economic conditions than those which the restrictions of his time permitted. It was a perversion of his doctrine of economic freedom to apply it to the defence of a system which enslaved children for the purpose of obtaining cheap labour. What constituted freedom to the children and women whose lives were worn out by the toil undergone in the mills before factory legislation became effective? The moral sense revolts at this interpretation of competition as an economic principle working for the common good.

It is in the *conditions* of life that ethics finds scope for its action, and the modification of these conditions is the task for religious and moral influences. In some form or other competition

will ultimately appear, unless, as already explained, monopoly or arbitrary authority excludes it. Ethics and economics join hands in the solution of practical social problems. Moral motives and principles should operate to modify unfavourable conditions and to mould voluntary conduct by the dictates of nobler sentiments, but they do not suspend economic laws although they alter the circumstances in which the economic action takes place. Ethical principles are imperative; they enforce duties the performance of which alters human conditions. Economic laws are statements of cause and effect; they indicate what results will follow from the combined action of certain forces. There is no discord and no conflict between the ethical and the economic; rather they act, as it were, on different planes.

The mistakes of the *laissez-faire* school with regard to competition arose out of their interpretation of its nature; they assumed that it was imperative and just in the circumstances existing, but neither authority nor justice appertains to economic laws any more than to the law of gravitation; they are the attributes of ethical motives to conduct. It is for man to do what is just in ameliorating the conditions in which his less fortunate fellow-creatures exist. Economic consequences will ensue from existing conditions whatever they may be, and competitive action is a form of economic activity which is unavoidable in modern industrial methods and conditions.

LITERATURE.—Every important work on general Economics makes reference to competition. The following may be consulted with advantage: Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, 1776; D. Ricardo, *Political Economy*², 1819; John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Pol. Econ.* 1848, new ed. 1909; J. E. Cairnes, *Leading Principles of Pol. Econ.* 1874; W. Stanley Jevons, *Theory of Pol. Econ.* 1879; Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics*⁵, 1907, *Some Aspects of Competition*, 1890; Henry Sidgwick, *Principles of Pol. Econ.* 1883; E. R. A. Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, 1907. It will be seen how gradually the need for regulations and restraints has come to be recognized in order to render the operation of competition equitable and salutary.

G. ARMITAGE-SMITH.

COMPLACENCE (Biblical).—This term is represented by EV 'good pleasure' (εὐδοκία, Lk 2^{14}, cf. 12^{32}, Mt 3^{17}, Eph $1^{5.9}$). Cf. Milton (*Par. Lost*, iii. 276):

> 'O thou
> My sole complacence!'

In the Bible, complacence is a Divine as well as a human attribute. As a Divine attribute, its meaning and moral worth can best be seen by a consideration of the character of the persons with whom God is complacent or well pleased, and also of the ethical ends or purposes upon which the Divine complacence or good will is set.

1. In the OT.—In the OT the Divine complacence rests upon moral and spiritual character. The soul of Jahweh is well pleased with His servant, described in Is 42^{1-4} as spiritual, gentle, modest, and courageous in the pursuit of moral ends. In the prophets generally the complacence of Jahweh rests upon moral character, especially upon the virtues of justice, kindness, and humility (cf. Mic 6^{8}), and not upon acts of ritual service. In the Psalter, Jahweh is represented as delighting not in the strength of a horse, as taking no pleasure in the legs of a man, but as taking pleasure in them that fear Him and hope in His mercy (Ps $147^{10.11}$). In the Law of Holiness [H], Jahweh is pleased with sacrifices that are without blemish (Lv 22^{19}), but probably He is pleased with them only as symbolic of the complete and perfect devotion of the worshipper's heart.

2. In the NT.—In the NT the Divine complacence is represented as resting pre-eminently upon Jesus Christ. At the Baptism (Mt 3^{17}) and on the Mount of Transfiguration (17^{5}) a voice from above declares that the Divine complacence rests upon Him. Then it is declared to rest upon Him as the person in whom the ideal features of Jahweh's servant described in Is 42^{1-4} are fully realized (Mt 12^{18}). With Jesus, as realizing in His character gentleness, humility, and courage, and as the moral hope of men, God is pre-eminently well-pleased.

But at the same time the Divine complacence is said in the NT to rest upon men who by faith attain to Christlike elements of character. In such, faith is an essential condition of receiving the Divine complacence. 'Without faith it is impossible to please God' (He 11^{6}, cf. 10^{38}). Then the Divine complacence rests upon the soul that serves Christ in a life of righteousness, peaceableness, and joy (Ro 14^{18}); and also upon acts of generous brotherly kindness (He 13^{16}).

The OT and NT are at one in exhibiting the Divine complacence as resting upon moral character or righteousness, and upon that alone. This righteousness, it may be well to point out, is not a righteousness divorced from religion. Jesus is the beloved Son of God; the ideal servant of Jahweh has the Divine Spirit put upon him; and men in general with whom God is well pleased have a righteousness which is received by faith and from the Holy Spirit. Not apart from God does any one enjoy the Divine complacence.

3. Complacence as the final good will or eternal good pleasure of God.—Cf. Baxter, *Cath. Theol.* i. 1, 8, 'As God's efficient will causeth the thing willed, so *His final will* or complacence supporteth the pleasing thing in being.' An example of this usage is found in Lk 12^{32}, where Jesus tells His disciples not to fear, for it is the Father's *good pleasure* to give them the kingdom; another example is found in Eph 1^{5} (cf. 1^{9}), where it is according to the good pleasure of God that believers have been chosen in Christ to be holy and blameless and to be adopted as sons. In these passages the eternal complacence or good pleasure is directed to the creation of moral ends—holy persons and a Divine kingdom.

The idea is really the same here as in the two preceding sections, but it is now viewed *sub specie æternitatis*. The Divine complacence is in itself and eternally upon holy ends, whereas in the former sections it is upon those ends as realized in actual holy character.

4. Value and validity of the idea.—The value of the idea is that it shows the God of the Bible to be a God who from eternity to eternity and through all the days of man delights in holiness, and finds His joy in a kingdom of holy persons. A God with such a complacence is an absolutely holy, moral Being. The validity of the idea scarcely belongs to this article, but it may be said that, where God is really acknowledged as one whose sole complacence is in the eternal Son of God and in those made sons by faith, there will be moral and spiritual results which show the idea to be valid and true.

Terms under which the idea may be considered:—in OT חנן, חפץ, רצה; in NT εὐαρεστεῖν, εὐδοκία, εὐδοκεῖν.

D. RUSSELL SCOTT.

COMPLETENESS.—Completeness in relation to religion may be taken to apply to the conditions of attainment of various stages on the road towards perfection (*q.v.*), though, it is true, completeness in its full sense is attained only when the triumph over the lower self-will is accomplished and there is final union with the Divine will. But there are various stages of struggle, and the toilsome climb upward has long ago been compared to the ascent of a ladder, every rung of which marks a completed victory over some temptations and allurements of the sinful world that would drag the soul down to perdition. Completeness is a quality or state of being which must ever enter

into our ideals, for only in the perfection of the parts can the harmony of the whole be assured.

Pythagoras held that the cosmos is built on number, and modern science deals with atomic numbers and vibrations, concord and dissonance, periods and spaces. Number demonstrably enters largely into the constitution of the Universe. Completeness in the sacred writings is generally indicated by the numbers 3, 7, and 12, and these show completion of certain elements, periods, or successive stages. Three is the perfect number; seven is the sacred, or complete scale number; twelve is the number of the manifest being, and signifies fullness. These numbers constantly appear throughout the Gospels. For instance, when Jesus was 'twelve years' old, 'after three days' He was found in the temple disputing with the doctors (Lk 2[42. 46]). Again, though often something happens on the sixth day, the climax is on the seventh, six being a number signifying preparation. Thus, 'after six days' (Mt 17[1]) Jesus takes three disciples up a mountain and is transfigured before them on the seventh day. The number twelve appears in the important complete categories of the tribes, the disciples, the months of the year, and the signs of the zodiac. Nine, being the square of three, is a perfect number for completion on the three lower planes of being, *i.e.* the lower mental, the emotional, and the physical. Thus we have the nine 'fruits of the spirit' mentioned in Gal 5[22]. Nine is the sacred number of being and becoming. Ten—the seven and the three—is a complete number, having relation to creative forces. There are ten Sephiroth, ten Prajāpatis, or Lords of being.

Completeness, therefore, is both qualitative and quantitative, and we must not lose sight of either aspect in considering it. Both aspects relate to ideals, and, as applied to human nature, perfection is not reached until the state of fullness is accomplished in both. St. Paul writes of attaining 'unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' (Eph 4[13]). This would indicate the soul's perfection and fitness to enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

There are two sayings of Jesus—one preserved by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 13), and the other to be found in the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome (ch. 12), and given as a quotation from the *Gospel of the Egyptians*—which express the soul's ultimate completeness in Christ. The first is: 'When ye trample on the garment of shame, and when the two shall be one, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.' The meaning of this may be rendered: When ye have cast off the lower vehicle of the senses; and when the emotions, having been raised and united with the reason, are one with it; and when the twain, female-male, the double sex nature, have transcended their former aspects and have become one, then shall the Christ consciousness be attained. When the process is completed, the asexual condition is completed on the physical plane.

The second saying is: 'When two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.' The meaning is similar to that of the first. The lower and higher natures of man become one when the lower, or the without, becomes sufficiently purified to be united to the within, or Christ-body. 'That which God hath joined together let not man put asunder.' The natures male-female, female-male, are so that neither is before or after the other. But more than this; it has united the sexes, and so become sex-less. A paradox! but a paradox that is perfectly intelligible to those who read not after the letter, but with the eye of the Spirit. In the completed man the condition of sex separateness is outgrown; 'there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus' (Gal 3[28]).

G. A. GASKELL.

COMPROMISE.—See ETHICS.

COMPURGATION.—This was a primitive legal process whereby a man accused in the courts, or making an accusation against another there, established his case by summoning his kindred and friends to testify on his behalf, not as to the facts of the case, but, in theory at least, as to his character. These were called his *compurgators*, and took oath on his behalf; and the burden of their testimony was that the accused, for instance, was not an outlaw or a 'kinless loon,' but a regular member of society such as it was. In theory, the number of compurgators a man called was strictly regulated according to the offence, from one to thirty. Thus twenty-four had to be produced by a man accused of stealing a cow (Cosmo Innes, *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, 1872, p. 211). In the time of David I. it was becoming optional for the accused, or the defender, to accept wager of battle or to clear himself by purgation; and in the *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland* (i. 11), we find careful provision made: 'Si burgensibus calumpniatus preterierit etatem pugnandi et hoc essoniaverit in sua responsione non pugnabit sed juramento xii. talium qualis ipse fuerit se purgabit' (cf. also *Leges Burgorum*, xxvi. 107; and *Fragmenta Collecta*, viii. 28). In some cases the oaths of eleven, in others of six, compurgators were sufficient. These compurgators did not give evidence, but simply vouched for the status of the accused or accuser. In practice, compurgation resolved itself frequently into little more than what Bagehot (*Physics and Politics*[8], 1887) and, after him, A. J. Balfour, have called the refinement of counting heads instead of breaking them. The greater *tourbe*—the more numerous body of compurgators—carried the day, as E. W. Robertson says in his *Scotland under her Early Kings*, 1862 (i. 267). But, if a poor man could produce even one respectable witness as his compurgator, in an accusation against oppression, his plea became the king's plea, and had all the prerogative privileges attached to a royal suit. This was, however, only in the later days, when 'the king's justice' and 'the king's peace' were setting aside and superseding local and tribal justice. To the 'kinless loon,' unable to bring forward any respectable witness to vouch for him, the legal alternative was the ordeal or the wager of battle. The latter, however, was available practically only against equals. Against superiors it was not available unless, indeed, the superior chose to provide a proxy to do battle for him. The Burgh Laws (*Burghs*, i. 8) carefully appreciate the dignity of the burgess of a Royal Burgh: 'Burgensis domini regis potest habere duellum de burgense abbatis, prioris, comitis vel baronis, sed non e converso.' On the other hand, except on the supposition of the possibility of bribing the clergy, who generally superintended the ordeal, which A. Lang suggests (*History of Scotland*, 1900, i. 149), there was little hope for the outlaw on trial by this method.

Upon these primitive legal processes, which, though by no means exclusively Celtic in origin, survived longer among Celtic peoples, the growing power of the kings introduced the system which ultimately developed into trial by jury. See also Cosmo Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, 1860.

LITERATURE.—See the references in the article.

JOHN DAVIDSON.

COMTISM.—See POSITIVISM.

CONCENTRATION AND CONTEMPLATION. There comes a time in the life of every soul when mental concentration becomes necessary to spiritual growth. For long periods mobility of thought and rapid changes from one object of perception to another are essential to mental development. The mind must constantly take in fresh ideas and contemplate them on all sides, bringing into play, at the same time, the faculties of analysis, judgment, synthesis, etc. Then, as the mental powers are perfected, the Ego becomes gradually aware of a distinction between

itself and its mental instrument, and this leads it to commence a course of mind-training, and the bringing of all the mental activities into subjection to the will. This regulative energy first takes the course of dismissing some subjects of thought and choosing others by direct exercise of volition, in this way changing states of consciousness by an effort proceeding from a higher mental plane than that of ordinary thought. By this means, objectionable thinking is dismissed, and worry, anxiety, grief, etc., are gradually surmounted. Concentration becomes possible as mental control becomes established. The will is then able to fix the attention, momentarily at first, on a particular idea, singled out from other ideas, and to keep it in view for a time. To do this effectually all streams of thought must be stopped, and the one idea kept steadily in mind. The difficulty of controlling the thoughts has always been recognized. Said Arjuna, 'For the mind is verily restless, O Krishna; it is impetuous, strong, and difficult to bend. I deem it as hard to curb as the wind.' To this Krishna replied, 'It may be curbed by constant practice and by indifference (or dispassion)' (*Bhagavad-Gīta*, vi. 34, 35).

Ages ago, the deepest thinkers of the race advocated the practice of concentration as necessary in order to allow of the influx of spiritual energy and the raising of the soul to God. In India, the state of consciousness brought about by the successful practice of concentration is known as *yoga*. The meaning of *yoga* (*q.v.*) is usually given as 'union,' or the mergence of the human will into the Divine will. In practical *yoga* the signification is taken differently. According to Patañjali:

'Concentration, or *yoga*, is the hindering of the modifications of the thinking principle. At the time of concentration the soul abides in the state of a spectator without a spectacle. At other times than that of concentration, the soul is in the same form as the modification of the mind. The modifications of the mind are of five kinds, and they are either painful or not painful; they are: Correct Cognition, Misconception, Fancy, Sleep, and Memory. . . . The hindering of the modifications of the mind, already referred to, is to be effected by means of Exercise and Dispassion. Exercise is the uninterrupted, or repeated, effort that the mind shall remain in its unmoved state. This exercise is a firm position observed out of regard for the end in view, and perseveringly adhered to for a long time without intermission. Dispassion is the having overcome one's desires. Dispassion, carried to the utmost, is indifference regarding all else than soul' (W. Q. Judge, *Yoga Aphorisms of Patanjali*, pp. 1–6)

In this Hindu system of *rāja yoga*, concentration is directed to correct the tendency of the mind to diffuseness, and obtain mental one-pointedness, or the fixing of the attention upon one idea kept steadily in view to the exclusion of other ideas. The object is not to cease from thought, but to control and direct the mental mechanism, and make it subservient to the higher will or intelligence which is above and separate from it. The observances which are conducive to concentration are, according to Patañjali, eight in number: Forbearance from wrong speaking or doing; Religious, or purificatory, observances; Suitable Postures; Suppression or Regulation of the Breath; Restraint over the Senses; Attention; Contemplation; and Profound Meditation. This last, called *samādhi* (*q.v.*), is understood so to raise the consciousness that high spiritual knowledge flows into the soul, and the conception is attained of unity with the All and the One. The posture in concentration must be steady and pleasant: what would suit a Hindu would not suit a Westerner. The breathing exercises, in exhalation, inhalation, and retention, are for the steadying of the life forces, and the production of certain physiological, followed by psychical, effects in the brain. In the system of Patañjali there are directions for performing concentration in regard to many objects, with a view to acquiring enlarged knowledge, faculties, and powers.

Among the Neo-Platonists, concentration was understood and practised, though not, perhaps, with the thoroughness of the Hindu *yogis*. Complete self-forgetfulness and union with the Divine nature were sought. Plotinus observes to Flaccus:

'The wise man recognizes the idea of God within him. This he develops by withdrawal into the Holy Place of his own soul. He who does not understand how the soul contains the Beautiful within itself seeks to realize the beauty without, by laborious production. His aim should rather be to concentrate and simplify, and so to expand his being; instead of going out into the manifold, to forsake it for the One, and so to float upwards towards the divine fount of being whose stream flows within him' (quoted by Max Müller in *Theosophy*, etc., 1893, p. 432).

The Mystics of the Middle Ages knew the value of concentration. Peter Poiret in his *Divine Œconomy* (p. 93) wrote:

'The understanding, to pass into the order of faith, must have these two conditions: the first, that it be empty, and shut to all ideas of worldly things, both heavenly and earthly; the second, that it keep itself open before God after an indeterminate and general manner, not particularly fixing upon anything. This being supposed, with the faith of desire aforementioned, God causes to rise in the soul His divine light, which is His eternal substantial word, which does Himself modify (if I may say so), or rather fills and quickens the understanding of the soul and enlightens it as He pleases.'

At the beginning of last century J. G. Fichte gave his experience:

'All inward spiritual energy appears, in immediate consciousness, as a concentration, comprehension, and contraction of the otherwise distracted thought into one point, and as a persistence in this one point, in opposition to the constant natural effort to throw off this concentration, and to become once more diffused abroad. Thus, I say, does all inward energy appear; and it is only in this concentration that man is independent, and feels himself to be independent. . . . In short, the original image of spiritual independence in consciousness is an ever self-forming and vitally persistent geometric point; just as the original image of dependence and of spiritual nonentity is an indefinitely outspreading surface. Independence draws the world into an apex; dependence spreads it out into a flat extended plain. In the former condition only is there power, and the consciousness of power; and hence in it only is a powerful and energetic comprehension and penetration of the world possible' (*Way towards the Blessed Life*, Eng. tr., 1849, p. 127).

Coming to modern times, we find in that remarkable work by Henry Wood, *Ideal Suggestion*, the following (abridged from pp. 60–70):

'If one who has never made any systematic effort to lift and control the thought-forces will, for a single month, earnestly pursue the course here suggested (of concentrating the mind on grand ideals), he will be surprised and delighted at the result, and nothing will induce him to go back to careless, aimless, and superficial thinking. When one goes into the silent sanctuary of the inner temple of soul to commune and aspire, the spiritual hearing becomes delicately sensitive, so that the "still small voice" is audible, the tumultuous waves of external sense are hushed, and there is a great calm. The ego gradually becomes conscious that it is face to face with the Divine Presence, that mighty, healing, loving, Fatherly life which is nearer to us than we are to ourselves.'

So important is it to have the direct testimony of experience in concentration that we add that of the deep-feeling and deep-thinking writer Edward Carpenter, who, in his *Art of Creation* (1904, p. 208 ff.), writes:

'The Self is entering into relation with the Body. For, that the individual should conceive and know himself . . . as identified and continuous with the Eternal Self of which his body is a manifestation, is indeed to begin a new life and to enter a hitherto undreamed world of possibilities. . . . To still the brain, and feel, feel, feel our identity with that deepest being within us, is the first thing. There in that union, in that identity, all the sins and errors of the actual world are done away. . . . Remaining there in silence as long as may be, then out of that state will inevitably spring a wave of conscious Feeling—of joy, courage, love, expansion, or whatever it may be—a feeling not foreign or fabricated or ephemeral, but deeply rooted and expressive of our real life. Then holding on to that root-idea, that feeling, that emotion, that desire, whatever it may be, confident in its organic rightness . . . perfectly naturally and inevitably out of it will flow certain forms of Thought. . . . Long and persevering must the practice and exercise be, by which power to direct thought and feeling may be attained, and by which the sense of identity with the universal Self may be established.'

It will be seen, from the uniform testimony of deep religious thinkers of all ages of the world, that concentration is found to be a necessary step to the complete subjugation of the lower nature to

the higher. It is also necessary to the development of higher faculties, called intuitional or spiritual, because they are superior to and more illuminating than the ordinary human faculties. But it must be remembered that the exercise of intuitional faculty may have a spiritual result only, of incalculable value to the recipient, but incommunicable to others because inexpressible in terms of common experience.

See also artt. LOYOLA and MYSTICISM.

G. A. GASKELL.

CONCEPT (logical).—The logical concept consists of certain features in cognition which correspond to what Parmenides required of 'being'—that it should be 'uncreated and indestructible, alone, complete, immovable, and without end'; and also to what Plato required of each and all of the several 'forms' of being—that they should be single, eternal, and unchangeable. Both these thinkers professed to be describing the object of thought.

'You cannot find thought without something that is, to which it is betrothed' (Parmenides). 'Knowledge is relative to being . . . being is the sphere . . . of knowledge' (Plato, *Rep.* 477).

On the other hand, the concept corresponds to certain ideals in the use of words, on which the value of words in social converse, and as instruments of thought, depends; including definiteness and fixity of meaning. Throughout the history of Logic, the theory of the concept has been burdened with difficulties pressed on it by theories as to being; and has, on the other hand, been tempted to borrow types of solution proper only to easier problems of verbal usage. It has been dominated in turn by the theory of Universals and by that of Terms. The strictly logical problem, however, is to describe a certain function of cognitive process, whatever may be the metaphysical value of the objects, and to fix ideas of internal structure for that process, however much or little may be hoped from the usage of words in sustaining them.

1. Primary function of concept.—The primary function of the concept is thus described by Kant:

'Human knowledge takes place by means of ideas which make what is common to many things its ground—we cognize things only by means of attributes—all thought is nothing but conception by means of attributes' (*Introd. to Logic*, § 8).

The concept is thus primarily 'the predicate of possible judgments,' and so is 'contained in an indefinite number of different possible ideas, as the element common to all.' By virtue of this qualification, it subserves a secondary use in bringing this indefinite number of possible ideas within the area of possible subjects for predication, or, rather, in expanding this area beyond the confines of merely perceptual experience and imagery. As its organ in language, it uses the General Term or Universal Word, which has a possible, if not an actual, plurality in denotation.

'The Universal Word is that of which the signification is sufficiently to be understood without its ceasing to be common to several things, inasmuch as any hindrance to its being common is not that it cannot be so understood' (Avicenna, *Kitab-al-Najat Al-Mantik*, Rome, 1593, p. 1; Vattier's tr. *La Logique*, 1658, § i. 1).

Although, as against the earlier modern doctrine—of Locke, Wolff, and Hamilton—that Judgment consists in a comparison of concepts, the judgment claims in our current logic to be the real unit of thought, and, although conceptual function can be realized only in the act of judgment, yet judgment has a distinctive function of its own: while for the sake of judgment, and at the moment of judgment, the ideational content, the content considered as 'incomplex' (Aristotle), must reach an ideal distinct from and only ancillary to the ideal of the judgment as a complete whole. The doctrine, more properly psychological, that the concept is created by judgment must be reconciled with an antithetical postulate in Logic, that 'the possibility of perfect judgments is determined by the extent to which the raw material of all human ideas has taken permanent form in concepts' (Sigwart, *Logic*, § 40). And a description of the ideals or norms of the conceptual process takes a place preliminary to the normative theory of judgment.

The form which Nominalist Logic takes in this department is a doctrine of Terms—the words or phrases which constitute the predicative half of a proposition, or take the place of its subject. The doctrine of Terms has advantages over that of the concept as such, for purposes of clear teaching or for reference in scientific discussion. By classifying Terms into Unilateral and Bilateral, Singular and General, Concrete and Abstract, Attributive, Distributive and Collective, Absolute and Relative, Positive, Privative, and Negative, it calls attention to widely different ways in which the things and events about which we think have been manipulated by thought, previously to being dealt with in special judgments under present consideration. By the distinction between Denotation and conventional Connotation, and by the dependent distinction between Verbal Propositions and Real, it prepares the way for canons of consistency in the use of Terms, and of the assumption of self-evidence, or the requirement of proof, for propositions in the course of debate or of scientific instruction. These doctrines are able to be more definite than the corresponding doctrines of Conceptual Logic, though they emphasize too exclusively the formation of those special concepts which are already current in minds other than the individual thinking mind; and also the occasion and demand for proof which arise adventitiously in debate or teaching rather than from the individual's logical conscience. A special emphasis of that kind is needed only to express the individual's logical solicitude that his own concepts shall be shared, or shall be capable of being shared, by fellow-thinkers. 'In the construction of logical concepts, our aim is to establish one mode of arranging their manifold ideal contents for all thinking beings' (Sigwart, § 40). Community of concepts brings, not indeed the possibility itself of perfect judgments, but the possibility that these judgments may display the ostensive hall-mark of their perfectness, namely, 'universal validity.' For the universally valid is the 'necessary,' and the necessary 'corresponds with the existent.' Nevertheless, it is by a 'subjective' activity, and in the individual mind, that concepts must be initiated.

2. Negative rule of the concept.—As a negative qualification for the conceptual function, the ideational content, or distinctive outlook, of a cognition must be made independent of any one defined time or place. Parallel with the psychological description of an 'idea,' that it 'disengages itself from the original intuition with its spatial and temporal connexions' (Sigwart, § 7), the logical description of a predicate common to many possible judgments requires that a perceived or 'imaged' nature shall be 'freed from the individualizing conditions proper to space and time' (Aquinas, *de Universalibus*, Tract. 1). We must not, however, assume, with Aquinas, that it is quantitative limitation of matter, or, with Duns Scotus, that it is idiosyncrasy as a creative form, or that it is any other 'condition proper to space and time' except sheer particularity within the system of space and time itself, which is the negative of the conceptual principle. Otherwise, the natural course of development for the concept would be side-tracked in the Aristotelian ontology of matter, form, and substance, or in the modern epistemology of thing and person. Perceptual and imaged content lies at the mercy of a point and a moment in the Herakleitan flux, and the function of the concept is to transcend that point and moment. It may well be that the 'nature' which is freed from per-

ceptual limitations is not necessarily the nature of an individual substance, as Aristotle conceived this, whether individualized by matter or by idiosyncrasy. It may be a quality, a quantity, or an event—anything determinate: for example, *It rains.* The nature may, indeed, include individuality within itself, and we may form the concept of an individual thing or person, predicable of many particular moments or places of its existence: *This is the forest primeval*, *Thou art the man.* Our conceptual faculty accepts from Perception and Imagination such forms of the momentary material as may have found their way there from the structure of Reality.

'Accident and Genus and Property and Definition [the Predicables] will always be in one of the Categories [the structural forms of Reality], since all propositions through these signify either what a thing is, or quality or quantity, or some other category' (Aristotle, *Top.* i. ch. 7, 103*b*, 10).

And, similarly, our conceptual faculty accepts, and does not itself undertake the function of, those epistemological forms which in modern philosophy replace the Aristotelian categories. The Kantian categories, or pure concepts of the Understanding, are 'conceptions of objects as such.' They make possible the objects which fall under the Aristotelian categories. The concept in the logical sense merely makes them possible also as predicates in a judgment.

'General Logic has to investigate, not the source of conceptions, not how they arise as presentations, but how, in thinking, given presentations become conceptions. It is all one whether these conceptions contain anything either taken from experience, or factitious, or taken from the nature of the understanding. Their logical origin consists in the act of reflection by which one presentation common to several objects takes on the form required for Judgment' (Kant, *Logic*, pt. i. § 5).

3. **Positive rule of the concept.**—As a positive qualification for the conceptual function, the ideational content must be 'posited as identical with itself' (Lotze, *Outlines of Logic*, Eng. tr. 1887, § 9), and discriminated from the perceptual or imaged content which shares with it the point and moment of intuition (cf. Lotze, *Logic*, § 11). The psychological law that an idea, besides its intrinsic characteristics, acquires through its past history a determinative influence on the course of intellection, 'a meaning,' is thus paralleled by the logical faculty of Abstraction. The faculty, however, is prophetical in its motive; it aims at future judgments. But it does not, like the psychological law, necessarily contain historical reference, and therefore does not need to be initiated by Comparison. The theory that judgment consists of the comparison of concepts has naturally allied itself with a theory that conception consists of, or at least is based on, comparison of particular instances, and that the concept is a 'notion of resemblance' (Hamilton, *Lectures*, 1859–60, ii. 287, iii. 117). And neither Empiricism in Logic nor reformed Conceptualism has repudiated the latter theory with the same consistency as the former (J. S. Mill, *Examination of Hamilton*, 1865, chs. xvii. and xviii.). As a psychological or genetic fact, plurality of instances in experience gives an occasion and stimulus to the faculty of Abstraction, especially when reinforced by the application of a common name, and by the contrast of individual differences.

'It is the different combinations of attributes in different things, and their changeableness in one continuously intuited object, which first impels us to disengage them from one another, and makes us able to think of each independently; and it is the repetition of action which first impels us to express its permanent ground by an adjective' (Sigwart, § 6, 2).

And, under a methodological rule, comparison of instances may be made a chosen means to abstraction, as it was consciously by Socrates, and as it is instinctively by every one in learning the meaning of words.

'The notion lies so concealed among foreign things, that one may easily mistake in disengaging it therefrom . . . but the labour is greatly facilitated if we compare instances together, as thereby we come to see what they have in common, and what circumstances may be omitted' (Wolff, *Logic*, 1712, Eng. tr. 1770, bk i. § 9).

But into the strictly logical ideal of a predicate comparison enters only if it means the same act as Discrimination. It may, however, be part of a special fact predicated. In *Red is a colour*, the fact predicated is general unanalyzable resemblance to other colours—blue, yellow, and the rest—when these have been compared. General resemblance is one kind among other kinds of import in propositions, but not the universal import (Mill, *Logic*, 1843, bk. i. ch. 5).

4. **Regulation of simple universals.**—These negative and positive conditions may be fulfilled either by the simplest of our ideas, named First Universals by Lotze, or by ideas which contain several elements cohering or 'belonging together' on a plan. These latter are named by Lotze as more strictly Concepts.

In the case of the First Universals, identity must be sustained throughout a series of quantitative or qualitative variations, which are intrinsic to the mere presentation of the Universal, since without such variations there could be no consciousness. There must be simple identity throughout simple differents. Colour is identical throughout yellow, red, green, and blue; musical pitch, through bass, tenor, and soprano; loudness or warmth, through every degree of intensity; the linear, the enduring, the aggregative, through every magnitude in space, time, or numerical sum. Where, as in the case of loudness, the differences are quantitative, there must be abstraction of that sensible impressiveness which varies. But where, as in the case of colour and pitch, they are qualitative, we may suppose that the proper work of abstraction is done by a 'consciousness of resemblance' (Lotze, § 16); or by a logical *deus ex machina* in the form of a word, *colour*, *pitch* (Sigwart, § 41, 11); or that there is an unconscious 'pleonasm' in our perception of simple qualities, which, until it yields to scientific analysis and becomes conscious, leaves our idea 'confused' (Leibniz, *New Essays*, bk. iii. ch. iv. § 16). The abstraction in such cases is incomplete or implicit; but the function of the concept is realized, just as in tact and in analogical reasoning the resemblance between individual instances of a truth will do the work of a universal middle term. 'So far as you conceive the similarity of things you conceive something more, and the universality consists only in that' (Leibniz, bk. iv. ch. xvii.).

5. **Regulation of composite universals.**—When the unconscious 'pleonasm' of which Leibniz speaks becomes conscious, or when we abstract a conscious plurality, the composite concept contains, if not a plan of coherence, at least difference within its own content. Our faculty of Abstraction must maintain the composite identity, not merely through variations intrinsic to presentation, but through various textures of presentation. Without such variations in texture there could be consciousness, but no world. Some only, or all, of the elements of the composite may change: *coloured line*, through *red right line*, *yellow right line*, *blue curve*. Thus the concept furnishes a predicate, not merely for many possible simple judgments, but also for composite judgments, or for what Hamilton described as 'a fasciculus of judgments' not explicitly developed in thought (*Lectures*, iii. 117): *This is a line, and is coloured.* The several elements so realized are technically named 'marks' or 'attributes.'

The internal coherence which Lotze requires depends on general forms of relational existence or of the 'objective synthesis of apprehension,' such as those named 'categories' by Aristotle and

Kant respectively. They are interwoven with the composite material of our ideas in every degree of complexity, and may enter into a predicate either singly, for example a state, *I was asleep*, or as a plan of inter-related substances, states, activities, and modes, such as *I knew he thought I thought he thought I slept.* The logical value of a composite concept lies in the conscious identity of a relational scheme: the dependence of colour sensation on the muscular activity in tracing a line, the objective control of a knowing activity by a certain relational content of another person's thoughts. In Bacon's sentiment (*Essay* xliii.), *There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion*, the force is not merely that beauty has strangeness as well as proportion, but that the strangeness is *in* the proportion. If the scheme constitutes *also* a natural species, *e.g.* the interdependence of colour, consistence, weight, and certain chemical affinities and molecular susceptibilities—*metal*—it has scientific value as well. The symbolic expression to be chosen for the composite concept should therefore be, not such as $S=a+b+c$, but rather $S=f(a, b, c)$, and, as relationships become clearly conscious, it might take on some specification of significance for f, such as $S=a(b^c \sin d)$ (Lotze, § 28).

6. Conscious realization of the function.—The concept, defined by its function and its ideal structure for the functional purpose, is not open to the reproaches made against Abstract Ideas by modern psychological Nominalists. Berkeley may have been conclusive as a psychologist, and certainly he was as a metaphysician, when he pointed out that we cannot perceive or imagine

'colour . . . which is neither red, nor blue, nor white, nor any other determinate colour'; or a triangle which is 'neither oblique nor rectangle, neither equilateral, equicrural, nor scalenon; but all and none of these at once'—'What more easy than for any one to look a little into his own thoughts, and there try whether he has, or can attain to have, an idea that shall correspond with' this description of 'the general idea of a triangle' (*Principles of Knowledge*, 1710, Introd. §§ 8, 13).

Hamilton and Mansel admit psychologically that the concept 'cannot in itself be depicted to sense or imagination' (Mansel, *Prolegomena Logica*², 1860, p. 15), and 'cannot be realized in thought at all' except it be 'applied to an object' (Hamilton, iii. 135). But for logic it is sufficient that the abstract idea can be realized as a 'mode of understanding' the contents of perception and imagination, and even can be realized only in relation to such contents: *This blue is a colour; This right-angled figure is a triangle.* When the concept is spoken of as an Essence, it is obviously with a reference to the concrete.

'The Essential is that whereof the content, on the one hand, is understood and grasped in the mind, and the thing to which it is essential, on the other, along with it at the same time; while the thing cannot be understood without the content being previously understood as belonging to it' (Avicenna, *op. cit.* p. 2; Vattier, § i 1).'

And Lotze would prefer to use the name 'concept' itself only when a content, or, as he himself describes it, 'the composite idea which we think as a connected whole,' is in explicit relation to the 'thing understood,' or 'composite matter.'

'I speak of a composite matter (s) as conceived . . . when it is accompanied by the thought of a Universal (S), which contains the condition and ground of the co-existence of all its marks and of the form of their connection' (*Logic*, § 26).

7. Secondary function.—This strictly relational significance of the concept, however, is only a secondary value, which it acquires when, instead of its primary use as a predicate, it takes on a secondary use as defining or replacing a subject, or as a constituent of a subject. *Mars is red* makes possible *The red planet keeps the first watch of the night. This band of colour is red* makes possible *Red lies at an extreme of the spectrum.* The merely attributive term becomes a concrete or an abstract term; it acquires the function which in old logical technique is called *suppositio.* The concept itself becomes, in the phraseology of conceptual logicians, 'representative' of the merely perceptual or imaged subject which it defines or replaces. The concept is justified in assuming this secondary function under a postulate of Aristotle's, resembling, though not equivalent to, the *dictum de omni*: 'whenever anything is predicated as of a subject [that is, as the nature of a subject], whatever may be asserted of that predicate may be asserted of the subject' (*Categories*, ch. 3, 1*b*, 10).

In Plato's parable of the dungeon (*Rep.* bk. vii.), where, of course, the Aristotelian value for the perceptual individual as primary subject is not allowed, a prisoner who has returned from seeing the sunlit glory of conceptual realities will think and speak of these, rather than of the perceptual shadows as they flicker on the cavern walls. Through such parables Plato 'imported into the schools the portent of Realist philosophy' (Milton, *de Idea Platonica*). But it is especially the secondary function of the concept that tempts logical theory into the controversy as to Universals. So long as perceptual things and events are subjects, and concepts mere predicates, we need claim actuality only for the former, and validity only for the latter; and, whether we speak of such predicates as eternal 'forms,' with Plato, or as *sermones*, with Abelard, we are still logically in touch with reality through our subjects; and the 'real significance' of our total judgment, the ideational content considered as 'complex' (Aristotle), is the same. But if the concept takes the place of a perceptual or imaged subject, as it does in all Abstract Science, the significance of the judgment may be altered. Is abstract science still to be called 'true,' or can it be only 'valid'? In Aristotle's doctrine of Predicables, the Species stands as subject, or at least defines the individual who is implicit subject, to other kinds of predicate. And from this view of it the problem arises which Porphyry formulated:

'I shall omit to speak of genera and species as to whether they subsist in the nature of things or in mere conceptions only; whether, if subsistent, they are bodies or incorporeal; and whether they are separate from, or in and along with, perceptual things' (*Introd. to Categories*, i. 2).

Leaving aside, like Porphyry, the ontology and epistemology of the problem, the following answer may be offered for guidance in Methodology. The Platonic world of Ideas has mere validity, and not, like things and events, actual existence or occurrence (Lotze, bk. iii. ch. 2). It can in thought replace actuality, through only the unalterable conditions of our intuitive experience, as it does in 'a priori' science, or through belief narrowly so called in contrast with knowledge, as it does in empirical science (see art. BELIEF [logical]). The belief in genera and species rescues our conceptual faculty from the reproach of being either purposeless or arbitrary in our dealings with actuality, and gives practical seriousness to abstract truth. In such belief we expect the indefinitely frequent recurrence of perceptual subjects covered by a given conceptual description. A system of Jurisprudence assumes that theft and breach of contract will often come before our magistrates, though any particular heinousness of intention or seriousness of damage may be unique. Biology assumes the human organism, but not definite idiosyncrasies or monstrosities; Chemistry, the combination of elements in fixed proportions and groups, but not in fixed absolute quantities; Mensuration, definite shapes, but not sizes. There are forms of dimension, natural kinds, substances, and modes of event (Venn, *Emp. Logic*, 1889, ch. iii. § 4). The belief in them must, however, submit to regulative canons of Methodology, and must adapt itself to different spheres of fact and of purpose.

'All species are not compossible in the Universe, great as it is, and that too, not only in relation to things which exist contemporaneously, but also in relation to the whole series of things' (Leibniz, *New Essays*, bk. iii. ch. 6, § 12).

8. Goal of development.—The conceptual predicates of perceptual judgments and the conceptual subjects of abstract truth develop into larger systems, which register the achieved progress of knowledge and mark out the ideational areas within which both subject and predicate of further knowledge are to be sought. Examples are: atomic weight, acoustic vibration, plant fertilization, human nature, mercantile credit, political administration. Could knowledge unite all such as these in one supreme organization, it would have reached the 'Good' of Plato, and the 'All' of Parmenides.

9. Formal perfections.—(*a*) *Independent.*—The concept as a purely logical topic was especially prominent from the time of Descartes to that of Wolff. The ideal presented was, according to Wolff, as follows:

'A notion is clear when sufficient to distinguish by it the object to which it belongs . . . distinct, when we can repeat it to another or represent to ourselves its distinguishing marks separately; . . . complete, when the marks assigned are sufficient to distinguish the things at all times from other things; . . . adequate, if we have distinct notions also of the characteristics themselves' (*Logic*, ch. i. §§ 9–16, cf. *Philosophia Rationalis*, 1728, pt. i. § 2, ch. iii.). 'Descartes proceeded no farther than to clear and distinct ideas; Leibniz added adequate . . . I thought it needful also to distinguish notions into complete and incomplete' (*Logic*, Introd.).

(*b*) *Relational.*—A further logical ideal prescribes conscious relations between our several concepts, which fit them to co-operate in determining any conceptual subject. This comes through the arrangement of concepts in a series proceeding from the 'category' or complex of categories as *summum genus* to complete description short of adding place and time, the *infima species: Substance, cube, cube of gold, cube of pure gold, cube of pure gold with sides measuring 1 cm.* The members of such a series, while they approach the *infima species*, must, as the price of their adequacy, sacrifice width of the sphere for their co-operative use. The law is that the intension and extension of a concept must stand in inverse relation to each other. The extension meant by such a law is not, of course, a number of individuals, or what Mill describes as 'an aggregate of objects possessing the attributes included in the concept' (*Exam.* p. 304), the denotation or application of its name. The name 'coin' applies to the output of the mints of the world; its concept co-operates in the function of description with the varied standards of material, design, and value.

That the 'predicamental line,' as early logicians called it, the deepening of intensive distinctiveness in a series of concepts, shall be finite is to be secured, not as they secured it, through Realist ontology (Aldrich, ed. Mansel[4], 1862, App. A), but by methodological canons of belief. Geometry closes its description of its subjects with such details as the equality and inequality of sides or angles in a triangle, Jurisprudence with the terms of indictment for a crime. Beyond the *infima species*, Science passes into mere Information. And that the sphere of varieties open to a genus shall be finite is secured by our limits of sensibility, as in the case of colours; by our faculty of intuition, as in triangles; by artificial standards, as in measurements; by experience and fact, as in races of mankind; or by our own practical purposes, as in virtues or legal contracts.

10. Formal discipline.—The rules for formally perfecting the concept through its relationships come under the topics Division and Definition. Those of Division require that each step of selection for a co-operative series shall be made in full view of the area of possibilities: we must range under genera their species. Those of Definition require that the step itself shall be fully conscious: every open possibility of determinative accretion to the genus shall be closed except one, the Difference.

Cf. also the following article.

LITERATURE.—This is co-extensive with systems of Logic. Monographs are chiefly of metaphysical, psychological, or scientific interest. As recent representative books may be mentioned, in addition to those quoted above and those quoted under art. CONCEPTUALISM, the following: Joseph, *Introd. to Logic* (Aristotelian), Oxford, 1906; Peillaube, *Théorie des concepts* (Neo-scholastic), Paris, 1895; Janet and Séailles, *Hist. de la philosophie*, Paris, 1887, pt. i. § 3, chs. 1–3; Bain, *Mental Science*, 1884, App. A; and the *Logics* of Veitch (1885), Ueberweg (1868), Keynes[2] (1887), Wundt (1880–83), Erdmann (Eng. tr. 1896), Bosanquet (1888), and Venn[2] (1894).

J. BROUGH.

CONCEPTION (psychological).—**1. Definition.**—In knowledge of a class as opposed to its instances, of a totality as opposed to its parts, or of an individual as opposed to any of its particular appearances, and in the maintenance of a point of view, there is a common characteristic, viz. identification of reference, with change in the occasion of cognition. Such knowledge is conceptual, and, speaking psychologically, conception is the name for the state of cognition wherein the subject of consciousness recognizes identity of reference for differing experiences, and has an idea which Logic would term a 'general' or an 'abstract' idea. The psychology of conception must explain the recognition of 'sameness' amid change, and the generalization and abstraction which this involves; *i.e.* it must trace out the development of concepts. See CONCEPT (logical).

2. Origins of current theory.—Nowhere is psychology more inextricably interwoven with philosophical theories than in the doctrine of the concept. The present form of psychological discussion connects itself historically with the views of the earlier English philosophers, for whom the problem as to the nature of general ideas was one belonging to the theory of knowledge. By appealing to psychology for a solution they gave a new interpretation to the problem itself.

For Hobbes the question of ancient and mediæval philosophy, What corresponds to the universal of knowledge?, was replaced by the question, How does man advance from the particular experience of sense and memory to the universal knowledge of thought? His answer is, By use of signs, of which names are the chief.

'A mark, therefore, is a sensible object which a man erecteth voluntarily to himself, to the end to remember thereby somewhat past, when the same is objected to his sense again. . . . A name or appellation, therefore, is the voice of a man arbitrarily imposed for a mark to bring into his mind some conception concerning the things on which it is imposed.'[1]

'Because from divers things we receive like conceptions, many things must needs have the same appellation . . . and those names we give to many are called universal to them all; as the name of man to every particular of mankind. . . . The universality of one name to many things, hath been the cause that men think the things are themselves universal; . . . deceiving themselves, by taking the universal or general appellation for the thing it signifieth.'[2]

With Locke the inquiry became more deeply tinged with psychology, and took the form of a psychological answer to the question, How come we by general terms?

'Words become general by being made the signs of general ideas; and ideas become general by separating from them the circumstances of time and place, and any other ideas that may determine them to this or that particular existence. By this way of abstraction they are made capable of representing more individuals than one; each of which, having in it a conformity to that abstract idea, is (as we call it) of that sort.'[3]

Psychological though this account may be, it throws little light on the nature of the state of consciousness wherein a man has a general idea, or on this way of abstraction which makes ideas capable of representing more individuals than one.

[1] *Human Nature*, ch. v. § 1 f. [2] *Ib.* § 5 f.
[3] *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, bk. iii. ch. iii. § 6.

It is comparatively easy for Berkeley's wit to discredit the supposed product:

'Whether others have this wonderful faculty of abstracting their ideas, they best can tell: for myself, I dare be confident I have it not.'[1]

Berkeley's own account of general names is this:

'A word becomes general by being made the sign, not of an abstract general idea, but of several particular ideas, any one of which it indifferently suggests to the mind. . . . By observing how ideas become general, we may the better judge how words are made so. . . . To make this plain by an example. Suppose a geometrician is demonstrating the method of cutting a line in two equal parts. He draws, for instance, a black line of an inch in length: this, which in itself is a particular line, is nevertheless *with regard to its signification* general; since, as it is there used, it represents all particular lines whatsoever. . . . And, as *that particular line* becomes general by being made a sign, so the *name* "line," which taken absolutely is particular, by being a sign, is made general.'[2]

The same account is given by Hume, but a fuller explanation is attempted as to how an idea can be made a sign:

'Abstract ideas are . . . in themselves individual, however they may become general in their representation. The image in the mind is only that of a particular object, tho' the application of it in our reasoning be the same, as if it were universal. . . . When we have found a resemblance among several objects, that often occur to us, we apply the same name to all of them, whatever differences we may observe in the degrees of their quantity and quality, and whatever other differences appear among them. After we have acquired a custom of this kind, the hearing of that name revives the idea of one of these objects, and makes the imagination conceive it with all its particular circumstances and proportions. . . . They are not really and in fact present to the mind, but only in power. . . . The word raises up an individual idea, along with a certain custom; and that custom produces any other individual one, for which we may have occasion.'[3]

The contribution made to conceptual theory by the subsequent Association psychologists consisted in a fuller interpretation of Hume's doctrine of Custom. Thus James Mill, who follows Hobbes very closely on the question of the origin and function of general names, is able to give, as Hobbes could not, a psychology explanatory of the idea generated by the use of the name as a mark for various particulars:

'Man first becomes acquainted with individuals. He first names individuals. But individuals are innumerable, and he cannot have innumerable names. He must make one name serve for many individuals.'[4]

Hence individual names pass into general names —'man,' 'horse,' etc. New individualizing names, used to carve out sub-classes from a group so named, become associated also with other groups, *e.g.* 'black' with 'man,' and also with 'horse.'

'By frequent repetition, and the gradual strengthening of the association, these modifications are at last called up in such rapid succession that they appear commingled, and no longer many ideas but one.'[5]

Black is therefore no longer an individualizing attribute, but a general name. From such names, when their special class reference is lost, come the so-called abstract terms, *e.g.* 'blackness.'

Thus in the course of development, names being able by association to call up many different ideas, these ideas, also by association, coalesce into a complex idea.

'Ideas . . . which have been so often conjoined that, whenever one exists in the mind, the others immediately exist along with it, seem to run into one another, to coalesce, as it were, and out of many to form one idea; which idea, however in reality complex, appears to be no less simple than any one of those of which it is compounded.'[6]

From Mill onwards, although the language used about the product may vary, the psychology of conception in the Association school is an account of the process of forming such complex ideas and of their expression in language. Alexander Bain may be taken as the best representative of this psychology. For Bain a general idea is the product of retentiveness and constructive imagination. He analyzes the process of forming it into four steps: (1) a classification of resembling instances; (2) a generalization through abstraction (an instance is taken as a type, or from various instances a type is formed embodying the features common to the class); (3) a name is given for the class and for its common features; (4) the definition setting forth the common features is formulated. Retentiveness, by the Law of Similarity, supplies the first step in this process; the remaining three—abstraction, naming, and definition—require the aid of constructive imagination, since the selection of this and that feature out of the material supplied by retentiveness is possible only for association guided by 'a sense of the effect to be produced, and a voluntary process of trial and error continued until the desired effect is actually produced.'[1]

Bain also tells us that

'abstraction does not properly consist in the mental separation of one property of a thing from the other properties. . . . All the purposes of the abstract idea are served by conceiving a concrete thing in company with others resembling it in the attribute in question.' 'When we are discussing government, we commonly have in view a number of governments alternately thought of.' 'To be a good abstract reasoner, one should possess an ample range of concrete instances.'[2]

Whence comes that 'sense of the effect to be produced' which guides the trial of instances, Bain does not explain. 'The only generality possessing a separate existence is the name.' The name with a possible range of instances is what is in the mind when we have a general idea.

This line of thought—which attempts to explain how names acquire a general significance, and how a mental content, which by its origin is particular, can be so worked over that it can do duty as general—may be said to reach its culminating point in the doctrine of the 'generic image' introduced by Francis Galton:

'I doubt, however, whether "abstract idea" is a correct phrase in many of the cases in which it is used, and whether "cumulative idea" would not be more appropriate. The ideal faces obtained by the method of composite portraiture appear to have a great deal in common with these so-called abstract ideas. The composite portrait consists . . . of numerous superimposed pictures, forming a cumulative result in which the features that are common to all the likenesses are clearly seen; those that are common to a few are relatively faint and are more or less overlooked, while those that are peculiar to single individuals leave no sensible trace at all.'[3]

'My argument is, that the generic images thus arise before the mind's eye, and the general impressions which are faint and faulty editions of them, are the analogues of these composite pictures.'[4]

3. Criticism of theories.—Here, then, the generality of significance is sought for in the image itself. Because my idea means 'dog in general,' my image must portray 'dog in general.' The complexity of the significance must be paralleled in the complexity of the mental content. Yet even so, such a content is hopelessly particular; still, it is *a* dog, be it never so weird in form. This is the terminus to which the 'succession of various images' suggested by Berkeley, the 'power of calling up individual instances' claimed by Hume, the 'complex idea' of Mill, and the 'range of concrete particulars' of Bain naturally lead. But it is a blind alley in the maze of cognition. The necessary turning-point was missed as far back as Berkeley. Berkeley recognized the 'representative' function of the content of consciousness which lies behind a general name. He says the particular is 'a sign,' but his general theory of knowledge forbade his accepting any state of consciousness as representing what it itself was not. Of ideas the *esse* is *percipi*. If sensations cannot represent sensible qualities, how can a particular image represent other particulars?

Berkeley's predecessor, Locke, who defined an idea as 'whatsoever is the object of the understanding when a man thinks,' might have made,

[1] *Of the Principles of Human Knowledge*, Introd. § 10.
[2] *Ib.* §§ 11, 12.
[3] *A Treatise on Human Nature*, pt. i. sect. vii.
[4] *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*, ch. viii.
[5] *Ib.* ch. ix. [6] *Ib.* ch. iii.

[1] *Senses and Intellect*[3], 1864, 'Intellect,' ch. ii. p. 541, ch. iv. p. [illegible]
[2] *Mental and Moral Science*[3], 1884, ch. v. § 3.
[3] *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development*, 1883, 'Association.'
[4] *Ib.* Appendix.

and indeed in some passages in the *Essay* does seem to make, the distinction between a state of consciousness and the significance of that state. He is, at all events, clearly conscious that the product 'by this way of abstraction' has a representative function.

Hume, no less than Berkeley, finds it necessary to speak of the idea as 'a sign,' although in his *Treatise* he makes no clear distinction between a state of consciousness and its significance. It was the lack of this distinction between 'what is known' and 'the features of the state of knowing' that led the Association school to explain the perception of a thing with all its various sense-qualities by an escort of revived sensations accompanying the datum of the moment, and the conceptual force of an idea by a complex of associations, multitudinous or coalescing (see ASSOCIATION). Bain, in speaking of the 'effect which is to be produced' by constructive imagination, seems conscious of the representative function which the resultant state of consciousness has to fulfil, but he gives it no explicit psychological interpretation.

4. Re-construction of theory.—Stout formulates the needful distinction thus:

'In the process by which we take cognizance of an object, two constituents are distinguishable: (1) A thought-reference to something which, as the thinker means or intends it, is not a present modification of his individual consciousness. (2) A more or less specific modification of his individual consciousness, which defines and determines the direction of thought to this or that special object; this special mode of subjective experience we may call a *presentation*.'[1]

The distinction is vital for the whole psychology of cognition, but the failure to recognize it has perhaps had its worst effects in the doctrine of Conception. How any mental state can mean or stand for what it itself is not, is in current psychology the problem of 'meaning.' The task of the psychology of conception is to seek, among the conditions and developments of meaning in general, those which bring forth 'generality' as a definite content of meaning, and further to inquire what are the special characteristics of the states of consciousness wherein this meaning is given.

5. Theory of meaning.—The earliest states of consciousness can hardly be regarded as signifying what they themselves are not. 'The only class of thoughts which can with any show of plausibility be said to resemble their objects are sensations.'[2] When life is sensory, what is known (if, indeed, we may use the word 'known') and the state whereupon it is known resemble one another—resemble only, for even here the state is conative and affective as well as sensory. The progress from this stage to the next, wherein one experience can suggest another not actually present, where, therefore, 'what is known' differs from 'the presentation' of it, is traceable to interest. From the first, the experiences which make up the stream of consciousness are not all of the same forcefulness. Organic selection alone would make this impossible, and to organic must be added subjective selection. Further, the course of the currents in the stream of consciousness is in part determined by subjective conditions. The term 'interest' is used to denote this 'forcefulness' and this 'set of direction' in the stream. The successive phases of consciousness which work out to a natural completion some forceful trend, *e.g.* the satisfaction of some organic craving, are connected in a specially intimate way, and constitute what Stout has termed a 'conative unity.' By virtue of this unity, when phases like the earlier ones recur in experience, they can suggest the later, or do the work of these in subsequent psychical life. This is the beginning of the 'representative function' of a present state of consciousness.

[1] *Analytic Psychology*, 1896, bk. i. ch. i. p. 47.
[2] James, *Principles of Psychology*, 1891, ch. xii. p. 471.

Baldwin distinguishes two modes in which representative value or meaning is given to the presentation of the moment—the 'recognitive' and the 'selective.' In the former, the datum of sensation determines the trend of the stream of consciousness; in the latter, the conative and affective processes set the current this way or that. With the former, therefore, past experience dominates meaning, for the present datum is not a bare 'that,' but has a function of its own derived from its history in experience. With the latter, the datum is coloured and interpreted by the light of present desires and feeling.

6. Meaning as perceptual.—Even at the stage of sense-perception, the development of meaning, both as 'recognitive' and as 'selective,' has progressed some way. A given sensation can stand for any experience which has entered into one conative unity with a like sensation, and the recurrence of a want or of an emotional condition will endow the present datum with power to suggest the sequence of experience relevant to the occasion. It is thus, to use James's phrase, that 'different states of consciousness have come to mean the same.' The table looked at and the table touched give different sense-data, but the data in each case can mean the same group of experiences and can suggest the same activity. Speaking of the ease with which a child recognizes an object as the same in spite of great differences, Baldwin says:

'What this really means is, that the child's motor attitudes are fewer than his receptive experiences. Each experience of man (for example) calls out the same attitude, the same incipient movement, the same coefficient of attention, on his part, as that, *e.g.*, with which he hails "papa."'[1]

Although there is at this stage a sense of 'sameness,' and in so far nascent generalization, it seems premature to term it conception, or to say, with James, that the polyp which had the feeling 'Hullo! thingumbob again!' would be a conceptual thinker.

7. Meaning as conceptual.—In perception, whether the meaning be determined recognitively or selectively, the sameness or generality is embedded in the particularity of sense. For conception,

'the universal must, so to speak, be dragged from the dim background of consciousness, and thrust into the foreground, there to be scrutinised and manipulated by the mind.'[2]

An x must not merely be recognized as an x, but there must be consciousness of the features in virtue of which it is x and not y, *i.e.* consciousness of its x-ness.

Comparison is the psychical method, and language the instrument for accomplishing this task. Comparison involves both differentiation and assimilation, and is a more complex phase of mental process than either of these considered separately. In virtue of the dominant interest of the moment, experiences which differentiation has dissociated in representative value are brought before consciousness in a new unity, and experiences which assimilation has at first fused disclose distinctive values contributory to new resultant wholes. Such a process implies growing facility in the concentration of attention and enlargement in its span.

The dog differentiates a 'game' and the 'chase of prey.' A man unites them in the idea of 'sport'; but by the emergence of this very idea, 'sport,' a new antithesis is provided to the basal values—both 'game' and 'chase of prey,'—which, therefore, to the man become more definite and conscious ideas than they can be to the dog. Similarly, when the child referred to by Baldwin comes to feel the distinctive value of the genuine 'papa,' the emergence of this distinction will also serve to develop the unity of this and his other experiences on their basal value as 'man.'

[1] *Mental Development*, 1895, ch. xi. p. 325
[2] Stout, *op. cit.* bk. ii. ch. ix. p. 174.

Memory, imagination, and sense-perception all supply occasions for this interplay of differentiation and assimilation, and—

'thus the common element stands out in contrast to the differences; whereas in mere recognition no such contrast exists.'[1]

8. Function of names.—The use of names greatly assists this disengagement of the general meaning from the particular. The name, which is part of the group of experiences constituting knowledge of a particular thing, has the power of reviving the whole complex. And it has special value as a fixation point for the concentration of attention, because it can be given perpetual existence at will, and in this way can reinstate the whole unity much more vividly than any image. Again, sameness or difference of name facilitates comparison and contrast of instances, and thus helps to strike forth the universal embedded in the particular. Further, a name enters as an identical member into many unities. There is nothing in its own nature to determine the specific nature of the whole which it shall suggest. A bare word by itself may mean 'this' or 'that' or 'the other,' the specific determination depending upon the interest of the moment. With a combination of names, however, there will be a combination of the unities or wholes of which these names are integral parts; and thus there will be a certain mutual determination of meaning. It is to denote such mutual determination of one unity by another, and the consequent reconstruction of meaning, that the term 'apperception' (*q.v.*) may be most fittingly used.

9. General and abstract.—The two varieties of meaning noticed by Baldwin develop the two types of conceptual meaning, which are distinguished as knowledge of the general and knowledge of the abstract. It is recognitive meaning that leads to the idea of the class as opposed to its instances, of a totality as opposed to its parts, of an individual as opposed to its appearances. It is selective meaning that leads to abstractions, points of view. The latter are the concepts which James has especially in view when he says that '*the only meaning of essence is teleological*,' and that '*classification and conception are purely teleological weapons of the mind*.'[2] Conceptual meaning may be determined by the desires and needs of the subject, yet such selective meaning is as open to be shared by all mankind, and as objective, as is recognitive meaning. The two meanings can never be regarded as independent; the sensory and ideational data must influence the affective and conative values of the moment; and the affective and conative values must colour the data and their intrinsic meaning. It is only from the logical point of view that the concept, be it a general idea or an abstract idea, represents a norm or standard, the 'changeless' and 'necessary,' which regulates the flux of the 'particular' and 'contingent.'

10. Theory of presentation.—As to the nature of the state of consciousness whereupon the subject is aware of the general, can psychology ascribe to it any special characteristics? It would follow from the foregoing that the concept is a 'meaning,' and that, when the conditions of development are fulfilled, any state of consciousness may serve as its vehicle; in other words, no specific variety of presentation appears necessary for a thought reference which is general. A sense-datum may mean a perceived object, it may mean an abstract idea; for example, to the lay mind a roughly worked flint may be just this stone 'and nothing more,' while to the ethnologist it suggests the occupations of prehistoric man. Similarly, an image may mean a memory or a concept; a word may be understood as a sense-determined particular or as a class name.

[1] Stout, *op. cit.* bk. ii. ch. ix. p. 174.
[2] *Op. cit.* ch. xxii. p. 335.

Experimental research[1] has tended to confirm the conclusion to which a more speculative analysis has led. K. Marbe[2] has collected introspective records made by trained observers concerning their state of consciousness when they pronounced varied judgments, wherein the meaning ranged from simple to complex. These records give no evidence of any experiences which, as such, are characteristic either for the pronouncement of judgment or for the understanding and evaluation of a judgment pronounced by others. And what is true of judgment will be true of the conceptions involved. Later researches[3] would seem to show that it is impossible to characterize introspectively the nature of an isolated moment of consciousness as one of conception or one of judgment. Remembering, indeed, that, as Ward says, 'like other forms of purposive activity, thinking is primarily undertaken as a means to an end, and especially the end of economy,'[4] it would seem that introspection must report on the whole trend of consciousness, on a series of processes which hang together as the working out of an end, before it can diagnose the case as 'perceiving,' 'thinking,' 'willing,' etc. Thus one writer notes that there is a consciousness of the *Aufgabe*, or end, which controls the series of processes; others lay stress on *Bewusstseinlage*, awareness of the trend or consciousness of disposition or attitude towards given objects. These *Bewusstseinlagen* would seem to correspond to what James terms 'transitional states of consciousness' and to his 'feelings of tendency'—states which have a cognitive function, but whose nature psychology can hardly define. Stout recognizes similar constituents in the stream of thought.

'There is no absurdity in supposing a mode of presentational consciousness which is not composed of . . . experiences derived from and in some degree resembling in quality the sensations of the special senses; and there is no absurdity in supposing such modes of consciousness to possess a representative value or significance for thought.'[5]

It may be that it is upon the presence or absence of these presentations, or upon their character, or, again, upon the mode in which the whole series of cognitive, conative, and affective phases of consciousness are related to one another, that the difference between thought and will, perception and conception, depends.

Cf. also the preceding article.

LITERATURE.—The authorities cited in text; also Sully, *Human Mind*, London, 1892; Hobhouse, *Mind in Evolution*, London, 1901; Baldwin, *Thought and Things*, New York, 1906; Pillsbury, *Psychology of Reasoning*, New York and London, 1910; Wundt, *Outlines of Psychology*, Eng. tr., Leipzig, 1902; Kulpe, *Outlines of Psychology*, Eng. tr., London, 1895; Binet, *L'Étude expérimentale de l'intelligence*, Paris, 1903; Ribot, *Evolution of General Ideas*, Eng. tr., London, 1899; Taine, *On Intelligence*, Eng. tr., London, 1871.

BEATRICE EDGELL.

CONCEPTUALISM.—The question whose various answers may be grouped under the heads of Realism, Nominalism, and Conceptualism is that of the nature of genera and species (*i.e.* the universal), and their relation to the particular thing. It may be stated in the ontological or in the epistemological form, according as the aim is to discover the place occupied by the universal in *reality*, or its place in *knowledge*. While Realism maintains, in one form or another, the objective reality of the universal, and Nominalism takes the opposite course of denying actuality to all save the particular thing, Conceptualism mediates between these extremes. It agrees with Nominalism in denying separate, hypostatic reality to the

[1] On the value of the interrogatory method used in these investigations, see Wundt, *Psych. Studien*, iii. (Leipzig, 1896) 301.
[2] *Experimentell-psychol. Untersuchungen uber das Urteil*, Leipzig, 1901.
[3] Watt, Messer, Buhler (in *Archiv f. d. gesamte Psychologie*, 1905, 1906, 1907); Ach, *Ueber die Willenstatigkeit u. das Denken*, Göttingen, 1905.
[4] Ward, art. 'Psychology,' in *EBr*[9], p. 77.
[5] *Op. cit.* bk. i. ch. iv. p. 85.

universal. On the other hand, it holds, with Realism, that the universal is more than a mere name, or *flatus vocis.* The universal is real, in the first place epistemologically, as the concept (*q.v.*) wherein intelligence grasps the common attributes in different things, and raises them into a true notion. But it has also a certain ontological reality, inasmuch as, in the act of conception (*q.v.*), in which the common qualities of different things are apprehended in a unity, the natural predicate comes to the front (Abelard). In other words, that which belongs to the nature of the things, and is thus the basis of predication regarding them, forms the content of the act of conception. This universal (not mere *vox*, but *sermo*, i.e. predicate) possesses reality, though not hypostatic reality. The mediæval discussion of this question took its rise in the Latin translation by Boethius of the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, which is an introduction to the *Categories* of Aristotle; but the real source of the whole controversy lies farther back, in the discussions between the Sophists, with their doctrine of individualistic subjectivity, and the Attic Idealists, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, who insisted, each in his own way, that in knowledge the mind takes hold upon the real, which is universal. Modern epistemology inclines on the whole to the view that the individual thing, the object of knowledge, is the meeting-place of the universal and the particular; and that reality is neither pure particularity nor pure universality, but an essential unity and synthesis of the two.

LITERATURE.—Porphyry, *Isagoge*; von Prantl, *Gesch. der Logik*, Leipzig, 1855–70; Cousin, *Abaelardi Opera*, Paris, 1849–59, *Fragments de philos. scolastique*, Paris, 1840, *Ouvrages inédits d'Abélard*, Paris, 1836; Hauréau, *Hist. de la philos. scolastique*, Paris, 1872–80; Rémusat, *Abélard*, Paris, 1845; art. 'Scholasticism' in *EBr*[9]. See also standard Histories of Philosophy, and further references in the present work, *s.vv.* NOMINALISM, REALISM, SCHOLASTICISM.

FREDERICK TRACY.

CONCORDAT.—*Meaning of the word.*—In the Middle Ages, conventions of all kinds were called 'concordats,' especially agreements formed between the convents and the bishops, and between the bishops and the civil power. 'There was an ancient concordat made with the king and the bishop of Paris in 1222 for the settlement of the royal jurisdiction and of the temporality of the bishop in some parts of the said town. Among other points, it was agreed that public outcries *voce praeconis* should take place, by the authority of the king and the bishop conjointly, in the places where the temporal justice of the said bishop prevailed' (Fevret, *Traité de l'abus*, Lyons, 1736, i. 18; see, in Fink, *De concordatis dissertatio canonica*, Louvain, 1870, pp. 1–2, a list of episcopal concordats). But, since the 15th cent., more precisely since the Council of Constance, the name 'concordat' has usually been confined to the compacts which are entered into by the Pope on the one hand, and the civil power on the other. Taken in this sense, which is, if not the only one, at least the one most generally accepted, the concordat may be defined as a convention by which the Church of Rome and a State determine and regulate their mutual relations.

i. HISTORY.—**1. Concordats before the 19th century.**—The Church could not sign any treaty with the civil power during the whole time that she accepted or submitted to the yoke of the emperors or kings.

(*a*) The first concordat was the result of the effort which she made to free herself from the subjection of the Emperor of Germany. It was concluded at Worms in 1122 between Pope Calixtus II. and Emperor Henry V. It comprises two declarations, independent of each other. The first, drawn up in Henry's name, is entitled *Privilegium Imperatoris*; the second, drawn up in Calixtus' name, is called *Privilegium Pontificis.* The Emperor takes an oath (1) to give up the right of investiture by ring and staff, (2) to guarantee freedom of episcopal election, (3) to restore the possessions taken from the Church. The Pope, on his side, authorizes the Emperor (1) to be present at the election of bishops and priests, (2) to give investiture by the sceptre. These two documents may be found in Hardouin, *Acta conciliorum*, vii. 1115, Paris, 1714, and in all collections of councils. The *Monumenta Germaniae*, sec. iv. t. l. 159 and 161, give a critical edition of them. The following is the translation:

'*Privilege of the Emperor.*—In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, I, Henry, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romans, for the love of God, the Holy Roman Church, and the lord Pope Calixtus, and for the salvation of my soul, abandon to God, to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to the holy Catholic Church, all investiture by the ring and the staff, and I grant that in all the churches of my Empire there shall be freedom of election and free consecration. All the possessions and all the rights of Saint Peter, which from the beginning of this quarrel to the present day have been taken away and are in my possession, I will do all in my power faithfully to restore. Further, I will restore, as indicated by the princes and the regulations of the law, the property in my possession which belongs to other churches, princes, and, in general, to all clergy and laity. As to those which I do not possess, I will do all in my power to have them restored. I will give true peace to the lord Pope Calixtus and to the Holy Roman Church, and to all those who are or have been of its party. Whenever the Holy Roman Church invokes my aid, I will give it faithfully. When she has cause to complain, I will show her justice.'

'*Privilege of Calixtus.*—I, Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, to thee Henry, my very dear son, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romans, I grant that the elections of bishops and abbots in the kingdom of Germany, that is to say, in the part of the Empire which constitutes thy kingdom, shall take place in thy presence, without simony or violence. When any discord happens to arise, thou shalt grant thy approbation and support to the better party, after taking the counsel and opinion of the metropolitan and the bishops of the district. Let the prelate-elect receive from thee investiture by the sceptre, and he shall fulfil all the obligations that he owes to thee. In other parts of the Empire, let the consecrated bishop receive from thee investiture by the sceptre within six months from his consecration. He shall fulfil to thee all the obligations which he owes to thee, with the exception of all the rights which are recognized to belong to the Roman Church. Every time that thou shalt express any complaint to me, and ask my help, I will come to thine aid, as I ought to do. I grant true peace to thee, and to all those who are or have been of thy party during the times of discord' (Bernheim, *Zur Gesch. des Wormser Konkordats*, Göttingen, 1898; Schaefer, *Zur Beurtheilung des Wormser Konkordats*, Berlin, 1905).

(*b*) At Worms the Papacy had tried to rescue the Church from the yoke of the civil power; three centuries later, at the Council of Constance (1418), it signed new conventions, but, this time, on quite different conditions. The *Concordats of Constance* (cf. Hübler, *Die Konstanzer Reformation u. die Konkordate von 1418*, Leipzig, 1867) mark the effort of Christianity to lighten the burden laid upon her by the Papacy. This was at the beginning of 1418. All the members of the Council were agreed upon the necessity of demanding reforms from the Pope, but they ceased to agree when they came to state definitely the reforms to be effected. Not being able to negotiate with all the nations at the same time, Pope Martin V. negotiated with each nation by itself. He accordingly signed conventions separately with the French, Germans, English, Italians, and Spaniards; hence arose five concordats, which long ago were reduced to three, because the Italian and Spanish conventions were expressed in the same form as the French.

The English concordat comprises the following six articles: (1) *On the number and nationality of cardinals.* The number of cardinals must be limited; they must be chosen indifferently from all the kingdoms of Christendom. (2) *On indulgences.* Indulgences make gold abound in certain privileged places, to the great detriment of the parish churches; they also give occasion for sinning to several people who, because of them,

believe themselves quite justified in committing sin. To bring this state of affairs to an end, bishops will denounce scandalous indulgences to the Pope, who will suppress them. (3) *On the government of the churches.* The churches shall henceforth be brought under the charge of the bishops. (4) *On the pontifical insignia.* Many inferior prelates received from Rome the right of wearing these insignia; concessions of this kind after the death of Gregory XI. are annulled; those granted previous to that event are retained. (5) *On dispensations.* Dispensations authorizing one and the same man to possess several benefices should be very rare; as a matter of fact, they are frequent; this state of things must disappear in the future; as for the past, we shall confine ourselves to suppressing scandalous concessions. Other abuses: the Apostolic See exempts for a longer or shorter period, in some cases for ever, the holders of benefices from entering upon the orders corresponding to their benefices; that must not be; henceforth the beneficed clergy must receive orders only if they are entitled to them. The Apostolic See gives dispensations of residence; it must no longer do so without legitimate reasons. Likewise it must no longer deliver letters to the monks authorizing them to receive benefices. (6) *On the admission of Englishmen to the various offices of the Roman curia.* The English nation must be treated like the other nations.

The French concordat comprises seven articles, which treat of (1) the number and character of cardinals; (2) the provision of churches and monasteries, the reservations of the Apostolic See, the collation of benefices, the 'expectativae' favours, the confirmation of elected beneficiaries; (3) annates; (4) trials to be lodged at the Roman curia; (5) commendams; (6) indulgences; and (7) dispensations.

The German concordat consists of the following eleven articles: (1) on the number, character, and appointment of cardinals; (2) on the provision of churches, monasteries, priories, dignities, and other benefices; (3) on annates; (4) on the trials to be lodged at the Roman curia; (5) on commendams; (6) on simony; (7) on excommunicated persons; (8) on dispensations; (9) on the revenue of the Pope and the cardinals; (10) on indulgences; and (11) on the scope of this concordat.

In the last two concordats, the articles referring to cardinals and indulgences sum up the corresponding provisions of the English concordat. The article on annates is unknown in the English concordat, since, at that time, the rule about annates was not in operation, so to speak, in England. France and Germany knew it only too well, and sought to free themselves from it. The concordats of Constance gave them only partial satisfaction. With regard to France, the Pope pledged himself, for five years, to collect only half of the revenues of the first year of the churches and abbacies which should become vacant; he promised, besides, to bestow the 'expectativae' favours neither on monastic benefices whose revenues did not exceed £4, nor on hospitals, hospices, inns, almshouses, or leper-hospitals. With regard to Germany, he took an oath that he would not levy a tax on benefices of a revenue below twenty-four florins. The other articles refer to various abuses which the Roman curia promised to reform. The article relating to the provision of benefices, however, is an exception. Here the Pope makes no concession. He maintains that Rome has the right to endow various classes of benefices according to the regulations passed by John XXII. in the bull *Execrabilis* (1318) and in the bull *Ad regimen* (1325).

The concordats of Constance were read during the forty-third session of the Council which was held on 21st March 1418. The edition which we possess is preceded by a preface by the cardinal of Ostia (*Universis et singulis, Joannes . . .*), from which we learn that the French concordat was recorded on 15th April and published on 2nd May. It was the same with the other concordats. The French and German concordats were concluded for five years (see Artt. 7 of the former and 11 of the latter). The English concordat was concluded *ad perpetuam rei memoriam* (see Art. 6 of this concordat). As a matter of fact, the German concordat very soon fell into disuse. The French concordat, rejected by the Parliament, was accepted by the Duke of Burgundy, who governed the north of France, but was rejected by the Dauphin (Charles VII.), who reigned in the south; then, several years later, it was suppressed throughout the whole extent of French territory. The English concordat was maintained without any difficulty. We have no information regarding the Italian and Spanish concordats (the English concordat may be found in Hardouin, viii. 893; von der Hardt, *Magnum œcumenicum Constantiense concilium*, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1700, i. 1079; Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ*, London, 1737, iii. 391; Lenfant, *Hist. du Concile de Constance*, Amsterdam, 1714, ii. 444; the French concordat in Hardouin, viii. 883; von der Hardt, iv. 1566; Lenfant, ii. 436; the German concordat in Hardouin, viii. 888; von der Hardt, i. 1055; Lenfant, ii. 108).

(*c*) The third concordat which we meet with is the *Concordat of Princes*, concluded between Eugenius IV. and the German princes in Feb. 1447. The circumstances were as follows:—When the Council of Basel had issued its decree of suspension against Eugenius (24th Jan. 1438), the electoral princes of Germany—the Emperor Sigismund having died in the midst of it all—began by declaring themselves neutral; then they published the declaration of Mainz, often called *Instrumentum acceptationis*, in which they professed to accept, with certain modifications, the decrees of the Council of Basel relating to the reform of the Church. The aim of Eugenius IV. was to abolish the neutrality, *i.e.* to bring the German princes to declare themselves on his side. His efforts were not in vain. He first won to his cause the head of the Empire, Frederick III., and his secretary Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.). Having become the partisan of Eugenius, Æneas prevailed upon several electoral princes and modified their arrangements. Still all the difficulties were not removed. The German princes, who had become favourable to Eugenius IV., continued to remain connected with the *Instrumentum acceptationis*, i.e. with the decrees of Basel. On 7th Jan. 1447 a solemn embassy, led by Æneas, appeared before the Pope, and informed him of the conditions under which they pledged themselves to recognize him. These conditions were four in number. They demanded of him that he should (1) call a General Council at a date and in a place which would be fixed without consulting him; (2) recognize the power, authority, and pre-eminence of this General Council; (3) lighten the burdens that weighed on the German nation; (4) withdraw the sentence of deposition that he had pronounced against two of the electoral princes, viz. the archbishops of Cologne and Trèves. After a month of negotiations, Eugenius IV. accepted these conditions on his death-bed, modifying them, however, by omissions and vague assertions.

The Concordat of Princes is composed of a brief and three bulls. By the brief *Ad ea ex debito* (5 Feb. 1447), the Pope, although he observes that the convocation of a General Council is not the best means of pacifying the Church, pledges himself to convoke one within ten months, and to take as its place of assembly one of the five villages named by the princes. He declares that he venerates the Council of Constance, and

the Councils which represent the Catholic Church, with their power, authority, and eminence (not pre-eminence), as they were venerated by his predecessors, from whom he does not wish to deviate in anything. The bull *Ad tranquillitatem* (5th Feb.) suppresses the burdens which weigh upon the German nation, in compliance with the decisions made at Basel and accepted at the diet of Mainz. It merely asks that an indemnity be granted to the Holy See in compensation for the pecuniary losses which the new state of things would inflict upon it, and it resolves that this point shall be the object of a special convention. The bull *Ad ea quæ* (5th Feb.) promises the reinstatement of the archbishops of Cologne and Trèves, provided that they swear obedience to the Pope. The bull, *Inter cætera desideria* (7th Feb.) ratifies all the ecclesiastical elections which took place in Germany during the time of the neutrality, removes the penalties which were then incurred, and absolves all the partisans of the Council of Basel who, within six months, shall return to the Holy See. We may remark here that, after having published the first three documents, Eugenius signed a secret bull, *Decet Romani pontificis*, by which he annulled those of his concessions which might, unknown to him, cause prejudice 'to the holy doctrine of the Fathers, and to the privileges and the authority of the Holy See' (cf. the texts in Walter, 100; Münch, i. 77; Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, 1747-59, ad annum 1447, n. 4; for the history, cf. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1887, vii. § 830).

(*d*) The Concordat of Princes had not been signed by all the electors; moreover, it had put off to a later concordat the question of the compensation to be granted to the Holy See. It therefore required a complement, which it received in the *Vienna Concordat*. This convention was concluded on 17th Feb. 1448 between Pope Nicholas and Frederick III., head of the Empire, acting in the name of the German nation. It was promulgated by the bull *Ad sacram Petri sedem* on the 19th of the following March. It reserved to the Holy See the collation of a certain number of bishoprics and inferior benefices; authorized canonical election for the other benefices, with right of confirmation reserved to the Pope; and restored the annates which the Concordat of Princes had suppressed. In a word, the Vienna Concordat is almost an exact reproduction of the German part of the Concordat of Constance (text in Nussi, p. 15; discussion in Hefele, vii. § 831).

(*e*) Like Germany, France also had her concordat, known as the *French Concordat* of 1516, concluded between Leo X. and Francis I. as a result of an interview at Boulogne. The Church of France had, from 1438 up to this time, been under the rule of the *Pragmatic Sanction* of Bourges. Now this Pragmatic, borrowed from the Council of Basel, was extremely odious to the popes and kings, whom it left without authority over the clergy. Besides, since 1438, popes and kings had on several occasions attempted to repeal it, but without coming to any settlement. The concordat of 1516 suppressed it. It is expressed in the bull *Primitiva illa Ecclesia*, published on 18th Aug. 1516 and approved by the Lateran Council on 18th December following.

The special characteristic of this agreement is the suppression of elections. Up to 1516, bishops were elected by the chapters; abbots and priors by the convents. In the terms of the concordat, elections are abolished and give place to royal nomination, to which is afterwards added pontifical confirmation. When a bishopric becomes vacant, the king nominates to the place a licentiate or a doctor of theology or law, who has completed his 27th year, and has all the requisite qualifications. This nomination must take place within six months. The Pope confirms the nomination, if it is made according to the rules, but, if not, the king must make a second nomination, and if this again does not fulfil the conditions, the Pope nominates some one himself. Nevertheless, the Pope is authorized to provide for churches which happen to be vacant in the Roman curia (*i.e.* whose incumbents have died in Rome). Further, princes by blood, nobles, and mendicant monks distinguished by their merit are exempted from the obligation of degrees. The nomination of abbots and priors, as well as bishops, is the sole right of the king; it also must be confirmed by the Pope.

The concordat of 1516 encountered most lively opposition in France. The University forbade the printers and the publishers to print and issue the text of the convention. It published, besides, a proclamation in which, after praising the Councils of Basel and Constance, it appealed from the badly-advised Pope to the legitimate coming Council. The Parliament refused to record it for some time. The clergy also gave utterance to protests. But the king went on, and the Parliament had to submit on 22nd March 1517, and make the entry (text of the bull *Primitiva* in Nussi, p. 20; Hardouin, ix. 1867; Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, 1822-23, xii. 75).

(*f*) In the 17th cent. Charles II. of England entered upon negotiations with Rome to reconcile the English Church with the Pope. The agent chosen by the king was an Irish nobleman, Richard Bellings, private secretary of the queen-mother, Henrietta of France. Bellings brought to Rome a document in which Charles II. declared that he accepted the profession of faith of Pius IV., the decrees of the Council of Trent and the other Councils on the subject of faith and morals, and, further, the rules that the two former Popes had laid down concerning Jansenius. He declared that he 'reserves, as they do in France and other countries, only certain special rights and certain customs which wont has consecrated in each particular church.' There followed the enumeration of the special rights claimed by the king: that archbishops and bishops should retain their Sees, but that they should receive a new consecration by three Apostolic legates sent from Rome for this purpose; that the archbishop of Canterbury should be raised to the dignity of patriarch and should be the centre of all the ecclesiastical administration of the kingdom, without appeal to Rome except in a very small number of cases; that provincial Synods should be held every year, and that provincial Councils should be assembled at fixed intervals; that the king should nominate all bishops; that ecclesiastical possessions, alienated during the preceding reigns, should remain the property of their present holders; that Protestants should maintain the free exercise of their religion; that the dispensation of celibacy should be applied to the bishops and priests who were already married; that the communion should be given in both kinds; that disputed questions of doctrine should not be discussed; that some religious orders should be re-established, but subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops.

Bellings brought back from Rome an answer which has not been recovered. For reasons that we do not know, nothing came of the scheme (cf. Barnes, 'Charles II. and Reunion with Rome,' *Monthly Review*, Dec. 1903).

(*g*) From the 16th to the 18th cent. Spain concluded six concordats, viz. the concordat of 6th Sept. 1523 between Charles V. and Hadrian VI.; the concordat of 14th Dec. 1529 between Charles V. and Clement VII.; the concordat of 8th Oct. 1640 between Philip IV. and Urban VIII.; the concordat of 17th June 1717 between Philip V. and Clement XI.; the concordat of 26th Sept. 1737 between Philip V. and Clement XII.; and the concordat of 11th Jan. 1753 between Ferdinand VI. and Benedict XIV. In this last convention, which held until 1833, the king obtained the right of nominating to almost all the benefices, on condition that he should contribute a considerable sum to the pontifical treasury (Nussi, p. 120).

The Spanish concordats have been discussed by Hergenröther, 'Spaniens Verhandlungen mit dem romischen Stuhle,' *Archiv fur katholisches Kirchenrecht*, x. (1863) 1-45, 185-214, xi. (1864), 252-263, 367-401, xii. (1864) 46-60, 385-430, xiii. (1865) 91-106, 303-444, xiv. (1866) 170-215.

(*h*) In Italy we find the concordat of 17th Dec. 1757 between Maria Theresa and Benedict XIV. about the duchy of Milan (Nussi, p. 128); the concordat of 20th Jan. 1784 between Joseph II. and Pius VI. about the same duchy (*ib.* p. 138); the concordat of 24th March 1727, completed on the 29th of the following May, between Victor Amadeus and Benedict XIII. about Sardinia (*ib.* pp. 48, 54); the concordat of 5th Jan. 1741, of 1742, and of

24th June 1750 between Charles Emmanuel III. and Benedict XIV. about the same kingdom (*ib.* pp. 69, 98, 117); and the concordat of 2nd June 1741 between Charles III. and Benedict XIV. about the kingdom of the Two Sicilies (*ib.* p. 72).

(*i*) In Portugal we find the bull of Nicholas V. confirming the concordat of 1288 concluded between the bishops and the king of Portugal (Nussi, p. 2); the concordat of 17th July 1516 between Emmanuel and Leo X. (*ib.* p. 36); and the concordat of 20th July 1778 between Queen Mary and Pius VI. (*ib.* p. 136).

(*j*) Poland had a concordat concluded on 10th July 1737 between Augustus and Clement XII. (*ib.* p. 64).

(*k*) Bohemia had one concluded between Ferdinand II. and Urban VIII. on 8th March 1630 (*ib.* p. 39).

(*l*) Other concordats. Concerning Spain, between Eleonore and Gregory XII., 1372 (Hüffer, *Archiv für kathol. Kirchenrecht*, vii. 364); concerning the Two Sicilies, between Hadrian IV. and William, 1156 (Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum vitæ*, ii. 352); between Celestine III. and Tancred (Watterich, ii. 732); between Innocent III. and Constance, about 1200 (Sentis, *Monarchia Sicula*, 83); between Clement IV. and Charles of Anjou, 1265 (Luening, *Codex diplomaticus Italiæ*, ii. 946); and between Innocent VIII. and Ferdinand, 1487 (Raynaldus, *Annales eccl.*, ad annum 1487, p. 11).

2. Concordats of the 19th century.—(*a*) *France.*—The concordat of 1516 was valid in France until the Revolution, which put in its place the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790). The religious tumults which this constitution aroused were appeased by the concordat of 1801, which inspired several other concordats, and consequently deserves special attention. It was Bonaparte who took the initiative in the concordat, and the first man to whom he made known his scheme was the Bishop of Vercelli, Martiniana. It was the day after the battle of Marengo. The conqueror of Austria, meeting the old prelate on the way, charged him to announce to the Pope that he wished to re-establish the religious affairs of France, and to treat with Rome on the following grounds: (1) renunciation of former bishops and exclusion of intruders; (2) nomination of new bishops by the Government, and canonical institution by the Holy See; (3) new circumscription of dioceses, justified by the reduction of the number of former ones; and (4) conversion of Church property into salaries for the clergy. The negotiations went through three stages. They were first started in Paris between Spina, the representative of the Holy See, and Bernier, the representative of the French Government (Nov. 1800–end of Feb. 1801); and they ended in a scheme of concordat presented by the First Consul for the signature of Spina, who refused, saying that he was deputed to negotiate and not to sign. The First Consul then sent his scheme to Rome. This was the second stage, which lasted from March to 6th June. The Pope, along with the cardinals, examined the French scheme, introduced several modifications into it, and sent his counter-scheme to the First Consul. In the meantime there arrived from Paris an ultimatum announcing that the negotiations would cease if the First Consul's scheme was not adopted in full in five days. The Pope opposed this ultimatum, and on 6th June the French minister, Cacault, left Rome. Then the third stage began. As a matter of fact, Cacault, obliged to set out to obey his master's orders, had taken Cardinal Consalvi with him. The latter arrived in Paris on 20th June. Negotiations were resumed, and continued until 5th July, when at last they were successfully completed. The most troublesome question, the one which had caused the conflicts, was the nomination of the bishops. From the beginning of the negotiations Rome had quite readily resigned herself to the reduction of the number of bishoprics, to the alienation of the Church property, and to the administration of the salary. But, on the other hand, the nomination of bishops was, in her opinion, a privilege of which only a purely Catholic Government was worthy. From the French Government which claimed this privilege Rome claimed in return that it should profess Catholicism. She had to give up her claims. The First Consul absolutely refused to write in the concordat that the French Government would profess the Catholic religion. Consalvi succeeded only in obtaining the promise that Catholic worship might be publicly exercised, conforming itself with the police regulations.

The French concordat of 1801 was signed at Paris on 15th July by the plenipotentiaries Consalvi, Spina, and Caselli on the one hand, and Joseph Bonaparte and Bernier on the other. It was ratified at Rome by the Pope in the bull *Ecclesia Christi* of 15th Aug. 1801, and at Paris by the First Consul on 10th Sept. following. It was recorded as a law of the State on 8th April 1802, and solemnly published on Easter Day, 17th April. The following is the text:

'Convention between the French Government and His Holiness Pius VII. The Government of the Republic recognizes that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is the religion of the great majority of French citizens. His Holiness equally recognizes that this same religion has derived, and derives at the present time, the greatest good and the greatest glory from the establishment of Catholic worship in France, and from the personal profession of it by the Consuls of the Republic. Consequently, following this mutual recognition, as much for the good of religion as for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, they have agreed as follows: *Art. 1.* The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be freely exercised in France; its worship shall be public, conforming itself with the police regulations which the Government shall judge necessary for public tranquillity. *Art. 2.* The Holy See, in concert with the Government, shall make a new circumscription of the French dioceses. *Art. 3.* His Holiness shall declare to those holding French bishoprics that he expects from them in firm confidence, for the sake of peace and unity, every kind of sacrifice, even that of their Sees. After this exhortation, if they refuse this sacrifice commanded for the benefit of the Church (a refusal, however, which His Holiness does not expect), provision shall be made for the appointment of new officials to govern these newly-divided bishoprics in the following manner: *Art. 4.* The First Consul of the Republic shall nominate, within three months from the publication of the bull of His Holiness, to the archbishoprics and bishoprics under the new arrangement. His Holiness shall confer the canonical institutions, according to the forms established by agreement with France before the change of government. *Art. 5.* Nominations to bishoprics which shall be vacant immediately shall likewise be made by the First Consul, and canonical institution shall be given by the Holy See in conformity with the preceding article. *Art. 6.* The bishops, before entering upon their duties, shall take directly at the hands of the First Consul the oath of fidelity which was in use before the change of government, expressed in the following terms: "I swear and promise to God, on the Holy Gospels, to be obedient and faithful to the Government established by the constitution of the French Republic. I promise also to have no dealings, to be present at no council, to belong to no league, whether at home or abroad, which may be contrary to the public peace; and if, in my diocese or elsewhere, I learn that anything is being plotted to the prejudice of the State, I will make it known to the Government." *Art. 7.* The ecclesiastics of the second order shall take the same oath at the hands of the civil authorities named by the Government. *Art. 8.* The following form of prayer shall be recited at the end of the Mass, in all the churches of France: "Domine, salvam fac Rempublicam; Domine, salvos fac Consules." *Art. 9.* The bishops shall make a new circumscription of the parishes of their dioceses, which shall have no effect without the consent of the Government. *Art. 10.* The bishops shall nominate to the curacies. Their choice shall fall only upon persons acceptable to the Government. *Art. 11.* The bishops may have a Chapter in their Cathedral, and a Seminary for their diocese, but the Government shall not be obliged to endow them. *Art. 12.* All churches, metropolitan, cathedral, parish, and others not secularized, necessary for worship, shall be placed at the disposal of the bishops. *Art. 13.* His Holiness, for the sake of peace and the happy re-establishment of the Catholic religion, declares that neither he nor his successors shall in any way trouble those who have acquired alienated ecclesiastical property; and that consequently the possession of this same property, and the rights and revenues attached to it, shall remain unchanged in their hands or in those of their assignees. *Art. 14.* The Government shall guarantee an adequate salary to the bishops and clergy whose dioceses and parishes shall be included in the new division.

Art. 15. The Government shall at the same time take measures to enable French Catholics, if they wish, to endow churches. *Art. 16.* His Holiness recognizes in the First Consul of the Republic the same rights and prerogatives as the old Government enjoyed. *Art. 17.* It is agreed between the contracting parties that, in case any one of the successors of the First Consul now acting should not be a Catholic, the rights and prerogatives mentioned in the article above, and the nomination to bishoprics, shall be regulated, with respect to him, by a fresh convention' (Nussi, p. 139; Debidour, *Hist.* p. 880).

[The concordat of 1801 has been treated by Rinieri, *La Diplomazia pontificia nel secolo xix.*, Rome, 1902, in which there is an abundant bibliography; and by Mathieu, *Le Concordat de 1801*, Paris, 1903.]

The foregoing seventeen articles constitute only the concordat properly so called, *i.e.* the convention signed on 15th July 1801 by the plenipotentiaries of the French Government, and ratified in Rome on 15th Aug., then on 10th Sept. in Paris. But the political assemblies that recorded the concordat on the date of 8th April 1802 added to it, by command of the First Consul, a police regulation comprising seventy-seven articles, and known by the name of *Organic Articles.* Rome has never ceased to protest against the Organic Articles, but her protests have been in vain. All the Governments which have succeeded in France have placed these articles on the same footing as the concordat, and determined their attitude by them.

The concordat of 1801 was valid in the Church of France during the whole of the 19th cent., but it was suppressed by the law of 9th Dec. 1905, called the 'Law of Separation.' Two conventions, however, tried to supplant it, viz. the *Concordat of Fontainebleau* (1813) and the Concordat of 1817. The Concordat of Fontainebleau was concluded between Napoleon and Pius VII. on 25th Jan. 1813, and promulgated on 13th Feb. following. It comprised eleven articles, one of which, the fourth, authorized the Metropolitans to give canonical investiture to bishops in cases in which the Pope refused to give it within six months. But, in a letter to the Emperor written on 24th March, Pius VII. declared that his conscience compelled him to withdraw his signature. Napoleon went on, and on the very next day, 25th March, he declared the Concordat of Fontainebleau to be binding. His fall, which happened shortly afterwards, ruined his enterprise. The Concordat of Fontainebleau was not put into operation (Debidour, p. 693). It was the same with the concordat of 1817, concluded between Louis XVIII. and Pius VII. This convention, which was intended to annul the work of the First Consul and to revive the concordat of 1516, was not accepted by the French Parliament (Nussi, p. 153; Debidour, p. 696). On 1st Sept. 1886 the French Government signed a concordat with Pope Leo XIII. about Pondicherry (*Juris pontificii* . . . p. 349). It signed another on 7th Nov. 1893 about Tunis (*ib.* p. 369).

By the encyclical *Gravissimo officii* of 10th August 1906, Pius X. forbade Catholics to form the religious associations which, by Art. 4 of the Law of Separation, had the right to transfer church property. In consequence of this decision, which was contrary to the desires of the majority of the French bishops (*Le Temps*, 24th and 25th Aug. 1906), the Catholic Church of France was deprived of all its property.

(*b*) *Germany.*—The Peace of Luneville (1801) and the Decree of Ratisbon (1803), by secularizing the ecclesiastical estates and several abbacies, ruined the Church of Germany. It had to be re-constructed. Various schemes were planned. Bavaria, allured by the example of the French concordat, tried to obtain a regular contract from Rome. Württemberg and Baden followed the same track. Moreover, in 1804 the Emperor Francis II. thought that, to save the dying Holy Empire, he could negotiate a general concordat for the whole Empire. These enterprises vanished in 1806, when the German Empire was succeeded by the Confederation of the Rhine, and when the chief of this Confederation, Napoleon, declared that he himself wished to give it a concordat. But the difficulties with Pope Pius VII., which very soon began, prevented Napoleon from carrying out his scheme. When the Congress of Vienna was opened, nothing had been accomplished. At this Congress, Metternich endeavoured to re-constitute the national German Church, and to spread the idea of a collective concordat in which the condition of all the German churches would be regulated at once along with Rome. His scheme, strongly supported by Wessenberg, who imagined a national Church independent of Rome, was opposed by Bavaria. The Congress of Vienna broke up without taking any action. Instead of a Catholic German Church governed by a collective concordat, they were to have Catholic German churches governed by particular concordats (cf. Goyau, *L'Allemagne religieuse: Le Catholicisme, 1800–1848*, Paris, 1905, i. 107 ff.; H. Brück, *Gesch. der kathol. Kirche im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Mainz, 1889, i. 258).

Bavaria began with its concordat of 5th June 1817, ratified at Munich on 24th October. This convention comprises eighteen articles, of which the following are the chief provisions:

'*Art. 1.* The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be preserved in its purity and integrity in the kingdom of Bavaria and the territories belonging to it, with the rights and privileges which belong to it in accordance with Divine laws and canonical principles. *Art. 5.* The duty of bishops being to see to the teaching of the faith and morality, they shall experience no obstacle to this duty even in the case of public schools. *Art. 9.* In view of the benefits resulting from the present convention to the affairs of the Church and religion, His Holiness shall grant to His Majesty King Maximilian Joseph and to his Catholic successors, by a bull which shall be drawn up immediately after the ratification of the present convention, permission for life to nominate, to the vacant archbishoprics and bishoprics of the kingdom of Bavaria, worthy ecclesiastics who have the qualifications required by the canonical laws. But His Holiness shall give them canonical institution according to the ordinary rules. *Art. 13.* Whensoever the archbishops and bishops shall inform the Government that there have been printed or brought into the kingdom books whose contents are against the faith, good morals, or ecclesiastical discipline, the Government shall take suitable means to prevent their circulation.'

Rome could not but be glad at this concordat, so favourable to her interests; but her joy vanished when the Bavarian Government published the 'Religious Edict,' which subordinated the Church to the State. The Roman curia raised lively protests against these organic articles. After long conferences they ended with the Declaration of Tegernsee (1821), in which the king of Bavaria promised that the concordat, considered in itself, should have the value of a law of the State, and that the guarantees granted by him to the Catholic Church should be in no way diminished by the stipulations of the Religious Edict. The concordat of 1817 is still valid in Bavaria (text in Nussi, p. 146; Münch, ii. 217; Walter, p. 204).

After the concordat of Bavaria we come to the concordat of Prussia. The king of Prussia, Frederick William III., received many Catholic subjects at the Congress of Vienna, and he desired to give full satisfaction to their religious sentiments. He therefore resolved to negotiate with the Pope about the re-constitution of the bishoprics. In 1816 the scholar Niebuhr was sent to Rome to transact this business. The unwillingness of the Chancellor Hardenberg caused the affair to last a long time. At last, on 15th July 1821, there appeared the bull *De salute animarum*, the so-called 'delimiting bull,' which was ratified by Frederick's Government on 23rd Aug. following. So Prussia had her concordat. She has preserved it to the present day. It is in terms of the bull *De salute animarum* that the Catholic Church of Prussia is governed.

This bull refers specially to the regulating of the division of dioceses, the composition of chapters, and the material state

of the clergy. Most of the measures which it lays down would be of no interest, and need not be quoted here. Two points only are worthy of notice: (1) Bishops are nominated by chapters, who, in virtue of the brief *Quod de fidelium* of 16th July 1821, must ascertain by means which they shall consider good that the elected person shall be *persona grata* to the king; (2) Prussia takes an oath to guarantee before 1833 a really adequate endowment to the archbishoprics and chapters. But up to the present this article has remained a dead letter, and Prussia confines herself to paying the clergy the interest on the promised endowment (text in Nussi, p. 188; Munch, ii. 250; Walter, p. 239). In 1902, Germany concluded a concordat concerning the University of Strassburg (*Analecta ecclesiastica*, x. 491).

Hanover had its concordat three years after Prussia. It had commenced to negotiate with Rome as early as 1816, when its aim was a compact similar to the French concordat. But it did not succeed in getting Rome to accept its conditions, and, after five years of fruitless conferences, it resolved to follow the example of Prussia, and, like it, to bring into its concordat only the reconstitution of the dioceses. It therefore asked a 'delimiting bull,' which was granted on 24th March 1824. This was the bull *Impensa Romanorum pontificum*.

It fixes the limits of the two bishoprics of Hildesheim and Osnabruck, settles the revenues which the king promises to pay the clergy, and specifies that, within four years, these revenues shall be guaranteed by an endowment of real property. Lastly, it authorizes chapters to nominate the bishops, after, however, sounding the Government. Before giving canonical institution, Rome reserves to herself the right of making inquiries about the candidates presented to her (text in Nussi, p. 222; Munch, ii. 302; Walter, p. 265).

The governments of Württemberg, Baden, the two Hesses, ducal Saxony, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Waldeck, Bremen, and Frankfort united to obtain from Rome a common concordat. They drew up, under the name of a 'declaration,' a scheme of Latin ecclesiastical constitution, which they presented to be accepted by Rome (1819). Consalvi replied to this scheme by a very different counter-scheme. The united governments modified their declaration slightly, and presented it once more as the *Magna Charta libertatis Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*. Consalvi drew up a second report, which emphasized the dissent, but proposed a delimiting bull as a basis of provisional understanding. This proposal was accepted, and on 16th Aug. 1821 there appeared the bull *Provida solersque*, which established the ecclesiastical province of the Upper Rhine, composed of the five bishoprics of Freiburg, Rottenburg, Mainz, Limburg, and Fulda, with Freiburg as the Metropolitan See (Nussi, p. 209). The States in question accepted this bull and published it, at the same time, however, adding a series of organic articles entitled *Church Pragmatic*. Rome strongly protested against this document. The States tried to resist, but the Pope refused canonical institution to the bishops who were presented to him. The States were then compelled to modify their Pragmatic. In consideration of this concession, the Pope published, on 11th April 1827, the bull *Ad Dominici gregis custodiam*, which appears as the complement of the preceding one, and establishes a pragmatic regulation in six articles.

The first of these articles authorizes the chapters to nominate the bishops, with the consent of the civil authority. The fifth entrusts the training of 'clerks' to episcopal seminaries supported by the State, but managed in conformity with the law of the Council of Trent. The sixth guarantees freedom of communication between bishops and the Holy See, and declares that each bishop in his diocese shall exercise to the full the jurisdiction conferred on him by canonical law (Nussi, p. 239).

The States, one after another, accepted this bull, with the reservation that nothing must be inferred 'which might injure the rights of royal sovereignty, or which might be adverse to the laws of the country, to episcopal rights, or to the rights of the Evangelical Church.' Then, on 30th Jan. 1830, they promulgated an ordinance entitled the 'Thirty-nine Articles,' which revived the old *Church Pragmatic*. Pope Pius VIII. replied to this ordinance by the brief *Pervenerat non ita* of 30th June 1830, in which, after reproaching the bishops for not having themselves informed him of the Thirty-nine Articles, he enjoined upon them to defend the liberties of the Church. For a long time the bishops turned a deaf ear to this order; but at last, in 1851, yielding to the general feeling, which, since the events of 1848, had been turning all minds towards liberty, they had a bill published, in which were enumerated the liberties required by the Church, namely: liberty in the training of 'clerks' and in nominations to ecclesiastical posts, the right of possessing and erecting Catholic schools, the admission of monastic orders into the country, and the free administration of the property of the Church. After various incidents, Württemberg concluded a concordat with Rome, which was expressed in the bull *Cum in sublimi* of 22nd June 1857 (Nussi, p. 321). Baden, on its side, concluded one which is confirmed by the bull *Æterni patris vicaria* of 22nd Sept. 1859 (Nussi, p. 330). These two conventions gave satisfaction to the episcopal claims, and gave them especially the right to control education. But in 1860 the Baden Parliament forced the Grand Duke to annul the ordinance which the concordat promulgated. In 1861 the Parliament of Württemberg followed the same line of action. The concordats of Württemberg and Baden were therefore abrogated before being put into effect. Instead of them, the two countries in question regulated the affairs of the Church by laws. The Württemberg law of 30th Jan. 1862 proved quite favourable, but the Baden law of 1864 subjected education to a *régime* contrary to the conditions of the concordat.

(*c*) *Austria*.—Down to the middle of last century the Catholic Church of Austria was under the regulations which Joseph II. had given it, *i.e.* it was completely subject to the civil power and almost detached from Rome. In 1849, under the pressure of the occurrences which had disturbed Germany in the preceding year, the Austrian bishops asked and obtained free intercourse with Rome and the abolition of the Imperial *placet*. This was the beginning of a new era. In 1853 the Austrian Government begged a concordat from Rome. The negotiations ended amicably, and the concordat concluded on 18th Aug. 1855 was published in Rome by the bull *Deus humanæ salutis auctor* of 3rd Nov. 1855, and in Vienna by the law of 5th Nov. following. It comprises thirty-six articles, of which the following are the chief:

Art. 1. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be protected throughout the whole Austrian Empire and in all the countries belonging to it, with the rights and privileges which it ought to enjoy in accordance with Divine law and canonical prescriptions. *Art. 16.* The most august Emperor will not allow the Catholic Church, its faith, its liturgies, or its institutions to be slandered either in word, deed, or writing. Nor will he allow the prelates and ministers of the churches to be hindered in the discharge of their ministry, especially in everything that concerns religion and morals, or in the discipline of the Church.

Other articles place education and printing under the control of the bishops, remove matrimonial trials from civil courts and submit them to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and recognize in the bishop the right of inflicting punishment on the 'clerks.' According to Art. 19, bishops are to be presented, *i.e.* nominated, by the Emperor ('praesentat seu nominat'), and canonically appointed by the Pope. Art. 25 reserves to the Emperor the ancient right of patronage, authorizing him to nominate a certain number of canons and curates (Nussi, p. 310; *Collectio lacensis*, v. 1221). This concordat, which brought the Austrian State completely under the power of the Pope, had only an ephemeral life. As early as 1862, in the Reichsrath, it was exposed to attacks, which went on increasing. The opposition received a first satisfaction in the constitutional laws of 21st Dec. 1867 and 25th April 1868, which, while allowing the Church its freedom of action, declared

it subject to the laws of the State. Then came the three laws of 25th May 1868, which extended the jurisdiction of civil courts to marriages, removed from the bishops the management of schools, and allowed to Dissenters the same rights as to Catholics. The Pope protested strongly against these three laws, which he styled 'abominable laws' (address on 22nd Jan. 1868). It was in vain. The concordat of 1855, however, still continued to exist, at least theoretically, in spite of the great breaches made in it by the laws of 1868. It prolonged its existence until the day when the Vatican Council proclaimed Infallibility. Then the Austrian Government decided to denounce the concordat. In conformity with this decision, Count Beust, in a despatch of 30th July 1870, informed the Pope that the concordat of 1855 was 'affected by decay, and regarded as repealed by the Imperial and Royal Government.' Nevertheless, the religious position of Bosnia and Herzegovina is regulated by the concordat concluded between Austria and the Holy See on 8th June 1881 (*Juris pontificii*, p. 342).

(*d*) *Spain.*—The death of Ferdinand VII. (1833) was the signal for great disturbances, in the course of which the concordat of 1753 was annulled. To restore peace to the minds of the people, Queen Isabella II. concluded a fresh convention with Pope Pius IX., this being the concordat of 16th March 1851, whose chief provisions were:

Art. 1. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be the religion of the Spanish nation, *to the exclusion of all other worship.* It shall enjoy all the rights and privileges claimed by the law of God and canon law. *Art. 2.* Education shall be under the control of the bishops. *Art. 44.* Royal authority shall preserve the right of nominations guaranteed it by the concordat of 1753. The other articles deal chiefly with the new circumscription of bishops and the endowment of the clergy (Nussi, p. 281).

Some years later the Spanish Government violated this concordat by the so-called law of 'amortization,' which ordered the immediate sale of the Church property. The Roman curia protested, and the nuncio left Madrid. Being unable to maintain resistance for any length of time, the Spanish Government yielded, and signed the additional convention of 25th Aug. 1859 to the following effect:

The State promises not to sell any Church property in future without the consent of the Holy See; the Church has the right of possession; the Holy See accepts what has been done, and brings forward no claim against the sales effected; the Church property shall be converted into inalienable incomes (Nussi, p. 341).

Towards the end of last century the Spanish Government made two separate attempts (1881 and 1894) to remove education from under the control of the bishops, but both failed. On 19th June 1904, Spain concluded with Pope Pius X. a concordat intended to regulate the position of the monks. This convention comprises twelve articles, which may be summed up to the effect that the congregations at present existing remain; the establishment of new congregations shall be subordinated to the authorization of the ecclesiastical power and the civil power (*Acta sanctæ sedis*, xxxvii. 157).

Since 1901 the Spanish Government has been entreating the Vatican to modify the Concordat. While awaiting the end of the negotiations, which the Roman curia is contriving to prolong, it has (by a decree of 31st May 1910), to the great dissatisfaction of Rome, imposed restrictions on religious congregations and (by an ordinance of 10th June 1910) authorized the outward signs of non-Catholic cults.

(*e*) *Russia.*—On 3rd Aug. 1847 the Czar Nicholas I. concluded with Pope Pius IX. a concordat, the chief conditions of which were: the Holy See shall nominate bishops only after an understanding with the Czar (Art. 12); the bishops shall nominate as curates clergy approved by the Government (Art. 30); the teaching in seminaries and the administration of ecclesiastical affairs shall be in the hands of the bishops (various articles, Nussi, p. 273). Between 1847 and 1866, Rome complained several times that this last point was not observed. At last, in 1866, the insult committed against the Pope in the palace of the Vatican by the Ambassador from Russia to the Holy See brought about the rupture of the diplomatic relations between Rome and St. Petersburg. Leo XIII. renewed them by the convention of 23rd Dec. 1882 (*Analecta ecclesiastica*, iv. 75); but his endeavours to secure liberty of ecclesiastical administration were futile.

(*f*) *Italy.*—Concordat of 16th Sept. 1803 between Napoleon and Pius VII. about the Italian Republic (Nussi, p. 142). Concordat of 17th July 1817 between Victor Emmanuel I. and Pius VII. with regard to Sardinia (Nussi, p. 155). Concordat of 18th Feb. 1818 between Ferdinand and Pius VII. concerning the Two Sicilies (Nussi, p. 178). Concordat of 16th April 1834 between Ferdinand II. and Gregory XVI., intended to complement the former one (Nussi, p. 254). Concordat of 27th March 1841 between Charles Albert and Gregory XVI. on the subject of ecclesiastical immunity in Sardinia (Nussi, p. 266). Concordat of 25th April 1851 between Leopold II. and Pius IX. regarding Tuscany (Nussi, p. 278). All these conventions, even that of 1803 concerning the Italian Republic, recognize Catholicism as the State religion, except where they are confined to granting privileges to the Church. They were all superseded at the time of the formation of the present kingdom of Italy.

(*g*) *Switzerland.*—There are three concordats to be mentioned here: (1) the concordat of 26th March 1828 between Leo XII. and the districts of Berne, Lucerne, Soleure, and Zug with reference to the establishment of the bishopric of Basel (Nussi, p. 242); (2) the concordat of 7th Nov. 1845 between Gregory XVI. and the district of St. Gall with reference to the establishment of the bishopric of this name (Nussi, p. 269); and (3) the concordat of 1st Sept. 1884 with the Federal Council to remove the Catholics of Tessin from under the jurisdiction of the Italian bishops (*Acta sanctæ sedis*, xxii. 449; *Juris pontificii*, p. 343). The last convention was definitely fixed on 16th March 1888 (*Juris pontificii*, p. 345).

(*h*) *Holland.*—The king of the Netherlands, William I., concluded with Pope Leo XII. a concordat attested by the bull *Quod jamdiu* of 16th Aug. 1827. The first article of this treaty declares that the French concordat of 1801 shall be applied to the country which is to-day called Holland, and which is designated in the convention by the name of 'the provinces north of Belgium.' Art. 17 of the French concordat, referring to the nomination of bishops, is excepted. The concordat of Holland stipulates that the bishops shall be nominated by the chapters, who, however, shall submit their choice to the consent of the king (Nussi, p. 232).

(*i*) *Belgium.* — The Catholic Church of this country was under the rule of the French concordat of 1801 until the year 1830. From that time, *i.e.* from the day of Belgian independence, the concordat was suppressed, and made way for a rule established by the Belgian constitution without a preliminary agreement with Rome. The State interferes neither in the nomination nor in the installation of ministers of worship, but it takes under its charge the salaries of bishops, curates, and vicars.

(*j*) *Portugal.*—Between this country and Pius IX. was concluded the concordat of 20th Feb. 1857 regarding the bishoprics of Goa and Macao (Nussi, p. 318). This concordat was supplanted by that of 7th Aug. 1886 (*Leonis Pontif. XIII. allocutiones*,

ii. 205; *Acta sanctæ sedis*, xix. 185; *Juris pontificii*, p. 349).

(*k*) *Montenegro*.—The concordat of 15th Aug. 1886 took Antivari from under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Scutari (*Leonis Pontif. XIII. allocutiones*, ii. 275; *Juris pontificii*, p. 357).

(*l*) *England*.—In 1814 the Prime Minister, Lord Castlereagh, submitted to Cardinal Consalvi a scheme of concordat with regard to the English Catholics. Castlereagh claimed the three following points: (1) an oath of fidelity to the established Government and to the Constitution shall be imposed upon Catholics; (2) no episcopal nomination shall take place without the Government being previously advised of the candidates; the Government shall have power to offer objections and even to declare its *veto*; (3) all acts coming from Rome, except those of the Penitentiary, shall be submitted to the Royal *exequatur*. When Pius VII. was consulted by Consalvi, he replied that he accepted the oath of fidelity, but that he could not grant the king of England the *veto* or the *exequatur*. Lord Castlereagh's scheme fell through (de Richemont, 'Un essai de concordat entre l'Angleterre et le Saint-Siège,' *Correspondant*, 25th Sept. and 10th Oct. 1905).

(*m*) *Malta*.—On 12th Jan. 1890 there was concluded between England and Leo XIII. a concordat with regard to Malta. The clauses of this treaty were as follows:—(1) The British Government shall henceforth be consulted in the choice of the bishop of Malta and Gozzo; (2) the Holy See shall nominate an Englishman to superintend the seminary, where courses shall be given in English; (3) instructions shall be sent to the clergy to forbid interments in the churches (*Leonis Pontif. XIII. allocutiones*, iv. 68; *Juris pontificii*, p. 364).

(*n*) *Central America*.—The Republics of Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Hayti concluded concordats with Rome on the following dates: 7th Oct. 1852, Guatemala (Nussi, p. 303); 22nd April 1862, San Salvador and Honduras (Nussi, pp. 367, 349); 2nd Nov. 1861, Nicaragua (Nussi, p. 361); 7th Oct. 1852, Costa Rica (Nussi, p. 297); 28th March 1866, Hayti (Nussi, p. 346). All these conventions recognize Catholicism as the State religion, grant to the civil power the right of episcopal nomination, and fix the material resources of the clergy. Mexico, on the contrary, has refrained from forming any concordat, has proclaimed freedom of worship, and has left the Church to its own resources.

(*o*) *South America*.—Concordats similar to those we have just mentioned were concluded by Ecuador on 26th Sept. 1862 (Nussi, p. 349); Venezuela, on 26th July 1862 (Nussi, p. 356); Colombia, on 31st Dec. 1887 (*Acta sanctæ sedis*, xxi. 7; *Juris pontificii*, p. 358). Ecuador obtained a new concordat slightly modifying the former one on 2nd May 1881 (*Juris pontificii*, p. 335), completed by an additional convention of 8th Nov. 1890 (*ib.* p. 339). Colombia supplemented its convention by an additional one on 20th July 1892 (*Analecta ecclesiastica*, i. 24; *Juris pontificii*, p. 362).

ii. JUDICIAL CHARACTER.—The problem of the judicial character of concordats gives rise to three main theories, which regard concordats (1) as privileges granted by the Church; (2) as international contracts or treaties; (3) as laws emanating from the civil power.

1. Theory of privilege.—This theory holds that in concordats the Church gives all and receives nothing; that it makes gracious concessions to the State to which the latter has no right, and that the State, on the contrary, when guaranteeing certain advantages to the Church, does no more than pay its debt. Concordats therefore do not impose any obligation of justice on the Papacy, and the Pope may derogate from them when he thinks fit. According to these principles, the concordat may be defined (Tarquini, *Institutiones juris ecclesiastici publici*, Rome, 1862, p. 73) as 'an ecclesiastical law made by the authority of the Pope for a State or a Kingdom, at the instigation of the head of that State, and laying upon the prince the obligation of observing it religiously.' It is easily seen that this theory is based on the doctrine, so dear to the Middle Ages, that civil power is subordinated to ecclesiastical power. And, down to the middle of the 19th cent., it has been in favour with Roman theologians, as Baldi (*De nativa et peculiare indole concordatorum apud scholasticos interpretes*, Rome, 1883, p. 65ff.) has peremptorily demonstrated.

The following are a few of the proofs brought forward by Baldi. To the question as to whether the Pope can derogate from the Germanic concordat, the canonist Branden replies: 'We need not pause long over this question. Whosoever recognizes that the Supreme Pontiff is the vicar of Christ, with full administration of all the possessions belonging to the churches, will have no difficulty in admitting that His Holiness, *on account of the fullness of his power*, can abrogate the concordat wholly or in part. When it is said that the concordat has the value of a contract, it means on the side of the Germanic peoples. They are, in the first place, obliged by Divine right, as Christians, to submit themselves to the Supreme Pontiff with regard to reservations. They are, moreover, bound by the concordat established with a view to pacification, so that they would be inexcusable if they refused to obey the Apostolic See by violating a ratified compact. But, on the Pope's side, the concordat made on behalf of the Germanic races contains only a *favour* whose fate depends entirely on the inclination of the Pope according to the words: *Quidquid liga veris*. . . . Now the Pope may easily give up papacy, but he cannot abdicate the powers inherent in papacy by Divine right.' The theologian Laymann wonders whether the Pontifical legate might confer benefices during the months when, according to the Germanic concordat, the collation is left to the bishops. He replies: 'The negative answer seems preferable to me for this reason: that the concordat of Nicholas V. with the German nation is supposed to have the value of a contract from which the Supreme Pontiff is not in the habit of derogating, although, *in virtue of the fullness of his power*, he might derogate.' In another place the same author expresses himself thus: 'The Pope, *in consequence of the fullness of his power*, may derogate from the concordat and confer benefices after the interval that is given to him, both during the months reserved to him, and in others also.'

The canonist Wagnereck says: 'In spite of the approval, ratification, and acceptance of the concordat by the Pope, the latter may, *in consequence of the fullness of his power*, abrogate this arrangement completely or in part, considering that it has as its aim the right to benefices and ecclesiastical property, a right which, being connected with spiritual things, has nothing whatever to do with the laity, and which the clergy themselves could not possess independently of the Supreme Pontiff.'

In Pirhing we read: 'Although, properly speaking, the Supreme Pontiff may, *in virtue of the fullness of his authority*, derogate (from the Germanic concordat) for some serious reason concerning the public welfare, he is, nevertheless, not in the habit of doing so, and he would not do it without disadvantage, except in the case where a serious and extraordinary cause demanded a measure of this kind for the good of the Church.'

Reiffenstül expresses himself thus: 'It is most probable that the pontifical legate cannot confer benefices during the months reserved to collators. This is, in fact, contrary to the spirit of the concordats passed between the Apostolic See and other nations. Now these concordats have the character of a contract from which the Supreme Pontiff is not accustomed to derogate, *although, properly speaking, the fullness of his power allows him to do so*.'

Nicolarts uses the same words: 'The Pope cannot derogate from the Germanic concordat arbitrarily and without a legitimate reason, but he may do so when a just and reasonable cause demands it. . . . In the compacts which he makes he cannot and does not wish to abdicate his authority without reserving the chief part of it. A person may easily, for purposes of private utility, give up a private right; but he cannot give up a public right, especially when it is divine (which is the case) and when it is connected with the public interests of the Church. That the head of a hierarchical or politico-sacred body should not be the head of it, and should not have, as such, the power of Divine right inherent in the chief of that body, is a contradiction. But the concordats which the Pope passes with a king or a prince, *from the point of view of the Pope, are not so much contracts as privileges*. . . . Now privileges are revocable. It is the same with concordats.' To support his statement, Nicolarts quotes a decision arrived at by the Court of Rota in the year 1610, which says: 'There is no doubt that the Pope may derogate from the concordat in virtue of the very great power that he possesses with regard to benefices. He is, in fact, the universal Ordinary, and he cannot have agreed to the concordat so far as to tie his own

hands. It is sometimes said that the Germanic concordat has the value of a contract. But this is not true, as spiritual things do not come under business, but are drawn up under the form of favours.' Other texts may be found in Baldi, *op. cit.*

This theory reigned in the Catholic schools down to the year 1871. It was held by Tarquini, professor in the Roman College, in his book, *Institutiones juris ecclesiastici publici* (p. 73). It also formed the basis of the book published by Maurice de Bonald, *Deux questions sur le concordat de 1801*, Geneva, 1871. Several bishops declared to the author of the latter book that he had faithfully interpreted the mind of the Church (cf. the texts in *Acta sanctae sedis*, vi. 536 ff.), and the Pope himself sent him a brief (19th June 1872) to say that he had explained the real and authentic idea of concordats, as, in the conventions bearing upon the things which concern it, the Church does not seek to take possession of the rights of others, but yields up her own rights. But, shortly after, the Minister of Religions in Bavaria read the pontifical brief to the Parliament of that country, and concluded that, since the Holy See considered concordats as privileges and not as compacts, the civil power was not bound by them either. This incident caused great agitation, and showed the majority of the theologians how dangerous was the theory of the privilege-concordat. Since 1871 this theory has had only a very small number of representatives in the Catholic Church, among whom we may mention Scavini, *Theologia moralis*, Milan, 1894, bk. iv. p. 105; Gaspar de Luise, *De jure publico seu diplomatico Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, Naples, 1877, p. 505; Baldi, *op. cit.* p. 65 ff.; Satolli, *Prima principia publici ecclesiastici*, Rome, 1888, p. 45. General opinion is in favour of the contract-concordat.

2. **Theory of contract.**—This theory regards concordats as contracts, which are included in the category of international treaties, and which lay a strict obligation of justice on the two contracting parties—on Popes and on Governments. It is based on the very terms of the concordats and on repeated declarations made by the Popes. In the bull *Primitiva illa Ecclesia*, Pope Leo X. practically says:

'As we agree to the above arrangement with King Francis, because of his sincere devotion to us and our See, . . . and as we desire its inviolable observation, we decide that it has the power and the value *of a real obligatory contract*, legitimately concluded between us and the Apostolic See on the one hand, and the above-mentioned king and his kingdom on the other, neither we nor our successors being able to derogate from it by any letter or favour.'

In the Spanish concordat of 1753 we read (Art. xxv.):

'His Holiness, pledging his faith as Supreme Pontiff, and his Majesty, giving his word as Catholic king, mutually promise in their name and in the name of their successors to observe completely and for all time each and all of the foregoing articles, wishing and declaring that neither the Holy See nor the Catholic king can claim more than is comprised and expressed in the above-mentioned chapters.'

In the bull *Ecclesia Christi*, intended to promulgate the French concordat of 1801, Pope Pius VII. says:

'We promise and take an oath in our name and in the name of our successors, to fulfil and observe sincerely and inviolably all that is contained in these articles.'

We read likewise in the Bavarian concordat:

'Each of the contracting parties, as well as his successors, promises to observe religiously all that has been agreed upon in these articles.'

The theory of the contract-concordat has been held in modern times by some jurists. Calvo (*Le Droit international*[2], Paris, 1870–72, i. 703) says:

'Concordata are not, properly speaking, international treatises, as the Church cannot be regarded as a nation. It is difficult, however, not to place them in the category of diplomatic agreements, since, on the one hand, they are concluded between two supreme authorities foreign to each other, who combine their action and negotiate on neutral ground for the purpose of preventing all chance of clashing, and since, on the other hand, they pass through all the formalities devoted to the other treaties from the time of the negotiation until the exchange of ratifications.'

The same doctrine used to be taught also in France and in Germany by theologians interested in Gallic maxims. But until the most recent times theologians who were anxious to defend the rights of the Papacy rejected it. They were not ignorant of the declarations by which the Popes vowed to be faithful to concordatory stipulations, but they got rid of this objection by distinguishing between the Pope's ordinary power and his extraordinary power. According to them, concordats bound the ordinary power of the Pope, but not his extraordinary power. (This is very well explained by Baldi, p. 77.) Since 1872 several theologians and canonists, devoted to the maxims of the Curia, have taught the contract idea of concordats, combining it, however, in various degrees with the theory of the privilege-concordat. According to Giobbio (*I Concordati*, Rome, 1900, p. 54), concordats are contract-privileges, *i.e.* privileges granted by the Pope to the civil party, but granted under the form of a contract. Before him M. Liberatore (*La Chiesa e lo stato*, Rome, 1875, p. 353) had brought forward the same doctrine in slightly different words.

3. **Theory of the civil law.**—According to this theory, the concordat is a civil law, which from a judicial point of view is exactly the same as the other acts emanating from the legislative power of a country. Undoubtedly, before promulgating this law the State has settled the terms of it conjointly with the Pope. But this agreement, which has had an influence on the framing of the law, cannot have given any special judicial character to the law itself. Like all other laws, the concordatory law arises from the only legislative power in the country which has established it; it may be revoked as soon as this power thinks fit. This theory is held to-day by most jurists in France, Germany, and Italy. Bluntschli (*Das moderne Völkerrecht*, Heidelberg, 1871, p. 443) says:

'International law can protect concordats only in an imperfect way, because, on the one hand, the contracting State can make use of all the means authorized by the law, and can even have recourse to violence; and, on the other, if the Church does not possess these means, it can make use of those which religious authority grants it, and which are not placed under the control of international law. Concordats, therefore, form a separate class to which the principles which govern ordinary treaties must not be applied except with caution. . . . Concordats, as a rule, are only temporary settlements of the relations between Church and State, made by common consent, on the borders where they touch and often enter into conflict. In reality the State is quite as well authorized to settle these questions alone and without the help of the Church as the latter is to make religious resolutions. This right of both parties is not lost in consequence of the concordat.'

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CONCUBINAGE.

Introductory (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 809.
Christian (D. S. SCHAFF), p. 817.
Greek and Roman (W. KROLL), p. 819.

CONCUBINAGE. — **1. Definition.** — Concubinage may be defined as the more or less permanent cohabitation (outside the true marriage bond) of a man with a woman or women, who usually form part of his household, and whose position may be that of secondary wives, women bought, acquired by gift, or captured in war, or domestic slaves. Captive women are generally made household slaves, and are not always necessarily concubines, but, where concubinage is recognized, they can hardly fail to become concubines, cohabitation with them on the part of the father or sons being occasional or habitual. In some cases they are made wives, legal or secondary, though it is sometimes illegal to marry a slave. The female servants of a wife may become the husband's concubines, though usually only with her permission (see § 4). In these various forms concubinage has had a well-nigh universal range, yet there are exceptions (see § 2). Its differentiation from marriage must have originated when some ceremony of marriage was first used, unless we suppose, with Westermarck (*Moral Ideas*, London, 1908, ii. 391, 395), that monogamy was originally the general form of union; hence the first wife had a higher place when polygamy became general.[1] But, if men were at first polygynous whenever possible, like many of the higher apes, taking women as it suited them, still one woman—the first acquired, the favourite, or the most assertive—would be in a better position than the others, and would occupy in relation to them the position which, later, the married woman occupied in relation to the secondary wives or concubines, when marriage, as a definite institution, came to be marked by a ceremony or by some regulated method of obtaining a wife, *e.g.* by purchase or service. The first wife would then, for many reasons, occupy a higher position than later wives, as is the case in most polygamous societies, or than women with whom the husband had relations without going through the ceremony of marriage. She was the first to be obtained by her husband, she would generally be of higher rank than later comers, and by her established position she would exert her authority over them.[2] Probably, too, the growing dignity of the first wife would lead to the neglect of the marriage ceremonial in the case of other wives. This would in any case be necessary where the man went to live with the family of his wife; subsequent 'wives' would be obtained in other ways, and would have a lower position. Thus, even when polygyny takes the form of polygamy with concubinage, the concubines being on a different footing from the wives, the latter, as compared with the first or chief wife, are usually in a subordinate position. In polygamous households with no concubines, the later wives can hardly be differentiated from concubines. The chief wife has been bought or served for, the secondary wives and concubines are women obtained in easier ways. Indeed, where wives are obtained only by purchase, a man will often be content to purchase one, and will obtain secondary wives or concubines by means of raids undertaken expressly for that purpose, as among the Kafirs, who make raids to capture women whom they make concubines to escape the necessity of purchasing wives. Here we must distinguish between the gaining of a bride by capture from a strange tribe—a practice which obtains among some 40 peoples (Tylor, *JAI* xviii. 245 ff.)—and the much more generally diffused custom of making secondary wives or slave concubines of women taken in war or raids.[1]

This practice was probably the origin of slavery. Male captives were at first slain or sacrificed. Women and children, though sometimes sacrificed, eaten, prostituted, or sold, were more generally made slaves, secondary wives, or concubines. Their position as slave-workers led men to see the value of similarly enslaving male captives. Generally speaking, where there are no slave women, as among the Australians, Melanesians, Hottentots, Fuegians, and some American Indian tribes, there will be no concubines, and the wives are then in an extremely servile position.

The difference between the chief and lesser wives or concubines would certainly be augmented where the latter were captives, and the former chosen from native women. This difference extended itself as civilization advanced—the wife being taken from a man's own rank, concubines from women of a lower rank. Thus, in practice, polygyny in its various forms comes gradually to be monogamy, with legal concubinage; and finally issues in monogamy, with concubinage as an unauthorized or illegal practice. But at certain stages of society, as Spencer has shown (*Principles of Sociology*, i. [London, 1877] 708), there is a connexion between militancy and polygyny, warlike tribes which capture many women being inevitably polygynous. In the higher civilizations, while concubines are occasionally obtained by war, they are more often purchased, as in ancient Mexico, China, Japan, Abyssinia, India, etc.; or sometimes they form a gift from one king to another or to a subject.

2. Causes and limits of polygyny.—As long as men are regarded as the owners of women, there will be no limit set to their acquiring them, whether as wives or as concubines or both. Many causes have contributed to make man polygynous (see Westermarck, *Hist. of Hum. Mar.*[2] p. 483 ff.); nevertheless polygyny, whether in the form of polygamy or concubinage, could never, at any time or in any region, have been practised by all the members of a tribe or people. As an examination of descriptions of polygynous peoples shows, it is the privilege of the few, partly because of the expense of supporting several women, partly because a universal polygyny would necessitate an enormous excess of females over males, and partly because, at the lower levels of civilization, the old and influential men (Australia)—good hunters, brave warriors, and head men—and, at higher levels, the rich and powerful—chiefs, kings, and men of rank—appropriate most of the women. Thus, through necessity, the bulk of the people, the poorer and often the younger men, are monogamous, whether they like it or not. Polygyny thus comes to be associated with the reputation of a warrior, with wealth, or with greatness. It becomes a sign of these, and also the test of wealth or consequence. This is true even of the Australian natives, with whom a man's riches are measured by the number of his wives, or, as among the Urabunna tribe, the number of a

[1] If there was ever a primitive monogamous sentiment, it soon became obscured, as the polygynous sentiment has certainly been almost universal, though, in actual practice, polygyny is generally limited in any single society (see § 2).

[2] Even where all the wives are equal, as among the Bechuanas, the first, or the woman of highest rank, 'has the upper hand when they are unable to agree' (Starcke, *Prim. Family*[2], London, 1896, p. 59).

[1] Respect for women in war is sporadically found among American Indian tribes, the Kabyles, and elsewhere (Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, London, 1906, i. 251).

man's *pirauŋgaru* women depends on his power and popularity (Letourneau, *L'Evol. de l'esclavage*, 32; Spencer-Gillen[a], 62). Thus polygyny becomes the privilege of the few, and is sometimes forbidden to the common people. On the other hand, where maintenance is easy, or where, for any reason, there is a large surplus of women, it will be more widely diffused. And, since at certain levels women are the labourers and food-providers, and are skilful in the numerous occupations of savage life, they are able to provide for themselves and for their lords, and all the men of the tribe will try to possess as many of them as possible in order to be maintained by them. Nevertheless, as a general rule, it is true that polygyny is for the minority only, and is strictly proportioned to a man's prowess, wealth, or rank. Thus, in Dahomey 'the king has thousands of wives, the nobles hundreds, others tens, while the soldier is unable to support one' (Forbes, *Dahomey*, London, 1851, i. 25); and among the South American Araucanians the poor and feeble must be celibates or monogamous, while others buy wives and procure concubines by raids (D'Orbigny, *L'Homme américain*, Paris, 1839, i. 403). Statements like these regarding polygynous peoples are common—the people have one wife, chiefs, warriors, and kings have many wives and concubines, and in some cases they alone, or the wealthy, are allowed to possess them, as among some N. and S. American tribes, some Ainu tribes, and the ancient Peruvians (Westermarck, p. 437; von Siebold, Suppl. to *ZE*, 1881, p. 31; § 4 (6)).

A strict monogamy and, in consequence, no concubinage, occurs among some 50 peoples, either from necessity or from scarcity of women, but often also from preference. Some of these tribes are often the kindred of polygynous tribes. Among these monogamous groups are some of the lowest peoples—the Veddas, Andaman and Nicobar Islanders, and some Australian tribes (Bailey *TES*, new ser., ii. 291 ff.; Man, *JAI* xii. 135; Distant, *ib.* iii. 4; Curr, *Austral. Race*, London, 1886–7, i. 402, ii. 371, 378; cf. Westermarck, p. 435 ff.), while polygyny is rare among the Fuegians, Hottentots, and Bushmen (Westermarck, p. 442; Waitz, *Anthrop. der Naturvölker*, ii. 341; Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of S. Africa*, London, 1822–4, ii. 60).

3. Concubinage among lower races.—If already, in the most primitive times, there was a tendency to give one wife a slightly better position than the others, this tendency is most marked both in savage and in barbaric polygamous societies, especially where polygamy is limited to rich or great men. A higher position is usually given to the first wife—the wife who was married according to a ceremony (which in some cases must not be repeated)—or, less frequently, to the favourite wife (*e.g.* the Damaras, where her son inherits [Andersson, *Lake Ngami*[2], London, 1856, pp. 225, 228]), or to the one who has borne most or healthiest children (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, London, 1846, i. 240; Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig, 1865, i. 226), or to one who has some outstanding characteristic. Where the first married is the chief wife, this is generally because she is of the husband's rank, while later 'wives' are of lower rank, sometimes even captives; and in such cases she is often regarded as the only legitimate wife. There are exceptions to this, as where each wife has a separate hut, chamber, or hearth, or where there is equal cohabitation with each, or each in turn is given a temporary supremacy, or where all are sisters (Post, *Grundriss der ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, 1894, i. 145, 63 f.). Yet even here the first wife tends to be recognized as chief. As a rule, this 'hierarchical polygamy' is well-marked. There is a chief or 'great' wife, and lesser wives who pay her respect, and who are often her handmaids, and are certainly in subjection to her. For this reason it is difficult to discriminate between instances of true monogamous marriage with concubinage and this hierarchical polygamy, since in one case the concubines, in the other the lesser wives, are practically in the same position, are often acquired in the same way (by capture or purchase as slaves), and are not married with the usual ceremony, while their children have often a different status from those of the chief wife (§ 9). The examples of polygamy with concubinage will be discussed later; in such cases the position of the lesser wives is less servile than that of the concubines.

The monogamous Karoke of California permit a man to keep as many female slaves as he pleases, but cohabitation with more than one brings obloquy (Powers, *Tribes of California*, Washington, 1877, p. 22). Among many American Indian tribes a distinction is drawn between the first or real wife and all successors, her children alone being legitimate or of the father's rank (Westermarck, p. 443). In Guatemala a man could make concubines of his female slaves; and, when a young noble married a child wife, he was also given a concubine (*NR* ii. 650, 664). In Nicaragua, where bigamy was punished, and where it was forbidden under pain of death to use the marriage ceremony a second time, concubinage was recognized (*NR* ii. 671; Herrera, *Hist. générale*, Paris, 1671, i. 320). Among many S. American tribes the first wife and her children have special privileges, and she is mistress of the house. She has usually been purchased or acquired by the husband's labour; the others are captives made in tribal raids (Post, i. 143, note; Waitz, iii. 383; Wallace, *Amazon*, London, 1895, p. 346; Westermarck, p. 443; D'Orbigny, ii. 307). The Araucanians are forbidden to have more than one wife, but concubines are allowed (Post, i. 62). One wife and, subject to her, many concubines (often women captives captured in raids) are permitted to the Ainus, Mongols, and Tangutans (Bickmore, *TES*, new ser., vii. 20; Batchelor, *Ainu of Japan*, London, 1892, p. 288; Prejevalsky, *Mongolia*, London, 1876, i. 69, ii. 121). In Burma a married man who can afford it buys concubines; while among the peoples of the Indian archipelago and in Siam, the first wife or the wife who has been ceremonially married occupies a different position from that of the other wives or concubines (Letourneau, *La Condition de la femme*, 224; Crawfurd, *Indian Archip.*, Edinburgh, 1820, i. 77, iii. 100; Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans*, London, 1885, p. 182). A Malay refuses to give his daughter to a man of his own rank who is already married. If the latter wants more wives, he takes them from a lower class, and they are regarded as concubines, the ceremony being observed at the first marriage alone (Starcke, *Prim. Family*[2], 264). With some of the aboriginal Indian tribes one wife only is permitted, but concubines are allowed (Deccan [Kohler, *ZVRW* viii. 114]), or the first wife has the pre-eminence, the others being her servants (Dalton, *Descr. Eth. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 216; Letourneau, *Evol. of Marriage*, 133). While polygamy was general in Polynesia, the lesser wives were subordinate to the chief wife, who did no hard work, and they were of lower rank, or captives taken in war. They were concubines rather than wives (Maoris, Tongans, Tahitians, Samoans, etc. [Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, London, 1870, p. 338; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 105, 107, 119; Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, London, 1859, i. 273; Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific*, London, 1785, i. 401]). With the Beluns of Timor and the Nufors of New Guinea one legitimate wife and permissible concubinage is the rule (Post, i. 62). Among several of the Bantu peoples of Africa the lesser wives are in the position of concubines, *e.g.* with the Basutos the 'great' wife is mistress of the house, and the others are inferior, and regarded as concubines (Casalis, *The Basutos*, London, 1861, p. 186); and among the tribes of East Central Africa the chief wife is a free woman and superintends the work of the others, who are slaves (Macdonald, *Africana*, London, 1882, i. 134). This is true also of some of the Negro tribes (Post, i. 62). Among the Hovas of Madagascar there is a chief wife (*vadi-be*) and 'little wives' (*vadi-kéli*); the former has her own hut, the latter live together in equal servitude (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 297 f.; Rochon, 'Voy. to Madag.', in Pinkerton, *Voyages*, London, 1814, xvi. 747). Among the Australian polygynous tribes, where a man may have as many wives as he can obtain or keep, the first is superior in authority if she can maintain her position with the younger and later wives. This is especially the case where, besides his individual wife, a man takes one or more of the women belonging to the class into which he has a right to marry (Dawson, *Aust. Aborigines*, Melbourne, 1881, p. 33; Woods, *Nat. Tribes of S. Aust.*, Adelaide, 1879, p. 12; Palmer, *JAI* xiii. 282; Howitt, *ib.* xx. 53 ff.; Thomas, *Natives of Aust.*, London, 1906, p. 175). Sometimes, where marriage is forbidden to priests, as among Mongol tribes, they are permitted to have concubines (Köhne, *ZVRW* ix. 461).

But, where among savages there are marriages to several wives, concubinage sometimes co-exists with this polygamous arrangement, though even here the first wife married is usually the chief, and exercises authority over the lesser wives and concubines. In some cases, however, as among the ultra-polygamous Negro households, there may be several head wives (Post, *Afrik. Jurisprud.*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1887, i. 313, 315). In most cases concubines are here captives taken in war or raids, though occasionally they are purchased.

Among the Eskimos polygamy and concubinage are occasionally found, women captured in fight being made concubines (Steller, *Kamtschatka*, Frankfort, 1774, ii. 157). Among the Apaches and other polygamous tribes of N. America, and among the nomadic tribes of the S. American pampas, besides wives there are numerous concubines—female prisoners taken in the *razzias* which are so frequent (Reclus, *Prim. Folk*, London, 1889, p. 128; D'Orbigny, i. 403). This is also true of the polygamous Kafir tribes that made raids expressly to obtain girls as concubines, who, unlike their wives, were without protection and at their mercy (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 77). But the most striking examples are found among the Negro tribes, especially those of Dahomey, Ashanti, etc. Generally a man has as many wives and concubines as he can buy or otherwise procure. Concubines are usually obtained in raids, or are bought as slaves, or are given to his favourites by the king. The number of wives and concubines increases in proportion to a man's position and wealth, the kings of the barbarous kingdoms often having hundreds or thousands in their harem, while they have a right over every unmarried girl (Speke, *Source of the Nile*, London, 1863, p. 344; Bosman, in Pinkerton, xvi. 479–80; Burton, *Mission to Gelele*, London, 1864, ii. 67; Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 81 f.). The Papuans of New Guinea raid villages to obtain concubines, and in Fiji polygamy was accompanied by concubinage, chiefs often possessing hundreds of concubines, while there was a custom by which a bride took with her a child of the lower class and presented her to her husband when she had attained puberty (Letourneau, *ib.* 43, *Marriage*, p. 124; Williams, *Fiji*, London, 1858, i. 32). In Samoa, besides their wives, of whom one had a high position, chiefs made concubines of young women among their subjects (Pritchard, *Polynes. Remin.*, London, 1866, pp. 132, 372). In the Indian archipelago, polygamy with concubinage is generally confined to men of high rank (Westermarck, p. 440), but among the Lampongs of Sumatra the custom is for each man to have four wives, besides concubines. The third and fourth wives are subordinate to the first and second respectively, and the concubines to all four wives. The house is divided into three parts—*prumpu*, *balangan*, and *tenga*. The first wife lives in the *prumpu*, the second in the *balangan*, the third and fourth in wings of the *prumpu* and *balangan*; the *tenga* is shared by the concubines (Post, *Ethnol. Jurisp.* i. 144 f.).

Some revolting forms of concubinage occur sporadically. For example, among the Caribs captive women were not eaten, but were kept for bearing children, who were eaten. The same occurred in Darien, where the mother also was eventually eaten (Andree, *Anthropophagie*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 72; Markham, *Travels of P. de Cieza de Leon*, London, 1864, p. 50 ff.). With this may be compared the Guarani and Tupi custom of allotting to each prisoner a woman of the tribe until the time came for him to be eaten, when the woman was one of the first to share in the meal; and the Mexican custom of giving four girls to the captive destined to be sacrificed to Tezcatlipoca. These were named after four goddesses, and were specially trained for this purpose (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 161; Andree, 85; *NR* iii. 423).

The custom of Europeans living with native women in different parts of the world and having children by them is a common form of concubinage, and one which dates from the first contact of white men with savages.

4. **Concubinage among higher races.**—(1) While monogamy was general among the people in *Egypt* (Herod. ii. 92), there was no restriction upon polygyny, and it flourished among the higher classes. Monogamy was binding upon the priests, but some of them appear to have had concubines; a high priest *c.* 40 A.D. says: 'I had beautiful concubines' (Diod. Sic. i. 80; W. Max Müller, *Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 5). Among the higher classes each wife had her own house, of which she was mistress; but they had different rights, according to their rank. Besides them were concubines—domestic slaves, or war captives, who had few rights. Kings had one chief wife—the 'great spouse' or queen, often a sister—many lesser wives varying in rank, and innumerable concubines—foreign women, hostages, captives, or slaves. On the monuments, kings boast of the number of women they had carried off in war. These were taken to the harems, while there was also a regular tribute of women from various places. The nobles imitated the royal establishment, and besides the legitimate wife had concubines, dancers, and slaves. Wall-paintings often exhibit the king with his queen seated by him, and his lesser wives or concubines dancing before them. At a later period polygyny was still more the privilege of the higher classes and officials, while from the time of king Bocchoris onwards (*c.* 730 B.C.) marriage contracts are found in which a wife (probably because of her possession of property) has a clause inserted which insists on the husband's making her a payment in the event of his taking another wife or concubine (see Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, London, 1894, pp. 51 f., 270, 298; Flinders Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, London, 1896, ii. 274; Wilkinson, i. 318 f.; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 336 ff.; Paturet, *La Cond. jurid. de la femme dans l'anc. Egypte*, Paris, 1886, p. 22).

(2) With the ancient peoples of the East, concubinage was common and of great antiquity, the word for a rival wife (Heb. צָרָה) being common to all the Semitic languages. Among the *Babylonians* the Code of Ḫammurabi shows the conditions of its existence about 2285 B.C. Polygamy was restricted, and had little hold upon the people, the bulk of whom were monogamous, the wife generally having a high place in the community. But it was commoner among the rich and powerful, one of the wives ranking before the others. In marriage contracts it was often stipulated that, if the husband took another wife or a concubine, the first wife might leave him, while he would have to pay her an indemnity (Maspero, p. 735; Sayce, *Social Life among the Assyr. and Bab.*, London, 1893, p. 45 ff.; Johns, *JThSt* iv. 180). But, according to the Code, a man might marry a second wife if 'sickness had seized' the first (§ 148). The wife might give the husband a slave girl as a concubine to bear him children, but he must not then take one himself. If she tried to rival her mistress on that account, the latter might put a mark on her and place her among the slaves, but could not sell her if she had borne children. Where a childless wife failed to supply a concubine, the husband might take one himself, but she was not to be on an equality with the wife (§ 144 f.). A concubine might be put away, but her marriage portion must then be returned. This was what had been given her by her father when he gave her as a concubine (§§ 137, 183 f.). Such concubines were rather lesser wives, and the Code shows that they had a fixed status. But apparently a man's maidservants or slaves might also be concubines without legal status. Their children shared in the goods of the father at his death only if he had acknowledged them; but, in any case, they were free (§ 170 f.; Johns, *The Oldest Code of Laws*, London, 1903). Such slave concubines were entirely at the mercy of their master, whose right over them was absolute, and 'the begetting of children by their master was desired rather than otherwise' (Maspero, p. 735). Kings had several wives as well as concubines, and sometimes the son of a favourite slave might be nominated as the successor to the throne. They had also the right to take any female slave from her master as a concubine. In such a case the seller of the slave undertook all responsibility incurred by such a claim (*ib.* 708; Sayce, p. 77). There existed among the people irregular marriages, in which the father's consent was not required, and no purchase price was paid for the woman, though cohabitation, terminable at will, took place. Such a woman, however, was regarded by the law as a mere concubine, and had to wear a stone with her own and her husband's name and the date of their union (Maspero, p. 738).

In *Assyria*, kings were probably monogamous, but had several concubines; rich men also had many female slaves, dancers, and flute-players (Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, London, 1862,

i. 505; see also Kohler-Peiser, *Aus dem bab. Rechtsleben*, Leipzig, 1890–98).

(3) Among the *Hebrews*, though the bulk of the people were probably monogamous (but cf. 1 S 1²), polygamy and concubinage were permissible and provided for in the laws (cf. Dt 21¹⁵), and were practised by the well-to-do (cf. Jg 19). The moving cause of polygyny was probably desire for offspring, as with many other peoples, especially in the East. In the patriarchal age there are some likenesses to the Bab. Code. Jacob is not to take other wives besides Laban's daughters (Gn 31⁵⁰). The wife might give her husband one of her female slaves as a concubine in order to raise up children—a common Eastern custom, the children being reckoned to the wife, who retained her authority over the slave. Thus, Sarah gave her handmaid Hagar to Abraham (who had other concubines); Rachel gave Bilhah to Jacob, 'that I may also have children by her'; and Leah gave him Zilpah when she 'saw that she had left bearing' (Gn 16³ 25⁶ [cf. 1 Ch 1³²] 30³·⁹). Each mother and her children had a separate tent (Gn 31³³). In Jg 8³⁰ᶠ· Gideon has many wives and concubines. Concubinage, which would naturally result from the power of a man over his female slaves, is contemplated in the Law. In the Book of the Covenant a father may sell his daughter as a concubine or slave-wife for the buyer or his son. She is not to be set free in the Sabbatical year, though this rule is abrogated in Dt 15¹²·¹⁷ᵇ (or perhaps by that time the selling of a Hebrew woman as a concubine no longer existed). She was not to be sold to a foreigner; but, if she did not please her master, she might be redeemed by her kinsfolk, or she might be given to his son. If he took another, the food, raiment, and 'duty of marriage' of the first were not to be diminished (Ex 21⁷⁻¹¹). Failing any of these alternatives, she was free. Her position was nearly that of a legal wife. Captives (foreign women) taken in war were a fruitful source of concubinage (Nu 31⁹·¹⁸, Dt 20¹⁴), but special provisions were made for their treatment in the Deuteronomic code (Dt 21¹⁰⁻¹⁴). Not for a month was her owner to cohabit with a captive, but, unlike the legitimate wife, she could be repudiated without formal divorce, in which case she was free and could not be sold. As concubines a certain stigma attached to these captives in comparison with the wife obtained by purchase in the tribe (Gn 31²⁶), though the latter was scarcely more free. The rules about not selling concubines are in accordance with the general Oriental feeling that it is disgraceful to sell them, especially when they have borne children (cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*², London, 1903, p. 92). In Lv 25⁴⁴ᶠ· bondmaids may be bought of the heathen or of 'strangers that do sojourn among you.' These, like all female slaves, would become concubines, and there was probably an extensive traffic in them. Polygamy and concubinage were largely practised by the wealthy and by kings, though in Dt 17¹⁷ the multiplying of wives by the latter is forbidden as a cause of unfaithfulness. David had 10, Solomon 300, and Rehoboam 60 concubines (2 S 5¹³ 20³, 1 K 11³, 2 Ch 11²¹). In this they followed the custom of most Oriental monarchs. Though legislation permitted polygyny, monogamy in later times is evidently held up as an ideal. This ideal is unmistakably set forth in Gn 2²²⁻²⁴, while it is again pointed to in the cases of Noah and his sons, and of Lot, Isaac, and Joseph. Monogamy is also assumed in Proverbs and elsewhere, and is strikingly exemplified in the Prophetic books in the relation of Jahweh to Israel alone among the nations, as that of husband to wife, while the inconveniences of polygyny are pointed out in Gn 16⁴ 30¹, Dt 21¹⁵ᶠᶠ·, 1 S 1⁶ᶠᶠ·, 2 S 16²¹. There was thus in some quarters a protest against polygyny, but, though it was doubtless less and less practised, it remained as a general custom (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVII. i. 2).

(4) Among the early *Arabs*, captives taken in war became the wives or concubines of their captors; but, even in Muhammad's time, if they bore their master a child, they could not be sold or ransomed. Probably their children were then freeborn and legitimate. In earlier times, however, and in the case of Negro slave women, the children were slaves. Raids were undertaken with a special view of obtaining women (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* 89).

In *Muhammadan* countries, a man, according to general opinion, may have four wives, and, if he can deal with them 'with equity,' as many slave concubines—'those whom your right hands have acquired' (*Qur'ān*, iv. 3)—as he pleases, provided they are not sisters or otherwise related in any way which would prevent his marrying them. Concubines are defenceless, and over them their owner has unlimited power, though sometimes the situation of a favourite concubine may be more agreeable than that of a wife (*DI*, p. 671; Lane, *op. cit.* i. 243). One of the wives, usually the first married, is regarded as the chief, and is called the 'great lady,' though her place may be taken by a lesser wife if she is childless, or if the latter becomes the favourite. Concubines may be war-captives, offspring of a female slave by another slave or another man, or women given as a gift, but more often they are purchased. After acquiring a female slave, the owner must wait for a period of 1 to 3 months before making her his concubine. Slave concubines may be Muslims, Jews, or Christians, but not idolaters or within the prohibited degrees. In Arabia and Egypt they are often of mixed Abyssinian race; black slave girls have generally a menial position. White female slaves, for whom a large price is paid, are to be found only in the harems of the wealthy (Lane, i. 241–2; Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 280 f.). Where a man has not four legal wives, public opinion regards it as commendable for him to marry a female slave who bears him a child, but she must first be set free. Where the child of a concubine is acknowledged by the father, it enjoys the same privileges and inheritance as the child of the free wife, and the mother cannot be sold or given away. Unless the owner emancipates and marries her, she remains a concubine, but is free at his death (Lane, i. 139 ff., 244; Letourneau, p. 280 f.). In practice many Muslims are monogamous from necessity or conviction—about 5 per cent in India and Egypt, and 2 per cent in Persia (Lane, i. 252; Amér 'Ali, *Personal Law of the Muham.*, London, 1880, p. 29 ff.). In India it is quite the exception to find any Muhammadan zenanas where there is a plurality save in the case of barrenness (Billington, *Women of India*, London, 1895, p. 16). On the other hand, it is not uncommon for a man to have concubines and no wives, in which case they are often made much of, and enjoy a luxury and comfort equal to that of a wife (Lane, i. 243). Where a wife has female slaves of her own, they cannot become the husband's concubines without her permission, and this is not often granted (*ib.* i. 241).

(5) Among the ancient *Persians* (including Parthians), kings had several wives, of whom one was regarded as wife in a different sense from the others, who were of lower birth; and the monarch also had many concubines, whom he had a right to take from any part of his kingdom. They were kept in close seclusion, and in each palace there were separate apartments for the queen and the concubines. The statement of Herodotus (i. 135), that the Persians marry many wives and keep a still greater number of concubines, refers only to

the wealthier classes, many of whom had an excessive number of concubines. The chief wife had to be of the husband's rank. In war, women and children were taken captive and became slaves, and the kings frequently made presents of several beautiful slaves to the bravest warriors. In Media, polygyny was common among the wealthy (see Herod. iii. 68, 88; Est 2[2-15]; Rawlinson, *op. cit.* iii. 216, 219, *Parthia*, London, 1894, pp. 404, 407, 414; Spiegel, *Erān. Altertumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871-78, iii. 677, 679-80; Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 323). In modern Persia the Shah may take any woman, married or unmarried, free or slave, in the kingdom, and place her in his harem (Letourneau, p. 325).

(6) With the ancient *Mexicans*, *Mayas*, and *Chibchas*, while a titular monogamy prevailed, especially among the poor, the rich and powerful practised polygyny on a large scale. Besides the first, the true and lawful wife, whose children alone inherited, there were lesser wives and numerous concubines. Nobles had as many as 800 concubines, and they were counted by thousands in the palaces of the monarch. To his favourites or to visitors the latter would make presents of these concubines, or he occasionally offered them as sacrificial victims. In cohabiting with a concubine no ceremony was necessary, nor was her owner under any obligation to her. Concubines were generally war captives, or girls and women taken from their homes, or children sold by their parents. Each province paid to the monarch a tribute of Indian women for sacrifice or slavery. Another kind of marriage, differing from that of the chief wife, resembled the Roman concubinate. A priest knotted together the mantle of the man and the skirt of the woman, who could not then be repudiated without motive, though she and her children could not inherit. Another method of union was that by which parents chose young girls for their sons. No ceremony or contract was necessary for these temporary unions, but they were sometimes legitimated in the event of issue (see *NR* ii. 264, 271; Waitz, iv. 130, 360, 366; Prescott, *Conq. of Mex.*, New York, 1850, i. 121, 135; Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva España*, 1829, bk. vi. ch. 21; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 184).

In *Peru* a similar condition of affairs prevailed. Monogamy was obligatory for the people, but it was nominal for the Inca and the nobles. These had one chief or real wife (in the case of the Inca, his sister) besides other wives and concubines. The Inca's secondary wives were distant relatives; but besides them he had numerous concubines, taken from all parts of the kingdom, since all women were at his disposal, and it was a signal favour to be chosen for the royal harem. The Inca also had the choice of the Virgins of the Sun, who, when he dispensed with them and permitted them to return to their homes, were honoured and maintained in great state. The royal seraglio often numbered several thousands, dispersed through the different palaces (Prescott, *Conq. of Peru*, New York, 1890, p. 53 f.; Garc. de la Vega, *Royal Comment.*, London, 1869-71, i. 310; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 193 ff.).

(7) Among the ancient *Germans*, according to Tacitus (*Germ.* 18), monogamy was customary, save among the nobles, who were polygamous. This was also the case with the Scandinavians, though this polygyny probably meant marriage with one chief wife and union with lesser wives or concubines. Among the Scandinavians, especially in the later times of conquest, concubines were captives, often of noble rank, taken in war or raids, or foreign bondwomen, often from the East or Greece, bought in regular slave traffic. In the king's court there was usually a large train of fair captive women who acted as wine-bearers at banquets, and such women were also found in lesser numbers in the houses of nobles. Kings gave presents of concubines to brave warriors, or one man offered 'gold-decked slaves' to another. The bond with such concubines was loose as compared with the marriage-tie, which was sacred and respected (Geijer, *Samlade Skrifter*, Stockholm, 1873-5, v. 88; *Heimskringla*, ed. Laing and Anderson, 1889, i. 127 ff.; Vigfusson-Powell, *Corp. Poet. Boreale*, Oxford, 1883, ii. 473 ff.). The later Germanic kings and emperors and often the rich, even into Christian times, had wives and numerous concubines. With the Germans the concubine had neither the rank nor the privileges of the wife, nor had her children any claim to succession, though in Norse law the children of a concubine of 20 years' standing were capable of inheriting (Ploss, *Das Weib*[8], Leipzig, 1905, i. 655). See also CONCUBINAGE (Christian). For the Slavs, cf. the references given by Krek, *Einleit. in die slav. Literaturgesch.*[2], Graz, 1887, p. 362, note.

(8) Among the *Celts* monogamy was general, though kings occasionally appear with two wives (*ZCP* iii. 9; Stokes, *Lives of Saints*, Oxford, 1890, p. 237). Concubinage was quite usual, especially among the higher classes, concubines being either war captives or slaves, but the legitimate wife was mistress of the house. Little is known of the practice of the Continental Celts, but the polygyny of the Gauls (Cæsar, *BG* vi. 19) was probably of this kind, viz. a chief wife and lesser wives or concubines. In the Irish texts, concubinage is occasionally referred to, and so much was it a recognized institution that it is provided for in the Brehon Law. King Diarmaid in the 6th cent. had two legitimate wives and two concubines. The children of the latter were in an inferior position, and the second wife had been espoused because the first was barren. Popular custom is reflected in the mythico-heroic tales. The mythic king Conchobar takes his prisoner Deirdre and cohabits with her without any objection on the part of his wife, and then offers her to Eogan for a year. But sometimes the wife made objection to the presence of a concubine; *e.g.* Dubthach's wife threatened him with divorce if he did not sell the slave whom he had bought, and who was about to bear him a child (later S. Brigit). The concubine was, therefore, sold to a Druid. Slave women were liable to become concubines, and were often subjected to gross indignities (see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *La Civilisation des Celtes*, Paris, 1899, p. 288 ff.; Joyce, *Social Hist. of Anc. Ireland*, London, 1903, ii. ch. 19). Free women in Ireland appear sometimes as concubines, or as united in free love to warriors (Meyer, *Cath Finntrága*, Oxford, 1885, p. 29). In Wales, girls were hired from their parents for a fixed price, and a penalty was enjoined if the connexion was relinquished (Gir. Camb. *Descr. Camb.* ii. 6).

(9) In *Abyssinia*, the Emperor has one wife, the *itighe*, and a large number of lesser wives or concubines, and he has also the right to send for any woman who pleases him. This is considered a great honour. His example is followed by the nobles and wealthy men, who, besides a wife, have many domestic concubines. Women taken in war are made concubines (Letourneau, *Marriage*, 162, *La Femme*, 286).

(10) In *China*, besides the chief wife, one or more secondary but legitimate wives or concubines are a recognized institution, the ceremony of marriage being gone through with the first only, who must be of the husband's rank. Bigamy, or raising a concubine to the rank of wife during the lifetime of the wife, is illegal, but a man whose

wife reaches the age of 40 without having children must take a concubine for the sake of the ancestral cult. The secondary wives must obey the chief wife, who calls the man 'husband,' while they call him 'master'; but she is not expected to show jealousy of them, and, as popular poetry insists, should provide for their comfort. They are of inferior station, and, as they are usually purchased, they are mainly a luxury of the rich. They may be repudiated without any formality, or sold again by their owner. Poor parents freely sell their daughters as concubines—this being legal in China—either directly to rich men or to men who trade in concubines, and who educate them and re-sell them at a high price. While concubinage is legal, at the present time it is blamed unless the wife has no children, and a man loses respect when he multiplies concubines. Frequently they are taken only with the wife's consent. Children of concubines and domestic slaves have the same legal rights as those of the wife, if the mother has been received into the house. They are regarded as the wife's children, not the concubine's; they wear mourning at her death, but not at that of their mother, and lavish on her expressions of affection and respect, while they treat their own mother with contempt (Medhurst, *JRAS China*, iv. 15, 21, 31; Gray, *China*, London, 1878, i. 212 ff.; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 246 ff.). Mandarins in *Korea* are obliged by custom to have more than one wife as well as several concubines, while concubinage is very common among the nobility, the wife being doomed by etiquette to a species of widowhood (Ross, *Hist. of Corea*, Paisley, 1879, p. 315; Griffis, *Corea*, London, 1882, p. 251).

(11) In ancient *Japan*, though wife, mistress, and concubine were terms which were not distinguished, an occasional distinction is drawn in the texts between the chief wife and secondary wives or concubines, of whom she sometimes shows jealousy, while they are of lesser rank (Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, Suppl. to *TASJ* x. [1883] pp. xxxviii, xl, 270). In later times the position of the wife became that of the wife in China, while concubinage was legalized, the law specifying the number of concubines a man might have according to his rank. Their children are equal in law with those of the wife, who is regarded as their mother. She is addressed as *O-ku-sama*, 'honourable lady of the house,' and her position is a high one; but she must not show jealousy, however numerous the concubines may be. In circles which represent modern Japan, concubinage is ceasing to be practised and is regarded as incompatible with civilization (Rein, *Japan*, London, 1884, p. 423; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 233; Griffis, *Rel. of Japan*, London, 1895, p. 320; Norman, *The Real Japan*, London, 1892, p. 183).

(12) In *India*, while the bulk of the people lived and still live in monogamy, polygyny has always been recognized and practised by the rulers and wealthy, though it is prohibited by certain tribes and sub-castes, or is permitted in theory but practised only in case of sterility, since the begetting of a son is all-important (Billington, *op. cit.* 15; Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, Ceremonies*, Oxford, 1897, i. 210; cf. also Strabo, p. 709). The Vedas show that polygyny was practised, though perhaps not commonly, and it included concubinage. One poet prays that Pūshan will provide him with many damsels, and the texts speak of captive women taken in fight and given as presents (Muir, v. 457, 461). In later times several passages of Manu refer to a plurality of wives (iii. 12, viii. 204, ix. 85 ff.), though there is some attempt to establish monogamy (v. 168, ix. 77–82, 101). Brāhmans and rich Kṣatriyas (to the latter of whom the loosest forms of marriage were sanctioned) had lesser wives or concubines. The case of the Brāhman with four wives of different castes is contemplated,[1] but the first wife must be of his own caste, and she had precedence over the others, hence they were in the position of superior concubines rather than wives, and their children received a lesser share of the inheritance. The first marriage was regarded as more sacred, being contracted from a sense of duty, and not for mere self-gratification (iii. 12, ix. 147; Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, Madras, 1878, p. 75). The troop of wives who belong to the king, and whose duties are carefully prescribed, were also superior concubines rather than true wives (vii. 219 ff.). Women carried off in battle became slaves of the victors, *i.e.* concubines in an inferior position. In modern times polygyny is an undoubted right for those who can afford it, and concubinage is a matter of common custom, especially in the higher ranks, but the first wife is chief and retains her prerogatives. 'By the law a Hindu may marry as many wives, and by custom keep as many concubines, as he may choose' (Balfour, *Cyclop. of India*, London, 1885, iii. 252; Mayne, pp. 75, 372; Dubois, i. 211). Concubines are sometimes secretly kept in a separate establishment to avoid the wife's jealousy, though the *Padma Purāṇa* directs her to avoid domestic quarrels on account of another woman whom her husband may wish to keep (Dubois, i. 311, 351). Women who are unable to find husbands commonly form connexions as concubines, while devotees who take vows of celibacy often have concubines under various pretexts (Dubois, i. 210, 288). Priestesses of the Śiva and Viṣṇu cults are frequently mistresses of the priests, and dancing girls associated with temples, *e.g.* that of Jagannatha-kṣatra in Orissa, are practically concubines of the officiating Brāhmans (Dubois, i. 133–4; Ward, *Hist. Lit. and Relig. of the Hindoos*[3], London, 1817–20, ii. 134). Concubines are entitled to maintenance when the connexion with them has been of a permanent character, analogous to that of female slaves, members of a man's household, in earlier times (Mayne, p. 367; for further details and references, see Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896 [=*GIAP* ii. 8], pp. 64–67).

(13) See CONCUBINAGE (Greek and Roman).

5. Forms of marriage and of sexual union analogous to concubinage.—Some forms of marriage, etc., are not far removed from marriage with concubinage.

(*a*) The custom of so-called group-marriage found especially among the Urabunna of Central Australia is of this kind. A man has one or more women allotted to him from the group with which marriage is possible to him. To them he has only a preferential right. Other men have access to them, while he has access to other women of the same group. The women to whom men have thus occasional access are *piraungaru* to them, and they are in effect accessory wives (=secondary wives or concubines, Spencer-Gillen[a], pp. 62–3, [b]p. 73; for the analogous custom of the Dieri tribe, see Howitt, *passim*; and for 'group-marriage' as a whole, Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 127 ff.). Among other Central Australian tribes a man may lend his wife to men of the intermarrying group at any time. These also, with certain others, have access to her at the time of marriage, while a still wider system of access prevails at certain ceremonial occasions (Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 141). The women, apart from his wife or wives, to whom a man has access are practically occasional concubines to him.

(*b*) Where polygamy is systematically associated with polyandry, the wives with whom a man or men are associated practically stand to the first wife in the position of secondary wives or concubines. Where the husbands of a woman are brothers, as among the Todas, 'if the wife has one or more younger sisters, they in turn, on attaining a marriageable age, become the wives of their sister's husband or husbands' (Shortt, *TES*, new ser., vii. 240). Or, as among the Nairs, where a

[1] Roger, *Open-Deure tot het verborgen Heydendom*, Leyden, 1651, p. 217 f., records a Coromandel tradition that the father of the poet Bhartṛhari had a wife from each of the four castes. The poet was his son by the Śūdra wife, and by his early devotion to his 300 wives caused his father much anxiety, because of the belief that 'whoever has begotten children by a Soudra wife, he, so long as any descendants survive, remains deprived of heaven.'

woman may have several husbands, not necessarily brothers, a man may marry several women (Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, London, 1813, i. 385). Sometimes, too, these wives become paramours (concubines) of other men (Todas [Reclus, p. 197]; Kunnavans of Madura [Mayne, p. 60]). In many instances of polyandry, especially of brothers, the elder brother is the chief husband and the younger are lesser husbands. The arrangement thus corresponds to that of the chief and lesser wives, and the younger brothers are a sort of 'male concubines' (cf. Westermarck, p. 516). In most of these cases the children are attributed to the chief husband and call him father.

(*c*) Besides the practice of lending wives or of exchanging them at festivals—both of very wide occurrence (see ADULTERY [Primitive and Savage], § 7)—the exchange of wives for a shorter or longer period as a sign of friendship occurs sporadically, often between chiefs. The custom is found among the Australians, Eskimos, several American Indian tribes, in Polynesia, with the negroes of Angola, etc. (Thomas, p. 177; Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, London, 1893, p. 148; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 107, 114, *Marriage*, 52, 61; Westermarck, pp. 75, 488), while Sir G. Mackenzie says tinkers in the 17th cent. used each others' wives as concubines (Lang, *Sir G. Mackenzie*, London, 1909, p. 322). In such cases the woman becomes the paramour of the man.

(*d*) Again, where a chief, ruler, or priest has, or claims, the right to a woman for the first night or nights of her marriage, such women are in the position of temporary concubines. This practice is found among the Eskimos, the Caribs, and certain Brazilian tribes; in Nicaragua; in Malabar, and Cambodia; in New Zealand; in Africa; in ancient Ireland, and elsewhere (Westermarck, p. 76 ff.; Giraud-Teulon, *Les Origines du mariage*, Paris, 1884, p. 32 ff.; Letourneau, *Marriage*, 47; Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 21). The right is also claimed at other times, or a chief or king may take any girl or woman as he pleases (Westermarck, p. 79; Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 208; Meyer, p. 29; O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, 1892, ii. 408), or access may be granted as a favour, *e.g.* in the case of Kalmuk priests, who are not allowed to marry (Westermarck, p. 79; for other instances, cf. vol. i. 125[b]).

(*e*) There are numerous instances, especially among savages, in which girls before marriage are free to form connexions with men, while it is considered almost dishonourable not to have a lover (Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 422). This is very common in Africa; and an extreme instance of it occurs among the Masai, where men do not marry until the age of thirty. Young men, therefore, are allowed to select one or two young girls after giving a present to the mother. The girls live in the warriors' quarters, and are given great liberty. When they are of a marriageable age, they return home, and must live morally (Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, London, 1902, ii. 822). Among some American Indian tribes, girls preferred free love to marriage, and accompanied hunters on expeditions. If children were born they were legitimate, though not on the same level as children born in wedlock (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 135). In other cases these connexions are a kind of trial marriage, and may become permanent if the girl proves with child (Reclus, p. 194; Westermarck, pp. 23, 24, 71; Post, i. 54; Gir. Camb. ii. 6; for the three years' trial connexions of certain Essenes, see Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 13). But there are other temporary unions which are still more suggestive of concubinage. These are found sporadically among savages (Post, i. 53), but occur at higher levels also. Among the Assanyeh Arabs a custom exists by which a woman is the wife of a man for three or four days in each week, but may form other connexions on the remaining days. Some have seen in this a survival of the *mot'a* marriage of the ancient Arabs—a form of temporary union with a woman dwelling with her own family (Spencer, i. 635; W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* 83 ff.). In Persia a wife may be tried for a legally stipulated time, at the expiry of which the parties may separate or renew the contract (Westermarck, p. 519). In Japan a daughter may be hired for a temporary union, the duration of which is fixed by contract. This union often exists between Europeans and Japanese girls (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 232; Kreitner, *Im fernen Osten*, Vienna, 1881, p. 235). In Tibet, temporary marriages are contracted for six months, one month, or a week—perhaps a form of polyandry. Traders form temporary connexions with women—a common custom elsewhere wherever caravans halt or markets are held (Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, London, 1891, pp. 212, 144). Among the ancient Irish, temporary marriages for a year existed. They were arranged at the Beltane festival (1st May), and at next Beltane were broken, when the woman passed to a new husband (Giraud-Teulon, p. 330). This is akin to the Scottish 'handfasting,' by which 'at the public fairs men selected female companions with whom to cohabit for a year. At the expiry of this period both parties were accounted free, they might either unite in marriage or live singly' (Rogers, *Scotland, Social and Domestic*, London, 1869, p. 109).

(*f*) Occasionally a wife is allowed a legal paramour, to whom she stands in the relation of a concubine. He takes the place of the real husband in his absence, and is often a younger brother. This custom is found among the Aleuts, Thlinkets, Koloshes, Kaniagmuts, some African tribes, some Papuans, and in Nukahiva (Erman, *ZE* iii. 163; Dall, *Alaska*, London, 1870, p. 416; Kohler, *ZVRW*, 1900, p. 334; Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, London, 1814, p. 83; Post, *Afrik. Jurisp.* i. 468, 472 f.). In Sparta a secondary husband was also permitted to increase the family (Xenoph. *Rep. Lac.* i. 9; Müller, *Doric Race*, London, 1830, ii. 211). Among the Konyagas adultery is punished by making the lover a member of the household, a secondary husband and servant (Reclus, p. 67).

(*g*) Among the Reddies, when a woman is married to a young boy, she cohabits with the father or uncle of the boy, who, when he grows up, takes the wife of another boy (Shortt, *TES*, new ser., vii. 264 f.) Cohabitation of the father with the son's wife during his minority also exists among the Ostyaks, Ossetes, and the Vellalah caste in Coimbatore, in the Marquesas Islands; and it existed among the old Prussians and among the Russian serfs before the emancipation (Westermarck, p. 454; Post, i. 56).

6. The taking of a secondary wife or a concubine is not necessarily felt as a reproach by the legal wife. Frequently, where women have to work hard, the concubine is rather welcomed, and the wife may even encourage the husband to take one as a means of lightening her labours, especially as it also gives her a certain amount of power over the new-comer. This may also happen where polygyny gives standing, or is a proof of respectability and wealth.

Among the Zulus the chief wife works hard, so that the husband may be the sooner able to take a younger woman, over whom she will have authority. Other examples are found among Negro and Kafir tribes, the Apaches, Brazilian tribes, the Eskimos, Bagobos of the Philippines, etc. (Westermarck, p. 496; Nansen, *op. cit.* 144 ff.). Among the Arabs of Upper Egypt a wife expects her husband to provide her with a slave who will also be his concubine (Baker, *Nile Tributaries*, London, 1868, p. 125 ff.). Where the wife is old, or has no children, or is absolutely devoted to her husband, she will sometimes urge him to take a concubine, or will herself provide one, as examples cited above have shown (cf. also Lane, *Arab. Society*, London, 1883, p. 246 f.; Westermarck, pp. 489, 495). But generally the desire on the part of the man for variety, for the gratification of sensual passion, and occasionally the wish for numerous offspring, and the fear of childlessness, especially where ancestor-worship exists, are the motives for polygyny.

7. **Bars to concubinage.**—On the other hand, jealousy often causes much unpleasantness in polygynous households. It may lead to the suicide of the wife, or to her ill-treatment if she raises objections, or, again, to her ill-treatment of the new-comers. Hence jealousy is often a powerful means of preventing polygyny.

Taking a second wife or concubine is sometimes a ground for the wife's divorcing her husband (Tuaregs [Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs*, Paris, 1864, p. 429]; Malays [under '*Semando* marriage,' Waitz, v. 145]; some Indian tribes [Post, i. 63]; cf. vol. i. p. 125[a]), or for the wife's leaving her husband for a man who will take her as his only wife (Charruas [Azara, *Amérique Mérid.*, Paris, 1809, ii. 22]; see also § 4, above [Egyptians and Semites]). In some cases a second wife or concubine can be introduced only if the wife is childless (Santals, tribes of the Deccan, Panjāb, and Bombay [Post, i. 63]), or with the wife's consent (Kandhs [Reclus, p. 281]; some Papuan tribes [Kohler, *ZVRW*, 1900, p. 341]; see also Post, i. 63). Sometimes no more than one concubine is permitted, as in the case of the Karens (§ 3).

Among those lower peoples with whom monogamy is customary or polygamy is forbidden, concubinage is sometimes expressly interdicted or is quite unknown.

This is the case with the Papuans of Dorey (Earl, *Papuans*, London, 1853, p. 81), the Karens, Kandhs, Tamils in Ceylon, the Koch and Old Kukis, the Mrûs and Toungtha (with whom it is wrong for a master to take advantage of a female slave), some tribes of the Malay Peninsula, etc. (Westermarck, p. 436; Mayne, p. 75; Dalton, p. 91; *JASBe* xxiv. 621; Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, pp. 193, 235). Outside of marriage the Kabyle law recognizes no sexual relation, and the concubinate is unknown (Hanoteau and Letourneux, *Kabylie*, Paris, 1872–73, ii. 148). In Cambodia, special laws protect female slaves. If one becomes pregnant, she may leave her master, while in the Malacca peninsula she is free in such a case (Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 215; Waitz, i. 153). Public opinion among the Battaks is against cohabitation with a female slave. Should she become a concubine, custom (*adat*) regards her as a lesser wife (Letourneau, p. 201). See also § 4 (China, Japan).

In cases where the husband at marriage went to live with his wife's people, and where polyandry was not conjoined with polygamy, concubinage would seldom exist.

8. **Standing of the concubine.**—Where a concubine is a purchased slave, or a war captive, and often in other cases, she has no control over her own person. As the wife or daughter is often lent to a guest, so the lesser wife, concubine, or female slave is frequently given to him.

In Fiji, the concubines of the chiefs were at the disposal of warriors or guests (Letourneau, *Marriage*, 124). In Samoa, chiefs who tired of their concubines placed them in the guest-house (Pritchard, *op. cit.* 132, 172). In Abyssinia, the concubines of the king were offered to persons of importance (Combes and Tamisier, *Voy. en Abyss.*, Paris, 1839, ii. 120). Herrera says of the Cumanas that 'great men kept as many women as they pleased, and gave the beautifullest of them to any stranger they entertained' (Spencer, i. 634).

Not infrequently concubines or slaves are pros-

tituted for money, which goes to their owner, as among the Maoris (Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 176), Nutka Columbians (*NR* i. 191–94, 217), the Greeks, the Babylonians (Kohler-Peiser, iv. 28–29), and the ancient Arabs, though this was forbidden by Muhammad (*DI*, p. 597), etc.

Generally the concubine can be repudiated without formality, or even sold, though there are exceptions, as when a slave becomes free when she bears her master a child (see above).

Adultery with a lesser wife or concubine is usually less severely punished than in the case of a chief wife.

Among some Negro tribes, adultery with the latter is punished with death, with the former by a fine (du Chaillu, *L'Afrique équat.*, Paris, 1862, pp. 67, 435). In Java, the punishment is slight (Waitz, i. 315). Among the Battaks, if the concubine has borne no children to the master, the lover must pay her value to him; but, if she has, both are punished with death (Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 201). Among some Mongol tribes the owner could take all the lover's possessions, but the concubine was not punished, and unchastity with the concubines of priests (who were not married) was unpunished (Post, ii. 360, 374). In Muhammadan law the adultery of the slave wife is less culpable than that of the free woman (Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 282). In Peru, criminal connexion with one of the Inca's wives or concubines (or with the Virgins of the Sun) was punished with death and confiscation (Prescott, p. 53; Letourneau, p. 195). Generally speaking, the lighter punishment for adultery with a concubine resembles the graded punishments allotted according to the rank of the wife in various societies.

As the wife is often sacrificed at her husband's death, to accompany him into the other world, so, very frequently, concubines are killed at their owner's death for the same purpose.

In Darien and Panama, all, and in Peru a chosen few, of the concubines of nobles or of the Inca were sacrificed (Seemann, *Voyage of H.M.S. Herald*, London, 1853, i. 316; Prescott, pp. 15, 43). In New Zealand, at the death of a chief, some female slaves were crucified; their sacrifice at the death of important persons was common in Melanesia (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 33, 119, *L'Esclav.* 42). The practice is common in Africa; while in India, at the death of a great prince, not only his wives, but often his whole harem, died on the pyre (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 399).

Frequently the eldest son or heir inherits his father's wives and concubines (excluding his own mother).

This occurred in Mexico in the case of women who had not borne children to the deceased, among the Mishmis, Maoris, Bechuanas, many Negro tribes, and the ancient Arabs and Hebrews (Spencer, i. 680; M'Lennan, *Studies in Ancient Hist.*, 2nd ser., London, 1896, p. 475; Bosman, in Pinkerton, xvi. 480; du Chaillu, *op. cit.* 268; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 89; W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* 104 ff.; 2 S 16[22] [Absalom's act signified that his father was dethroned]). Sometimes the brother succeeds to his brother's wives and concubines (Spencer, i. 680). Among the Mapuches, grown-up sons by one wife take another widow as their common concubine (*ib.* 750).

9. Standing of children by concubines.—This varies in different regions. The concubine generally being in the position of a slave, and frequently a foreigner, the child is normally a slave and illegitimate, and inherits nothing at the father's death. This is the case among many savage and barbaric peoples, and is, to some extent, the result of counting descent through the mother—the child taking the mother's rank irrespective of that of the father. It also results from the dislike which some peoples have for any relation outside legitimate marriage.

Among the Algonquins, the children of the second wife were illegitimate (Heriot, *Travels through the Canadas*, London, 1807, p. 324; see also § 3, above). With the Mayas and Mexicans, children of concubines inherited nothing (*NR* i. 650, ii. 265). In New Zealand, even when children of a chief, they were of servile condition, and in Fiji the wives whose children inherited were few in number (Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 176, *Marriage*, 124). In Guinea and in other parts of Negro Africa they are slaves; on the Gold Coast they are not regarded as relatives; and in Timbuctu are incapable of inheriting (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 39; Post, *Afrik. Jurisp.* i. 289). In Cumana, the son of the chief wife inherits everything (Waitz, iii. 383); in the Kingsmill Islands, the son of the wife of highest rank (Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Exped.*, N. York, 1851, p. 556). In Siam, the children of the wife married by the *khan mak* ceremony alone inherit (Colquhoun, *op. cit.* p. 182), and among the Tangutans and Mongols children of concubines are illegitimate, and inherit nothing (Prejevalsky, *op. cit.* i. 69, ii. 121). Among the Lycians, children of a slave wife or a concubine were illegitimate (Herod. i. 173). In India, children by a concubine are entitled to maintenance, but not to inheritance. In some castes the children are illegitimate, but the father may settle something upon them in his lifetime. The position of children by a Sûdra woman married to a man of higher caste is much disputed in the older law; sometimes they are said to be entitled to maintenance only, sometimes to a lesser or greater share of the inheritance (Mayne, pp. 63, 73, 390–91; Dubois, i. 210; see also § 4 [Arabs, Germans]).

Where children are sold by their fathers, those of concubines will generally be first traded for gain. The practice is common in the Solomon Islands, in large tracts of Negro Africa, and in China (Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 39, 235; Giraud-Teulon, pp. 430, 431).

In some instances, inheritance is graded according to the position of the mother—the children of a chief wife being most favoured, those of the lesser wives and concubines receiving lesser shares.

With the Beluns of Timor, children of concubines inherit a third part of the residuum, and in the Philippines and Burma their share is small (Post, i. 147). With the Khyengs, children of lesser wives inherit two parts, children of slaves one part, and children of the chief wife four parts (Kohler, *ZVRW* vi. 197). In Egypt, all were legitimate; but those born in actual marriage took precedence of and had superior rank to children of women of inferior rank or slaves (Maspero, pp. 52, 273). In Peru, the eldest son of the *coya* alone inherited the throne, but children by other women had no inferior position (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 195 f.). In India, the illegitimate son of a Sûdra has privileges of inheritance (a moiety, and sometimes an equal share or the whole) when the mother has been under the father's control (his female slave or the slave of his male slave, according to Manu, ix. 179, and, in modern law, an unmarried Sûdra woman kept as a concubine. The concubine in earlier times would always be a slave). The underlying idea was that the marriage of a Sûdra was of so low a nature as to be itself a kind of irregular connexion (Mayne, pp. 63, 390 f., 463 ff.; Jolly, *ZDMG* xliv. [1890] 85).

In other cases, again, there is no difference in the position of children of a chief wife and of others. This is particularly the case where a childless wife gives her husband a concubine, or where the wife is reckoned the mother of all the children.

Examples are found in Brazil (v. Martius, *Völkerschaften Brasiliens*, 1867, i. 126); with some Negroes and Kafirs (Post, i. 17); in Abyssinia (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 289); among the Bodos and Dhimals (Hodgson, *Misc. Essays*, Lond. 1880, i. 122); among the Kandhs of Orissa (Kohler, *ZVRW* viii. 265); among the Ainus (Westermarck, p. 445); in Sarawak and Borneo, when a man dies intestate (Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, Lond. 1866, ii. 321); and among the Samoyedes and Tatars, with the latter of whom also male children by a concubine receive double the portion of a wife's female issue (Post, i. 17, 146). Among Muhammadan peoples, when sons of concubines are acknowledged by the father, they inherit equally with sons of wives; otherwise they are slaves (Lane, i. 143). In ancient Arabia, the son of a slave woman, if acknowledged, became a full tribesman (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 136). In Babylonia, the sons of a 'maid-servant,' *i.e.* a slave, shared equally with those of the wife if the father had said to them, 'My sons.' But they were slightly inferior (Johns, p. 35; see also § 4, above). Among the Hebrews, it is probable that all the children acknowledged by the father (except those born of adultery or incest) were legitimate; but the position of a concubine's sons is not defined legally with respect to inheritance. Nominally, they inherited with the other sons (the eldest of whom received a double share [Dt 21[17]]), especially where they were reckoned as the children of the legal wife. All the sons of Jacob rank as heads of tribes (Gn 49). But perhaps generally they had a less share, and their position would depend on the attitude of father, wife, or other sons. Abraham gave his concubines' sons presents and sent them away (Gn 25[6]); Sarah says, 'The son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son,' but this is because she is angry with Ishmael (Gn 21[10], cf. 16[5]). Jephthah's brothers drive him out, though he complains of the treatment, which may, therefore, have been unusual, even, as in his case, to the son of a harlot brought up in the father's household (Jg 11[1-7]; see also § 4 [China, Japan]).

Where mother-right and inheritance through the mother prevail, there are some instances of the father making over his property to children of a lesser wife or concubine. This occurs among the Kimbunda, the Wanyanwezi (who allege as the reason that their wife's children have relatives to aid them, while the others have not [Burton, *Lake Regions*, London, 1860, ii. 23]), the Fantis, and in Guinea. Some have seen in this one method by which inheritance based on mother-right passed over to the patriarchate, which involved the succession of sons to fathers (M'Lennan, p. 114; Giraud-Teulon, p. 440). Where concubines are women captured in war, or purchased, they and their children belong to the man in a way in which the children of the wife under mother-right do not. And where there were many concubines of this sort, men would soon form 'a preference for marriage which made the husband his wife's lord, and made his children belong to him' (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 279; cf. Spencer, i. 651). This would be the case where genuine marriage by capture existed, since it tended to break up the whole system of mother-right.

10. Concubinage hardly exists in the lowest savage communities, but it is found in savage societies at a higher level, and is much more common in warlike, barbaric, and partially civilized societies, concubines being either war captives or purchased. In either case their position is little better than that of slaves, subject to their owner's caprices, though, if they become his favourites, their position is a happier one. In some cases they are slaves of the wife or part of her dowry, or house-servants or slaves. In all these societies concubinage is sanctioned by custom or law, whether monogamy or polygamy is the form of marriage, and very often laws exist regulating the position of the concubine, and even tending to ameliorate her position. Although polygamy is found in all barbaric civilizations, a tendency to monogamy, with more or less restricted concubinage, is found in many of them (Egypt, Babylon, the Hebrews), as it is also found sporadically at lower levels (§ 3); or polygamy is entirely restricted to the higher classes (Mexicans, Teutons, Celts, Abyssinians); or, again, polygamy is illegal, but concubinage is allowed (China, Japan, Greece, Rome). Finally, where a higher view of marriage begins to prevail, even concubinage tends to pass away, and becomes more and more a vicious luxury of a few of the rich, as it was in early and mediæval Europe. This is occasionally a natural tendency arising with the growth of a higher civilization, or from contact with a purely monogamous civilization, or it may be induced through the rise of a more ethical religion which condemns lust. For, wherever the monogamous sentiment prevails, wherever other attractions than youth and beauty are looked for in woman, wherever love becomes more refined and the devotion to one woman more absorbing, wherever it is felt that polygyny is an insult to the female sex, wherever woman tends to be on an equality with man, and wherever married people pledge themselves to purity of life, all irregular connexions are soon looked upon as wrong, and concubinage becomes more and more rare. In modern Christian countries it no longer exists as such, though rich men may keep women, more or less secretly, for the gratification of their passions, and prostitution is still an enormous social evil.

LITERATURE.—There is no work dealing exclusively with this subject, but much information will be found in G. E. Howard, *Hist. of Matrim. Institutions*, 3 vols., Chicago and London, 1904; C. Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, London, 1897, *La Condition de la femme dans les diverses races et civilisations*, Paris, 1903, *L'Evolution de l'esclavage*, Paris, 1894; A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1894-95, *Stud. zur Entwicklungsgesch. des Familienrechts*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1890; O. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, *s.vv.* 'Beischlaferin,' 'Polygamie,' etc.; T. Waitz and G. Gerland, *Anthropol. der Naturvolker*, Leipzig, 1859-72; C. S. Wake, *Evol. of Morality*, London, 1878; E. Westermarck, *Hist. of Human Marriage*, London, 1891 [[2]1894].

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

CONCUBINAGE (Christian).—From the beginning there were in the Church two distinct movements—one elevating and sanctifying the family, the other glorifying celibacy and virginity. Both are traced back to the NT, and the second more particularly, though not exclusively, to Mt 19[12] 22[30] and to St. Paul's words to the Corinthians (1 Co 7). The second was already vigorous in the early part of the 2nd century. Clement of Alexandria presents a beautiful picture of marriage (*Paedag.* iii. 250; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.* iii. 364); and Tertullian at the close of the treatise he wrote to his wife (*ad Uxorem*, 'Ante-Nic. Fathers,' Amer. ed. iv. 39-50) likewise emphasizes the dignity and blessedness of marriage, which he, as well as the other Fathers, regarded as a spiritual rather than a physical union. In spite of this high view of marriage, the conceptions of the early Fathers did not rise completely above the old Roman social distinctions so as to set aside the concubinate relation as illegal according to the Scriptures.

For the *clergy* the rule of celibacy came to prevail in the Western Church, though a law of celibacy was voted down in the Council of Nicæa (325). The Synod of Elvira, early in the 4th cent., is by almost general agreement regarded as the first Council that insisted upon marital abstinence for the three higher grades of the clergy (see Funk, 'Cölibat und Priesterehe im christl. Altertum,' *Abhandlungen*, i. 121-155). In the East, marriage was always allowed to the clergy, although the rule came to prevail that priests might not marry a second time. As for the *laity*, the Church seems not to have spoken positively against concubinage for nearly 400 years. In accordance with the Roman practice, Callistus, bishop of Rome (217-222), permitted the concubinage of senators with freedwomen to continue. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 32, 'Ante-Nic. Fathers,' Amer. ed. vii. 494) allowed the baptism of a concubine who was faithful to her heathen consort ('slave to an unbeliever'), but they stipulated that, if a Christian have a concubine, be she a freedwoman or a slave, he must contract legal marriage as a condition of his remaining in the Church. The sentiment of the Church, however, was altogether in the right direction in the matter of the marriage of laymen. This is shown by Constantine's law of 320 (*de Conub.* v. 26), which forbade a man to have a concubine if his wife were living. His laws protecting womanhood, whether virgin, widow, or married, were a direct product of the Christian principle of the sanctity of marriage. Gibbon, in the course of a discussion of the Justinian laws concerning marriage, could say: 'The dignity of marriage was restored by the Christians' (ch. xliv. [vol. iv. p. 478, ed. Bury[4], 1906]).

The First Synod of Toledo (A.D. 400) marks a positive turning-point from the practice of old Rome. It declared that a Christian having both a believing wife and a concubine should be excluded from the Church. A man, however, who had not a wife but a concubine, and only one, should not be repelled from the Church ('qui non habet uxorem et pro uxore concubinam habet, communione non repellatur'; see Mansi, *Concilia*, 1901-09, iii. 997 ff.; Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* ii. 78 ff.). About the same time (402) a Roman Synod (see Hefele, ii. 88) took the same action when it forbade a Christian to marry a deceased wife's sister, and in the same canon forbade him to have a concubine if he had a wife living. This action was regulative for the Middle Ages, and the canon of the Toletan Synod was often referred to. The judgment of Leo the Great (458) was not out of keeping with it, though it strongly favours the hard Roman law. When asked whether a man who left a concubine and married a wife committed bigamy, he replied in the negative (*Ep.* clxvii. 6, 'Nic. Fathers,' Amer. ed. xii. 110). The concubinage of clerics was from the 4th cent. frequently forbidden by conciliar action, and punished with severe penalties. The Third Synod of Orleans (538) forbade the ordination of a man who, during his wife's lifetime, or after her death, kept a concubine. The ecclesiastical references to lay-concubinage are relatively infrequent, but they are in the right direction.

Among the conciliar regulations of the early Middle Ages on lay-concubinage are the following: A Roman Council of 826 (Hefele, iv. 50) forbade a married man to have a concubine ('non licet uno tempore duas habere uxores, uxoremve et concubinam'); so also the Synods of Paris (829; see Hefele, iv. 67), of Mainz (851), and Rome (1059 and 1063). The Synod of Mainz (851) stipulated that a man who had a concubine and did not live with her legitimately might put her away

and marry another; and it also permitted a man having a single concubine to go to communion. Strange to say, the older Roman and Teutonic law was re-affirmed when the Synod of Tribur (895; see Hefele, iv. 556) declared that marriage could be contracted only between equals (as the law of Justinian had done by implication in the 6th cent. when it called concubinage 'unequal marriage').

The strict procedure of the Hildebrandian popes and Hildebrand himself, beginning with the Roman Council of 1059, against all priestly marriage or concubinage is set forth in art. CELIBACY (Christian). And it is sufficient here, in regard to clerical concubinage from this time on to the Reformation, to say that it continued in all countries, but especially in Spain, Hungary, Germany, and England. The Councils of London (1102, etc.) and Westminster, under Anselm and his successors (see Hefele, Lea, etc.), laid down, at the Pope's instance, the most stringent laws against the secret marriage or concubinage of priests and monks, and the entrance of their sons into the benefices of the fathers. The wide prevalency of concubinage is attested beyond contradiction by Eadmer, who says: 'Almost the greater and better part of the English clergy were the sons of priests' (*Hist. Nov.* iv.), by Giraldus Cambrensis, Walter Map, and such English chroniclers as Matthew Paris and Henry of Huntingdon. Adrian IV. (1154-1159), the only English Pope, was the son of a monk of St. Albans, an abbey which at a later period became notorious for its licentious degeneracy. The Bishop of Ely's concubine, Maud of Ramsbury, defended his castle of Devizes (1139) until her son was held up before her eyes and the threat was made to hang him (Ordericus Vitalis, bk. xiii. ch. 40 [Bohn's ed. 1853-56, iv. 211]). The Papal legates coming to England insisted upon the clergy abandoning their concubines; but one of them at least, the Cardinal of Crema, most urgent in these exhortations, was himself caught with a harlot after celebrating mass (Henry of Huntingdon, and Matthew Paris, an. 1125). In the middle of the 15th cent., de la Bere, bishop of St. David's, by his own statement (1452), drew 400 marks yearly from priests for the privilege of having concubines. In the earlier part of the 14th cent., Pelayo Alvarez, bishop of Silves in Portugal, in his famous 'Lament of the Church' (*de Planctu Ecclesiae*), declares that the clergy of Portugal lived freely with women, even women of noble birth, in life-long compacts, and that their children were almost as numerous as the children of laymen. John of Paris in his tracts (about 1330) questioned whether the law of celibacy should not be withdrawn, in view of the fact that it was so poorly observed. The clergy in parts of Germany in the 14th cent. refused to put away their wives. Nicolas of Clemanges says that laics in many parishes ('in plerisque parochiis') would not tolerate a cleric unless he had a concubine ('nisi concubinam habeat'). Lea (*Hist. of Sacerd. Celibacy*, i. 423) is forced in his concluding remarks on sacerdotal celibacy in the Middle Ages to say: 'The records . . . are full of the evidences that indiscriminate license of the worst kind prevailed throughout every rank of the hierarchy.' One of the most notorious offenders in high places in the 16th cent. was Cardinal Beaton of Scotland. On the eve of the Reformation, in Switzerland and other parts of the Church, the concubinage of the clergy was a large source of revenue to the bishops. In the diocese of Bamberg five gulden was paid by the priest for every child born to him, and about 1500 such children were born annually (see Hase, *Kirchengesch.*[10] 1877, ii. 449). The income from the Swiss see of Constance from this source is said to have been 7500 gulden in 1522. Zwingli lived in the relation of concubinage as priest, and Bullinger and Leo Judae were the sons of priests. Erasmus complained of the unhallowed gains of bishops from taxes levied upon priests holding concubines. The 'Complaints made by the German nation' to the Diet of Worms (1521) included a charge against the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries of permitting the cohabitation of priests on account of money ('wie sie uneheliche Beiwohnung von gelts wechen geduldent').

The concubinage of laymen in any form was for the first time subjected to severe penalty by Leo X. and the Fifth Lateran Council (1516). The Council of Trent (1563) at its 24th session (Mirbt, *Quellen zur Gesch. des Papsttums*[2], 1901, pp. 245-249; Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, 1877, ii. 193 ff.), by its strict definition of marriage as a sacrament, by the ceremony it declared necessary, and by the repudiation of divorce except in the modified form of separation from bed and board, made all forms of concubinage unlawful and sinful. The validity of a civil contract of marriage was expressly denied by Pius IX. in the Syllabus of Errors of 1864 (No. 73; Mirbt, p. 369; Schaff, ii. 231); and the same Pope, in his Allocution of Sept. 1852, declared that civil marriage and marriage among Christians who deny the sacramental character of the rite are nothing more than a base and low concubinage condemned by the Church ('turpem et exitialem concubinatum, ab ecclesia damnatum'; Friedberg, *Kirchenrecht*[5], p. 386).

The attitude of the Protestant Reformation and the Protestant Churches to marriage repudiates all concubinage as an adjunct to the union between one man and one woman, or as a substitute for it. Luther's first distinct and final pronouncement on the subject was issued in his *de Votis Monasticis* (1522). It took the ground that marriage is the natural state ordained by God, and that it has a dignity above the celibate state, and he urged nuns and monks to marry rather than indulge concealed passion. Luther's main position was taken by Marsiglius of Padua in his *Defensor Pacis*, 1324 (see Scholz, *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen*, Stuttgart, 1903, p. 452 ff.). In the year 1522, Zwingli and ten other priests petitioned the Bishop of Constance for permission to marry. It remains a blot on Luther's career that he gave his consent to the second marriage of Philip of Hesse, which was virtually concubinage. The well-known freedom of the princes at that day does not justify Luther in having allowed what he no doubt considered the lesser of two evils. The purity of his own family life set an example in the right direction, which, however, does not altogether counteract his advice to the prince of Hesse. The VI. Articles of Henry VIII. are the last official State legislation in England against clerical concubinage. They punished it, after the first offence, with death. In consequence, Cranmer sent his second wife, the sister of Osiander, back to Germany for a time. *The sacredness of the marriage tie and the sacredness of personal purity both in man and woman* have been principles of the Protestant Churches from the beginning, and control their treatment of all forms of fornication and concubinage. They look back as regulative to the Seventh Commandment, and to the words of our Lord concerning monogamy and the permanent nature of the marital tie.

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röther (Rom. Cath.), *Lehrbuch des kath. Kirchenrechts*[2], Freiburg i. B. 1905, p. 690 ff. etc.; the artt. 'Concubinat' in Wetzer-Welte, iii. 842-846 and 'Konkubinat' in *PRE*[3] x. 745-747. General reference may also be made to the literature given under CELIBACY (Christian).

DAVID S. SCHAFF.

CONCUBINAGE (Greek and Roman).—While the Greek and Latin terms for 'concubine' (παλλακίς,-ή, *pælex*) are essentially the same, and are both directly derived from the Sem. *pillegeš*, 'paramour,' we must, nevertheless, carefully distinguish between the two peoples in regard to the actual practice of concubinage.

1. Greek.—Among the Greeks, concubinage was based upon slavery. In Homeric times there might subsist between the owner and his purchased or captured slave-girl a relationship by which no one—save perhaps the regular wife—was offended: witness the cases of Achilles and Briseis, Agamemnon and Chryseis (whom he desired to take home, and of whom he thought more highly than of Clytemnestra, *Il.* i. 112). It is true that the sons born of such connexions were bastards (νοθοι), but the father often brought them up with his lawful children. Thus, Menelaus provides the marriage feast for his son by a slave mother (*Od.* iv. 10); while Theano, the wife of Antenor, seeks to please her husband by bringing up his son by a slave as one of her own children (*Il.* v. 70; cf. viii. 284, and Euripides, *Andromache*, 222). The fact of Priam's having a king's daughter as a secondary wife (*Il.* xxi. 85, xxii. 48) must be taken as indicative of a barbaric stage of civilization, and the same may be said of his having—besides nineteen sons by Hecuba—thirty-one by other women, one of the thirty-one being Doryklus, who is explicitly spoken of as νόθος (*Il.* xi. 490). Even in the Epic age, however, poetry was finding themes in the contentions arising out of these unions, as is illustrated by the story of Phœnix, who at the instigation of his mother set his face against his father's concubine (*Il.* ix. 449)—a subject afterwards handled dramatically by Euripides in his *Phœnix* (cf. also Sophocles, *Trachiniæ*).

As regards the later period, our knowledge of the subject—partial as it is—relates only to Athens, though we may assume the existence of similar conditions in other States. In Athens a valid marriage could be contracted only by a man and a woman who were both citizens, since it was a union of this kind alone which could fulfil the real purpose of marriage, viz. the continued supply of citizens. Nevertheless, marriages between male citizens and alien women, and—though in rarer instances—between female citizens and alien men, were not infrequent, as is shown, in particular, by the inscriptions; such alliances, in fact, were almost a necessary consequence of the large proportion of foreigners resident in Athens. The harsh law mentioned in [Demosthenes] *in Neær.* 16, by which the alien party in such marriages was sold as a slave, cannot have had more than transitory validity. Practically no discredit rested upon those who entered a union of this kind, but their children remained νόθοι, *i.e.*, though they were not slaves, they did not enjoy the rights of citizenship, and could not receive more than 1000 drachmæ of the paternal inheritance. Nevertheless, as generally elsewhere (Aristotle, *Polit.* iii. 3. 5; for Byzantium, Aristotle, *Œcon.* ii. 4), the strictness with which the regulations were applied varied according to the State's requirements in men and money. The ἐπιγαμία could be granted to foreign nationalities, as, *e.g.*, to the Eubœans before 413 B.C. (Lysias, 34, 3), whereby, in all probability, even marriages previously contracted were legitimized, and, by the connivance of the authorities, νόθοι were admitted to the rank of citizens.

It must be borne in mind that the νόθοι in Athens were very numerous; in an earlier age a special gymnasium in the Cynosarges had been set apart for them (Plutarch, *Themist.* 1). In particular circumstances, it is true, a drastic revision of the roll of citizens (διαψήφισις) might be made. Thus in 445-4 B.C., when Psammetichus gifted a large quantity of corn to the Athenians, and an endeavour was made to reduce the number of recipients to the lowest possible figure, Pericles revived the ancient law that the rights of citizenship belonged only to the offspring of a marriage where both parties were citizens, whereupon it was found that 4760 νόθοι (the number is doubtless exaggerated) had been surreptitiously entered upon the burgess rolls. In the Comedians and Orators, accordingly, the gibe most frequently hurled against an enemy or an adversary at law was the reproach of non-citizenship, and hence a slur was sometimes cast upon the mother also, as, *e.g.*, Aspasia, who is called παλλακὶς κυνῶπις and πόρνη (Cratinus, frag. 241; Eupolis, frag. 98); but these epithets need not be taken too literally.

It is unlikely that any legalized system of concubinage existed in Athens. Here, as elsewhere, no doubt, a man might cohabit with his female slaves or with other women, and in one case at least the law countenanced the relationship; if a man had a παλλακή who had borne him free-born children, he might kill with impunity a lover whom he found in her company (Lysias, 1, 30 f.; Demosthenes, *in Aristocr.* 23, 53). When it is said in [Demosth.] *in Neær.* 122 that παλλακαί are kept for the care of the body, the reference is probably to female slaves (cf. the instance in Antiphon, i. 14). Isæus, iii. 39, on the other hand, has in view the case where the legal guardian gives away a young woman as a παλλακή and provides her with a dowry; the reference can hardly be to a legal betrothal (ἐγγύησις). It was possible, of course, to take a *hetaira* into one's house as a παλλακή, as is reported of Hyperides and Isocrates (Athenæus, xiii. p. 590*d*, 592*d*).

2. Rome.—In Rome, where several distinct kinds of marriage were recognized, every other sexual relationship was in ancient times probably called *pælicatus*. According to an old law which was traced to Numa, the *pælex* was forbidden to touch the altar of Juno—the patroness of marriage (Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, iv. 3. 3). Neither in this reference nor in any other from the ancient period can *pælex* signify a concubine with a recognized position beside the legal wife, as the moral rigour then prevalent in Rome repudiated every relationship of that kind; and, wherever the word *pælex* bears this meaning, as, *e.g.*, in Comedy, it betrays the influence of Greek literature. Even in that age, doubtless, a sexual relationship might subsist between master and slave-girl (Valer. Max. vi. 7. 7), but, by reason of the downtrodden condition of Roman slaves, the *ancilla* did not take the place of the Greek παλλακή. By the close of the Republic, however, we have the testimony of Granius Flaccus (*Dig.* l. 16. 144) to the fact that 'now' the name was given to the mistress of a married man; and such liaisons were not uncommon (Cic. *de Orat.* i. 183). The epithet was then applied by Juvenal (ii. 57) to a slave-girl living in intimate relations with her owner; nor was a connexion of this kind treated as illegal until A.D. 326 (*Cod.* v. 26). We even find a discussion of the case where a wife in the marriage contract stipulates for an indemnification should the husband after marriage again take a concubine (*Dig.* xlv. 1. 121). Here the Roman practice diverges from that of Greece, as the offspring of such unions were regarded as *vulgo quæsiti* (i.e. *sine patre* or *incerto patre*), and followed the status of the mother.

The terms *concubina* and *concubinatus* are first met with in the works of Plautus, and are there applied exclusively to Greek conditions; thus, to speak of a marriage without dowry as a *concubinatus* (*Trin.* 690, *Stich.* 562; cf. Terence, *Phormio*, 653) corresponds to the Attic, not the Roman, point of view. But the word was even then in use (*Thesaurus ling. lat.* iv. 98), though it had not a legally determinate connotation; it was perhaps applied to the marriages of slaves (see below), or to those between *ingenui* and *libertinæ*, which, though not valid in law, were probably recognized by public opinion in later times (Cic. *pro Sest.* 111). In the Imperial period, again, the signification of *concubinatus* was modified by the marriage laws of Augustus, which forbade the union of free-born men with women of tarnished reputation (courtesans, procuresses, adulteresses, actresses), while senators were further prohibited from marrying emancipated women or the daughters of parents of ill repute. The man who maintained a relation resembling marriage with any such woman (*i.e.* with her *alone*) was said to be living in *concubinatus*. The laws, it is true, so far recognized unions of this sort that proceedings for *stuprum* were not taken against the parties. The children were out and out *vulgo quæsiti*, *spurii*, or *naturales*—these terms are used indifferently in the inscriptions, which also give *filiaster*—and took the status of the mother, as appears even in their names: thus the son of Publius Paccius Januarius and Mamercia Grapte is called C. Mamercius *sp*(*urii*) *f*(*ilius*), not Paccius or P(ublii) *f*(*ilius*) (*CIL* x. 1138). They stood in no legal relationship to their father, and accordingly could not be abintestate heirs, but were, in all probability, legally related to their mother. The *concubinatus* of a patron and an emancipated woman was specially common, and ranked—from the senatorial point of view—as in the circumstances more respectable than marriage (*Dig.* xxv. 7 pr.). In later times it was customary for the governor of a province to live with a concubine, and Alexander Severus caused her to be maintained at the public expense (*Vit. Alex.* 42). No stain attached to such an arrangement, and in many cases the connexion was regarded by the public as a regular marriage, while it was sometimes eventually placed upon the higher footing (*e.g. CIL* v. 1071); in the inscriptions the concubine is not infrequently called *coniux*, and the man *maritus*. When Septimius Severus prohibited marriages between patroness and freedman, Bishop Callistus of Rome gave permission to the women of his diocese to live in *concubinatus* with *emancipati* and *servi* (Hippolytus, *Refut.* ix. 12). After the death of Faustina, Marcus Aurelius took as a concubine the daughter of a procurator, so that his children might not have a stepmother (*Vit. M. Aur.* 29).

The subject of military concubinage must be dealt with by itself. The *milites gregales*, who were Roman citizens, were prohibited from marrying, and the women with whom they cohabited—commonly, as it appears, called *focariæ*—were regarded as concubines, even when they had been the regular wives of the soldiers before the date of enrolment. But, if a soldier received his honourable discharge (*missio honesta*) at the close of his period of service, his concubine became a wife, unless there was some special impediment. As a matter of fact, the privilege of marrying an alien concubine belonged only to the troops of the metropolitan cohorts, while other soldiers were restricted to women who had the rights of citizenship. Such marriages, however, had no retrospective effect upon the children who had been born during the period of service (distinguished in the inscriptions by the addition of the word *castris*), and these still remained *spurii* (see above). The restrictions in question seem to have been removed by Septimius Severus, who allowed the *milites gregales* to marry during service; they certainly possessed this right in the 4th cent. A.D. We have information to show that in the military town of Lambæsis from A.D. 198 the legionaries lived with their families outside the camp.

The term *concubinatus* did not embrace the *contubernium* of slaves, as the latter ranked simply as chattels. It frequently happened, indeed, that the owner favoured marriages amongst his slaves, either with a view to augmenting his property, or for other reasons, as when he thought that his overseer (*vilicus*) would not do his duty well without a helpmeet (Cato, *de Re Rustica*, 143). But such unions had no legal validity, though it is likely that in actual practice they were generally recognized, and sometimes the way to a regular marriage was opened by the emancipation of both parties (*Dig.* xxxii. 1. 41; *CIL* ii. 2265). The terms *maritus*, *uxor*, and *coniux* are also found in this connexion (*e.g.* Apuleius, *Metamorph.* viii. 22).

The Christian emperors from Constantine onwards endeavoured as a rule to suppress concubinage, and to legitimize the children of these unions. Justinian permitted legitimation in all cases where there was no lawful issue. He was not unfavourable to the practice of concubinage, and regarded it as in some sense a legal institution. The Church likewise gave its sanction to that species of concubinage which was permanent and substantially like marriage (*e.g.* Augustine, *de Bono Coniug.* 3), and tolerated it even among the clergy. In the East, concubinage was prohibited in the 9th cent. by Basilius Macedo and Leo the Wise, but it persisted in the West until it was proscribed by the legislation of the 16th century. See CONCUBINAGE (Christian).

LITERATURE.—E. Hruza, *Beiträge zur Gesch. des griech. u. röm. Familienrechtes* (Leipzig, 1892–94); O. Müller, 'Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. attischen Bürger- u. Eherechts,' *Neue Jahrb.*, Suppl. xxv. 607; C. A. Savage, *The Athenian Family* (Baltimore, 1907); P. Meyer, *Der röm. Konkubinat* (Leipzig, 1895); F. Merkel, *GGA* (1896), p. 852; Marquardt-Mau, *Das Privatleben d. Römer* (Leipzig, 1888), i. 66, 176.

W. KROLL.

CONCURSUS.—According to theologians, God has not only created the world, but also by a continuous action (*creatio continua*) preserves it (*conservatio*), else it would cease to exist.

It has been argued, *e.g.*, by Aquinas (*c. Gent.* iii. 66–67; cf. *Sum.* i. qu. 105) and Suarez (*Metaph. Disp.* xxii. 1–8) that this *conservatio* involves that God concurs or acts immediately in the actions of finite beings, so that He is the cause of all their actions; and it is this activity, viewed in relation to the activity of created things, that is termed *concursus Divinus*. When this preservative and concurrent activity is regarded as directing the course of things towards their final end, there results the concept of the Divine governance of the world (*gubernatio*). The *providentia* of God is regarded as including (1) *conservatio*, and (2) *gubernatio*. The following texts from Scripture are quoted in support of the Divine concurrence:—Job 10^{8}, Ps 104^{29}, Jer 23^{24}, Mt 5^{45}, Lk 12^{28}, Jn 3^{21} 15^{4}, Ac $17^{27f.}$, 1 Co 3^{7}, Eph 1^{11}, Col 1^{17}, He 1^{3}, Wis 8^{1} 11^{25}.

In Augustine's *de Civ. Dei*, xii. 25, God is conceived as ordering all things, as the true cause of growth and increase, and His secret power is viewed as penetrating all things; this efficient power being withdrawn, they sink into nothing.

The doctrine appears in a still more determinate form in Aquinas, who holds that God not only creates things, but also sustains and preserves them in being. It follows, however, from this that all inferior beings act only by virtue of the

Divine activity; for they give being to other things only if they themselves actually exist (*loc. cit.*). The same argument is used by Suarez (*loc. cit.*). God is therefore the cause, in all things that operate, of their operation; and each thing works as it does only through the power of God. Its activity is but the instrumental cause in the hand of God, who is the principal cause. God not only gives forms to things, but preserves them in being, directs them to their action, and is the end of their activities.

This theory of Aquinas is exposed to two opposite dangers or difficulties. On the one hand, it might be said, and was said by the Arabian philosophers, that God is the sole acting cause; that an action of the creature in addition to that of the Creator is rendered superfluous; that it is impossible to have two actions producing the same effect; that, therefore, it is not the fire that warms, but God in the fire. On the other hand, it may be said that God, having in the beginning given to things their forms and powers of action, no longer continues to act immediately in them. To these difficulties Aquinas acutely replies that, if the causal order in created things be withdrawn from them, this would imply a want of power in the Creator, who must be able not merely to act in things, but to give to them the power of acting; that the operative powers found in things would be assigned to them in vain—they would in fact be deprived of what was best in them—if nothing was effected by them; that, in fact, all created things would be, in a manner, in vain, if deprived of their proper operation. Again, a difference of operation, in view of the differences of finite things, would be no longer possible. To the objection that the same effect cannot proceed from the two causalities—the Divine and the finite—he replies that this would be so only if both belonged to the same order; it does not apply if one be the prime, the other the secondary, agent. If we make this distinction, we may regard the effect as produced, not partly by God and partly by the natural agent, but wholly by both, only in a different manner.

To the last—what may be called the deistic—difficulty, which would degrade the Divine action in things from an immediate to a merely mediate action, as was afterwards done by Durandus de S. Porciano, Aquinas replies with a very subtle metaphysical argument. Form is within the thing, its inner nature, and the more intensely so the greater its priority and universality; but God is especially the cause of universal being in all things, which is that which, above all, most intimately belongs to things. It follows that God operates most intimately in things; and it requires only the addition of the dialectical process to find in this the universal of the Hegelian philosophy.

In his application of these principles to human volition, Aquinas remains perfectly consistent. As he does not regard God as giving to things a power of acting which they of themselves exert, so neither does he regard God as giving to the human will a power of willing which it then exerts of itself in the natural order. This would perhaps make the explanation of human freedom more easy, but it would contradict his general view, and human freedom would not be a freedom in God. His language is emphatic: 'God is a cause to us not only of our will but also of our willing' (*c. Gent.* iii. 89). Yet God, while thus acting in our voluntary actions, does not coerce or compel us; we remain free; in fact, our freedom is the result of the action of God. This enabled Aquinas afterwards to take up the position that neither directly nor indirectly can God be considered as the cause of sin, *i.e.* of that defect in the act by reason of which it is sinful.

In the Catechism of the Council of Trent the position of Aquinas is maintained.

'Question xxii. God, by His government, does not overturn the force of secondary causes. But not only does God protect and govern all things that exist by His providence, but also, by an internal virtue, impels to motion and action whatever things move and act, and this in such a manner as that, although He excludes not, He yet prevents the agency of secondary causes; for his most secret influence extends to all things, and, as the wise man testifies, "reacheth from end to end mightily, and ordereth all things sweetly," Wisdom viii. 1' (tr. by J. Donovan, 1829).

In the Roman Catholic schools the doctrine gave rise to a famous controversy. The theory of the co-operation or concurrent action of God applies, as we have seen, not only to things with their natural forces, but also to the actions of men. In both cases a distinction may be drawn. The concurrence or co-operation is general, and without it things cannot act; but it may also be held that the particular form or modification which the concurrence receives in particular things or in the actions of men is itself determined by the Divine concurrence or co-operating activity; or it may be held that this is determined by the particular physical or moral agent involved, the Divine concurrence empowering the agent to act, though the mode or form of action is due to the agent itself. This distinction becomes of great importance in connexion with the actions of men.

The Molinists, or followers of Molina, maintained a direct and positive influx of the Deity into the free acts of our will—an influx or influence not, however, into the will itself, which it neither moves, determines, nor bends to the act, but which it only assists and concurs with in the production of any act whatsoever. The Thomists maintained that this restricted too much the absolute dominion of God, if it did not subject His concurrence to human control. They held that a positive influx of the Deity takes place, not merely into actions, but into our determinations themselves, and efficaciously produces whatever of being and perfection is in our free acts. This physical 'pre-motion,' however, though efficaciously directing our actions, is not to the prejudice of our liberty, since the unimpeded power to do the opposite always remains in the free agent. Suarez endeavoured to supplement the Molinist doctrine by admitting a direct influence of the Deity on our action; which, however, was only a moral influence, due to the disposition of surrounding circumstances.

Molina illustrated his doctrine of the simultaneous concurrence of God with creatures by the comparison of two men towing a boat, or carrying a burden; but the distinction might perhaps be better illustrated by the attempts which are sometimes made, in connexion with the conservation of energy, by the defenders of free will, to separate the directivity of energy from the energy itself which is transferred.

The controversy thus merges in the free-will controversy, and it is chiefly in this form that the doctrine presents itself in Protestant theology. The doctrine of Predestination affords an extreme solution of the problem. That doctrine was upheld by both Luther and Calvin. According to Luther,

'the will of man may be called a free will, not in relation to what is above it, that is, God, but is to be esteemed free in relation to what is beneath it; that is to say, with my goods, fields, house, and farm, I can act, manage, and deal freely, as I will . . . but in relation to God, and in matters which concern his salvation, man has no free will, but is captive and subject to the will of God and of Satan' ('Vom unfreien Willen,' *Luther's Werke*, Frankfurt, 1840, p. 665).

The startling conjuncture contained in the close of this sentence is explained by another position in Luther's treatise. It is certainly stated in the Bible that God wills not the death of the sinner, but Luther distinguishes between the revealed and the hidden or inscrutable will of God (*ib.* p. 691); and by this latter will even sin is determined. It is an inevitable inference from this that evil is a moment in the hidden will, even if posited to be overcome. If Luther seems here to tend towards a monistic pantheism embracing evil in its scope, we must remember that his view is also a forecast of German speculation for almost three centuries. It may be said that Hegel's dialectic, which also includes evil as a moment within it, is an attempt to analyze this inscrutable will. This will is, intrinsically, not very different from the physical 'pre-motion' of Banez.

This consequence of Luther's doctrine was not very acceptable to his followers. Melanchthon had already sought to make provision for human freedom, and in subsequent Lutheran dogmatics a greater independency is given to the creatures. J. Gerhard (*Locus* ii., 'de Natura Dei,' § 187, vol. i. p. 291), following Lombardus, distinguishes three degrees of Divine presence: a *general* presence by

which God is present to all creatures and by which He preserves and governs them; a *special* presence of grace and glory in the saints; and a *singular* presence with which the whole and entire plenitude of Deity dwells in the human nature of Christ. The general presence of God is not a bare indistancy apart from operation, or a bare operation apart from essential propinquity, but embraces both at once. Gerhard's view of the general presence of God does not include more than such a relation as that contemplated by Molina, at least so far as human *action* is concerned. In Quenstedt a more strictly Thomistic view is adopted.

'God,' he says, 'not only gives to secondary causes the power of acting and preserves it, but immediately flows into the action and effect of the creature, so that one and the same effect is produced, not by God alone, nor by the creature alone, nor partly by God partly by the creature, but by one total efficiency; by God and the creature at the same time; by God as universal and first cause, by the creature as particular and secondary' (quoted by Biedermann, *Christl. Dogmat.*[2] ii. 277).

It is obvious that the *concursus* may be differently conceived, according as stress is laid on the Divine action or on the action of the secondary causes. When the action of the latter is resolved completely into the former, we have a conception of the *concursus* similar to that which Descartes and Bayle had of the *conservatio*. These writers, instead of regarding the *conservatio* as a causation of the continued existence of things, viewed it as a continuous reproduction of the thing, a continuous re-creation of what was constantly falling back into nothing. In a similar manner the action of the secondary causes may be considered as wholly dependent on the Divine will, which resides in God, and gives to their action such and such a character. As Biedermann points out (*op. cit.* ii. 276), this mode of apprehending the *concursus* is the characteristic of the Reformed dogmatics, and philosophically agrees more nearly with the concept of God as the Absolute. On this view it follows that the Divine action must be conceived as *prævius* to, as well as simultaneous with, that of the creature. The action of the second cause is not conceived in these systems as influencing the first, but the first is held to influence the second by determining it to operation (cf. Pictet, vi. 311, quoted by Biedermann, ii. 277; Heidegger, *Medulla theol. Christ.*, 1696, loc. vii. 14). If these views be adopted, the difficulty of freeing the Divine Cause from responsibility for sin in human action becomes intensified; for it is difficult to see what is left to the human will, apart from the Divine, upon which the responsibility for sin may be laid.

If we interpret the *concursus* in the sense of Molina, and if, especially in relation to human actions, we regard it in such a way that God does one part, while to man is left some other part—the choosing or directing function—the doctrine is unquestionably exposed to the objection urged by E. von Hartmann (*Religion des Geistes*, Berlin, 1882, p. 352) that the collective (Divine-human) cause is halved, and an abstract monistic solution is adopted for one half, and a deistic solution for the other. Hartmann's own solution, the concrete-monistic, which regards all Divine activity as activity of the creature, and all activity of the creature as Divine, is pantheistic, and excludes the concept of the *concursus*.

The problem that meets us in the Thomist and Lutheran theology postulates a more refined solution. The problem is to reconcile the eternal, unchangeable will of God with the free action of the human will in time. This seems conceivable only if we regard such free action as not altogether in time, but, with Kant, as an intelligible act out of time; or, with Hegel, as an infinite power of going back into self, of the ego, of thought, which free action can therefore be eternally willed as such and as free by God. The problem is not confined to the human will; we encounter it also in the Infinite of mathematics. Modern speculation tends to view the Infinite as something actual. Our notion of the actual is, above all, that what is actual is, actually, what it is. Is then the infinite series of natural numbers actually odd or even? If it is not determinately one or the other, then apparently the actuality of the Infinite must be something different from what is ordinarily meant by actuality. In like manner, it may be argued that free action, in its indeterminate character, cannot be actually in time, or must be an eternal self-determined act out of time.

The term *concursus Dei* has also been applied to the doctrine of occasionalism (*q.v.*), which postulates the action of the Deity as mediating the connexion of soul and body; but this sense is quite distinct. The theological *concursus* acts in and with the natural action of the cause, and neither supersedes nor supplies its place.

LITERATURE.—Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* i. a, qu. cv. artt. 3, 4, 5, *c. Gent.* iii. 67–70; Suarez, *Metaph. Disp.* xx. vol. i. p. 550, Paris, 1619; J. Gerhard, *Loci Theologici*, 1622, 'de Natura Dei'; J. H. Heidegger, *Corpus theologiæ Christianæ*, ed. Schweizer, Zürich, 1700, vii. 24–31; Leibniz, *Théodicée*, Amsterdam, 1710, p. 27 ff., *Causa Dei Asserta*, ix. 12; Boedder, *Natural Theology*[2], 1896, iii. 1; Biedermann, *Christl. Dogmatik*[2], Berlin, 1884–1885, ii. 277.

G. J. STOKES.

CONDITIONAL IMMORTALITY.

—The doctrine that immortality is not inherent but conditional, depending on the use made by the individual of this present life. 'From this point of view man is a candidate for immortality. Perpetual life becomes the portion of the man who, by faith, unites himself to God' (Petavel, *Problem of Immortality*, p. 15). In its modern form Conditionalism may be said to be contained in two propositions: (1) that the endless life of the righteous is not the result of any natural immortality inherent in man, but is the gift of God; (2) that the punishment of the wicked, in the world to come, will not be of endless duration, since their life must finally be extinguished.[1] Thus Conditionalism is important chiefly as an attempt to solve the problem of the ultimate fate of the obstinately wicked. Those who have found themselves unable to accept the traditional view that sinners live for ever in a state of suffering have, generally speaking, adopted one or other of two theories: Universalism (*q.v.*), the doctrine of the ultimate reconciliation of all men to God; or Conditionalism, which, in its modern development, involves Annihilationism (*q.v.*).

1. History of the doctrine.—Although Conditionalism, historically speaking, is a recent doctrine, not held by any considerable body of men until the 19th cent., it is found here and there, in a more or less developed form, from the earliest times. Some writers[2] have claimed for it an Egyptian origin. But the first certain instance of a philosophic presentation of conditionalistic ideas is found in the teaching of the Stoic Chrysippus († *c.* 206 B.C.). Diog. Laert. (vii. 157) says: *Κλεάνθης μὲν οὖν πάσας [τὰς ψυχὰς] ἐπιδιαμένειν μέχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως, Χρύσιππος δὲ τὰς τῶν σοφῶν μόνον.* The view of Chrysippus was accepted by some, though not all, of the later Stoics,[3] but Conditionalism never became a

[1] It is to be observed that these two propositions are quite separate. The second does not necessarily follow from the first.

[2] *e.g.* A. Matter, art. 'Anéantissement des âmes,' in *Encycl. des sciences relig.* (Paris, 1877); G. Rawlinson, *Ancient Egypt*, i. 318 (London, 1881); A. Wiedemann, *Anc. Egyp. Doctrine of Immortality* (Eng. tr., London, 1895).

[3] Seneca, *Consolat. ad Marciam, ad fin.*: 'Nos quoque felices animae et aeterna sortitae . . . labentibus cunctis . . . in antiqua elementa vertemur'; Tac. *Agric.* xlvi.: 'Si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur *magnae* animae'; Arius Didymus (*ap.* Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* xv. 20): [Ἔνιοι τῶν Στοικῶν λέγουσι] τὴν μὲν [ψυχὴν] τῶν σπουδαίων μέχρι τῆς εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύσεως τῶν πάντων [ἐπιμένειν], τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀφρόνων πρὸς ποσούς τινας χρόνους.

generally received doctrine among the Greeks and Romans. Roman Stoics like Epictetus and Aurelius either doubted or denied the immortality of the soul; while, on the other hand, the increasing popularity of Neo-Platonism brought into prominence the rival theory of its inherent immortality. Among the Jews some Rabbis, notably Maimonides († 1204),[1] held that the wicked would not live for ever. Of early Christian writers, however, there is only one who unquestionably taught a conditionalistic doctrine. At the beginning of the 4th cent. the African apologist Arnobius[2] (*Disput. adv. Gentes*, ii. 15–54) argues that the sin, imperfections, and infirmities of the soul make it impossible to believe that it came direct from God. And, for the same reason, it cannot be inherently immortal. It survives the body indeed, but is immortal only by the gift of God. The souls of the obstinately wicked are gradually destroyed in Gehenna. That which is immortal cannot suffer pain. But the souls of the obstinately wicked do suffer intense pain; therefore they must eventually die of it. 'Sunt enim [animae] mediae qualitatis (sicut Christo auctore compertum est) et interire quae possint, Deum si ignoraverint, vitae et ab exitio liberari si ad eius semina[3] atque indulgentias applicarint' (*op. cit.* ii. 14).

From the 4th cent. to the 18th, Conditionalism was not taught by any one claiming to be an orthodox Christian. Certain isolated thinkers, like Duns Scotus († 1309) and Petrus Pomponatius (early 16th cent.), maintained that the immortality of the soul is incapable of demonstration.[4] But such teaching does not, necessarily at any rate, involve Conditionalism. In truth, Conditionalism never commended itself to the Church. Platonic influences in the first place, and the growth of purgatorial doctrine[5] later, tended to lead men further and further away from conditionalistic speculations, and during the early days of the Reformation the immense influence of Calvin brought about the acceptance by most Protestant bodies of formulæ which strongly affirmed the doctrine of the endlessness of punishment. But meantime conditionalist views were being put forward by certain isolated thinkers, Christian and non-Christian.

Fausto Paolo Sozzini (=Socinus, † 1604), in a letter written as early as 1563, rejected the doctrine of the natural immortality of the soul, and in his later controversy with Francesco Pucci he stated his views more fully.

He argues that, since man has the power of reproducing his species, he must be naturally mortal, for an immortal being does not beget children. Further, an immortal frame does not require food. Man's body is evidently different from a spiritual and immortal body. All the causes which lead to death existed even before man sinned. If man had not sinned, he might have been preserved from death by the favour of God, though naturally mortal. By sinning, Adam refused this gift for himself and his posterity. Therefore, unless by the favour of God, we too must die and remain in the state of death.[6]

Thomas Hobbes († 1679), in his *Leviathan* (iii. 38), says:

'The fire prepared for the wicked is an Everlasting Fire, that is to say, the Estate wherein no man can be without torture, both of body and mind, after the Resurrection, shall endure for ever; and in that sense the Fire shall be unquenchable, and the torments Everlasting; but it cannot thence be inferred that he who shall be cast into that fire, or be tormented with those torments, shall endure and resist them so as to be eternally burnt and tortured, and yet never be destroyed or die. And though there be many places that affirm Everlasting Fire and Torments (into which men may be cast successively one after another for ever), yet I find none that affirm there shall be an Eternal Life therein of any individual person; but, to the contrary, an Everlasting Death.'

Similar views appear to have been held by John Locke († 1704).

By death some men understand 'endless torment in hell-fire: *but it seems a strange way of understanding a law, which requires the plainest and directest words, that by death should be meant eternal life in misery.* Could any one be supposed [to intend] by a law that says, "For felony thou shalt die," not that he should lose his life, but be kept alive in perpetual exquisite torment?' (*Reasonableness of Christianity*, § 1).

Even so orthodox a Calvinist as Isaac Watts († 1748), in his *Ruin and Recovery of Mankind*, § xi. (*Works*, 1753, vi. 270–274), asks 'whether the word "death" might not be fairly construed to extend to the utter destruction of the life of the soul as well as of the body.'

On the Continent of Europe, Benedict Spinoza († 1677), in his posthumous tract[1] *de Deo, de Homine, et de Felicitate*, argued against the natural immortality of the soul, and elaborated his theory in the 5th book of his *Ethics*. In Prop. xlii., Scholium (Eng. tr., White-Stirling, 1894), he says:

'The ignorant man is not only agitated by external causes in many ways, and never enjoys true peace of soul, but lives also ignorant, as it were, both of God and of thought, and as soon as he ceases to suffer ceases also to be. On the other hand, the wise man, in so far as he is considered as such, is scarcely ever moved in his mind, but, being conscious, by a certain eternal necessity, of himself, of God, and of things, never ceases to be, and always enjoys true peace of soul.'

The exact meaning attached by Spinoza to phrases like 'never ceases to be' is a subject of dispute; but at least it is clear that he was a Conditionalist in the sense that his 'immortality' is not enjoyed by any but the wise man.

In France, J. J. Rousseau († 1778), while he held the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, yet thought that the souls of the very wicked perish at death. In a letter of 1758 he says:

'Il est vrai qu'il y a des âmes si noires que je ne puis concevoir qu'elles puissent jamais goûter cette éternelle béatitude dont il me semble que le plus doux sentiment doit être le contentement de soi-même. Cela me fait soupçonner qu'il se pourrait bien que les âmes des méchants fussent anéanties à leur mort, et qu'être et sentir fût le prix d'une bonne vie.'

The opinions quoted so far are chiefly those of philosophers and thinkers rather than theologians, and in some cases they are in the nature of *obiter dicta*. But in 1706 there appeared a complete treatise from the pen of the learned theologian and non-juror Henry Dodwell, advocating conditionalist views. Dodwell had been Camden Professor of History in the University of Oxford, and had a great reputation for scholarship and orthodoxy. The full title of his work sufficiently indicates the nature of its conclusions. It is called *An epistolary discourse proving from the Scriptures and the First Fathers that the soul is a principle naturally mortal—but immortalised actually by the pleasure of God to punishment or to reward, by its union with the Divine Baptismal Spirit, wherein is proved that none have the power of giving the Divine Immortalising Spirit since the Apostles, but only the Bishops.*[2] This work provoked considerable controversy, being answered by Samuel Clarke, Anthony Collins, and others. Dodwell defended himself in three pamphlets published in

[1] *Constitutiones de Fundamentis Legis*, pp. 47, 48, Lat. tr. by W. Vorst, Amsterdam, 1638. F. W. Farrar (*Eternal Hope*, London, 1892, Excursus v.) discusses the eschatological views of the Jews. See, further, *JE*, art. 'Eschatology.'

[2] For the views of Arnobius see Smith-Wace's *DCB* (1877) i. 168.

[3] For the unintelligible MS reading 'semina,' *minas* and *misericordiam* have been conjectured. Reifferscheid reads *misericordias*.

[4] This view was implicitly condemned by the Fifth Lateran Council and by a Bull of Leo x. (1513).

[5] The conception of Purgatory did in fact modify, for the faithful at least, the doctrine of endless punishment for the wicked in a Universalist direction.

[6] Socinus, *Works* (Frankfort, 1656), i. 537 ff.; see also J. Toulmin. *Life and Sentiments of Socinus* (1777).

[1] This treatise was not known to exist till the discovery by Ed. Boehmer of Halle (1851) of an abstract of it, and the subsequent finding of two Dutch MSS containing the whole of it. It is a rough draft of the *Ethics*. The word 'immortality' is used in it, but not in the *Ethics*.

[2] A little before the appearance of Dodwell's book, Aubert de Verse, a French Protestant, had formulated a theory of Conditionalism in his treatise *Le Protestant pacifique* (1684). He says: 'La mort est la mort, et la vie est la vie. La mort naturelle prive de la vie et du sentiment pour un temps, et la mort éternelle en prive pour jamais.' His position corresponds with that of Locke.

1707–1708; and an anonymous[1] work indicating his main position, *The Holy Spirit the Author of Immortality*, appeared in the latter year. The controversy, however, soon died out, and for over a century nothing more was heard of it.

The latter part of the 19th cent. saw a great revival of interest in eschatological questions, and the difficulties of the traditional view of the ultimate destiny of the obstinately wicked were stated with great force by a number of writers. In 1846, Edward White, a Congregational minister, published his *Life in Christ*, which is justly regarded as an epoch-making book in the history of Conditionalism.[2] White's views were supported by a considerable number of theologians and thinkers in England and America, as well as on the Continent of Europe. A fairly complete list will be found on pp. 18–26 and 500–501 of Petavel's work, *The Problem of Immortality* (Eng. tr. by F. A. Freer, 1892). In Germany Richard Rothe, in France and Switzerland Charles Lambert, Charles Byse, and E. Petavel,[3] in Italy Oscar Cocorda, and in America C. F. Hudson and W. F. Huntingdon have been prominent advocates of conditionalistic views, and have won many adherents. Thus Conditionalism has at length, in the 20th cent., taken its place among those eschatological theories which are to be reckoned with.

2. Arguments in favour of Conditionalism.—The main arguments on which the more recent advocates of conditionalistic views rely to prove their case may be summed up as follows:—

(1) *Arguments based on the language of the OT and NT.*—The chief passages relied on by Conditionalists are the following: Gn $2^{16.17}$ $3^{4.19.22-24}$, Dt $30^{15.19.20}$, Ps 21^{4} $37^{10.20}$ 49^{20} $73^{19.20}$ 92^{7} 94^{23} 145^{20}, Pr $8^{35.36}$ 11^{19} 12^{28} 24^{20}, Is 51^{8}, Ezk 18^{26-32}, Mal 4^{1-3}, Mt 7^{13-19} 10^{28} $13^{30.40.48.49}$ 16^{26}, Lk $13^{4.5}$, Jn $3^{6.16}$ $5^{24.40}$ 6^{33-35} 8^{51} 10^{28} 11^{25} $14^{6.19}$ 15^{6}, Ro 6^{21-23} 7^{5} $8^{6.11.13}$, 1 Co $3^{16.17}$, 2 Co $2^{15.16}$ 4^{3}, Gal $6^{7.8}$, Ph $3^{18.19}$, 1 Th 5^{3}, 2 Th 1^{9} (*ὀλεθρος αἰώνιος*—a unique phrase in NT), 1 Ti $6^{9.19}$, He 10^{26-39} 12^{29}, Ja 1^{15} 5^{20}, 1 P 1^{23} 4^{18}, 2 P 1^{4} 2^{12} 3^{9}, 1 Jn 3^{15} $5^{11.12}$, Rev $2^{7.11}$ 3^{5} 20^{11-15} 21^{6} $22^{1.4}$. These passages are held to prove: (*a*) that man is not inherently immortal; immortality is the attribute of God only (1 Ti 6^{16}); death, in its literal sense, is the result of the Fall; (*b*) that immortality is a gift offered to the righteous; (*c*) that it is conditional; the Bible never speaks of the immortality of the soul; (*d*) that obstinate sinners are frequently threatened with death, and spoken of as destroyed; and that death means destruction of body and soul.

It is plain that in all discussions on the language of Scripture the essential point is the precise meaning to be attached to the words 'life,' 'death,' and similar expressions.[4] Are they to be interpreted literally or in a moral sense?[5] The conditionalist position (forcibly stated by Locke in a passage already quoted) is that Biblical writers, when they use these expressions, use them in the obvious and literal sense. The opposite view is put by S. D. F. Salmond in his *Christian Doctrine of Immortality* (Edinburgh, 1897, pp. 615–623). He argues that in a good many, at any rate, of the NT passages relied on by Conditionalists the word 'life' (*ζωή*) means something more than mere existence (*e.g.* Jn 5^{24} $11^{25.26}$, Eph 2^{1-6}, Col 2^{13} 3^{3}, 1 Ti 5^{6}). And, further, he quotes certain passages from the NT which, in his opinion, are irreconcilable with Conditionalism (Mt 25^{46}, Mk 3^{29}, Jn 3^{36}, Ac 1^{25}, Rev 20^{10}).[1]

(2) *Patristic evidence.*—It is claimed by Conditionalists that the early Christian Fathers are on their side. The opinions of Arnobius have already been stated, and it is not seriously disputed, that he held conditionalistic views. But, from Dodwell onwards, conditionalist writers have brought forward a considerable body of Patristic evidence to prove their contention that many of the other Fathers in early times were on the same side. Some of the passages cited are not convincing,[2] but others certainly contain expressions which are, at any rate, capable of a conditionalistic interpretation. Justin Martyr (*2 Apol.* 7) uses the phrase *ἵνα καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι ἄγγελοι καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ἄνθρωποι μηκέτι ὦσι.* In his *Dialogue with Trypho* he puts into the mouth of the aged Christian who is instructing him words which seem formally to deny the inherent immortality of the soul. After a repudiation of the Platonic doctrine of pre-existence, he goes on to say (*Dial.* v.): *οὐδὲ μὴν ἀθάνατον χρὴ λέγειν αὐτήν* (*i.e. τὴν ψυχήν*), *ὅτι εἰ ἀθάνατός ἐστι καὶ ἀγέννητος δηλαδή.* He then proceeds to develop his views, saying that the souls of the righteous will not die, while the souls of the wicked will be punished, *ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὰς καὶ εἶναι καὶ κολάζεσθαι ὁ θεὸς θέλῃ.* And later on in the same chapter he uses the phrase *τούτου χάριν καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ κολάζονται.*[3] Irenæus (*adv. Haer.* v. 2) says: *ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου ὑπεροχῆς, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως, τὴν εἰς ἀεὶ παραμονὴν ἔχομεν.* The most important, however, of the passages in Irenæus bearing on this question is found in ii. 56 (=ii. 34), where, in commenting on Ps 148^{5} 21^{4}, he concludes with these words (Lat. tr.):

'Non enim ex nobis, neque ex nostra natura vita est: sed secundum gratiam Dei datur. Et ideo qui servaverit datum vitae . . . accipiet et in saeculum saeculi longitudinem dierum. Qui autem abiecerit eam . . . ipse se privat in saeculum saeculi perseverantia=(*διαμονή*).'

More doubtful is the language of Athanasius, whose words are (*de Incarnatione*, 3):

εἰ δὲ παραβαῖεν καὶ στραφέντες γένοιντο φαῦλοι, γιγνώσκοιεν ἑαυτοὺς τὴν ἐν θανάτῳ κατὰ φύσιν φθορὰν ὑπομένειν, καὶ μηκέτι μὲν ἐν παραδείσῳ ζῆν, ἔξω δὲ τούτου λοιπὸν ἀποθνήσκοντας μένειν ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ.[4]

After Athanasius, conditionalistic doctrines are found but very rarely. Petavel quotes Nemesius, *de Natura Hominis*, i.; Theophylact, *Com.* on 1 Ti 6^{16}; Nicholas of Methone, *Refut.* 207 ff.; and a synodical letter of Sophronius read at the Third Council of Constantinople (A.D. 680) as instances of the sporadic survival of such views. But he

[1] Assigned to Joseph Pitts in the B.M. Catalogue.

[2] *Life in Christ: Four Discourses upon the Scripture Doctrine that Immortality is the peculiar Privilege of the Regenerate*, London, 1846. A third edition of this work, revised and enlarged, was published in 1878, and was translated into French in 1880 by Charles Byse.

[3] Dr. E. Petavel is a distinguished Swiss theologian, and his work is the most complete account of Conditionalism yet published. He includes among the supporters of Conditionalism Dr. R. W. Dale (quoted in the preface to Petavel's *Struggle for Eternal Life*, Eng. tr. 1875), Prof. Sir G. G. Stokes (quoted by E. White in preface to *Life in Christ*, p. vii), and Archbishop Whateley, who, in *Scripture Revelations Concerning a Future State*[10] (pp. 189, 190), suggests Conditionalism as a possible hypothesis.

[4] The usual words for 'life' are Heb. חַי and נֶפֶשׁ, Gr. *ζωή* (more than 100 times in NT), and, less commonly, *ψυχή*. The words and phrases denoting 'death' and 'destruction' are much more numerous both in Hebrew and in Greek (Petavel, *op. cit.* pp. 445–452).

[5] 'The language found in the NT . . . decidedly suggests that the ultimate penalty, in the eternal order, of impenitence is *extinction* of the guilty soul, even as the ultimate issue of the work and victory of Christ is the extinction of evil' (J. M. Schulhof, *Law of Forgiveness*, Cambridge, 1901, p. 146).

[1] For further discussion of these and similar passages see C. A. Row, *Future Retribution* (1887), pp. 185–347.

[2] *e.g.* Ep. Barn. 20 (where the phrase *θάνατος αἰώνιος* occurs); Clem. *1 Ep. ad Cor.* 35 (eternal life is the gift of God); *2 Ep. ad Cor.* 7 (*ἀγὼν ὁ ἄφθαρτος*); Ignatius, *ad Polyc.* 2, *ad fin.*, *ad Ephes.* 20 (the Eucharist is *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*); Theophilus, *ad Autolyc.* ii. 27 (*οὔτε οὖν φύσει θνητὸς ἐγένετο, οὔτε ἀθάνατος*); Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* vii. 5 ('non sequela naturae, sed merces praemiumque virtutis'); Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* i. 6, *ad init.* (immortality conferred by baptism).

[3] Justin's pupil Tatian uses similar expressions; cf. *adv. Græcos*, 13 (146 B), *οὐκ ἔστιν ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχὴ καθ' ἑαυτήν, θνητὴ δέ.*

[4] Elsewhere (e.g. *c. Gentes*, 33) Athanasius seems to teach the inherent immortality of the soul; and E. White (*op. cit.* p. 425) admits that he holds the doctrine of the '"eternal death" of conscious suffering' for the obstinately wicked.

admits that they were generally 'drowned in the rising tide of the Platonic theory which was made to triumph in the Church by the pseudo-Clementines, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Jerome, and especially Augustine' (*op. cit.* 242). Taken as a whole, the Patristic evidence goes to show that a considerable number of early Fathers affirmed, in opposition to the Platonic doctrine of inherent immortality, that eternal life is the gift of God imparted through the Incarnation, and that the soul is not naturally immortal. Whether any of them, save Arnobius, went further than this in the direction of Annihilationism is not certain. Two considerations make us hesitate before pronouncing definitely. In the first place, there is often considerable doubt as to the exact sense in which the Fathers use the words 'life,' 'death,' and similar expressions. In many instances, they, like the writers of the Bible, seem to employ them with a moral and spiritual rather than a physical meaning. In the second place, the earliest of the Fathers were not scientific theologians, and their language is not always self-consistent. Justin Martyr, the most important witness for Conditionalistic views among the Apologists, uses language which clearly implies the endless suffering of the wicked.[1] All, therefore, that can be said with certainty is that many of the early Fathers support the first of the two propositions maintained by modern Conditionalists, while one at least (Arnobius) supports the second also, and holds that the punishment of the wicked will not be of endless duration.

(3) But, over and above the appeal to authority, Biblical and Patristic, Conditionalists urge that their views are *in harmony alike with the most recent theories of science and with the highest spiritual instincts of mankind.* Science, it is said, fails to supply any proof of the immortality of the soul. Conditionalism does not demand such proof, since it also rejects the doctrine of an inherent immortality. Again, science has shown that man is physically closely allied to the lower animals; while, intellectually, there is little, if anything, to choose between, *e.g.*, the higher animals and the most backward races of mankind. If we postulate immortality for all men alike, science asks whether we can logically stop at man and deny the immortality of the more intelligent animals. This difficulty, which confronts the Universalist and the Traditionalist alike, is no difficulty for the Conditionalist. Further, the doctrine of the 'survival of the fittest' is one of the most assured of those taught by modern science. Conditionalism is that doctrine transferred to the spiritual world.[1] If, again, it is true that ultimately the value of every doctrine must be measured by its ethical and practical results, Conditionalism, it is urged, is, from this point of view, in a very strong position. It keeps the mean between 'the dualist pessimism which makes evil eternal, and the perfidious optimism which asserts that all will end well for every one.'[2] Traditionalism, by raising doubts as to God's justice and love, leads to despair and unbelief. Universalism, by teaching the ultimate salvation of all, fills men with a fatal sense of security, and robs them of a great motive for spiritual effort. Conditionalism does not run counter to our highest conceptions of the justice and love of God, while, by representing immortality as a prize to be won, it stimulates and inspires. At the same time, since it does not exclude the possibility of the suffering of the obstinately wicked before their annihilation, it gives due weight to the solemn warnings of Scripture.

On the whole, it may be said that, although Conditionalism presents certain difficulties of its own,[3] it is free from many others which have been urged against its rivals. While some of the arguments adduced by Conditionalists, especially those founded on the language of the Bible and the early Fathers, will not prove all that its advocates claim for them, yet some important considerations of a scientific and ethical character are in its favour. The spread of the doctrine during the last fifty years among men of various schools of thought is a sufficient indication that it offers a solution of eschatological problems acceptable to a large and increasing number of seekers after truth.

LITERATURE.—Most of the more important works dealing with the subject have been mentioned in the course of the article. Besides those, the following are useful: C. Lambert, *Le Système du monde moral*, Paris, 1877 [treats the question from a philosophic standpoint]; C. Byse, *Notre durée*, Paris, 1885; Oscar Cocorda, *L'Immortalità condizionata*, Torre Pellice, 1883; R. Rothe, *Dogmatik*, Heidelberg, 1870, vol. iii. (esp. pp. 133-169, 291-336); C. F. Hudson, *Debt and Grace*, New York, 1862 [discussion of Patristic evidence]; J. B. Heard, *The Tripartite Nature of Man*[5], Edinburgh, 1882; S. Senhouse-Minton, *The Glory of Christ*, London, 1869; H. Constable, *The Duration and Nature of Future Punishment*[5], London, 1876; Sir J. Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*[5], London, 1853, vol. ii., Epilogue; F. Palmer, *Winning of Immortality*, New York, 1910. A full list of ancient and modern works on eschatology (including Conditionalism) is that of Ezra Abbot, compiled as an Appendix to W. R. Alger's *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, Boston, 1880. Cf. also art. ANNIHILATION in vol. i.

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CONDUCT.—See ETHICS.

[1] Cf. *1 Apol.* xxi. 6: ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι δὲ ἡμεῖς μόνους δεδιδάγμεθα τοὺς ὁσίως καὶ ἐναρέτως ἐγγὺς θεῷ βιῶντας, κολάζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀδίκως καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλοντας ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ πιστεύομεν. See also xxviii. 1, lii. 6, 7; *2 Apol.* ix. 1.

[1] 'Le conditionnalisme serait, à ce point de vue, un cas particulier, le plus important, du procédé général de sélection qu'emploie la nature, de la prodigalité qui se remarque en toutes ses œuvres. Il se rapprocherait du Darwinisme' (Larousse, *Dict. Universel*, Supplement, p. 888 f., Paris, 1878, art. 'Conditionnalisme' [a good account of the doctrine, chiefly from the philosophical side]).

[2] Petavel, *op. cit.* p. 386.

[3] See the vigorous attack in Salmond, *op. cit.* pp. 611-620. J. A. Beet, *The Last Things* (London, 1905, pp. 236-240, 299-305), is more sympathetic.

CONFESSION.

Assyro-Babylonian (T. G. PINCHES), p. 825.
Christian.—See PENITENCE.
Egyptian (J. BAIKIE), p. 827.
Hebrew (A. E. SUFFRIN), p. 829.

CONFESSION (Assyro-Babylonian).—Though the word for 'confession' in Assyr.-Bab. is uncertain,[2] there is no doubt whatever that the idea existed among the peoples of the Tigris-Euphrates valley. By this term they understood the acknowledgment of sin or of wrongdoing on the part of one who felt himself thereby out of favour with the deity whom he worshipped, or in danger of that disadvantage. The sin or wrongdoing might affect a fellow-man, or might be an offence against religion, justice, or morality, for which the deity, jealous with regard to the due observance of right, exacted a penalty and inflicted punishment. This moral or religious aspect of sin, however, was probably a late development, the feeling of wrongdoing having been originally purely ritual—a failure to perform sacrifice or worship, or a defect either in the performance or in the offering. Thus it was that the feeling of being in disfavour with the deity arose, and one of the means of grace

[2] It was probably some form of the root *pitû* (*petû*), 'to open,' 'reveal' (see *pit pi*, below).

would naturally be the making of confession—self-humiliation and abasement by the acknowledgment of the sin. Humiliation was evidently regarded as being acceptable to the deity, and acknowledgment of wrongdoing as paving the way to forgiveness. Moreover, it may be supposed that the man who stood self-accused before the deity not only appeased the deity by that act, but also forestalled any informant who might present his misdeeds in a less favourable light.

With the Babylonians the feeling that the deity might be displeased by possible wrongdoing was exceedingly ancient, and probably originated with the Sumerians. A worshipper, in consequence of misfortune happening after he had offered prayer or sacrifice, or after he had performed a rite, found the cause in some imperfection of his service. Not only had the service to be perfect, but the celebrant likewise had to be faultless in all his members, or imperfections in the ceremonial would occur. Moreover, he had to be ritually clean. For this reason, sin was originally the transgression of ritual laws, and appears as such throughout Babylonian religious literature.[1]

'Uncleanness has come against me; and to judge my cause,
to decide my decision, have I fallen down before thee.
Judge my cause, decide my decision,
remove the evil sickness from my body,
take away whatever is evil of my flesh and my sinews.
The evil which is in my body, my flesh, and my sinews,
let it this day come forth, and let me see the light.'[2]

Confession and contrition, however, seems to have been a secondary thing with the Assyro-Babylonians—purification by means of ritual acts and ceremonies took its place. In the rituals for purification, a certain act has to be performed which is expressed by the Sumer. phrase *ka-tuḫ(ḫ)uda*, rendered, apparently, by *pit pî*, 'opening of the mouth,' which followed the *ka-luḫuda*, or 'washing of the mouth.' If the latter was symbolical of the necessity of speaking the truth, and the determination on the part of the worshipper to do so, then the 'opening of the mouth' (if that be the meaning of the expression), which follows, might stand for a direction to confess[3] to the god the nature of the sin or deficiency which made the ceremony necessary.[4]

In all probability the nature of these confessions is indicated by some of the numerous Assyr.-Bab. penitential psalms. An exceedingly perfect one is that published in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, iv. pl. 10. This is addressed to gods and goddesses known and unknown, and refers, therefore, to sins and failings both known and unknown. The following will indicate the nature of this example:

'The forbidden thing of my god unknowingly I have eaten;
The unallowed thing of my goddess unknowingly I have trampled on;
Lord, my sins are many, great are my omissions;
God, my sins are many, great are my failings;
Goddess, my sins are many, great are my failings.
The sins I committed I knew not;
The failings I committed I knew not;
The forbidden thing I ate I knew not;
The unallowed thing I trampled on I knew not.
The lord in the wrath of his heart hath looked upon me;
The god in the anger of his heart hath turned against me;
The goddess is angry with me and evilly hath entreated me;
A known or unknown god hath oppressed me;
A known or unknown goddess hath caused me pain.
I besought, but none took my hand;
I wept, but he did not approach my side.
I call aloud,[1] none heareth me;
I am oppressed, I cover myself, I look not up.'

The penitent here mentions that he had made supplication to his merciful god, had kissed the feet of his goddess, and had appealed to god and goddess known and unknown. He calls upon them all to look favourably upon him, and asks each how long his goodwill will be withheld. Men know nothing—not even whether they do evil or good. The suppliant, however, needs help, and (being willing to confess and acknowledge that he has sinned) continues as follows:

'Turn the failure I have committed to good;
Let the wind carry away the sin I have wrought;
Tear asunder my many misdeeds like a garment.
My god, my sins are 7 times 7—free me from my sins;
My goddess, my sins are 7 times 7—free me from my sins;
God known or unknown, my sins are 7 times 7—free me from my sins;
Goddess known or unknown, my sins are 7 times 7—free me from my sins;
Free me from my sins, that I may bow down before thee;
May thy heart, like the heart of the mother who bore (me), return to its place;
Like the mother who bore, the father who begot, may it return to its place.'

The following is part of a confession to a goddess:

'. . . bitterly do I lament.
[My sins] are many, my mind is embittered (thereby).
Lady,[2] cause me to know my act, set for me a refuge;
Remove my sins, lift up my countenance.'[3]

Another text speaks of the shame which the penitent feels:

'He prostrates himself to his god with sighing;
He weeps, he withholds not lamentation (?):—
"Let me tell my deed—my unspeakable deed;
Let me repeat my word, my unspeakable[4] word:
My god, let me tell[5] my deed, my unspeakable deed."'[6]

In this last, contrary to custom, there is apparently a desire to specify the nature of the deed, and things so bad seem to be presupposed that permission has to be asked to mention (or detail) them. Unfortunately, the text is defective after the last line translated, so that the conclusion to be deduced therefrom is doubtful; but it may be supposed that we have here a case in which confession, with specification of the sin or wrongdoing, is provided for.

In all these inscriptions the penitent makes his confession directly to the deity, without the intermediary of a priest or any other person. The priest, however, in certain cases, introduces him to his god, stating that he is sick, in distress, cast down, trembling, raining tears like a cloud, uttering words of submission with sighing. What, he asks, has my lord's servant thought out and planned? Let his mouth reveal what I do not know! Whereupon the penitent, confirming, speaks for himself:

'[Ma]ny are my sins, which I have wholly sinned;
Let this [misfortune] pass, let me go forth from tribulation.
[Ma]ny are my sins, which I have wholly sinned;
[Let this misfortune] pass, let me go forth from tribulation.'[7]

Numerous phrases asking for pardon, peace, comfort, etc., for the penitent follow, and were seemingly pronounced by the priest.

The king naturally had to keep himself pure and always fit to represent the people. For this reason, when he came to perform a ceremony, he said: 'May the tablet of my sins be broken'—probably an actual tablet, upon which all his misdeeds were inscribed.[8]

In Ashurbanipal's well-known prayer to Nebo,[9] the confession of his sins, as well as his perfection

[1] J. Morgenstern, 'The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion,' *MVG* x. [1905] 3, p. 2.
[2] *Ib.* p. 4.
[3] *Epeš pî*, 'to open the mouth (to speak),' is given as a synonym of *pit pi* (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, Berlin, 1901–05, p. 851a).
[4] Rib-Addi attributes the weakness of old age, etc., from which he was suffering, to the anger of the gods of Gebal on account of his sins, which, however, he had confessed (*ḫêṭi epti ana ilâni* [Winckler, *Tontafeln von Tel-el-Amarna*, Berlin, 1896, no. 71; Knudtzon, *El-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipz. 1910, no. 137, lines 29 ff.]).

[1] Lit. 'I speak words,' or the like.
[2] Ištar (Zêr-panitum); cf. vol. ii. p. 643b.
[3] Haupt, *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, 1881, p. 116 f.; Zimmern, *Bab. Busspsalmen*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 34, Rucks. 1–8; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. und Ass.* ii. [Giessen, 1905] 76.
[4] Lit. 'unrepeatable.' [5] Or 'confess' (*luqbî*).
[6] Zimmern, *op. cit.* pp. 86, 65 ff.
[7] *Ib.* p. 88, lines 18–21.
[8] Morgenstern, *loc. cit.* p. 129.
[9] Strong, *Trans. of the 9th Internat. Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1893, ii. 199 ff.

in service, was the great offering which he made to the deity :

'Aššur-bani-apli confessed his sins,[1] he constantly prayed to Nebo, his lord ;
What he set at the feet of the Queen of Nineveh he concealed not in the assembly of the great gods ;
What he stored in the sanctuary of Urkittu he concealed not (even) in the assembly of his haters ;
"In the assembly of my haters forsake me not, Nebo—
In the assembly of my oppressors (?) forsake not my life."'[2]

At this point come the lines printed in art. BIRTH (Assyr.-Bab.) in vol. ii. p. 644[b], and the king is then informed that his haters shall disappear like ripples on the surface of the water, and like sandhills (?) on the face of the land—'thou shalt stand up, Aššur-banî-âpli—in the presence of the great gods thou shalt give praise to Nebo.' To all appearance, these concluding words contain the promise of ultimate pardon and rehabilitation.

LITERATURE.—This is indicated in the notes.

T. G. PINCHES.

CONFESSION (Egyptian).—Of the deep sense of the guiltiness of sin and the deep contrition for it which are characteristic of the Hebrew or of the Christian religion, the Egyptian knew nothing, or, at all events, expressed nothing. It would be too much to say that he had no sense of sin, for of the wrongness of certain acts, and, in a very marked and unusual degree, of the wrongness of certain frames and dispositions of character, he had a very clear and accurate perception ; but, at all events, he had no conception of repentance, or, at least, none which has left any mark upon his religious literature. It must always be remembered that there are immense gaps in our knowledge of the Egyptian religion, and that the bulk of our information with regard to the view which the Egyptian entertained of sin is derived from a single book—the Book of the Dead—whose sole purpose was to secure for the deceased Egyptian a safe passage through the dangers which awaited him after death. and a triumphant vindication before the Judge of the under world ; but in none of the religious literature that has survived—neither in the Book of the Dead, nor in any of the numerous hymns to the various deities, nor in any of the tomb-inscriptions—is there to be found the slightest trace of such a thing as acknowledgment of sin or repentance for it. There is no penitential element whatsoever in Egyptian religious literature. What we must understand by confession in the Egyptian religion would be much better described by such a word as 'repudiation.' So far as the written records go, no Egyptian ever confessed a sin ; but every Egyptian sturdily and steadfastly repudiated sin, and, in fact, the destiny of the deceased in the other world depended largely on his ability to repudiate with clearness and accuracy a certain definite list of sinful acts, words, and thoughts.

Our information on the subject is almost entirely derived from the remarkable document known by the curious and self-contradictory title of the Negative Confession—a document which forms ch. cxxv. of the Book of the Dead. It is not possible to state with exactness when this very important document came into the form in which we now have it. The papyri which preserve it to us are not older than the time of the XVIIIth dynasty (1580-1350 B.C.) ; but it must have been in existence, at least in its main elements, long before that period. The inscription in the tomb of Ameny at Beni-Hasan (XIIth dyn.) contains a distinct element of repudiation : 'No little child have I injured ; no widow have I oppressed ; no fisherman have I hindered ; no shepherd have I detained.' Large portions of the text of the Book of the Dead are found on coffins of the Middle Kingdom (XIth and XIIth dynasties), and that Osirian view of the life after death to which the Negative Confession belongs is as old as the Pyramid texts (Vth and VIth dyn.), while a tradition which there is no reason to doubt ascribes the finding of ch. xxx. of the Book of the Dead (the famous appeal to the heart not to bear false witness against its owner in the Day of Judgment) to Prince Hordadef in the reign of Menkaura (IVth dyn.). While, therefore, the present Judgment-scene of the Book of the Dead, containing the Negative Confession, may not be older than the XVIIIth dynasty, there can be little doubt that its fundamental conceptions are almost as old as the Egyptian Kingdom.

[1] *Iptetê Aššur-bani-âpli ârni-šu.*

[2] *Ib.* p. 206, lines 27-31, revised.

Chapter cxxv. of the Book of the Dead consists of three parts : (*a*) an introduction, containing a hymn of adoration to Osiris, and a form of the repudiation of sins which, there is reason to believe, is older than the actual confession which follows it ; (*b*) the Negative Confession itself ; and (*c*) an address to the gods of the under world. The whole chapter forms a part of the ritual which is supposed to be gone through in the scene of the judgment of the dead, and the confessional part of it seems to be supplementary to the actual judgment whose issue was determined by the weighing of the heart of the deceased against the feather which was the emblem of Maat, the goddess of Truth. In his confession the Egyptian testified that he had not been guilty of certain sins which would have involved his punishment in the spirit world ; but apparently his repudiation of iniquity was not held to be in itself sufficient for his vindication, since it had to be corroborated by the unprejudiced evidence afforded by the weighing of his heart. However stoutly the deceased might assert his innocence of all sin, it was not considered advisable to allow the heart to give its testimony before it had been implored in a special prayer not to shame its owner. In one of its many varying forms this prayer runs thus :

'O my heart, my mother ! O my heart, my mother ! O my heart of my existence upon earth ! May nought stand up to oppose me in judgment in the presence of the lords of the trial ; let it not be said of me and of that which I have done, "He hath done evil against that which is right and true" ; may nought be against me in the presence of the great god, the Lord of Amentet ! Homage to thee, O my heart ! Homage to thee, O my heart ! Homage to you, O my reins !'

The heart, thus cajoled, might be expected to corroborate the confessional statements of its owner.

It is not certain whether the repudiation of sins preceded or followed the weighing of the heart, and the point is immaterial. Arrived at the Judgment Hall—'the Hall of Double Maati,' or of the Twofold Truth—the deceased began his confession by reciting a brief formula of invocation to Osiris, which runs as follows :

'Praise be to thee, thou great god, thou lord of the two truths ! I have come to thee, O my lord, that I may behold thy beauty. I know thee, and I know the names of the forty-two gods who are with thee in the Hall of the Two Truths, who live on the evil-doers, and who drink their blood each day of the reckoning before Unnefer [Osiris]. I come to thee, and bring to thee truth, and chase away wrong-doing.'

After this invocation, he recited a preliminary repudiation of sins in a form somewhat shorter than that of the Negative Confession, the number of sins repudiated being generally about thirty-seven, as against forty-two in the more elaborate form which followed. The sins repudiated are not always the same in the various versions ; but the variations are not in any case of great moment. The following version is from the well-known papyrus of Nu (XVIIIth dyn.) :

'I have not done evil to mankind. I have not oppressed the members of my family. I have not wrought evil in the place of right and truth. I have had no knowledge of worthless men. I have not wrought evil. I have not set foremost in the considerations of each day that excessive labour should be performed

for me. I have not brought forward my name for exaltation to honours. I have not ill-treated servants. I have not thought scorn of God. I have not defrauded the oppressed of his property. I have not done that which is an abomination unto the gods. I have not caused harm to be done to the servant by his master. I have not caused pain. I have made no one to suffer hunger. I have made no one to weep. I have done no murder. I have not given the order for murder to be done for me. I have not inflicted pain upon mankind. I have not defrauded the temples of their offerings. I have not purloined the cakes of the gods. I have not carried off the cakes offered to the *khus* [illuminated souls]. I have not committed fornication. I have not polluted myself, or diminished from the bushel. I have neither added to nor filched away land. I have not encroached upon the fields of others. I have not added to the weights of the scales. I have not misread the pointer of the scales. I have not carried away the milk from the mouths of children. I have not driven away the cattle which were upon their pastures. I have not snared the feathered fowl of the preserves of the gods. I have not caught fish with fish of their kind. I have not turned back water in its time. I have not cut a cutting in a canal of running water. I have not extinguished a fire when it should burn. I have not violated the times of the chosen meat-offerings. I have not driven off the cattle from the property of the gods. I have not repulsed God in his manifestations. I am pure. I am pure.'

In all probability this introduction represents an older form of confession, and was originally all that was expected of the deceased. The development of the doctrine of the Judgment, however, led to its being supplemented by a more extended and formal version. Along with Osiris, there sat in the Hall of the Two Truths forty-two gods, who formed a kind of jury before which the deceased had to plead. The number forty-two may have been selected because the most general division of the land of Egypt gave forty-two nomes or districts, and there was thus a god for each nome. Maspero suggests that they were chosen one from each of the cities of Egypt which recognized the authority of Osiris (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 188). These jurors were creatures of terrifying aspect and still more terrifying titles, and before each of them the deceased was obliged to declare that he had not committed the particular sin which that god had authority to punish. The titles of the gods are such as—'Clasper of Flame,' 'Devourer of Shades,' 'Crusher of Bones,' 'Devourer of Blood,' 'Destroyer,' and so forth. There are variations in the different papyri, and the list here given is from the papyrus of Nebseni in the British Museum. Each confession is prefaced by 'Hail thou,' and the title of the particular god addressed is given. The confession is as follows:

'(1) I have not done iniquity. (2) I have not committed robbery with violence. (3) I have done violence to no man. (4) I have not committed theft. (5) I have not slain man or woman. (6) I have not made light the bushel. (7) I have not acted deceitfully. (8) I have not purloined the things which belong to God. (9) I have not uttered falsehood. (10) I have not carried away food. (11) I have not uttered evil words. (12) I have attacked no man. (13) I have not killed the beasts which are the property of God. (14) I have not acted deceitfully. (15) I have not laid waste ploughed land. (16) I have never pried into matters. (17) I have not set my mouth in motion against any man. (18) I have not given way to anger concerning myself without a cause. (19) I have not defiled the wife of a man. (20) I have not committed any sin against purity. (21) I have not struck fear into any man. (22) I have not violated sacred times and seasons. (23) I have not been a man of anger. (24) I have not made myself deaf to words of right and truth. (25) I have not stirred up strife. (26) I have made no man to weep. (27) I have not committed acts of impurity or sodomy. (28) I have not eaten my heart. (29) I have abused no man. (30) I have not acted with violence. (31) I have not judged hastily. (32) I have not taken vengeance upon the god. (33) I have not multiplied my speech overmuch. (34) I have not acted with deceit, or worked wickedness. (35) I have not cursed the king. (36) I have not fouled water. (37) I have not made haughty my voice. (38) I have not cursed the god. (39) I have not behaved with insolence. (40) I have not sought for distinctions. (41) I have not increased my wealth except with such things as are my own possessions. (42) I have not thought scorn of the god who is in my city.'

Following upon this confession comes an address to the assessor-gods in which the deceased passes from the repudiation of sin to the positive assertion of his meritorious conduct.

'Praise to you, ye gods, ye who are in the Hall of the Two Truths, in whose body is no lie, and who live in truth. . . . Behold I come to you without sin, without evil. . . . I have done that which man commandeth and that wherewith the gods are content. I have pleased the god with that which he loveth. I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, and a passage over the river to him who hath no boat. I have made offerings to the god, and funerary gifts to the illuminated souls.'

An examination of the two lists shows that in both cases the compilers had some difficulty in making out the requisite number of sins, as there are several confessions which are practically duplicates of others which have been made before, *e.g.* in the Negative Confession, 'I have done violence to no man,' 'I have not acted with violence,' 'I have not behaved with violence'. and again, 'I have not acted deceitfully' occurs twice, while in addition we have 'I have not acted with deceit, or worked wickedness.' Such repetitions were, of course, almost inevitable when a definite list of transgressions had to be filled up by a sometimes hasty and often careless scribe, who well knew that the document on which he was engaged was never likely to be read by any one after it had once been placed in the coffin of the deceased.

An analysis of the sins repudiated in the introduction and the Negative Confession may be attempted, giving the number of sins falling under particular heads in either document:

	Intro-duction.	Negative Confession.
Sins against the gods	10	6
,, ,, ,, person of others	12	4
,, ,, property	5	5
,, ,, purity	1	3
,, of deceit	3	4
,, of character and disposition	6	18

There are, of course, in both lists, some sins of such a character that they might occupy a place in more than one of these categories. An examination of this classification suggests what is on other grounds extremely probable—namely, that the introduction is a survival from more primitive times, and represents a code of morality earlier than that of the Negative Confession. Thus, sins of sacrilege and sins against the person of others occupy by far the most prominent position in the introduction, as would be expected in a more primitive state of society, amounting in number to 10 and 12 respectively—22 sins out of 37. In the Confession these numbers have shrunk to 6 and 4. On the other hand, the sense of the sinfulness of acts of impurity has increased, if we may assume its increase from a more elaborate repudiation of such acts. But the most remarkable development is the growth in the sense of the importance of character. While the introduction repudiates six sins specially affecting the inner man, the Confession repudiates no fewer than eighteen.

When we come to consider the particular sins which the Egyptian judged to be fatal to him who committed them, we find several which are obviously the product of the conditions under which Egyptian agriculture was carried on. 'I have not turned back water in its time,' and 'I have not cut a cutting in a canal of running water,' both point to dishonest appropriation of irrigation water. Leaving these out of consideration as being the result of special circumstances, we see that what the Egyptian wished to avoid, or to be held to have avoided, in his life was something like this—impiety and sacrilege; crimes of violence against others, either direct or by incitation; adultery and unnatural vice; cruelty, ferocity, and unkindness towards defenceless inferiors. In all these points the Egyptian Confession indicates a code of morality not superior to that current among other nations, and indeed in some respects distinctly of an outward and formal type. The stress laid upon merely ceremonial sins is an obvious defect. As Maspero says (*op. cit.* 191), 'the material interests of the temple were too

prominent, and the crime of killing a sacred goose or stealing a loaf from the bread offerings was considered as abominable as calumny or murder.' Where the Confession is striking is in its development of the sense of those duties which a man owes to his own character and self-respect. Particularly remarkable is the stress laid upon reticence and control of speech. Four at least of the repudiations refer to this—deprecating slander, foul speaking, disdainfulness of speech, and mere profusion of words. This is quite in accordance with what we learn from other sources as to Egyptian ideals of character.' 'Let thy thoughts be abundant,' says the oldest Wisdom book of Egypt, 'let thy words be under restraint.' Again, anger and hasty judgment, mischief-making, and the insolence of pride together furnish the subject of eight repudiations. If Erman's interpretation be correct, useless remorse is deprecated by the obscure repudiation 28, 'I have not eaten my heart.' Budge's version is more commonplace: 'I have not lost my temper and become angry.' The sin of closing the mind to ideas and inspirations of truth is repudiated in 24, 'I have not made myself deaf to words of right and truth,' and conceivably also in the last item of the introduction—'I have not repulsed God in His manifestations,' or 'stopped a god in his comings forth.' A sense of fair play even to the creatures gives us 31 of the introduction—'I have not caught fish with fish of their own kind' (? cf. Ex 23[19] 'Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk').

On the whole, that which distinguishes the Egyptian Confession is not what it is so frequently extolled for—an exceptionally high standard of morality. The Confession itself shows that the standard was very much that which has obtained among all nations that have a right to be called civilized. Its distinction is the stress which it lays on the inner duties—those duties which a man owes to himself, and which ennoble and strengthen character. Self-restraint and self-possession, dignified reticence, and absence of meddlesomeness, the capacity of bearing prosperity without insolence, and the resolve to preserve an open mind towards the truth—the effort to maintain such a sound and wholesome standard marks out the Egyptian code as being of a particularly high type. Even if it be permissible to infer that the insistence on these virtues suggests that the Egyptian character was specially prone to faults against them, it must still be admitted that no other nation ever formulated and stereotyped such a list of man's duties to his own character as part of its acknowledged code of morality. It has been pointed out that what seems to us the defect of the whole idea of the Confession—the absence from it of anything approaching a sense of repentance for wrongdoing—appears to be a permanent factor of the Egyptian character.

'The essential mode of justification in the judgment,' says Petrie (*Rel. of Anc. Egypt*, p. 89), 'was by the declaration of the deceased that he had not done various crimes; and to this day the Egyptian will rely on justifying himself by sheer assertion that he has not done wrong, in face of absolute proofs to the contrary.'

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CONFESSION (Hebrew).

—**1. The term.**—The Hiph. and Hithp., הוֹדָה and הִתְוַדָּה, of the verb יָדָה, 'to throw,' acquired the meanings of 'to praise' and 'to confess.' The former stands for both, the latter is the technical term for 'to confess.' Both are rendered in the LXX by ἐξομολογεῖν. The nouns derived from it are תּוֹדָה, 'praise,' 'thanksgiving,' and in Jos 7[19] and Ezr 10[11] 'confession of sin'; and the late Hebrew וִדּוּי='confession of sin.'

The connexion between throwing, praising, and confessing is not obvious. The suggestion that a gesticulation with the hand was made while praising and confessing is too fanciful. It is more probable that יָדָה signifies metaphorically 'to throw knowledge about,' to make it public, and is thus cognate to הוֹדִיעַ and הִתְוַדַּע.[1]

2. Confession of sin against God.—Whatever the Israelitish conception of sin was in any period of their known history, an admission of it was expected from the penitent, whether a penalty was to follow or not. Without, therefore, following the chronological order of the various documents, we find throughout the OT individual and public confession insisted on and practised.

Very early in the Book of Genesis, the questions addressed to Adam and Cain (3[9] 4[9]) were calculated to extract confession. Judah confesses Tamar more just than himself (38[26]).[2] Jacob confesses his unworthiness (32[10]), and his sons their guiltiness concerning Joseph (42[21]). Joshua urges Achan to confess (Jos 7[19]). David confesses when Nathan brings his sin home (2 S 12[13]); so do the Israelites in a body when brought to repentance (Nu 14[40], 1 S 7[6] 12[10]).

The mission of the prophets was 'to declare unto Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin' (Mic 3[8]; cf. Jl 2[1ff.], Is 58[1]), and a reciprocal acknowledgment was expected (Jer 2[35] 3[13], Hos 14[1]).

The Psalter abounds in instances of public and individual confession. Foremost stands Ps 51, which embodies a fully-developed conception of sin and grace. Its ascription to David indicates an appreciation of David's confession in 2 S 12. Ps 32 is a model penitential psalm, in which a pious man is reluctant for some time to admit the sin of an accusing conscience, until some external circumstance forces confession from his lips (Köberle, *Sünde und Gnade*, Munich, 1905, p. 352). Similarly in Ps 38 a pious man ascribes his misfortunes to his sins which he can bear no longer, and unburdens his conscience by 'declaring his iniquity and confessing his sin' (v.[18]).[3]

The religious aspect of the book of Proverbs is Eudæmonism. The wise man is happy, and he is wise who regulates his life in accordance with the Divine commands. The sinner is a fool. Confession of sin is an act of wisdom (28[13]).

In the sacrificial cult, confession of sin was an essential element (Lv 5[5] 16[21], Nu 5[6. 7]). According to Maimonides (*Yad Ma'as, Hak.* iii. 14), the sacrificer of a sin-, trespass-, or burnt-offering laid both hands between the horns of the victim, and said:

'I have sinned, committed iniquity, transgressed, have done thus and thus. I repent before Thee, and this is my atoning sacrifice.'

On the Day of Atonement the high priest is said to have confessed three times. Standing by his victim between the porch and the altar, facing west, and with his hands upon its head, he made the following confession:

[1] Malbim on Lv 5[5] says that יָדָה has the opposite meaning of 'to conceal,' 'to deny.' It is peculiar to man to hide his knowledge of God and of his sin. The מוֹדֶה proclaims them.

[2] On this the Talmud remarks: 'Judah's praise consists in his confession'—a double play on his name (*Meg.* 25[b]; see also *Sot.* 7 and 10).

[3] The present writer is inclined to think that the unusual expression אֶדְאַג מ is a mistake, having arisen from similarity to the previous אַגִּיד, and that the original reading was אוֹדֶה גַּם חַטָּאתִי. This also completes the synthetic parallelism.

'I beseech thee, Jahweh, I have committed iniquity, I have transgressed, I have sinned before thee, I and my house. I beseech thee, Jahweh, forgive now the iniquities and the transgressions and the sins wherein I have committed iniquity and transgressed and sinned before thee, I and my house. As it is written in the law of thy servant Moses, "For on this day shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you from all your sins."'

The priests and people responded: 'Blessed be the name of His glory for ever.' The second time was over the sin-offering of the priests, when the same formula was used, with the addition of 'the sons of Aaron, thy holy people' after 'I and my house.' The third confession was made over the scape-goat, and the same formula was worded in the third person plural, with 'Thy people, the house of Israel,' substituted for 'I and my house.'

The Exile wrought a material change in the religious disposition as well as in the outward fortunes of the people. In the place of the defiant Israelitish nation there returned from Babylon a Church of serious and timid Jews. Without doubting that they were the successors of ancient Israel and heirs to the promises, they were rendered diffident by their miserable resources. They saw in their inferiority God's chastisement for their sin. Confession of sin became henceforth a concomitant of religious exercise (see Ezr 9^{6}, Neh $9^{2ff.}$). The confession in Dn 9^{4-19} resembles in several ways that of Neh. and Bar 1^{15-17}; but, as Marti (*Com.* on Dan. p. 65) observes, the similarity is due not to quotations from each other, but to some common stereotyped liturgical prayers from which all drew.

A peculiar feature of exilic and post-exilic confession is the aggregate conception of sin to which is reckoned the 'sins of the fathers.'[1] The truth contained in the Talmudic adage that Israelites were each other's sureties (*Sheb.* 39, and elsewhere) is older than the Talmud. Viewing themselves as partakers of a common blessing, they felt a share in the cause of the common misfortunes. Liturgical confession, therefore, arose not from a sense of individual sin or the imperfection of human nature, but from the desire for amelioration of present circumstances. It is the pious man who is ever ready to confess. Tobit enumerates his virtues, his loyalty to Jahweh and the Law (ch. 1). He leads a blameless life, but confesses his sins and goes into judgment with his fathers. His model integrity saves Azarias from the fire, but he confesses, 'We have sinned' (LXX Dn $3^{28f.}$). Individually a pious man had few sins to confess. Legal observance could keep him sinless, and the sacrificial cult made good that in which he failed through ignorance. 'No sinner ever slept in Jerusalem. The evening sacrifice atoned for sins of the day, and that of the morning for sins of the night' (*Mid. Rab.* and *Tanch.* on Nu 28^{3}, ; also Rashi on Is 1^{21}). Sin being not sinfulness but actual sin, and that a collection of single sins, a pious man was able to know what to do and what to avoid, so as to keep a clean balance with God. Not the righteous like the patriarchs, but actual sinners like Manasses, need repentance and confession (Prayer of Manasses). To this class of general liturgical confession belongs the sixth petition in the *Shemone Esre*: 'Forgive us, O our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us, O our King, for we have transgressed.'

After the destruction of the Temple, the Day of Atonement, even without sacrifice, retained its expiatory power, and has since been observed as a day of fasting, repentance, and confession. The form of confession at first was brief and general—'We have sinned.' R. Akiba knew already the first four verses of the *Abinu Malkenu*, one of which is 'Our Father, our King, we have sinned before thee' (*Ta'an.* 25*b*). For other short forms of confession see *Yoma* 87*b*. That of Rab was:

'Thou knowest the eternal secrets, and the hidden mysteries of all the living. Thou searchest out the innermost recesses, and triest the reins and the heart. Nothing is concealed from thee, or hidden from thine eyes.'

Longer is that of R. Hamnuna, which stands at the end of the *Shemone Esre*:

'O my God, before I was formed, I was nothing worth, and, now that I have been formed, I am but as though I had not been formed. Dust I am in my life; how much more so in my death. Behold, I am before thee as a vessel full of shame and confusion. O may it be thy will, O Lord my God and the God of my fathers, that I may sin no more; and, as for the sins I have committed, purge them away by thy great mercies, but not by means of sufferings and sore diseases.'

R. Bibi directed that one should say:

'I confess all the evil that I have done before thee. I stand on an evil path. Whatever I have done, I will do the like no more. May it be thy will, O Lord my God, to pardon all my iniquities, to forgive all my transgressions, and to atone for all my sins' (*Lev. R.* iii. 3).

A loud enumeration of individual sins was considered arrogant (*Sot.* 7*b*). The rule still is that confession of individual sins shall be inaudible, except when concealment would implicate the innocent (*Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ṭur. Or. Ḥay.* 607).

The liturgy of the Day of Atonement gradually increased in bulk with suitable prayers and confessions, prominent among them being the *Ashamnu* and *'Al-Ḥet*, called the lesser and greater confessions, and repeated four times in the course of the twenty-four hours of the fast, with a slight tap on the breast at the mention of each sin. The former consists of twenty-four expressions for sin, alphabetically arranged, the last letter being repeated three times. It is probably the confession referred to in the *Didache*. The *'Al-Ḥet* is a more exhaustive catalogue of sin, also alphabetical, and has in the Ashkenazic use forty-four lines, each commencing, 'For the sin wherein we have sinned before thee,' etc.

It is a pious custom to submit to forty stripes save one, on the eve of the Day of Atonement. The penitent, lying prostrate with head towards the north, silently confesses his sins while (generally) the attendant of the synagogue lays on gently with thongs made of calf-skin, repeating three times Ps 78^{38} (which in Hebrew has thirteen words), a word at each stroke (*Shulḥ. Ar.*, *ut supra*).

There exists in the Prayer-book also a daily confession of sin, called תחנון, which is said morning and evening (except on festivals and other occasions) after the *'Amida*, in a sitting posture, with head resting on elbow. Originally it consisted of one verse:

'O thou who art merciful and gracious, I have sinned before thee. O Lord, full of mercy, have mercy upon me, and receive my supplications,'

after which private confession is made, and one's wants stated non-liturgically. Its older name is נְפִילַת אַפַּיִם, 'prostration' (cf. Jos 7^{6}). Since prostration was generally discontinued after the destruction of the Temple, this indicates its great antiquity. 'A distinguished man should not use נפילת אפים unless he is sure that his prayer will be answered like Joshua's.' Compare Christ's posture in Gethsemane. R. Eliezer's mother did not allow him to 'fall on his face on the day of his excommunication' (*Bab. meṣ.* 59*b*). On Mondays and Thursdays the תחנון is preceded by a mediæval confessional prayer of legendary authorship.

Every Jew confesses on his deathbed, after a prescribed form. Criminals are urged to confess, within ten cubits' distance of the scene of execution. If they have nothing to confess, they are instructed to say: 'Let my death be an atonement for all my iniquities' (*Sanh.* vi. 2).

3. **Confession of sin against man.**—The Mosaic legislation made provision for material reparation of injuries done to one's neighbour. But the ideal of Hebrew equity went beyond legal compensation, and demanded the conciliation of the offended party, without which 'not all the rams of Nebaioth

[1] In the Sephardic and Kabbalistic recensions of the *Ashamnu* (see below), 'we and our fathers have sinned' is still given.

in the world could procure pardon' (*Bab. ḳamma*, 92*a*). Thus Joseph's brethren pray for forgiveness (Gn 50[17]); note also the confession of Pharaoh (Ex 10[17]), and cf. 1 S 15[24] 24[10] 26[21], 2 S 19[20]. In later Judaism it was raised to a positive precept. 'Although the offender offers the legal compensation, he is not yet forgiven until he entreats him for it' (*Bab. ḳam.* viii. 7). The Day of Atonement expiates sin against God, but not sin against man, unless the offended party is conciliated (*Yoma* viii. 9). Suspicion of the innocent comes under the category of injuries. The suspect must be informed of it, and honourable amends made to him (*Ber.* 31*b*). Strictly the conciliation must take place before three witnesses. If the offended party is dead, the conciliation should take place over his grave in the presence of ten witnesses (*Yoma* 86–88). The eve of the Day of Atonement is generally selected for acts of reparation of this kind. No distinction of class is acknowledged. Even Rabbis of renown were known to condescend to regain the goodwill of those whom they injured. Rab, in a dispute with a butcher, was offended by the latter. On the eve of the Fast he expected the transgressor to ask for forgiveness. As he did not do so, he called on him and effected the conciliation (*Yoma* 87). If the injured party refuses to forgive after the third entreaty, he is called cruel, except in the case of slander, which one is not bound to forgive (*Shulḥ. 'Ar.*, *Ṭur Or. Ḥay.* 606).

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CONFESSIONS.

[W. A. CURTIS.]

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1. Scope and limitations of the article.—It is the object of this article to furnish a survey of the history of Confessions of Faith, indicating their origin, their contents, and their inter-relationships, together with some brief reflexions, suggested by the survey, upon their uses and their influence for good and evil in the religious world. Other articles (CREEDS [Ecum.], COUNCILS [Christian: early]) will tell of the development of the three great Catholic Creeds of Christendom, and of the meeting of the historic authoritative assemblies of the Church. Under the title 'Confessions' it will not be possible to deal in detail with documents of a private, individual, or tentative character; these will be mentioned only when they are of special interest. The public Confessions which have been or still are authoritative in the various sections of the Christian Church will be treated comprehensively, though their great number—exceeding 150—makes it necessary to dismiss many of them with the briefest notice. A comparative glance will be turned on the non-Christian world in search of documents or testimonies analogous to the Creeds of Christendom. Happily, there is small room for doubt or controversy in regard to the authenticity of Confessions, and questions as to date, authorship, editions, etc., will for the most part be handled very lightly, in the interests of clearness. The table of contents printed above, and the chronological table of Confessions printed on pp. 894-901, will help to make plain the principle of arrangement followed in the article. Selections from the relevant literature will be given at various points throughout the article.

2. Definition: synonymous and similar terms.—Amid all diversities of name, literary form, occasion, purpose, and authority, a 'Confession' is a public avowal and formal statement, more or less detailed, of the doctrinal contents of religious belief, framed by an individual or by a group of individuals. It may be addressed, orally or in writing, to a few persons in sympathy or out of sympathy with it, or to a congregation, or to a church, or to the world. It may be a brief spontaneous ejaculation of faith, or a summary of deliberate conviction, or a veritable treatise on doctrine. If short, comprehensive, and dignified enough for use in public worship, and if prefaced by the words 'I believe,' or 'we believe,' it becomes a *Creed*. If longer and more minute and systematic, it is technically a *Confession*. Broken up and analytically simplified into a series of didactic questions and answers to assist the memory and intelligence of the young and the unlearned, it is a *Catechism*. Viewed as a proclamation, in an apologetic or other interest, of distinctive doctrine, it is a *Manifesto*, a *Declaration*, a *Profession*, a '*Symbol*,' a '*Platform*.' As a bond of union it is a *Consensus*, a *Covenant*, a *Form*, or *Formula*. As a test of doctrine it is a *Standard*. As a disavowal and condemnation of errors it is a '*Syllabus*.' In respect of its contents, it may be entitled *Decrees*, *Canons*, *Articles*, *Theses*, *Propositions*, '*Places*.' When modified and re-issued, it may appear as a '*Revision*.' The form of words in which the individual subscribes or professes a Confession is the Formula of Subscription, or simply the 'Formula.'

3. Origin, aims, and uses.—If religion be the natural response of the human soul to the Power by whose fiat and by whose providence it exists, no element in religious experience is so comprehensive and so momentous as faith. Observation and knowledge of the facts of life, wonder, fear, and doubt in presence of them, underlie religion; but, unless they issue in distinctive faith, religion is still unconstituted. Faith does not shut its eyes to things seen, but, while seeing them, looks beyond to realities discerned behind them. It is the organ of religious truth. Like hope, its serene, and love, its passionate, sister, faith in its full meaning is vital to the highest experience of religion, and as such is bound to find expression when religion becomes self-conscious and articulate. It remembers the past, and leans upon it; it fills the present with life and power; it faces the future with eager expectancy; it is the bond between all the phases of religious life, the link, indeed, which unites that life with the Unseen God. In the language of religious self-utterance, therefore, *credo*, 'I believe,' and *confiteor*, 'I confess *or* acknowledge,' must always have a foremost place; they are presupposed in all the other moods of worship—in praise, in thanksgiving, in self-abasement, in supplication, in hope, and in love; they are the persistent undertones in the natural liturgy of the universal

religious consciousness. They imply that the period of ignorance or doubt is past; that the spiritual life is come to itself; that the seeker has at last found, and that the spirit is at rest.

The earliest confessions of faith, possibly the best, were avowals of faith in a Person, personal in subject and object alike, not narrowly intellectual —'I believe that God is'—so much as spiritual—'I rest my faith on God'; and the object of this living personal attachment, too full for words, was either God or a teacher who revealed Him. Faith in Jesus personally would naturally precede faith in His Messiahship. But it is obvious that even in personal faith the intelligence has always its discriminating part to play. 'I believe in Jesus the Christ' is a formula combining both forms—'I believe that He is the promised Christ,' and 'I trust Him.' Thus, in the so-called Apostles' Creed—the first elaborate Confession in the Church, and the basis of all others—the true nucleus consists of the threefold affirmation, 'I believe *on* (πιστεύω εἰς, *credo in*) God the Father . . . on Jesus Christ . . . on the Holy Spirit,' much more being intended than that each Person exists, a relationship of personal faith being, in fact, professed. But, just as in each of these simple affirmations a certain intellectual judgment is presupposed, so in the Creed, as a whole, room has been found for clauses descriptive of each Divine 'Person' and His sphere, and involving historical or doctrinal articles of mental faith. From a very early time, confession in terms of the Creed was taken to imply, if not to denote, acceptance of each of these details of history and doctrine—acceptance of the letter as well as of the spirit. Faith was soon understood to be professing not so much its fervent devotion to three Persons recognized as Divine, as its belief in a series of affirmations concerning them, particularly concerning Jesus, whose person, life, and work had been matter for protracted controversy. In the Confessions of the Reformation Period and later times, the personal object is finally lost in the doctrinal purpose; in them the Creed has become a body of distinctive doctrine, nothing else—an attempt to formulate the truth about God and His Christ, not a simple avowal of faith in the God of truth and in His Son, the Truth Incarnate.

Looking back upon the history of Creeds and Confessions, we observe great diversity in their origin and purpose. (1) First and simplest, they were brief spontaneous utterances of new-found conviction, addressed by individuals directly to their personal object, in gratitude, homage, or adoration. They might be utterly unsolicited, like the devotion of the Hebrew Psalmist: 'O Lord my God, in thee do I put my trust' (Ps 7^1), 'O God, thou art my God' (63^1); and the demoniacs' tribute to Jesus: 'Thou art the Son of God' (Mk 3^{11}); or deliberately invtied, like the response of Simon Peter: 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God' (Mt 16^{16}). (2) Similarly, they were naturally evolved by the consciousness of the Christian community. Without any definite legislation or injunction, a certain type of profession came to be made at the admission of converts to membership in the Church, *e.g.* the Baptismal formula, or early forms of the Apostles' Creed. The *Te Deum*, a lyric creed, may have been formed similarly. (3) In time, and by natural consent, such individual and common Confessions as appealed to the general sense of Christian communities were adopted for liturgical repetition. The spontaneous lyric or acknowledgment became the familiar psalm, or hymn, or creed, prescribed for public use. (4) Beyond question, the catechizing of professed converts before baptism was the chief and original source of formal confessions. The answers expected from the professing believer gradually took shape in a series of propositions which were recognized as a sufficient mark of Christianity and claim for admission to the Church. The Apostles' Creed in all its forms, shorter and longer, had this origin and aim. It was literally a *symbolum*, a 'password,' for use on the threshold of the Church. (5) From the beginning it was part of the purpose served by a confession to bear a public testimony to the object of one's faith—public not simply as made openly before the Church, but as before the outside world. The psychological influence of public confession upon a man's own character as a source of stability and decision was as much in view as its impression upon the unbelieving world. (6) Creeds and Confessions have frequently been drawn up simply as a vindication of the true character of the religious belief cherished by a body of Christians. They were primarily authentic expositions of distinctive doctrine, intended to remove misconceptions and to repudiate misrepresentations. Many, perhaps most, of the great Confessions of the Reformation were wholly of this apologetic character, *e.g.* the memorable Lutheran Confession presented to the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, and Zwingli's 'Confession to Charles V.' on the same occasion. Subscription in such cases meant the acceptance and support of the doctrine, with no reference to, or promise of, literal adherence in the future. (7) Very often they were drawn up to settle controversy, either as a compromise between antagonistic issues, or as an authoritative affirmation of the one and condemnation of the other. They served thus to mark off true from false belief, at least according as majorities conceived of these, and gave rise to the accepted distinction between an orthodoxy and a heresy. In this category stand the Nicene Creed, the Canons of Dort, and the Formula Concordiæ, as conspicuous representatives. (8) On other occasions they were drawn up as deliberate bonds of contemplated union or re-union, apart from any pressure of controversy, *e.g.* the Westminster Confession. (9) A very frequent, though secondary, function of Confessions has been to serve as standards of orthodoxy either for members in general of a church, or more especially for office-bearers. Whether formally subscribed upon admission or tacitly accepted, they have been a usual basis of 'discipline.' To be convicted, on trial, of infidelity to them was sufficient warrant for excommunication. As a rule, the Catholic Creeds, though they have been thus used, have not been considered as adequate for disciplinary purposes, and have been supplemented in ecclesiastical usage by the longer Confessions. In the Protestant Churches it has generally been explicitly laid down that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the supreme standard of faith and practice, and that the accepted Confession is adopted only as a secondary or subordinate standard. (10) Lastly, it may be noted that Confessions have been published in a less authoritative and more speculative way as expositions of particular conceptions of the System of Christian Truth, drawn up with a view to the definition and formulation of men's views, apart either from controversy or ecclesiastical use. Such documents have been individual and tentative, and, unless adopted by Churches, scarcely enter into the present survey.

4. **Confessions in ethnic religion.**—Though intellectual faith in some degree is presupposed in every form and stage of religion, and though the materials for Confessions are never wanting in the great systems of religion, in all of which forms of public worship, theological literature, and sectarian divisions have their place, it is a striking fact that almost alone in Christendom have Creeds and Confessions in the strict sense been drawn up as

authoritative expositions of the contents of faith. Every religion and every sect within it, every school of philosophy as well as each individual thinker, has a distinctive group of tenets or articles of faith, which tend to find sooner or later a more or less authoritative expression, and so become stereotyped as a rule or norm of belief, and a test or watchword of adherence. These may without difficulty be pointed out in connexion with each of the great systems of human religion, for each has had not only its founder and its church, but its scriptures, its theologies, and its divisions. But we look almost in vain for any documents in ethnic religion, ancient or modern, which correspond to the Christian Creeds and Confessions. 'Antique religions,' writes Robertson Smith in his *Rel. Sem.*[2] (1894, p. 16), 'had for the most part no creed; they consisted entirely of institutions and practices.' In modern times, contact with Christianity has not seldom induced the defenders of other faiths to draw up, teach, and circulate catechisms and manuals of their own cherished doctrine. Especially has this been the case in India, where, *e.g.*, Hindu and Parsi and Buddhist catechisms have been issued for the better education of young and old in their religion, and for the correction of current misunderstandings and misrepresentations on the part of outsiders.[1] We may expect as one result of the rivalry of the great religions a great development of such activity throughout the non-Christian world, with, it may be, the evolution of definite ethnic Creeds and Confessions. But for the most part Oriental religion rests on regulated duties more than on systematized beliefs; ritual and moral works bring their reward, with such unswerving and rigorous precision that an exaltation of doctrine to be professed into the position of a criterion of a man's religion and a determinant of his hereafter is practically impossible. Codes of conduct abound, in which each step in life finds its direction. Hymns and prayers attest the life of faith and hope. Doctrines are articulated, and problems involved in them are faced and argued with unlimited speculative enterprise and genius. Cf. the various artt. on CREED.

5. Confessions in Hebrew religion.—Neither in ancient nor in subsequent Hebrew religion has there ever been exhibited a zeal for the composition and acceptance of binding Confessions. Like most ancient religions, that of Israel was national. Men inherited it naturally, were born into it. It was, indeed, with its beliefs and ceremonies, the distinctive possession of the race. Only in view of sectarian controversy and of proselytization would any formal definition of their faith be necessary beyond the simpler confessions which were inwoven in their forms of worship. Even at the admission of proselytes in ancient times it was not so much a formal profession of doctrines that was required as a sacramental and symbolic initiation through the rites of circumcision and baptism, admitting the Gentile to the household and nation, and therewith also to the religion of Israel. The Hebrew Creed, with its virtual monopoly of monotheism, was so conspicuous, so simple, and so well known as not to require any explicit formulation. Only after Hebrew religion became the religion of a book, of a closed canon of Scripture, did the impulse in Israel, as later in Christendom, arise to define its faith through scholastic controversy more narrowly than by the contents of the Book as a whole. The silencing of the voice of prophecy was the signal for the opening of the mouths of sectarian disputants claiming to possess orthodoxy and to condemn heresy. See art. CREED (Jewish).

6. Confessions in relation to Christ in the Gospels.—In all the Gospels, conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ, the veritable Son of God, is represented not only as His own fixed possession and the basis of His ministry in all its many-sidedness, and as strengthened by the repeated Voice from Heaven at His baptism and transfiguration, but as increasingly shared by the Baptist, by the disciples, and by others who came into contact with Him. The narratives further make it plain that it was a definite part of His purpose to elicit in time spontaneous acknowledgments of faith in His Messiahship spiritually understood in relation both to God and to humanity, and that He welcomed them, whether at the time He desired them to be openly proclaimed or not. It is, moreover, the obvious intention of the Four Evangelists, in their choice of biographical matter and in their writing, to be loyal to the aim of their Master, and similarly to induce faith in His Christhood (cf. Jn 20^{31} 'these [signs] are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name'). St. Mark, equally with St. John, is careful to record acknowledgments of His Messianic Sonship; nor are St. Matthew and St. Luke less concerned to do the same. There is accordingly in the Gospels a striking abundance of confessional utterance. It is almost wholly direct, personal, spontaneous, brief, simple in form, and concerned with Jesus' Christhood not merely in an official or national sense, but as constituting Him uniquely 'Son of God.' It is reinforced by such passages as, on the one hand, the parallels Mk 1^{11}, Mt 3^{17}, Lk 3^{22}, which reproduce the Messianic self-consciousness of Jesus at His baptism, reflected in Peter, James, and John at His transfiguration (Mk 9^{7}, Mt 17^{5}, Lk 9^{35}); and, on the other hand, Mk 8^{38}, Mt 10^{26-33} 28^{19}, Lk 12^{2-9}, in which Jesus expressly enjoins fearless confession of Himself. The following are the chief passages:

In Mark the demoniacs whom Jesus heals confess Him 'the Holy One of God' (1^{24}), 'the Son of God' (3^{11}), 'Son of the Most High God' (5^{7}); blind Bartimæus hails Him as 'Son of David' (10^{47}); the deaf mute's father says, 'I believe; help thou mine unbelief' (9^{24}); the crowd acclaim Him, 'Hosanna! blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,' etc. (11^{9f}). To the high priest's question, 'Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?' and to Pilate's question, 'Art thou king of the Jews?,' He answers in the affirmative (14^{61f} 15^{2}). In mockery the soldiers hail Him 'King of the Jews' (15^{18}), in sincerity the centurion at the Cross as 'truly a Son of God' (v.^{39}). In 8^{29} Peter's confession is given as simply, 'Thou art the Christ.' In 12^{29-31} Jesus condenses the sum of faith and duty in the two 'Great Commandments' prefaced by the 'Hear, O Israel.'

In Matthew we find Jesus confessed as 'Son of God' by demoniacs (8^{29}), by disciples in the boat (14^{33}), and by the centurion (27^{54}); as 'Son of David' by blind men (9^{27}), by a Canaanitish woman (15^{22}), and by the acclaiming multitude (21^{9}), including children (v.^{15}); as teacher of truth by Pharisees and Herodians (22^{16}), and frequently as 'Lord' and 'Master'; as 'Christ the Son of the living God' by Peter (16^{16}), and by Himself before the high priest (26^{63f}); as 'King of the Jews' mockingly by soldiers (27^{29}), and by Himself before Pilate (v.^{11}). In the Beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer, and the Great Commandments, articles of the Kingdom are enshrined. In the baptismal formula, 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit' (28^{19}), a confessional summary or nucleus of belief is prescribed. Peter's failure to confess (26^{69-75}) is an object-lesson, while in 7^{21} the insufficiency of mere formal confession is exposed: 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father.'

In Luke we have precise parallels to the passages in Mark and Matthew, marked only by slight variations. Demoniacs confess Jesus as 'the Holy One of God' (4^{34}), 'the Son of God' (v.^{41}), 'Son of the Most High God' (8^{28}), the blind beggar as 'Son of David' (18^{38}), the crowd as 'the King that cometh in the name of the Lord' (19^{38}), the centurion at the Cross as 'certainly a righteous man' (23^{47}), Peter as 'the Christ of God' (9^{20}); while He Himself acknowledges that He is the Son of God (22^{70}), and King of the Jews (23^{3}). In addition to the Lord's Prayer and the Great Commandments, Luke also records the sayings which deprecate confession without obedience (6^{46}), and intolerance towards Christians of another following—'Forbid him not: for he that is not against you is for you' (9^{49-50}).

[1] Cf. the Hindu Catechisms of the Central College of Benares, the Parsi Catechism of Bombay (extracts in *Religious Systems of the World*[5], 1901, pp. 186–187), and the Buddhist Catechisms of Henry S. Olcott (for Sinhalese children), Madras, 1886, and of Subhadra Bhikshu (for Europeans), London, 1890.

In John we have the Gospel *par excellence* of confession. It is, throughout, the record of successive workings of conviction that Jesus is Christ, and their issue is explicit confession. Belief or faith is the keynote of the book. 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish' (3^{16}); 'he that believeth on the Son hath eternal life' (v.^{36}). Apart from the minor confessions of Nicodemus (3^{2}), and of the Samaritan woman (4^{19}) to whom Jesus is moved to declare Himself the Christ (v.^{26}, cf. 9^{35} 10^{36}), and of other Samaritans ('this is indeed the Saviour of the world,' 4^{42}), the Gospel records those of John the Baptist—'the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world' (1^{29}), 'the Son of God' (v.^{34}); of Nathanael—'Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art King of Israel' (v.^{49}); of Martha—'I have believed that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, even he that cometh into the world' (11^{27}); of Peter for the Twelve—'we have believed and know that thou art the Holy One of God' (6^{69}); and, supreme among the series, that of Thomas to the Risen Lord—'My Lord and my God' (20^{28})—if, with most scholars and in harmony with the Prologue to the Gospel, 'the Word was God,' we take the words of Thomas as an apostrophe to the Christ.

7. Confessions in the other Apostolic writings.—In the Apostolic writings which remain to be considered, the types of confession found in the Gospels are reproduced and extended. All preaching, all profession, and all participation in the Church's young life were of the nature of confession. The memory of Jesus was still vivid, and confession of Him by the Apostles was as personal and simple as ever, though, on the part of those who believed on the strength of their witness, faith naturally came to express itself in terms of what Jesus had historically been as well as of what He meant to the heart. The lapse of time could not but work changes in the forms of confession: reminiscence and doctrine were bound to colour them. The preachers of Jesus had to tell the story of His life in support of their contention that hope and prophecy found fulfilment in Him as the Christ. Their recollection of His career had to be set alongside of their estimate of His Person. Accordingly, in the Apostolic age confession fluctuated between three main forms: (1) acceptance of Him as Christ, or Lord, or Son of God; (2) acceptance of an outline of the main facts of tradition about His home and life; and (3) acceptance of the threefold Divine self-revelation in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Instruction of inquirers and converts seeking baptism tended to dwell on certain customary themes, just as the Apostolic preaching reflected in the Acts and Epistles tended to follow certain customary lines, and a more or less uniform standard of historical and doctrinal knowledge was expected to be attained as part, at least, of baptismal qualification. Inevitably the three types varied, but they varied in the direction of greater comprehensiveness and of ultimate convergence. What came in a later age to be known as the Apostles' Creed was, in fact, the briefest possible combination of the three, confessing at once Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Jesus as Christ, and the main facts of Jesus' earthly life, from conception and birth to death, resurrection, and ascension. We may note the following passages by way of illustration:

In Acts the summaries of the Apostolic sermons, though they vary in length and general character, are alike in this, that they embody personal professions of faith uttered with a missionary purpose. They plainly conform to one type: their common elements were the implicit articles of the growing creed of the Church, and they are presented, naturally, in a markedly Jewish setting. The confessions in Jerusalem of Peter ($2^{22-24.\ 32-36}$ $3^{13ff.}$ 4^{10-12}), of Peter and the Apostles (5^{30-32}), of Stephen (7^{1-53}), those of Peter at Cæsarea (10^{36-43}), and of Paul at Antioch of Pisidia (13^{16-39}), turn upon the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth according to prophecy, His wonderful works, His holiness and goodness, His crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, promise and gift of the Holy Spirit, upon the need of repentance towards God and faith in Christ. While He is 'Lord' and 'Master,' 'Christ' and 'Son of God,' the Deity of Jesus is not affirmed: He is 'the Son of Man' (7^{56}), 'a man approved of God,' whom 'God hath made both Lord and Christ' ($2^{22.\ 36}$), God's 'Servant,' God's 'Holy and Righteous One,' 'the Prince of Life' (3^{13-15}). More concisely still the Apostolic faith and message are described as 'preaching Jesus' (8^{35}), 'teaching and preaching Jesus as the Christ' (5^{42} $18^{5.\ 28}$), 'witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus' (4^{33}), 'testifying both to Jews and to Greeks repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ' (20^{21}), 'testifying the kingdom of God and persuading them concerning Jesus, both from the Law of Moses and from the prophets' (28^{23}), 'preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ' (v.^{31}), 'good tidings concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ' (8^{12}). Baptism, the sequel of confession, is uniformly administered 'in the name of Jesus Christ' (2^{38} 10^{48}), 'the name' being the centre of belief, the word of preaching and of healing. According to a very early interpolation (8^{37}), it is administered by Philip on the condition 'if thou believest with all thy heart,' and after the confession 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God' (cf. 16^{31}). But from the first it is distinguished from John's baptism as being 'of the Holy Spirit,' the triune Name being thus prepared for and implied.

Reference is made to doctrinal controversy not only between Sadducees and Pharisees: 'the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees *confess* both' (23^{8}, an early theological use of the word 'confess' in reference to articles of faith); but also among Christians regarding circumcision (ch. 15). Christians are described as a 'sect' or 'heresy' of the Nazarenes, and marked off both from Jews and from Gentiles (24^{5} 11^{26}). But Paul as a Christian can still make a confession characteristic of the Pharisaic school in which he had been trained—'This I confess unto thee, that after the Way which they call a sect ('heresy'), so serve I the God of our fathers, believing all things which are according to the Law, and which are written in the Prophets: having a hope toward God, which these also themselves look for, that there shall be a resurrection both of the just and unjust' ($24^{14f.}$), and, addressing Greeks in Athens, he can appeal to articles of belief held by Jews in common with them, viz. the Creatorship, Fatherhood, and Spirituality of God, and repentance for sin, Jesus being referred to only as 'a man whom God hath ordained' to be His instrument of judgment for all the world and authenticated by His resurrection (17^{24-31}).

In the Epistles of Paul, the apostle of faith, we look for the expansion and application, rather than the contraction and definition, of the first principles of Christian faith regarded as doctrine, but passages are not wanting in which an approach is made to a creed-summary. In his Epistles, Paul rests upon the brief confession which characterizes the Apostolic utterances generally in the Gospels and in Acts, stipulating only that it be sincere: 'No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit' (1 Co 12^{3}). 'The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith, which we preach: because if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved: for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation' (Ro 10^{8-10}). 'To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him' (1 Co 8^{6}). Among the foundation truths which Paul had received and hastened to deliver to the Corinthians he emphasizes these—'that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures; and that he appeared to Cephas . . . to all the apostles' (1 Co $15^{3ff.}$). In close connexion with the exhortation 'to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,' he writes: 'there is one body, and one Spirit . . . one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all' (Eph 4^{3-6}). In 1 Ti 3^{16} he appears to quote a lyric creed or hymn of the mystery of the faith (cf. 1 Ti 3^{9}): 'Confessedly great is the mystery of godliness; He who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory.' In 2 Ti $1^{13f.}$ he urges Timothy to 'hold the pattern of sound words which thou hast heard from me . . . and guard the good deposit which was committed unto thee.' In these Epistles to Timothy and Titus there is a grave concern for the retention of 'sound' doctrine and tradition (cf. 1 Ti $1^{10f.}$ 2^{5-7} 4^{1} $6^{1.\ 3-5.\ 12.\ 13.\ 20.\ 21}$, 2 Ti 2^{23} 3^{14} 4^{3}, Tit $1^{13f.}$ $2^{2.\ 7.\ 8}$), a fear of speculation and controversy in the Church, and a dread of factious or heretical teaching (Tit 3^{10}). Plainly the instinct to stereotype the articles of faith is actively at work.

In Hebrews a distinction is made between the rudiments of religion, the first principles of Christ, which the Jew possessed in common with the Christian, viz. 'repentance from dead works, faith in God, baptismal doctrine, laying-on of hands, resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment' ($6^{1f.}$), and mature or perfected doctrine. In 5^{12} allusion is made to 'the first principles of the oracles of God' as matter of elementary knowledge.

In 1 John much stress is laid upon the duty of confessing Christ: 'every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God' ($4^{2f.}$); 'whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him, and he in God' (4^{15}; cf. 5^{1}). His true humanity and His Divine Sonship are thus the distinctive themes of a Christian confession (cf. 2 Jn $^{7-10}$).

Jude speaks of 'the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints' (v.^{3}) as threatened by antinomian heresy 'denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ' (v.^{4})—suggesting that 'faith' had become a term denoting doctrine instead of a vital activity of the soul.

8. Confessions in the undivided Church: evolution of the Creeds.—Our survey of the NT refer-

ences to confessions of faith has made it evident that at the close of the Apostolic age no particular creed or confession could claim to have been exclusively or even expressly ordained for use either by Jesus or by His Apostles. The explicit sanction of both Master and Apostles could be claimed only for the simple confession, 'I believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God,' or its equivalents. Baptism before the Church was the natural occasion for confession of faith, and for baptism that simple formula was at first sufficient. But, as the Church grew and attracted men who had not enjoyed the privilege of Jewish education in religion either as Hebrews or as proselytes, the course of instruction, both questions and answers, preparatory to admission by baptism, had to be enlarged alike in regard to distinctive OT truth—God the One, the Creator, Upholder, Revealer, Judge—and in regard to distinctive Christian truth—the life and work of Jesus the Christ, the Christian Church, and the Christian Hope. Moreover, from the first, baptism in the name of Jesus, as Christ, Son of God, and Lord, involved a far from narrow range of definite doctrines: it certainly implied acceptance of the distinctive teachings of the Lord and of the Apostolic estimate (religious rather than theological) of His Person and Work: it was a baptism outwardly by water, but inwardly and supremely by the Holy Spirit, the sanctifier and enlightener of men, a baptism of repentance issuing in regeneration, of reconciliation and restoration to God the Father, of the forgiveness of sins, of admission to the Church, the Lord's body. No account of the significance of even the simplest form of baptism and confession would be historically just which ignored any one of these implications. Sacramental acts are always and everywhere charged with meaning, and meaning involves the essence of doctrine. Dogma may be as authoritatively present in ceremonial acts as in Scriptures and literary definitions. Baptism, like communion in the Lord's Supper, was from the first an act eloquent of historical and doctrinal convictions as well as of personal self-surrender and dependence, and these convictions had to do with Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. At first the sense of mystic union with Christ and with the Brotherhood, only deepened by the external enmity of the Jewish Church and by the scorn and suspicion of Greece and Rome, sufficed to make Christians careless, if not unconscious, of the variety of constructions which they individually and locally put upon their Scriptures, traditions, and sacraments. But, as the gate of baptism opened wider and wider to admit the ever-swelling stream of converts, new intellectual as well as moral and political ferments entered with the current, and future controversy was assured.

As was the case with Judaism, so Christianity even at the simplest was a learned religion, a faith resting or leaning upon authoritative Scriptures, which had never been interpreted unanimously by their devotees, a religion, therefore, calling for a learned body of exponents, whose individual characteristics could not but find expression in varying interpretation. It was careful to preserve not only its inherited Jewish Bible but its own Apostolic memoirs and correspondence, and during the 2nd and 3rd centuries it was simultaneously evolving both a Canon of NT Scripture and a standard summary or Canon of Christian Faith to be professed by converts and by worshippers at public service. The two developments were exactly parallel and equally inevitable. The formation of a Canon, provoked by perverse appeals to inferior writings and by the popular need of literary and devotional guidance, as well as by controversy which threatened to be chronic and seriously to distract the Church and impair its usefulness and reputation, though it looked the larger task, was not only the more urgent but in reality the simpler; it proved so easy, comparatively, to find a line of division between the Apostolic and spiritually impressive writings and the less forceful and commanding products of the later age. Once formed and generally accepted, the double Canon of Jewish and Christian Scripture was bound to play a decisive part in the regulation of doctrine, in particular in the building and the testing of the Creeds. To be able to add to any article of faith the words 'according to the Scriptures,' or to appeal to them in reference not only to Hebrew Law and Prophecy but to Christian Gospel and Fulfilment, was decisive. It is a deeply significant historical fact that the two great Creed-producing eras of the Church, the era of the Fathers and the era of the Reformation, were times when the Scriptures through fresh study and earnest investigation literally 'had free course,' and that to the extraordinary development of serious Biblical scholarship in our own age, as much as to any concurrent cause, we owe our present-day Confessional unrest. There is truth in the paradox that Holy Scripture is never so authoritative and so powerful as when it provokes free inquiry and stirs that spirit of truth-seeking controversy which challenges even the Bible's own right to mould the thought of succeeding ages.

When the NT Canon was finally drawn up, there was as yet no form of Creed of more than local usage and authority. Each church or group of churches had had its own traditional baptismal form, written or—more usually—unwritten, and each writer on the Faith might formulate his own articles if he cared; but, as the closer organization of the Church proceeded, as presbyterian government gave place to episcopacy, and bishops in turn were subordinated to metropolitans or patriarchs, it was natural that a larger uniformity in Creed-usage should be sought and in time effected. Israel had had its high priest, and Rome with all its vastness had its Emperor and Pontifex; the Church, accordingly, as it grew and came to ecclesiastical self-consciousness, tended to draw together and centralize its organization, to become an *imperium in imperio*. The same causes or considerations which advanced the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Alexandria above their fellows, naturally advanced their diocesan Creeds *pari passu*. As Rome drew to the front, its Creed moved with it. In the 4th cent. the Roman Creed was still one among many: even in Italy the Churches of Aquileia, Ravenna, and Milan, and in Africa those of Carthage and Hippo, cherished ancient forms of their own. But, alike in the Eastern and in the Western Churches, the baptismal confessions or 'rules of faith' which had grown up in the early centuries were, in spite of variations in detail, unmistakably one in type and substance, were, in fact, forms of what came to be known as the 'Apostles' Creed.' They are all alike in their brevity, their fitness for liturgical use, their Scripturalness and simplicity, and their structure as expansions of the threefold formula. They differ mainly in respect of their detailed omissions rather than in their positive contents.

'*The Apostles' Creed.*'—In the Western Church, dominated more and more by Rome, this earliest of formal Creeds never lost its ascendancy. The Roman form of it, itself of extremely early origin, is recorded in Latin and Greek in the second half of the 4th cent. by Rufinus and by Marcellus of Ancyra:

'I believe in God the Father Almighty: and in Jesus Christ His only-begotten Son our Lord who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried; the third day He rose from the dead, He ascended into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead: and in the Holy Spirit; the holy Church; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; (the life everlasting).'

Later it took over clauses from the analogous Creeds of other churches, viz. 'descended into Hades' from Aquileia, 'catholic' (of the Church) from Eastern Creeds, 'the communion of saints' from Gaul, and 'the life everlasting,' if not already in the Roman form, from Ravenna or from Antioch. We do not find it in its now accepted form before the middle of the 8th cent., when the Papal efforts were directed towards securing liturgical uniformity throughout the Western Church.

The Nicene Creed.—In the Eastern Church the Roman Creed has never been recognized. Its Oriental parallels, current in Egypt, Asia, and Greece, held sway till replaced, for liturgical and theological purposes, by the Creed of Nicæa (A.D. 325). The Nicene Creed—itself based chiefly on the Creed of Cæsarea, and the work of a Council convened by Constantine and consisting almost wholly of Eastern bishops—was the outcome of a deliberate attempt to impose on Christendom, which already possessed a Canon of Scripture, a standard or Canon of Faith which should not only terminate the Arian Controversy, but form a basis of ecclesiastical discipline and define orthodoxy. It was the first Creed that was framed by a Council, enforced by the secular power, purely controversial in origin, theological as distinct from Scriptural in its terms, and furnished with a concluding anathema. Enlarged as the *Constantinopolitan Creed* (A.D. 381; based on that of Jerusalem along with the Nicene), and supplemented by the *Symbol of Chalcedon* (A.D. 451; dealing with the Christological errors of Nestorius and Eutyches), it became and has remained the standard of doctrine in the Eastern Church. In the form of A.D. 381 it runs literally as follows (the Constantinopolitan additions being printed in italics):

'We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of *heaven and earth and of* all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the *only-begotten* Son of God, begotten of the Father *before all worlds (ages)*, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father; through whom all things were made; who on account of us men and our Salvation came down *from heaven* and was incarnate *of (the) Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary* and entered into humanity; He *was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate and* suffered *and was buried*, and the third day He rose again *according to the Scriptures*, and ascended into heaven *and sitteth on the right hand of the Father*; from thence He shall come *again with glory* to judge the quick and the dead; *whose kingdom shall have no end.*

And in the Holy Spirit, *the Lord and Life-giver, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake through the prophets; in one holy catholic and apostolic Church; we acknowledge one baptism unto remission of sins; we look for a resurrection from the dead, and a life of the world to come. Amen.*'

The Constantinopolitan form omits the original termination: 'But as for those who say that "there was a time when He was not," and that "He was not before He was begotten," and that "from non-existence He came into being," or who allege that "He is of other substance or essence" or that "the Son of God is created" or "changeable" or "alterable," the Catholic Apostolic Church pronounces them anathema.'

The *Chalcedonian Symbol*, which is in the form of a decree or declaration or confession, not a liturgical creed, affirms:

'We then following the holy Fathers all with one consent teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and also perfect in manhood; truly God and at the same time truly man of a reasonable soul and a body; consubstantial with the Father according to His Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to His manhood, in all things like unto us apart from sin; begotten both before all worlds (ages), of the Father according to His Godhead, and also in these latter days, on account of us and our salvation, of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, according to His manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures without confusion, change, division, separation; the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved and concurring in one Person and one Substance, not parted or divided into two persons but one and the same Son, and only-begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ; according as the prophets from the beginning have spoken concerning Him, and the Lord Jesus Christ Himself has taught us, and the creed of the holy Fathers has handed down to us.'

In the Western or Latin portion of the Catholic Church the Symbols of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Chalcedon, though they originated in the East among the Greeks and dealt with controversial matters of less interest to the less imaginative West, obtained instant recognition as authoritative Creeds drawn up by legitimate Ecumenical Councils. For the West, as for the East, they settled the henceforth orthodox doctrine of the Person and Work both of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and therewith of the Divine Trinity. But in the West, from the 6th to the 9th cent., the Eastern Creed in its Latin form received obscurely, but with increasing currency, an addition—the word *filioque*, 'and from the Son,' in the clause affirming the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father. This addition, though small in bulk, was to retain its place and to contribute very powerfully to the ultimate schism of East and West. Characteristic also of the Western Church are two remarkable compositions which, though anonymous and devoid of conciliar authorization, won their way to general esteem and liturgical use and to all but Catholic authority—the Ambrosian Confessional hymn *Te Deum*, and the 'Athanasian' Creed *Quicunque*. They are canticles as well as creeds, embodying in their measured verses the orthodox trinitarian theology of the Ecumenical Creeds.

The *Te Deum* is a paraphrase and adaptation of the Apostles' Creed, pieced together, not improbably, from Greek liturgical materials, possibly, as tradition states, by Ambrose of Milan in the 4th cent., or, as some scholars conjecture, by his younger contemporary, Nicetas of Remesiana—certainly a familiar and well established hymn at the beginning of the 6th century. In his writing on 'The Three Symbols or Confessions of the Faith of Christ,' Luther reckons it as third to the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and speaks of it as, whether sung or not by Ambrose and Augustine after the baptism of the latter, 'a fine symbol or confession, to whomsoever it may belong, composed in song-form, not only to confess the right faith, but also to praise and thank God withal.'

The 'Athanasian' Creed.—Longest of all, the *Symbolum Quicunque* consists of two distinct sections, which may have come into being separately, setting forth, on the one hand, the strictly Augustinian presentation of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity embodied in the earlier Creeds, including the *filioque* clause, and, on the other, the Chalcedonian definition of the Person and Work of Christ, all prefaced and terminated by the declaration that, except a man believe faithfully the Catholic Faith therein set forth, he cannot be saved (*salvus esse*). It appears to have been completed about A.D. 800, and to have come into use first in the Churches of Gaul, North Africa, and Spain. By its minute and measured orthodoxy it effected a harmony of the accepted Creeds, at least with reference to the three Persons in the Godhead individually and in their mutual relations, and did so with such acceptance that, like the Chalcedonian Creed and the *Te Deum*, it passed into the Treasury of Faith without a challenge, in spite of a solemn anathema pronounced by the third and fourth Ecumenical Councils upon 'any person who should compose, exhibit, or pro-

duce any Creed other than that of the holy Fathers at Nicæa.' It is a merit of the Western Church that it found room, among the most sacred documents of its hereditary faith, not only for the controversial decrees of the first four Councils, but for the *Apostolicum*, the *Te Deum*, and the *Quicunque Vult*, anonymous compositions which express the piety as well as the learned conviction of the Church. But in the tyrannical stress laid in this latest of its Creeds upon the necessity, for salvation, of the faithful acceptance of so large a body of metaphysical and controversial doctrine, there lay an omen of impending disruption in the household of faith. Even before the Great Schism of East and West, there was already Confessional or Symbolic divergence. Not only in government, in language, and in worship, but also in doctrine, it was proving difficult, if not impossible, to maintain Constantine's imperial conception of the outward unity of the Catholic Apostolic Church. See, further, artt. COUNCILS, CREEDS (Ecumenical).

9. Confessions in the Greek and Oriental Churches.—Neither before nor after the Great Schism has the Greek or 'Holy Oriental Orthodox Catholic Apostolic' Church found it necessary or desirable to draw up a new Creed. It recognizes still, as its ultimate standards, the original Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed with the addition of Chalcedon, assigning to the *Apostolicum* and the *Quicunque* (of course without the words 'and from the Son') no higher status than that of devotional and private utility. It adheres faithfully to the 'Exposition of the Orthodox Faith' in which John of Damascus harmonized the theological work of the Greek Fathers and Councils of the first seven centuries (about A.D. 750). While proud of the doctrinal immutability thus evidenced, it has not, however, altogether eluded the necessity of producing or adopting or condemning particular Confessions and Catechisms, and in some sense defining its relation to modern movements of thought both in the Protestant and in the Roman Catholic world. Alike in Russia and in Greece there is every likelihood that in future it will have to undertake yet further definitions of its faith; for, thanks to the national autonomy of many of its constituent branches, it cannot but be more and more influenced by the modern advance of the peoples which it represents. In the Turkish as well as in the Russian dominions the advent of political and social reforms, of constitutional liberty and religious toleration, cannot but be the precursor of far-reaching theological activities resulting not only in the development of minor sects, but in the modification of traditional opinions in the Ancient Church.

(1) *General Confessions of the Greek Church.*—Immediately after the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, at the desire of the victorious Sultan, Muhammad II., Gennadius, the newly elected Patriarch, presented to him in Greek and Turkish a Confession of Christian faith in twenty popular articles, with seven appended arguments for the truth of Christianity.

The influence of Protestantism is unmistakable in the moderate orthodoxy of the *Confession of Metrophanes* (1625), a Patriarch of Alexandria, who had lived and studied in English and German Universities and wrote against Romanism without opposing Protestantism; and extremely marked in the *Confession of Cyril Lucar* (1629), Patriarch successively of Alexandria and Constantinople, who died a martyr to the Calvinism which he had embraced in Switzerland, and which he expounded boldly in ten chapters of his Confession.

On the other hand, Protestant doctrine was definitely condemned and repudiated in 1576 in the *Answers of Jeremiah*, Patriarch of Constantinople, to two Lutheran professors of Tubingen who had sent a copy of the Augsburg Confession to him; in the *Catechism* or *Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogilas* (c. 1640, revised 1643), the learned Metropolitan of Kiev, whose polemic was also against Rome; and in 1672, at the same Synod of Jerusalem which formally approved of both the preceding works, in the *Confession of Dositheus*, Patriarch of Jerusalem, which, without reference to Rome, maintains the distinctive positions of the Eastern Church. As sanctioned by the Patriarchs of the Church in Synod, these three are authoritative expositions of orthodox doctrine.

Something of a reaction towards a more Scriptural and Protestant teaching may be recognized in the widely circulated *Catechism of Platon*, Metropolitan of Moscow, 1762, in the *Longer and Shorter Catechisms of Philaret* (1839, 1840), also a distinguished Metropolitan of Moscow, and in the minor manuals known as the *Primer* and *The Duty of Parish Priests*. The *Full Catechism* of Philaret was approved by all the Eastern Patriarchs as well as by the Russian Holy Synod, and in Russia has taken the place of its most authoritative predecessor, that of Mogilas.

The 'Old-Catholic' Conferences of 1874 and 1875 at Bonn issued in the formulation of a series of articles upon which the Western and Eastern Catholics and the Anglicans present were able to agree as a doctrinal basis for future reunion; but these articles, though markedly influenced by the Russo-Greek representatives, have not been formally recognized by their Synod.

(2) *Russian sects.*—Neither political nor ecclesiastical despotism has availed to prevent the rise of sects within the territories of the Russian State-church. Not to speak of the numerous following of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland and elsewhere, three main sectarian groups with numerous subdivisions have been distinguished, and their united strength has been estimated as one-tenth of the whole population, or one-sixth of the Orthodox —some fourteen millions. The main groups consist of: (*a*) Starowjerzy, or Old-believers, who resented the liturgical reforms of Patriarch Nicon in the 16th cent., and who are still represented by the *Popowzy* (priest-retaining and organized) and *Bespopowzy* (priestless and unorganized); (*b*) the Chlysty, Skopzy, Duchoborzy, and Molokany, characterized by mystic, ascetic, or rationalistic eccentricities; (*c*) Baptists, Stundists, and others more or less in sympathy with Evangelical Protestantism and Pietism, among whose circles the theological, ethical, and social views of Leo Tolstoi have not seldom found a place.

(3) *Other Oriental Churches.*—Outside the pale of the Orthodox Oriental Church, with its federated patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Moscow, and National Churches of Russia, Servia, Rumania, Greece, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, there remain a number of Eastern National Churches, more or less attenuated by defections either to Greek or to Roman Catholicism, whose origin is very ancient, dating from successive doctrinal decisions of the Councils of the undivided Church. They are all loyal to the original Nicene doctrine, but are kept apart from the rest of Christendom by their rejection of subsequent additions to the accepted doctrine of Catholicism.

(*a*) The Armenian Church, the most powerful of the group, is the oldest existing National Church, dating as such from the 4th cent., though founded earlier. It was represented at the Council of Nicæa and accepted its Creed; though not a party to them, it recognized the subsequent decrees of 381 and 431, yet not as ecumenical; absent also from the Council of Chalcedon, it repudiated its

Symbol (451), rejecting alike the Christology then affirmed and the Eutychian heresy then condemned, and holding an independent Monophysite view, viz. that Christ had neither two natures nor a Divine nature absorbing the human, but a single 'composite' or 'double' nature. Of its three liturgical Creeds for the Eucharistic, baptismal, and morning services, the first, and chief, which in its present form has been retained since the 6th cent., consists of the Nicene with modifications or additions directed against the earlier heresies of Apollinaris and Marcellus. Even in conjunction they fail to represent fully the doctrinal idiosyncrasies of the Church. From the 14th to the middle of the 19th cent. a composite Creed was in favour. Special professions of Armenian faith of an official though occasional character were presented to Western princes or popes or others in 1166, 1562, 1585, 1671 (see art. ARMENIA [Chr.] in vol. i. p. 803b). There is a modern Catechism whose teaching betrays the influence of Græco-Russian orthodoxy.

(*b*) The Nestorian or Persian Church represents the persistence of an even earlier heresy than the Armenian, protesting against the Council of Ephesus (431) as having unjustly condemned Nestorius' doctrine of the two natures of Christ, according to which the human was marked off from the Divine so sharply that the title 'Mother of God' was refused to the Virgin Mary. Its baptismal confession is a pre-Chalcedonian variety of the Nicene.

(*c*) The Jacobite Churches, or Churches loyal to the tradition of Jacobus Baradæus, Bishop of Edessa (543–578), are the ancient National Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian Churches. They also, with the Armenian, reject the Chalcedonian and later Creeds, and cherish a Monophysite Christology.

(*d*) The Christians of St. Thomas, a handful of survivors of the ancient native Church of Nestorian converts on the south-west coast of India, have since the 17th cent. conformed to the Monophysitism of the Jacobite Churches.

LITERATURE.—**Loofs**, *Symbolik*, i. [1902] 77–186; **Kattenbusch**, *Vergleich. Confessionskunde*, 1892, i. 157–330; **Schaff**, *Hist. of the Creeds of Christendom*[5], N.Y. 1890, pp. 43–82, and *Creeds of the Gr. and Lat. Churches*[5], N.Y. 1890, pp. 273–554; **J. Michalcescu**, *Die Bekenntnisse u. die wichtigsten Glaubenszeugnisse der griech.-oriental. Kirche*, Leipzig, 1904; *PRE*[3], artt. on the several churches, sects, documents, and persons; *Cath. Encycl.*, art. 'Eastern Churches'; **Hahn**, *Bibliothek der Symbole u. Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*[3], Breslau, 1897; **Gass**, *Symbolik der griechischen Kirche*, Berlin, 1872; **Butler**, *Hist. and Lit. Account of the Formularies . . . of the R. C., Greek, and Principal Prot. Churches*, London, 1816; **Neale**, *Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, 1850; **Silbernagl**, *Verfass. u. gegenwärt. Bestand sämtl. Kirchen des Orients*[3], Regensb. 1904; **Kimmel**, *Libri Symb. Eccles. Orient.*, Jena, 1843, with Appendix by Weissenborn, 1850. For the liturgies and embodied creeds: **Swainson**, *Greek Liturgies*, 1884; **Brightman**, *Eastern Liturgies*, 1896; **Denzinger**, *Ritus orientalium*, 1863–4; and the useful series of English translations of the Russian, Armenian, Coptic, and other liturgies pub. by Cope and Fenwick, London, 1908 f. For the Russian Church and Sects: **Strahl**, *Beiträge zur russ. Kirchengesch.*, Halle, 1827; **Dalton**, *Die russ. Kirche*, Leipzig, 1892; **Leroy-Beaulieu**, *L'Empire des Tsars et les Russes*, 1881–9, iii. [Eng. tr. 1893–6]; **Gehring**, *Die Sekten der russ. Kirche*, Leipzig, 1898; **Blackmore**, *Doctrine of the Russian Church*, 1845. For the Armenian Church: **Ter-Mikelian**, *Die armen. Kirche*, Leipzig, 1892; **E. Dulaurier**, *Hist., Dogmes, Traditions, et Liturgie de l'Eglise armén.-orientale*[2], Paris, 1857. For the Nestorian Church: **Badger**, *Nestorians and their Rituals*, 1852. For the rest, see detailed lit. in Loofs and Kattenbusch.

10. Confessions in the Roman and Old-Catholic Churches.—(1) *In the Church of Rome.*—From Nicæa (325) to the Vatican (1870) the Roman Catholic Church recognizes, in all, the decrees of twenty-one General Councils as in whole or part ecumenically binding. In the forefront of its doctrine stand the Apostles', the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan (with Eastern and Western additions from Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Toledo), and the Athanasian Creeds. Since the time of the final adjustment and adoption of these Symbols no occasion for further Confession-making emerged until the era of the Reformation confronted the Church with numerous Protestant statements of doctrine, and elicited from it the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (1545–1563), which consolidated and stereotyped its doctrine, weaving into its dogmatic system the results of mediæval Councils, of Papal decisions, and of Patristic and Scholastic thought in opposition to the Reformers' direct appeal to the spirit and letter of Scripture.

The Decrees and Canons of the Reforming or Counter-Reforming Council of Trent, which was convened at the instance principally of the Emperor, Charles V., in Dec. 1545, by Pope Paul III., to revise and codify the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and thus to confront, if not conciliate, the Protestants with a compact authoritative system, mark the close of mediæval confusion, and the deliberate transition towards the modern Curialism in faith, organization, and morals which was ultimately effected in the 19th century. Whatever hopes the Emperor and other Princes or Churchmen of reforming sympathies cherished of a formulation of doctrine in Augustinian terms which the Reformers might be expected to accept were for the most part disappointed, though the decree on Justification went far towards that goal. The perhaps inevitable exclusion of Protestants from all effective participation in the work of the Council combined with the influence of the Jesuit order and the natural self-interest of the Papal authority to make it practically impossible for the Council to do any substantial justice to the spiritual demands which Protestantism expressed. The Decrees are the utterance of jealous defence; the Canons with their anathemas are the challenge of proud defiance. The party which was sensible of the debt of the religious world to Protestant heroism was easily outnumbered and suppressed at every stage, and their sympathetic insight into the mind and heart of the Reformers found no expression in the resultant dogmas.

The constitution of the Council and its historical setting must be carefully taken into account if one would appreciate the language of its decisions (see art. COUNCILS [Christian, modern]). Throughout its 25 sessions—from 1545 to 1547 under Paul III. at Trent (sessions i.–viii.) and Bologna (sessions ix.–x.), from 1551 to 1552 under Julius III. at Trent (sessions xi.–xvi.), and from 1562 to 1563 under Pius IV. at Trent (sessions xvii.–xxv.)—its proceedings were one long and anxious tissue of ecclesiastical and theological diplomacy and strategy, and its declarations had necessarily to be in every case a well-weighed compromise, conciliating, through omissions or ambiguities of phrase, the conflicting rival interests and tendencies. If Augustinian thought seemed on the surface to dominate the findings, room was carefully found for Scotist and Jesuit views of a Pelagian or semi-Pelagian type in their ultimate form. The gifted Jesuit scholars, Lainez and Salmeron, with the dignity of Papal theologians, were the most influential and consistent force throughout the processes both of drafting and debate, and it is on the whole their doctrine, dexterously cloaked in the terminology of their opponents, which is represented in the propositions laid down. Inspiration or genius will hardly be looked for in a body of doctrine whose origin thus lay in compromise. The very title 'Decrees' is eloquent of its true nature as a work of legislation by majority. Anything like theological spontaneity was out of the question in a Pope-ridden conclave. Anything but a Pope-ridden conclave was out of the question in the unreformed mediæval Church. Whatever concessions in detail to the claims of doctrinal and disciplinary reform the

decrees might contain, the seal of reaction was stamped indelibly over them by the twofold proviso which overrules and virtually annuls them—*that the Pope was to be sole exponent of the decrees henceforth, and that no one, on pain of anathema, was to impeach the accepted usages and order of the Church*—a proviso made yet more exacting by the clause in the subsequent Profession of Tridentine Faith, in which all holders of ecclesiastical office swore truly to obey the Bishop of Rome (Art. X.) and to maintain 'entire and inviolate' the Tridentine Faith to the end of their life (Art. XII.). Thus, though a majority in the Council was unprepared to admit that bishops had their power from and through the Pope and not directly from Christ, the Council by its own ultimate submission prepared the way for the Papal action in the 19th century.

The Decrees and Canons which concern us in this connexion are those of Sessions III. on the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed accepted as basis; IV. on Canonical Scripture; V. on Original Sin; VI. on Justification; VII. on the Sacraments in General, Baptism, and Confirmation; XIII. on the Sacrament of the Eucharist; XIV. on the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction; XXI. on Communion in both kinds, and Communion of Children; XXII. on the Sacrifice of the Mass; XXIII. on the Sacrament of Ordination; XXIV. on the Sacrament of Matrimony; XXV. on Purgatory, the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and Sacred Images, on Indulgences, Foods, Fasts, Festivals, the Index, Catechism, Breviary, and Missal.

The Decrees proper are the positive statement of doctrine, the affirmative theses; the Canons, which follow the various decrees, are short statements and condemnations of contrary teachings, each concluding with an anathema. The later Syllabus of Errors in 1864 is thus a continuation of the damnatory Canons of Trent.

Session III. declares that the 'sacred and holy, ecumenical and general Synod of Trent' ordains and decrees that a confession of faith be set forth, viz. 'the Symbol of faith which the holy Roman Church makes use of,—as being that principle wherein all who profess the faith of Christ necessarily agree,'—the Creed of Nicæa in the form of Constantinople, with the Western additions.

Session IV. treats of the bases of authoritative doctrine for the first time in conciliar history, and co-ordinates Holy Scripture, including the Apocrypha, in the Latin Vulgate alone, with 'unwritten traditions which, having been received from Christ's own lips by the Apostles, or transmitted, as it were, manually by the Apostles themselves, under the dictation of the Holy Spirit, have come down even to us' . . . 'preserved in continuous succession within the Catholic Church,' . . . which also it receives 'with an equal feeling of piety and reverence.' 'No one, relying on his own skill shall,—in matters of faith and of morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine,—wresting the sacred Scripture to his own senses, presume to interpret it contrary to that sense which holy Mother Church . . . hath held and doth hold; or even contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.'

Session V. condemns five erroneous opinions on Original Sin, of a Pelagian or semi-Pelagian type; but its apparent Augustinianism is so phrased as, *e.g.*, to admit of the doctrine that what man lost through the Fall was the superadded *dona supernaturalia*, and nothing inherent in human nature as such; and it affirms that 'free will is not at all destroyed, but attenuated.' It ends by excluding the Virgin Mary from the operation of the taint—an anticipation of the Papal definition of 1854.

Session VI. contains the decree on Justification in 16 chapters, and concludes with no fewer than 33 canons. Chapter i. treats of the Inability of Nature and of the Law to justify man; ii. of the Dispensation and Mystery of the Advent of Christ; iii. states that, though Christ died for all, only those receive the benefit of His death unto whom the merit of His Passion is communicated. As men not born of Adam do not share his sin, so men not born again in Christ cannot share His merit. iv. states that a man cannot be translated into the state of grace, since the promulgation of the gospel, without the laver of regeneration, or the desire thereof. v. declares that 'in adults the beginning of Justification is to be derived from the prevenient grace of God, through Jesus Christ, *i.e.* through His calling, whereby without any merits on their part they are called, that so they who by sins were alienated from God may be disposed through His quickening and assisting grace to convert themselves to their own justification by freely assenting to and co-operating with that said grace: in such sort that, while God touches the heart of man by the illumination of the Holy Ghost, neither is man himself utterly inactive while he receives that inspiration, forasmuch as he is also able to reject it; nor yet is he able, by his own free will, without the grace of God, to move himself unto righteousness in His sight.' vi. sets forth the manner of preparation for justification. vii. affirms the characteristic Roman doctrine that Justification 'is not remission of sins merely, but also the sanctification and renewal of the inward man, through the voluntary reception of the grace, and of the gifts, whereby man from being unjust becomes just.' Its *final cause* is 'the glory of God and of Jesus Christ, and life everlasting.' Its *efficient cause* is 'a merciful God who washes and sanctifies gratuitously, signing and anointing with the holy Spirit of promise.' The *meritorious cause* is 'our Lord Jesus Christ, who, when we were enemies, merited justification for us by His most holy Passion on the wood of the Cross, and made satisfaction for us unto God the Father.' The *instrumental cause* is 'the sacrament of Baptism, which is the sacrament of that faith without which no man was ever justified.' The alone *formal cause* is 'the justice of God, not that whereby He Himself is just, but that whereby He maketh us just.' 'Man through Jesus Christ, in whom he is engrafted, receives in the said justification, together with the remission of sins, all these gifts infused at once—faith, hope, and charity. For faith, unless hope and charity be added thereto, neither unites man perfectly with Christ, nor makes him a living member of His body.' viii. states that the phrases 'justified by faith' and 'freely' are to be understood as meaning that faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification, but that faith is no more in itself able than good works to merit the grace of justification. ix. declaims against the vain confidence of heretics who rest in their personal assurance of justification apart from the Church and its ordinances; whereas 'no one can know with a certainty of faith which cannot be subject to error, that he has obtained the grace of God.' x. treats of the increase of Justification received; xi. of keeping the Commandments. xii. urges that 'no one, so long as he is in this mortal life, ought so far to presume, as regards the secret mystery of Divine predestination, as to determine for certain that he is assuredly in the number of the predestinate; as if it were true that he that is justified either cannot sin any more, or, if he do sin, that he ought to promise himself an assured repentance; for, except by special revelation, it cannot be known whom God hath chosen unto Himself.' xiii. deals similarly with the gift of Perseverance. xiv. sets forth the Sacrament of Penance, in the language of the Fathers 'a second plank after the shipwreck of grace lost,' as instituted by Christ when He said: 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose sins ye

shall retain, they are retained.' The penitence of a Christian after his fall is very different from that at baptism: in it are included not only a cessation from sins, and a detestation of them, but also the sacramental confession of them—at least in desire—and sacerdotal absolution; and likewise satisfaction by fasts, alms, prayers, and the other pious exercises of a spiritual life, not, indeed, for the eternal punishment which with the guilt is remitted by the sacrament or by the desire of it, but for the temporal punishment which, as the sacred writings teach, is not always wholly remitted as is done in baptism. xv. sets forth that by every mortal sin grace is lost, but not faith. xvi. treats of the fruit of justification, *i.e.* the merit of good works, and the nature of that merit. God is the rewarder of faithful labour: life eternal is set forth in Scripture 'both as a grace mercifully promised to the sons of God through Jesus Christ, and as a reward which is . . . to be faithfully rendered to their good works and merits.' Yet the Christian has no ground to glory, but justice is through Christ and of God throughout.

Session VII. sets forth the general doctrine of the Sacraments, 'through which all true justice either begins, or being begun is increased, or being lost is repaired,' in 13 canons, which condemn the denial that the sacraments were all instituted by Christ or are seven in number, that they differ from those of the Old Law, that they are of varying value, that they are necessary unto salvation, that they are for other ends than to nourish faith, that they contain and confer the grace they signify, that the grace is conferred through the act performed, that Baptism, Confirmation, and Ordination imprint an indelible character and therefore may not be repeated, that ministers alone may administer the word and sacraments, etc. Then follow 14 canons on Baptism, condemning, *inter alia*, the denial of the validity of baptism, 'even by heretics, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, with the intention of doing what the Church doth,' and 3 canons on Confirmation.

Session XIII. treats of the Sacrament of the Eucharist in 8 chapters, followed by 11 canons. Chapter i., of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, affirms that after the consecration of the elements, He, 'true God and man, is truly, really, and substantially contained under the species of those sensible things.' His continual presence at the right hand of the Father does not contradict in a Divine being His sacramental presence. 'It is indeed a crime the most unworthy that they [the words of institution] should be wrested, by certain contentious and wicked men, to fictitious and imaginary tropes, whereby the verity of the flesh and blood of Christ is denied, contrary to the universal sense of the Church, which, as the pillar and ground of truth, has detested, as satanical, these inventions devised by impious men.' ii. defines the reason of the institution as the commemoration of Christ's death, the nourishment of men's souls, a pledge of the glory to come, and a symbol of the one body of which Christ is the head. iii. affirms the superiority of this sacrament to the others as consisting of the very Author of sanctity Himself. iv. affirms the complete transubstantiation of the elements into the substance of Christ's body and blood. v. defines the veneration shown to the sacrament as Divine worship, the *latria* due to the living God alone, and approves of the Corpus Christi festival. vi. approves of the reservation of the sacrament, and bearing it to the sick. vii. requires sacramental confession in preparation for the Eucharist by celebrants when possible as well as by people. viii. distinguishes three modes of reception—sacramental only, spiritual only, and both sacramental and spiritual, and appeals for Christian uniformity in the celebration of the rite.

Session XIV. treats of the Sacraments of Penance (9 chapters and 15 canons) and Extreme Unction (3 chapters and 4 canons). Of Penance, ch. i. sets forth its necessity and institution; ii. its difference from Baptism; iii. its parts and fruit; iv. contrition as containing cessation from sin, the purpose and beginning of a new life and hatred of the old, *attrition* being imperfect contrition, a sense of sin's baseness and dire consequences, a gift of God and impulse of His Spirit not yet resident but truly moving in the sinner; v. confession of venial and mortal sins; vi. the ministry of confession, and absolution; vii. reservation of special cases of heinous sin to be dealt with by higher clergy; viii. the necessity and fruit of satisfaction or amends; and ix. works of satisfaction. Of Extreme Unction, ch. i. treats of its institution by the Apostle James; ii. of its effect; iii. of the minister who should perform it, and the time.

Session XXI. treats of Communion under both Species, and Communion of little Children. Chapter i. sets forth that laymen, and clergy, when not celebrating, are not bound of Divine right to communion under both species; ii. that it is within the power of the Church to dispense with that practice; 'although the use of both species has from the beginning of the Christian religion not been infrequent,' the custom had been already widely changed, and the change for 'weighty and just reasons' (not specified) had been sanctioned; iii. that Christ whole and entire, and a true sacrament, are received under either species; iv. that little children before the age of reason are not obliged to the sacramental communion of the Eucharist, having been baptized and incorporated with Christ, and being at that age incapable of losing the grace of their adoption. Infant communion, however, had legitimately been practised in antiquity. Then follow 4 canons, and a reservation to a later date of the question whether particular individuals or nations were to be allowed communion in both kinds.

Session XXII. treats of the Sacrifice of the Mass in 9 chapters and 9 canons. Chapter i. sets forth its institution; ii. that it is propitiatory for both the living and the dead; iii. that Masses in honour of saints are addressed to God, with solicitations of their patronage; iv. the sanctity and uplifting character of the canon of the Mass, composed as it is of the very words of the Lord, the traditions of the Apostles, and the pious institutions also of holy Pontiffs; v. the purpose of the solemn ceremonies associated with the Mass, since 'such is the nature of man that without external helps he cannot easily be raised to the meditation of Divine things'—*e.g.* lower or higher tones of voice, lights, incense, vestments, etc., 'derived from an Apostolical discipline and tradition, whereby both the majesty of so great a sacrifice might be recommended, and the minds of the faithful be excited, by those visible signs of religion and piety, to the contemplation of those most sublime things which are hidden in this sacrifice'; vi. that Mass, wherein the priest alone communicates, is approved, being on behalf of all the Church, though the Council would fain that all present might communicate; vii. that the mixture of water with the wine is enjoined because it is believed that Christ did this, and because the practice commemorates the issue of blood and water from His side, and because in Rev 17^{15} the peoples are called waters, and the union of water with the wine represents their union with Christ; viii. that it is not expedient to celebrate Mass everywhere in the vulgar tongue; but, in order that the sheep of Christ may not suffer hunger, or the little ones ask for bread and there be none to

break it unto them, pastors are charged frequently to expound some portion of the things read at Mass, especially on Lord's days and festivals.

Session XXIII. treats of the Sacrament of Order in 4 chapters and 8 canons. Chapter i. sets forth the institution of the Priesthood of the New Law 'into which the old has been translated,' with the power of consecrating, offering, and administering Christ's body and blood, as also of forgiving and of retaining sins; ii. the Seven Orders—priest, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist, lector, and doorkeeper—the four, or five, last being the inferior; iii. that Order is truly and properly a sacrament; iv. the indelibleness of the higher orders, the falsehood of the claim of priesthood for all believers, the principal place of bishops in the hierarchical order as superior to priests, as entrusted exclusively with the Sacrament of Confirmation and Ordination of Priests, without any regard to consent of people or of rulers, whereas 'all those who, being only called and instituted by the people, or by the civil power and magistrate, ascend to the exercise of these ministrations, and those who of their own rashness assume them to themselves, are not ministers of the Church, but are to be looked upon as thieves and robbers who have not entered by the door.'

Session XXIV. treats of the Sacrament of Matrimony in 1 chapter and 12 canons, setting forth its institution by 'the first parent of the human race, under the influence of the Divine Spirit'; its confirmation by Christ; His purchase by death of the grace which should perfect natural love, and confirm that indissoluble union and sanctify the married. The canons condemn the denial of its sacramental character, of the right of the Church to dispense in some of the levitically prohibited degrees or to add to their number, and of the plea of heresy or desertion, or even adultery, as a warrant for divorce; deny the right of the innocent party to marry during the lifetime of the adulterous partner, and the right to break clerical vows of celibacy on any plea; deny the inferiority of celibacy or virginity to marriage, and affirm its superiority, and condemn those who characterize the prohibition of marriages at certain seasons as a tyrannical superstition derived from the superstition of the heathen, and those who say that matrimonial causes do not belong to ecclesiastical judges.

Session XXV. orders right and circumspect teaching regarding Purgatory, the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, Sacred Images, and Indulgences. Abuses of a superstitious, unedifying, or mercenary nature are to be ended. Saints in heaven are to be invoked to intercede for men with God the Father through Jesus Christ His Son, who is our alone Redeemer and Saviour. No divinity or virtue is believed to reside in images of Christ, the Virgin Mother, and the other saints; but the honour which is shown to them is referred to the prototypes which they represent. In granting indulgences, moderation is to be observed, 'lest by excessive facility ecclesiastical discipline be enervated,' and 'all evil gains for the obtaining thereof,—whence a most prolific cause of abuses amongst the Christian people has been derived,' are to be 'wholly abolished.'

[Latin text and tr. in Schaff, *Creeds of Gr. and Lat. Churches*[5], pp. 77-206; critical history in Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, 1907, ii. 561-596 (detailed bibliog. in note, p. 561), and in Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 90-99, with bibliog.; theological analysis and criticism in Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. vii. (1899) 35-72; art. in *PRE*[3].]

For the purposes of individual confession, the Council of Trent had declared the necessity of a binding 'formula of profession and oath' for all dignitaries and teachers of the Church. By order of Pius IV. the *Profession of the Tridentine Faith*, or *Creed of Pius IV.*, was prepared in 1564 by a commission of Cardinals, and was at once made obligatory on the whole *ecclesia docens*. It passed also into general use for Protestant converts to Romanism. Obviously the decrees and canons of the Council were ill-suited for such uses. The *Profession* consists of 12 articles, the first containing in full the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed with the Western changes (italicized in the text below), the next 8 containing a short summary of the Tridentine decrees, the last 3 containing new matter, acknowledging the Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all churches, promising, on oath, obedience to its Bishop as the successor of St. Peter and the vicar of Jesus Christ, accepting the canons and decrees of the Councils, including Trent, and promising lifelong adherence by God's help to 'this true Catholic faith without which no one can be saved.' The Creed is in the first person, and is as follows (tr. in Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 98-99; also in his *Creeds of Gr. and Lat. Churches*, pp. 207-210):

I. 'I . . . with a firm faith believe and profess all and every one of the things contained in the symbol of faith which the holy Roman Church makes use of, namely—

I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds; *God of God*, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made;

who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man;

He was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate; suffered and was buried;

and the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures;

and ascended into heaven; sitteth on the right hand of the Father;

and He shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end:

And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver of life; who proceedeth from the Father *and the Son*; who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets:

and one holy catholic and apostolic Church.

I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins:

and I look for the resurrection of the dead;

and the life of the world to come. Amen.'

II. 'I most steadfastly admit and embrace the apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the same Church.'

III. 'I also admit the Holy Scriptures according to that sense which our holy Mother Church has held, and does hold, to which it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.'

IV. 'I also profess that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all for every one, to wit: baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, and matrimony; and that they confer grace; and that of these baptism, confirmation, and ordination cannot be reiterated without sacrilege. I also receive and admit the received and approved ceremonies of the Catholic Church used in the solemn administration of the aforesaid sacraments.'

V. 'I embrace and receive all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the holy Council of Trent concerning original sin and justification.'

VI. 'I profess likewise that in the Mass there is offered to God a true proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist there is truly really and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a change of the whole essence of the bread into the body, and of the whole essence of the wine into the blood, which change the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation.'

VII. 'I also confess that under either kind alone Christ is received whole and entire, and a true sacrament.

VIII. 'I firmly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

Likewise that the saints reigning with Christ are to be honoured and invoked, and that they offer up prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be held in veneration.'

IX. 'I most firmly assert that the images of Christ and of the perpetual Virgin, the Mother of God, and also of other saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them.

I also affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.'

X. 'I acknowledge the holy catholic apostolic Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all churches, and I promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome as the successor of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, and as the vicar of Jesus Christ.'

XI. 'I likewise undoubtingly receive and profess all other things delivered defined and declared by the sacred Canons and ecumenical Councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent; and I condemn reject and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies which the Church has condemned rejected and anathematized.'

XII. 'I do at this present freely profess and truly hold this true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved (*salvus esse*); and I promise most constantly to retain and confess the same entire and inviolate, with God's assistance, to the end of my life. And I will take care, as far as in me lies, that it shall be held taught and preached by my subjects, or by those the care of whom shall appertain to me in my office. This I promise vow and swear:—so help me God, and these holy Gospels of God.'

The *Profession of the Tridentine Faith* was followed in 1566 by the elaborate *Roman Catechism*, the preparation of which the Council had at first essayed, but finally handed over to the Pope. In 1564, Pius IV., advised by Cardinal Borromeo of Milan, entrusted the work to a learned and distinguished Commission of four prelates under Borromeo's supervision—Marini, Foscarari, Calini, and the Portuguese Fureiro—who were assisted in matters of style and rendering by eminent Latin scholars. The teaching is Dominican (three of the four Commissioners belonging, as did the Pope, to that order) and Thomist—a feature which ensured for it the opposition of the Jesuit order. It is not meant for the young or for popular reading, but for the equipment of the teaching clergy. It is exceedingly long and comprehensive, but admirably arranged and lucidly expressed. It contains four parts, which follow a lengthy introductory treatment of preliminary topics, and treats successively of (1) the Apostles' Creed, (2) the Sacraments, (3) the Ten Commandments, and (4) the Lord's Prayer. It is noteworthy that, while it adds to the Tridentine teaching sections which deal with the *limbus patrum*, the Authority of the Church, and the doctrine of the Church, it omits all reference to Indulgences and the Rosary. Apart from its franker Augustinianism, the Catechism reproduces very faithfully the substance of the Decrees of Trent, whose circumspection and whose massiveness it reflects. (See, further, art. CATECHISMS, p. 252 f.; Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 100–102.)

In 1568 appeared, under similar auspices, and with similar authority, the *Breviarium*, and in 1572 the *Missale Romanum*, the devotional and liturgical standards of the Church, which had been preceded in 1564 by the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* proclaiming the censure of the Church on literature heretical in doctrine or dangerous in tendency. A special *Confession of Urban VIII.*, under whose rule (1623–1644) Galileo was condemned, was prescribed for use at consecration by Greek and other Bishops in Eastern Churches united to Rome but retaining by special privilege their own rites and usages.

The long and chequered Papacy of Pius IX. brought with it a fresh stirring of polemic and dogmatic activity, which issued in a remarkable series of Papal publications. In 1854, after formal consultation by encyclical letter with the bishops on the propriety of satisfying the desire of the Catholic world for a solemn definition by the Apostolic See of the *Immaculate Conception* of the Virgin Mary, and on the completion of the labours of a special commission and a consistory of consultation, the Pope summoned a great assemblage of prelates to the Basilica of St. Peter, and in their presence, 'by authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own,' personally proclaimed it to be a doctrine revealed by God 'that the most blessed Virgin Mary in the first moment of her conception, by a special grace and privilege of Almighty God, out of regard to the merits of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the human race, was preserved immune from all stain of original sin.' By that declaration not only a long course of controversy throughout the history of the Church, but also a long continued devotional and doctrinal development, was brought to a close, and the silence or doubt of the Fathers and the caution of Trent were replaced by the voice of certainty. In 1864 a Papal *Syllabus of Errors*, eighty in number, was issued with an encyclical, summarizing in ten divisions modern opinions which at various times had been condemned by the Pope: (1) Pantheism, Naturalism, Absolute Rationalism; (2) Moderate Rationalism; (3) Indifferentism, Latitudinarianism; (4) Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Bible Societies, Clerico-liberal Societies; errors respecting (5) the Church and her Rights, (6) Civil Society, (7) Natural and Christian Ethics, (8) Christian Matrimony, (9) the Civil Principality of the Roman Pontiff, (10) Modern Liberalism.

In 1870 the Vatican Council, convoked to promote the re-union of Christendom and to cope with modern errors and dangers, accepted and promulgated after revision two 'dogmatic' constitutions: (1) *on the Catholic Faith*, in four chapters, dealing with God as Creator, with Revelation, with Faith, and with Faith and Reason, condemning more fully than in the Syllabus errors of Pantheism, Naturalism, and Rationalism; (2) *on the Church of Christ*, also in four chapters, dealing with the institution of the Apostolic primacy in the blessed Peter, the perpetuity of St. Peter's primacy in the Roman Pontiff, the power and nature of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and the *infallibility of the Roman Pontiff*. In this second document the absolute finality of the Papal Jurisdiction is affirmed, on pain of anathema, in all matters pertaining alike to faith and morals and to the discipline and government of the Church, and in the form of a Papal decree it is solemnly declared a dogma Divinely revealed that

'the Roman Pontiff when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when, in the exercise of his office as Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority he defines the doctrine on faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, by the Divine assistance promised to him in the blessed Peter, possesses that power of infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be furnished in defining doctrine on faith or morals; and that accordingly such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves, not from consent of the Church, irreformable: but if, as may God forbid, any one shall presume to gainsay this our definition, let him be anathema.'

It was thus the work of Pio Nono to complete the long and patiently evolved system of a constitutional Papal infallibility and autocracy in all matters concerning Christian faith, morals, discipline, and government.

Beyond these determinations of the Pope in the Vatican Council it has not been necessary, even if possible, for the Church to proceed in matters of faith. They have been supplemented, however, in detail by the fresh *Papal Syllabus of Pius X.* in 1907, against all forms of Modernism, and by the labours of the Commission on Biblical Studies.

Although the Vatican Council refused by a large majority to accept the Catechism submitted to it, numerous authorized local catechisms are in circulation for popular use throughout the Roman Catholic world, more or less completely revised to bring them into harmony with the new decrees. Of the older catechisms, besides that of Trent, which was for clerical rather than popular use, those of the learned Jesuit Peter Canisius (1554 and 1566) and of Cardinal Bellarmine (1603) may be mentioned as having commended themselves especially to Papal as well as to clerical and popular acceptance. Among the most influential

and authoritative expositions of Roman Catholic doctrine with an apologetic or polemic purpose are the *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianæ fidei adversus huius Temporis hereticos* of Robert Bellarmine (1587–90), the *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique sur les matières de Controverse* of Bossuet (1671), the *Symbolik* of J. A. Möhler (1832), and the *Prælectiones theologicæ* of the Jesuit Perrone (1835 ff.).

(2) *In the Old-Catholic Church.*—To the rule of history that each great successive formulation of ecumenical doctrine has been the occasion of, or has perpetuated, a corresponding schism of the Church, the work of the latest Roman General Council of 1870 was no exception. Its distinctive decrees were received under protest by many of the participants (esp. German, French, English, and N. Amer. representatives), and led finally to the formation in Bavaria and elsewhere in Germany of the Old-Catholic Church, loyal to the doctrinal Canons of Trent and earlier standards, and occupying a position similar to that of the earlier secession of the Church of Utrecht which took place in protest against the Papal claims embodied in the bull *Unigenitus* condemning Jansenist views in 1713.

Reference has already been made to the Old-Catholic Conferences at Bonn in 1874 and 1875 between representatives of the Græco-Russian, Anglican, and Old-Catholic Churches, at the former of which *Fourteen Theses* were agreed upon as a possible basis of Catholic re-union, dealing with the Canon and Apocrypha, the Text and Translations of Scripture, the Use of the Vernacular in Scripture and in liturgy, Justification through Faith working by Love, Salvation not by Merit, Works of Supererogation, Number of Sacraments, Scripture and Tradition, Succession of Anglican Orders, Immaculate Conception of Mary, Public and Private Confession, Indulgences, Prayers for the Dead, the Mass; and at the latter, *Six Theses* accepting the ecumenical Symbols and decisions of the undivided Church of the first six centuries, and in particular the Eastern doctrine of the Procession of the Spirit.

Old-Catholic Churches also exist in Switzerland, Austria, France, and America, while in Mexico, in Spain and Portugal, and in Italy, 'Reformed Catholic' Churches have been established, in great measure by means of Anglican support and on the Anglican model, professing a markedly Protestant type of doctrine (see Loofs, i. 412 ff.).

LITERATURE.—For standards of Roman Catholic Church, and bibliography: Schaff, *History of Creeds*, pp. 83-191, *Creeds of Gr. and Lat. Churches*, pp. 76–271; Loofs, *Symbolik*, i. 187–216 (on Oriental Churches in communion with Rome, 393–399); Denzinger, *Enchiridion*[10], 1908; artt. in Addis-Arnold's *Cathol. Dict.*[6], 1903, in Wetzer-Welte, in the *Cathol. Encycl.*, in Vacant-Mangenot's *Dict. de Théol. Cathol.*, in *PRE*[3]; cf. also Winer, *Confessions of Christendom*, Eng. tr. 1873; Butler, *Hist. and Lit. Account of the Formularies, etc., of the R.C., Greek, and principal Prot. Churches*, 1816. For critical account of the doctrine, see Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. vol. vii., 1899.

For Old-Catholic doctrine: Schaff, *History of Creeds*, pp. 191–202, *Creeds of Gr. and Lat. Churches*, p. 545 ff.; Loofs, i. 407 ff.; *PRE*[3], art. 'Altkatholizismus.'

II. Confessions in the Reformed Churches: General introduction: Early efforts.—Beneath the rigorously smoothed and levelled surface of mediæval Christendom there lay but thinly covered the fruitful seeds of the various outgrowths of the Reformation. It is easy now to discern how far-reaching was the doctrinal and practical preparation for the great movements. For centuries before the crisis was reached, over against the demand of the Roman Curia that all learning and all thought, as well as all political and ecclesiastical life, should be organized in subjection to it, influences had been at work to stimulate freedom of thought and action. Even Scholasticism, ready though it was to buttress up the Papal claims and dogmas by propositions, argument, and learning, had its opposing schools, its heresies, its impulses to make men think. The gilds in the great industrial and commercial cities, and the growing national sentiment in many lands, fostered a sense of independence and of personal dignity. Here and there, though without authorization, the Scriptures had been turned into the vernacular and read with eager curiosity, provoking, as they have always done, personal reflexion and untrammelled conviction. The Mystics, with their personal intimacy with the Unseen and their devotional confidence and freedom, and, on the other hand, the Humanists, with their knowledge of an old world new found, pointed men in the same direction. It was inevitable that, together with the sensitive conscience's fierce revolt against ecclesiastical abuses and immoralities, there should also come into being an attitude of mind as critical towards those mediæval accretions to the Church's doctrine with which the abuses had been bound up.

Long before the Reformation crisis, particular current opinions extraneous to the great Creeds and to the general spirit of Scripture had been singled out or massed in groups for discussion and hostile criticism. There was no disposition to debate afresh the problems which had found dogmatic solution in the Ecumenical Councils. Not the Person and Work of Christ or of the Holy Spirit, not the doctrine of the Divine Trinity, but the doctrines of the means of grace, Church, Ministry, Sacraments, and Scripture, of the processes involved in personal salvation, and of the use of mediators other than the Son of God, were the themes at issue. With the old Creeds the new thinkers, almost without exception, had no controversy, but were amply satisfied; and when occasion arose for them to gather into Confessions the doctrine to which they adhered, it was their first care to express their loyalty to the ancient standards of Christendom. Both of the Reformation and of the pre-Reformation Confessions it is true that they were advanced for didactic and apologetic purposes rather than as Creeds, and that they were subordinated not only to the Word of God in Canonical Scripture, but also to the Catholic Creeds. According to the accepted academic procedure of the age, serious difference of theological opinion issued naturally in the formulation of a series of controversial propositions which embodied the moot points, and were flung out as a challenge to the champions of the learned world for debate in intellectual tournaments or disputations. Luther's Theses nailed upon the church-door at Wittenberg were only one in a long series, earlier and later, of academic invitations to serious argument; but to the pedantries of conventional disputation he brought a biting mother-wit and a passionate earnestness as well as a scholar's learning, and he was among the very first to discover and to wield the power of the pamphlet and the printing press in religious controversy. Both the Wyclifite and the Lutheran reformation movements began with the fearless publication of propositions, theses, or 'places,' dealing not with the whole system of Christian doctrine, but with the topics involved in prevailing religious abuses. Only later, as the rift grew wider between the forces of reaction and reform, did it become necessary to round off in systematic form the theological opinions of Protestants; but rarely, if ever, was it the case that equal care and space were given to controversial and to non-controversial matter of faith. It is, in truth, a general defect in the Creeds and the Confessions of Christendom, viewed as systems of truth, that from the circumstances of their formation they have suffered distortion in varying degrees, and present a lack of internal pro-

portion and perspective which is due to polemical or other exigencies. They all bear the marks of their birth-time and birth-place, and it is to the distinctive and often transitory features in them that they draw our chief attention. It is unjust to judge them without regard to their origin and their purpose. Few, if any, of them were fair-weather or leisurely productions laid out for academic criticism or appreciation. Many of them were the work of hunted outlawed men, and were sealed with martyr blood. Viewed generally, they are seen to fall into groups: (1) before 1500, (2) in 16th cent., both directed against Roman Catholic abuses; (3) in 17th cent., the result of Protestant differences; and (4) in 19th cent., the age of increasing religious liberty resulting both in the multiplication of sects and in the simplification of Confessions. They are here considered according to an order partly chronological and partly based upon the varying degree of their divergence from the Roman system.

Pre-Reformation Articles, Confessions, and Catechisms.—Although it is scarcely possible to point to Confessions in the pre-Reformation centuries which correspond very closely to those of the succeeding age, it is abundantly evident that the leaven of reform in Church and doctrine was actively at work. Whether, as among the Albigenses and Cathari, the bounds of ancient Catholic orthodoxy were exceeded, or, as among the followers of Waldo, were observed, there was a wide-spread and steadily increasing reluctance from the 9th to the 15th cent. to acquiesce in the traditionalism, the Papal supremacy, and the crude sacramentalism of the Church. In the North of Italy, in the South of France, in Bohemia, and as far north as in Britain, there was a strong revulsion of feeling and interest towards a Scriptural simplicity in doctrine, worship, Church organization and life. Almost all the heresies and sects that disturbed the peace of Church and State appealed from Pope and Councils to Scripture and common sense, and advocated some form of Scriptural puritanism. Though reform within the Church was the invariable object of their protests, persecution and despair combined to drive them more or less out of the Roman communion, and their articles of reform became articles of schism and secession. From the 9th cent. onwards the sacraments, especially the Lord's Supper, were a continual subject of controversy: theses or articles were unceasingly advanced and retracted or condemned, concerning their number, meaning, administration, and effect. Similarly, questions regarding Scripture, Church-government and authority, access of believers to God, the place of works in justification, were constantly agitating men's minds. It was an age of discussion and debate, and the same instinct which prompted the Papacy to assert itself and steadily aggrandize its own authority led national Churches and gifted individuals alike to resent it and proclaim their own mind in turn; but it was manifestly an age of strenuous search for truth in thought and right in life. Naturally, the same age that produced the Schoolmen called also for the Inquisition. Confessions of faith in such a time tended to be individual and partial; often they were drawn up by persecutors as counts of an indictment for heresy, and, when accepted by the accused, were sealed by condemnation and death. The articles of faith were articles of martyrdom. But, as the movement for reform gained adherents, the time approached when the work of Waldo, Wyclif, and Hus should issue not only in definite Church-formation, but also in the framing of extended Confessions.

12. Confessions in the Waldensian, Bohemian, and Moravian Churches.—The Confessional documents of the Waldensian, Bohemian, and Moravian fraternities are, like the societies themselves, so closely bound up that they may fitly be grouped together. They form a long series preceding as well as following the Reformation, and share with Baptist or Anabaptist documents the distinction of exhibiting the longest Protestant descent. How soon after the origination of the Waldensian movement in the 12th cent. definite Articles of Faith were current we cannot say, but already in the 14th cent. we find evidence of the use of Articles of Faith and a brief catechism of Christian doctrine and morals. Like other literary products of the movement, these seem to have been long preserved orally, and committed to writing in the 15th century. Of that date we possess copies of a group of seven Articles of Faith in God, and of a simple catechism current among the Old Waldensians of France and Spain, containing seven paragraphs on the Godhead, seven on Man, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Works of Mercy. During the 15th cent. the simpler Waldensian and the more theological Hussite movements coalesced, and gave rise to writings in the Romance and Bohemian languages, whose inter-relations are difficult to analyze. To *c.* 1410, and to Hus himself, Palacky assigns an early Hussite Catechism. To 1431 belongs the *Confessio Taboritarum* of the most resolute followers of Hus, who rejected all doctrine and usage not sanctioned in Scripture. Especially interesting are the kindred and much-used *Waldensian* and *Bohemian Catechisms*, vivid, shrewd, homely, and spiritual in their dialogue. The former, 'The Smaller Questions,' contains 57 questions and answers, is earlier than 1490, follows the division—Faith, Hope, and Love—adopted in Augustine's *Enchiridion*, and includes the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; the latter, perhaps the work of Lucas of Prague, and first printed c. 1521, asks and answers 75 questions in very similar terms, adding the Beatitudes and other matter. While adhering to the simplicity of Scripture and the Apostles' Creed, and permeated by the reforming spirit, they come short of distinctive Reformation theology, *e.g.* in reference to the number of the sacraments (two 'necessary,' the other five 'less necessary'), and to justification. From 1467 to 1671 no fewer than 34 Bohemian Confessions are known to have been framed (Schaff, *Hist. Creeds*, p. 578). In 1503, just 50 years after the overthrow of the Hussites of Tabor, the rallied and reviving 'Unity of Brethren' (Bohemian, Moravian, and refugee Waldensian) submitted to Wladislaw II., king of Bohemia, a Confession of their Faith, rejecting the Worship of Saints, Purgatory, and Transubstantiation, and urging a symbolical doctrine of the Supper. In 1511 they submitted a Confession to Erasmus for his judgment, but without result. From the time of Luther's revolt they came in all their branches more and more into connexion and fellowship with the Reformers, Lutherans and Calvinists, and at last took their place in doctrine as in polity among the Protestant Churches. In 1532, under Lutheran influence, they tendered a Confession to George, Margrave of Brandenburg, with a preface by Luther himself commending their doctrine apart from certain aspects of their sacramental views. Their revised Confession to Ferdinand I. in 1535, purged of the obnoxious teaching on re-baptism, and modified in regard to justification and clerical celibacy, was cordially approved by Luther, and accepted as a basis of full fellowship. It contained an apologetic preface and 20 articles resembling the Augsburg Confession; it was issued in Bohemian and Latin, and is known as the *First Bohemian Confession*. In 1575 the Protestant Churches of Bohemia, whether Lutheran or Calvinist in sympathy, united by the common menace of Rome, drew up the *Second Bohemian Confession*, which, in conjunction with the First, superseded all the rest of the 34 Confessions credited to Bohemia during the two centuries after 1467. The Second Bohemian Confession, addressed to Maximilian II., contains 25 articles embodying the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession modified in harmony with the Calvinistic and Moravian teaching, and closely approximating to Melanchthon's later sacramental theory.

In 1655, during the cruel massacre, the Piedmontese Waldensians adopted and sent out the *Waldensian Confession*, which is based upon, and in part abridged from, the French Reformed Confession of 1559 by Calvin. In 1855 the Confession was re-affirmed by the present Waldensian Church in Synod.

Although in Bohemia no resuscitation of the

ancient *national* Protestantism has been permitted, and the allegiance of Protestants is divided between Lutheranism and the Calvinism of the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession, the old *Unitas Fratrum* has been continuously represented on German soil by the Moravian Brethren, who own the authority of no Confession in a strict sense, and cherish a personal rather than a theological devotion, being ready to recognize and enter into fellowship with the devout of all denominations. They were able cordially to accept the Confession of Augsburg as in sufficient harmony with their own and the 'Reformed' doctrine, and, indeed, Spangenberg in the preface to his *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (Eng. ed. 1784), a weighty exposition of their belief, affirms that that Confession has been and will remain theirs. For light upon their doctrine one may with confidence turn to their impressive '*Easter Litany*' (1749), and to the '*Summary*' of their faith as centring in the Incarnation and Atonement of Christ in the 6 articles issued by the Synod of 1869. Reference may also be made to Bishop Schweinitz's 'Compendium of Doctrine,' in 17 articles drawn from the authorized 'Manual' of the Church, to the 'Catechism of Christian Doctrine for the Instruction of Youth in the Church of the United Brethren,' and the 'Epitome of Christian Doctrine for the Instruction of Candidates for Confirmation.'

LITERATURE.—Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 565–580, 874–881, *Creeds of Evang. Prot. Churches*, pp. 757 770, 799-806; *PRE*³, artt. 'Waldenser,' 'Huss,' 'Bohmische Bruder,' 'Zinzendorf'; Kurtz, *Ch. Hist.*, Eng. tr. 1890, vols. ii. and iii.; works by Palacky, Loserth, C. U. Hahn, Dieckhoff, and von Zezschwitz.

13. Confessions in the Lutheran Churches.—Though not in themselves a Confession in any general sense, the 95 Theses of Martin Luther at Wittenberg in 1517 against the theory and practice of Indulgences co-operated with his famous disputations (*e.g.* at Heidelberg, 1518; at Leipzig, 1519), and with his powerful tracts, in precipitating Confessional formulations. Although the Theses, Disputations, and Tracts had reference to restricted doctrines, their immediate effect was to provoke heart-searching revision of the whole current system of doctrine in so far as it contained accretions to the ancient Catholic Creeds. In this revisory work Luther found in Philip Melanchthon an invaluable and, indeed, an indispensable fellow-worker, one whose doctrinal system had found mature expression in the *Loci Communes* so early as 1521. If Luther's eagle eye pierced the forest of mediaeval error, and if Luther's sinewy arms cleared the ground, it was Melanchthon's gift and task to lay the foundations of Lutheran doctrine, massive, clear-cut, stable, and true. Each was the other's needed complement. Together they achieved a single work, than which a greater could hardly be conceived—the German Reformation. Their mutual understanding and their spiritual fellowship form one of the finest episodes and noblest features of that great movement.

It was in 1529 that Luther entered upon the work of doctrinal formulation. His first care was to provide for the spiritual wants of the neglected common people, especially for the young. A few catechetical works for the young and the unlearned had been prepared by monks in the Middle Ages. The Waldensian and Bohemian Reformers had made notable use of similar manuals prepared according to their distinctive views, and in 1523 a copy of one of these in Latin was presented to Luther. Luther himself had written a popular exposition of the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue as early as 1518. Catechisms had been published by such Reformers as Urbanus Regius, Lonicer, Melanchthon, Brentius, and Lachmann, between 1520 and 1528. But Luther's 'Smaller Catechism,' or *Enchiridion*, immediately attained a position and acceptance which not only placed it far above all its forerunners, but entitled it to rank as a Confession. It was preceded in the same year, 1529, by the 'Larger Catechism,' a looser and less happy work, which was, indeed, not strictly a catechism at all, but an exposition too long for a popular manual—which served, however, to guide and prepare its author for his still more congenial task, the composition of the *Enchiridion*. In delightfully homely and yet impressive questions and answers it expounds (1) the Decalogue, (2) the Apostles' Creed, (3) the Lord's Prayer, (4) the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, (5) the Sacrament of the Altar—the same succession of subjects which the Bohemian Brethren had made familiar in their Catechisms. See, further, art. CATECHISMS (Lutheran).

The *Fifteen Articles of the Marburg Conference*, 1529, were drawn up by Luther after the memorable discussion in which Melanchthon and he represented the German Reformers, Zwingli and Œcolampadius the Swiss, in an effort to establish a doctrinal understanding and concordat between the Reformed Churches. Articles i.–xiv. on the Trinity, Incarnation, Life of Christ, Original Sin (qualified agreement), Redemption, Justification by Faith, Work of the Holy Spirit by Word and Sacraments, Baptism, Good Works the Fruit of Faith, Confession and Absolution, Civil Authority, Tradition, Necessity of Infant Baptism, were agreed upon without difficulty. Article xv. was left incomplete, through disagreement on the meaning of the words 'Hoc est corpus meum,' in the form of three propositions: (1) the Eucharist ought to be received in both kinds; (2) the Sacrifice of the Mass is inadmissible; (3) the Sacrament of the Altar is a sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the partaking of it is salutary. It was a happier omen for the future of Protestantism, only now being realized, that the words were added: 'And, although we are not at this time agreed as to whether the true Body and Blood of Christ are physically present in the bread and wine, we recommend that either party manifest a Christian love to the other, so far as the conscience of every man shall permit, and that both parties entreat Almighty God to confirm us by His Spirit in the right doctrine. Amen.'

A fortnight later the Marburg Articles were revised and enlarged, and presented as the *Seventeen Articles of Schwabach* at a gathering of Lutheran princes and representatives in that town, and were followed by the supplementary *Articles of Torgau* (March 1530), drawn up by Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas, and Bugenhagen, for the Elector of Saxony, with a view to presentation in the interests of Catholic re-union at the forthcoming Diet at Augsburg. The Articles of Marburg or Schwabach are pacific and positive, in accordance with the conciliatory purpose of the conference from which they issued; the Torgau Articles are polemical against abuses and controversial in tone, dealing with clerical marriage, communion in both kinds, the Mass, confession, invocation of saints, faith's superiority to works, etc.; together they form the basis of the first and second portions respectively of the great *Augsburg Confession* of 1530, the supreme declaration and literary monument of the Reformation.

The Augsburg Confession.—Luther's enforced absence, under ban, from the Diet, threw upon Melanchthon the entire responsibility for the formal composition of the Augsburg Confession; but, apart from the fact that the constituent articles of Marburg and Torgau were essentially Luther's, Melanchthon was fresh from prolonged conference with him, was in constant correspondence with him, and was by temper, scholarship, and

insight uniquely fitted to represent him. Luther inspired, if Melanchthon arranged and wrote. The theology belongs to both. When a draft was submitted to Luther for revision, he could write to the Elector: 'It pleases me very well, and I know of nothing by which I could better it or change it, nor would it be becoming, for I cannot move so softly and gently.' Indeed, in a letter to Jonas he dubbed it 'the softly stepping Apology,' and was inclined to complain of its leniency or silence on the subject of purgatory, saint-worship, and the Papal antichrist. Apart from these matters, the 'Augustana' is the classical statement of Lutheran doctrine, and has remained to the present day the bond between all Lutheran Churches. Its dignified simplicity, its temperate tone, and its Christian spirit have endeared it to successive generations, and have made it the model as well as the mother of later Confessions. Portions of it have become obsolete. The piety and thought it has fostered have outgrown their original vestments. But its profound loyalty to the best traditions of the Catholic Church and the great Fathers, its faithfulness to Scripture, none the less impressive because it is unlaboured and unobtrusive, and its deep note of evangelical experience, have secured for it a sacred place, perhaps beyond all other Confessions, in the living faith of its ministers and people. The *twenty-one* Articles of its first part state the main doctrines held by Lutherans: (1) in common with Roman Catholics, the doctrine of the Catholic Creeds; (2) in common with Augustinians, against Pelagianism and Donatism; (3) in opposition to Rome, esp. on Justification by Faith, the exclusive mediatorship of Christ, Church, ministry, and rites; and (4) in distinction from Zwinglians and Anabaptists (the former are not named), upon the meaning and administration of the sacraments, on confession, and on the millennium. The *seven* articles of the second part condemn the chief Roman abuses: (1) withholding the cup; (2) compulsory celibacy of clergy; (3) the Mass a sacrifice; (4) compulsory confession; (5) festivals and fasts; (6) monastic vows; (7) secular domination by bishops to the spiritual disadvantage and corruption of the Church.

The motto of the Confession is Ps 119[46] (Vulg.), 'and I spake of thy testimonies in the sight of kings, and was not ashamed.' The Preface, a formal and wordy address to the Emperor, is not from the pen of Melanchthon but from that of Bruck, the Saxon Chancellor, who also composed the Epilogue.

Contents of Part I.—Art. i., *of God*, affirms the Nicene doctrine, explains that 'person' means, not a part or quality, but 'that which properly subsists,' and condemns ancient and recent heresies. Art. ii., *of Original Sin*, teaches that, 'since Adam's fall, all men begotten after the common course of nature are born with sin, that is, without the fear of God, without trust in Him, and with fleshly appetite; and that this disease or original fault is truly sin, condemning and bringing eternal death now also upon all that are not born again by baptism and the Holy Spirit'; and condemns 'the Pelagians and others who deny this original fault to be sin indeed, and who, to lessen the glory of the merits and benefits of Christ, argue that a man may by the strength of his own reason be justified before God.' Art. iii., *of the Son of God*, expands slightly the language of the Apostles' Creed. Art. iv. thus sets forth *Justification*:—'Men cannot be justified before God by their own powers, merits, or works, but are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that they are received into favour and their sins forgiven for Christ's sake, who by His death hath satisfied for our sins. This faith doth God impute for righteousness before him (Ro 3 and 4).' Art. v. sets forth *the Ministry of the Church* for the securing of that faith through the Holy Spirit, and condemns the Anabaptists. Art. vi., *of New Obedience*, teaches that 'this faith should bring forth good fruits, and that men ought to do the good works commanded of God, because it is God's will, and not for any confidence of meriting justification before God by their works. For remission of sins and justification is apprehended by faith, as also the voice of Christ witnesseth: "when ye have done all these things, say, We are unprofitable servants."'

Art. vii. teaches that *the Church* 'is the congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught, and the Sacraments rightly administered: unto the true unity of the Church it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments: nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by men should be alike everywhere; as St. Paul saith: "There is one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all."' Art. viii., *What the Church is*, says: 'It is lawful to use the Sacraments administered by evil men, according to the voice of Christ (Mt 23[2]), "The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat," etc. The Sacraments and the Word are effectual by reason of the institution and commandment of Christ, though they be delivered by evil men.' Art. ix., *of Baptism*, teaches that it is necessary to salvation, and that children by it are offered to God and received into His favour; and condemns the Anabaptists. Art. x., *of the Lord's Supper*, affirms that 'the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present, and are communicated to those that eat in the Lord's Supper'; but makes no attempt to explain how they are related to the elements—a remarkable silence illustrative perhaps of the reluctance of the Lutheran leaders at this time to formulate any new doctrine which would make their breach with Rome irreparable. Art. xi., *of Confession*, teaches that 'private absolution be retained, though enumeration of all offences be not necessary in confession. For it is impossible, according to the Psalm, 19[12] "Who can understand his errors?"' In Art. xii. *Repentance* is said to 'consist of these two parts:—one is contrition, or terrors stricken into the conscience by the recognition of sin; the other is faith, which is conceived by the Gospel or by absolution, and doth believe that for Christ's sake sins be forgiven, and comforteth the conscience and freeth it from terrors. Then should follow good works, which are fruits of repentance.' Therefore the Anabaptists and the Novatians are condemned. According to Art. xiii., *of the Use of Sacraments*, they 'were ordained, not only to be marks of profession among men, but rather that they should be signs and testimonies of the will of God towards us, set forth unto us to stir up and confirm faith in such as use them': they do not justify *ex opere operato*. Art. xiv., *of Ecclesiastical Orders*, teaches 'that no man should publicly in the Church teach or administer the Sacraments, except he be duly called.' In Art. xv., *of Ecclesiastical Rites*, it is taught that 'those only are to be observed which may be observed without sin, and are profitable for tranquillity and good order in the Church; such as are set holidays, feasts, and such like. Yet concerning such things, men are to be admonished that consciences are not to be burdened as if such service were necessary to salvation. They are also to be admonished that human traditions, instituted to propitiate God, to merit grace, and to make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions concerning foods and days, and such like, instituted to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel.'

Art. xvi., *of Civil Affairs*, teaches that 'such civil ordinances as are lawful are good works of God; Christians may lawfully bear civil office, sit in judgments, determine matters by the imperial laws . . . appoint just punishments, engage in just war, act as soldiers, make legal bargains and contracts, hold property, take an oath when the magistrates require it, marry a wife or be given in marriage.' It condemns the Anabaptists who forbid Christians these civil offices, also 'those who place the perfection of the Gospel, not in the fear of God and in faith, but in forsaking civil offices, inasmuch as the Gospel teacheth an everlasting righteousness of the heart.' . . . 'Christians must necessarily obey their magistrates and laws, save only when they command any sin; for then they must rather obey God than men (Ac 5[29]).' Art. xvii., *of Christ's Return to Judgment*, condemns 'the Anabaptists who think that to condemned men and devils there shall be an end of torments; others also who now scatter Jewish opinions that, before the resurrection of the dead, the godly shall occupy the kingdom of the world, the wicked being everywhere suppressed.' Art. xviii., *of Free Will*, affirms 'that man's will hath some liberty to work a civil righteousness, and to choose such things as reason can reach unto; but that it hath no power to work the righteousness of God, or a spiritual righteousness, without the Spirit of God; because the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God (1 Co 2[14]). But this is wrought in the heart when men do receive the Spirit of God through the Word.' Augustine is quoted in support, and Pelagian opinions are condemned. Art. xix. teaches that 'although God doth create and preserve nature, *the Cause of Sin* is the will of the wicked, to wit, of the devil and ungodly men.'

Art. xx., *of Good Works*, repudiates the charge that Lutherans forbid good works: 'Their writings extant upon the Ten Commandments bear witness that they have taught to good purpose concerning every kind of life and its duties. . . . Of which things preachers in former times taught little or nothing: only they urged certain childish and needless works, as keeping of holidays, set fasts, fraternities, pilgrimages, worshippings of saints, rosaries, monkeries, and such like things. Whereof our adversaries having had warning, they do now unlearn them, and do not preach concerning these unprofitable works as they were wont. Besides they begin now to make mention of faith, concerning which there was formerly a deep silence. They teach that we are not justified by works alone; but they conjoin faith and works, and say we are justified by faith and works. Which doctrine is more tolerable than the former one, and can afford more consolation. . . . Therefore our divines have thus admonished the churches:—(1) Our works cannot reconcile God, or deserve remission of sins, grace, and justification at His hands, but these we obtain by faith only, when we believe that we are received into favour for Christ's sake, who alone is appointed the Mediator and Propitiatory, by whom the Father is reconciled. He therefore that trusteth by his works to merit grace, doth despise the merit and grace of Christ, and seeketh by his own power to come to the Father without Christ;

whereas Christ hath expressly said of himself, "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (Jn 14⁶). This doctrine is handled by Paul almost everywhere:—"By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God, not of works" (Eph 2⁸·⁹). Augustine doth in many volumes defend grace, and the righteousness of faith, against the merit of works. The like doth Ambrose teach in his book, *de Vocatione Gentilium*, and elsewhere. . . . Godly and trembling consciences find by experience that this doctrine bringeth very great comfort . . . as St. Paul teacheth, "being justified by faith, we have peace with God" (Ro 5¹). This doctrine doth wholly belong to the conflict of a troubled conscience, and cannot be understood but where the conscience hath felt that conflict. Wherefore all such as have had no experience thereof, and all that are profane men, who dream that Christian righteousness is naught else but a civil and philosophical righteousness, are poor judges of this matter. Formerly men's consciences were vexed with the doctrine of works; they did not hear any comfort out of the Gospel. Whereupon conscience drove some into the desert, into monasteries, hoping there to merit grace by a monastical life. . . . There was very great need therefore to teach and renew this doctrine. . . . (2) The name of faith doth not only signify a knowledge of the history, which may be in the wicked, and in the devil, but a faith which believeth also the effect of the history, that by Christ we have grace, righteousness, and remission of sins. (3) It is necessary to do good works . . . because it is the will of God that we should do them. . . . And, because the Holy Spirit is received by faith, our hearts are now renewed, and so put on new affections that they are able to bring forth good works. . . . Without faith the nature of man can by no means perform the works of the First or Second Table. Without faith it cannot call upon God, hope in God, bear the Cross; but seeketh help from man, and trusteth in man's help. So it cometh to pass that all lusts and human counsels bear sway in the heart so long as faith and trust in God are absent. Wherefore also Christ saith, "Without me ye can do nothing" (Jn 15⁵), and the Church singeth, "Without thy power is naught in man, naught that is innocent."'

Art. xxi., *of the Worship of Saints*, teaches 'that the memory of saints may be set before us, in order that we may follow their faith and good works according to our calling; as the Emperor may follow David's example in making war to drive away the Turks from his country; for both are kings. But the Scripture teacheth not to invoke saints . . . because it offereth unto us one Christ the Mediator, Propitiatory, High-priest, and Intercessor. . . . "If any man sin, we have an advocate with God, Jesus Christ the righteous" (1 Jn 2¹). Art. xxii. sums up the case, claiming for the doctrine harmony with Scripture, with the Church Catholic, even with the Roman Church so far as known from the Fathers, and repudiating the charge of heresy. 'It is concerning traditional abuses introduced without any definite authority that the dissension has arisen. It would be a becoming lenity on the part of the Bishops that in view of the Confession now presented they should be patient, since not even the Canons are so severe as to demand the same rites everywhere, nor were the rites of all churches at any time the same. It is a calumnious falsehood that all the ceremonies, all the things instituted of old, are abolished in our churches.'

The whole Confession, or 'Apology,' as Melanchthon called it, is eloquent of its author's yearning to promote the re-union of divided Christendom; it breathes the spirit of defence, not defiance. It emphasizes points of agreement before it affirms points of conscientious difference. To many Roman Catholics it was an amazing revelation of the essential Catholicism of Lutheran teaching. To all it was proffered as a *via media* between the paths of sharp divergence. It failed to achieve its pacific purpose. An official Confutation of it was issued, which, in turn, was answered by Melanchthon's able and learned *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, 1531, a lengthy and valuable exposition as well as vindication of the Confession, which came to be regarded and used itself as a standard in 1532 at Schweinfurt, and again at Schmalkald in 1537, and finally received a place among the classical Lutheran Symbols.

It was characteristic of the author of both Confession and Apology, and, indeed, characteristic of the spirit of the movement for which he laboured, that, as with Luther and the Schmalkald Articles, he did not regard either document as fixed and invariable, but took every opportunity of revising both, with the result that both in the printed and in the extant manuscript forms and in the early translations there are innumerable discrepancies, mostly minute, but in several instances serious and deliberate, and significant of the writer's open and changing mind. In accordance with the closing sentence, 'If aught shall be found wanting in this Confession, we are ready, God willing, to set forth further truth in harmony with the Scriptures,' Melanchthon made use of every call for a fresh issue to correct and modify and improve his views. In the edition of 1540, known as the *Variata*, this process reached its climax, when, as in the 1535 edition of his *Loci Communes*, a synergistic modification of his views on absolute predestination and human free-will, on repentance and good works, found expression; and instead of the clause, 'they teach that the body and blood of Christ *are truly present and are distributed* to those that eat in the Lord's Supper; *and they disapprove of those that teach otherwise*,' there appeared the milder words, 'they teach that *with bread and wine are truly exhibited* the body and blood of Christ to those that eat in the Lord's Supper'—a refusal to condemn divergent Protestant views, and an approximation towards those Calvinistic and Zwinglian opinions with which the Marburg Conference and personal interviews with Calvin and Bucer had made Melanchthon familiar.

No one can read the Augsburg Confession without being deeply impressed by the sincerity of its effort to conserve the Scriptural and spiritual essentials of traditional Christianity, and by the utter absence of any traces of the spirit of wanton innovation. It is, we may add, significant of the occasion which evoked it, and of the enthusiasm which it inspired, that as presented to the Diet it bore the signatures, not of theologians and churchmen, as in the case of the earlier articles, but of the Saxon Elector and other princes and rulers of Germany. Though there is endless local variety in the terms and formulæ of subscription, it is still the historic standard round which the forces of Lutheranism rally throughout the world. No subsequent Confession has been drawn up without regard to its teaching, and beyond the circle of its direct or indirect influence.

The *Articles of Schmalkald* in Thuringia, 1537, form Luther's last contribution to the Confessions of Protestantism. Paul III. had at last agreed to summon a General Council to meet at Mantua in 1537, and Luther was instructed by the Elector of Saxony to prepare a series of articles embodying the Reformer's convictions, as a basis of discussion at the Council. These were submitted to a gathering of princes and theologians at Schmalkald. Their tone is resolutely and aggressively Protestant. It was resolved, accordingly, not to proceed to the Council. Signatures were appended by the theologians present. Melanchthon, by request, contributed an appendix on the Papal authority and primacy, but characteristically qualified his signature to the Articles:

'I, Philip Melanchthon, approve the foregoing Articles as pious and Christian. But in regard to the Pope I hold that if he would admit the Gospel, we might also permit him for the sake of peace and the common concord of Christendom to exercise by human right his present jurisdiction over the bishops who are now or may hereafter be under his authority.'

As a whole, the Articles supplement the Confession of Augsburg by defining the Protestant attitude to the Papacy, and as such they contributed towards the final separation.

In section i., the doctrine of the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds is reaffirmed. In section ii., on 'the office and work of Christ, or our Redemption,' justification by faith is vigorously maintained against all ecclesiastical and superstitious encroachments: upon it 'depends all that we teach and do against the Pope, the Devil, and all the world'; the Mass is 'an unspeakable abomination,' purgatory a 'Satanic delusion, and the Pope 'the veritable Antichrist,' inasmuch as 'he will not suffer Christians to be saved without his power.' In section iii., fifteen articles deal with sin, the law, repentance, the sacraments, and other matters which 'we are free to debate with men of learning or understanding or settle among ourselves,' without appeal to the Pope and his subjects, who 'are not greatly concerned about them, for they are devoid of conscience, but are intent upon money, honour, and power. Transubstantiation is denied in favour of consubstantiation in its extreme form—'the true body and blood of Christ are administered and received not

only by pious but also by impious Christians.' If Luther thought that Melanchthon had stepped too softly in the Augustana, there was no mistaking his own heavy footfall in the Articles of Schmalkald.

Luther died early in 1546, soon after the opening of the Council of Trent. The controversy with Rome and discussion of terms of re-union dragged on. Numerous *Interims*, or working arrangements, doctrinal as well as ecclesiastical, sometimes voluntary, sometimes coercive, continued as before to swell the Confessional output. The *Augsburg Interim* of 1548 is a notable example. It was drawn up by three theologians of modest ability—the scholastic Michael Helding, the humanist Julius von Pflug, and the reactionary Lutheran Agricola, who were selected by the Emperor Charles V. As was inevitable, compromise was secured only by recourse to gross ambiguity and a clumsy combination of opposites. Roman doctrine and usage were retained in reference to Transubstantiation, the number of the Sacraments, adoration of Mary and of Saints, the sovereignty of the Pope; while a modified acceptance of Justification by Faith and of clerical marriage, permission to use the Cup, and a revision of the doctrine of the Mass, were a sop to Protestant feeling. In 1549, Melanchthon, in his eagerness for peace, outraged Protestant feeling by framing, along with other Wittenberg theologians, a precisely similar compromise, the *Leipzig Interim*, in which most Roman usages were represented as things 'indifferent,' as 'open matters'; but neither persuasion nor persecution availed to enforce either Interim. Two years later, in 1551, as a basis for discussion in the resumed meetings of the Council of Trent, Melanchthon drew up the *Confessio Saxonica*, or, as he called it, the *Repetitio Confessionis Augustanæ*, a re-statement of Reformed doctrine in conciliatory and moderate but firmly Protestant terms. In 1552, at the request of Duke Christopher of Württemberg, a similar statement was prepared for the same purpose by Brenz—the *Württemberg Confession*. Both statements were duly dispatched by the hands of Protestant representatives to the Council; but the unlooked-for military intervention of the Elector Maurice effectually prevented their discussion, and diverted the current of events towards the final issue of the Settlement and Peace of Augsburg, 1555.

From the date of that Settlement, the political and national frontier between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism was definitely fixed, and the controversy of Lutherans with Rome called for no further additions to the Augsburg Confession and Apology and the supplementary Articles of Schmalkald. Thenceforward, unhappily, the Lutheran Church turned its attention to internal differences upon minor points of doctrine. These controversies were the occasion of the later formulations between 1555 and 1592, the close of the Confessional epoch in Lutheran history.

In 1559 a large and important convention of Swabian theologians and pastors met at Stuttgart to discuss a number of questions bearing on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which had been raised by Hagen, a Württemberg minister who had become a disciple and follower of Calvin. The old hiatus in the Marburg Articles was now to be filled up. Under the leadership of John Brenz, the distinctively Lutheran doctrine of the sacramental presence of the body and blood of the Risen Christ with the elements was re-asserted in language so strong as to merit the repudiated title of 'ubiquitarianism,' and founded upon the teaching that in the ascended Lord the human and the Divine are eternally conjoined at the right hand of the Majesty on high, filling all things, so that the body as well as the spirit of Christ is omnipresent, a spiritual body and real presence 'orally' and in actual substance to be partaken of by all believers, in sacred and impenetrable association with the elements. Unbelievers and godless people may receive it with the hallowed but unchanged elements, though without faith they do so to their condemnation. In the 6th article it is claimed that this doctrine is in harmony with Scripture, and with justice that it agrees also with the Augsburg and the Württemberg Confessions. Beyond question, Brenz was loyal in this position to the whole mind of Luther, and to the characteristic standpoint of the original Lutheran Reformation. But where even Luther, as at Marburg, hesitated to go in doctrinal definition, Brenz and his fellows might well have paused. Not only in Tübingen and the rest of Württemberg, but beyond, a serious menace to Protestant unity was proclaimed. It was much, no doubt, to side with Luther; but, with Calvin and Melanchthon both upon the other side, the assurance requisite for Confessional legislation was surely gravely imperilled. For that reason the Stuttgart Articles, although they became binding in Württemberg, were declined by other Lutheran provinces. Melanchthon lived just long enough to see them, and to deprecate their 'unseasonable' formulation.

After, as before, Melanchthon's death, his open-minded, mediative, liberal spirit, sympathizing now with Roman Catholic, anon with Calvinistic elements of faith, operated as a speculative ferment in all Lutheran lands. Conservative resistance to his opinions and to those which sprang from them logically or by exaggeration led to that bitter and protracted series of doctrinal feuds concerning sin, salvation, and the Sacrament of the Supper, of which the chief were associated with the following names:

(1) John Agricola, who, in opposition to Luther and Melanchthon, urged that the law should be set aside in favour of the exclusive preaching of the gospel, even contrition being the fruit of the latter. (2) Andrew Osiander, who, while devoted to the doctrine of justification by faith, preferred the moral and mystical to the forensic meaning of 'justification,' merging it in sanctification through the indwelling of the living Christ, and was opposed by Mörlin and Chemnitz, the joint-authors of the Prussian Confession, *Corpus Doctrinæ Pruthenicum*, 1567. (3) George Major, who maintained that good works are necessary to salvation, being met by the paradox of Amsdorf that they are injurious to salvation. (4) John Pfeffinger, who defended and developed the later teaching of Melanchthon, that a certain remnant of freedom to co-operate with Divine grace in conversion and salvation remains to man, being opposed by Amsdorf, Flacius, and others, who urged Luther's affirmation of the impotence of the natural man to do more than oppose the will of God. (5) Numerous sympathizers with the views of Calvin and of Melanchthon on the Lord's Supper, the Person and Natures of Christ, and Predestination—the 'Crypto-Calvinists,' whose views found expression in Saxony during their short-lived ascendancy in the *Corpus Doctrinæ Philippicum* (1560), the Wittenberg Catechism of 1571, and the *Consensus Dresdensis* (1571), but were condemned, as we have seen, at Stuttgart.

At length the tide turned, and set in the direction of compromise. The old Confession of Augsburg was at first the natural rallying-point for the scattered energies of Lutheranism. It was the work of Melanchthon, inspired throughout by Luther, the source of the doctrine of all parties. But the question was inevitable—Was it to be the original Augustana, or the revised and seriously altered form of 1540, which had been accepted by all the German Reformers at Worms in that year, and which even Calvin had been able to sign? In 1561, at the *Naumburg Assembly of Princes*, it was agreed to recognize afresh the Augustana in both forms with the Apology. But the clamour against encroaching Calvinism continued. To James Andreæ, a Tübingen professor and pupil of Brenz, belongs the credit of successfully inaugurating the Concord movement. In 1573 he suggested, as a basis of agreement, the substance of six irenic lectures. Later he modified them in accordance

with the criticisms of Martin Chemnitz, the most distinguished pupil of Melanchthon and the most eminent of Lutheran theologians. Thus emerged in 1575 the lengthy *Swabian and Saxon Formula of Concord*, followed immediately by the brief *Maulbronn Formula* by Luke Osiander and Balthasar Bidembach. Both were superseded by the *Book of Torgau*, in twelve articles derived from them, mainly by Andreæ and Chemnitz, which found such wide-spread acceptance among the Lutheran princes to whom it was submitted, that its two chief authors, along with four others—Selnecker, Musculus, Körner, and Chytræus—were encouraged to re-cast it finally in 1577 as the memorable *Formula of Concord* at Bergen, near Magdeburg, where they met by instruction of the Saxon Elector Augustus, who from the first had been the unfailing patron and liberal promoter of the Concord movement. In 1580, the fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, the chief Lutheran Symbols between 1530 and 1577 were recognized, collected, and published in one volume, the *Book of Concord*, at Dresden, a Latin version following the German original.

Though it never attained to an authority and acceptance comparable with those of the Augustana and Luther's Catechisms, the Formula of Concord is a dignified and high-toned utterance, and it played a truly great and timely part in the history of Lutheranism. The effort to produce it practically exhausted the main controversial energies of Lutheran scholasticism, and accentuated the need for rest and quiet. If religious truth must be drawn out in fine-spun thought and expressed through strenuous argument in subtle scholastic propositions, this Formula deserves our admiration and our gratitude. It can scarcely be said with justice that the issues were trivial, or irrelevant, or idle. There will probably always be minds that cannot rest in Christian dogma without re-traversing those old and once well-worn paths of speculation and deduction. It is to be feared that lack of mental courage and resource too often prompts our modern adverse judgments upon those stern debates. We are more willing to let sleeping dogs lie undisturbed; but sleep is not death, and they may awake at any time, as indeed they have often done. We are indisposed to stir the ashes of this 16th cent. conflagration, perhaps in part because we have reason to suspect that deep below their cold surface the ancient fire may lurk unseen. The ultimates of the passionate controversy of that age remain, though we choose not to face them. Difficulties are not annihilated by the mere closing of our eyes in weariness. The language and temper of discussion have undergone a happy change, but who shall say that in the modern Protestant world men think alike to-day upon the meaning of the Sacraments, the relation between the Divine will and foreknowledge and human freedom, sin and salvation, the relation between the human and Divine natures in Christ on earth and in heaven? It may be, however, that we owe it to the undaunted efforts of the men whom we lightly set aside as the post-Reformation scholastics and polemics that we have learned either to practise or at least to respect undogmatic silence upon sacred mysteries left undisclosed by Holy Writ itself, and beyond the reach of Christian experience. The very districts of Germany which in the 16th and 17th centuries were most controversial and most Confession-ridden were the first to turn either to Pietism or to Rationalism. The same Tübingen which later startled Europe with its wanton historical criticism had been a stronghold of Lutheran Conservatism.

The *Formula of Concord* is in two divisions, each containing the same twelve articles in shorter or longer form—the *Epitome* and the *Solida Repetitio et Declaratio*. The 'Epitome,' though only a fifth of the dimension of the 'Repetitio' (which contains a fuller exposition, fortified by citations from Scripture, the Fathers, the works of Luther, and the foregoing Confessions), is itself a massive document, and contains a full statement of the preponderant doctrine of the Lutheran Churches set forth in each article according to a fixed scheme. (1) the controversial issue; (2) the affirmative statement of the true doctrine; (3) the negation or condemnation of the false, the whole being prefaced by a significant and, for a Lutheran standard, unusual statement 'of the compendious rule and norm according to which all dogmas ought to be judged and all controversies which have arisen ought to be piously set forth and settled.' That rule, as in Calvinism, is 'the Prophetic and Apostolic writings both of the Old and of the New Testament' alone. All other ancient and modern writings are in no wise to be counted equal to them, but are at most witnesses to later doctrine. Thereafter, as subordinate standards of right doctrine, the three 'primitive Church Symbols' are accepted, with the 'first, unaltered' Augsburg Confession, the Apology of the same, the Schmalkald Articles, and, 'inasmuch as this matter of religion appertains also to the laity, and their eternal salvation is at stake, Dr. Luther's Smaller and Larger Catechisms, because we judge them to be as it were the Bible of the laity.' Then follow the twelve successive articles on Original Sin, Free-will, Righteousness of Faith before God, Good Works, Law and Gospel, Third Use of the Law, Lord's Supper, Person of Christ, Descent of Christ into Hades, Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, Predestination and Election, other Heresies and Sects—Anabaptists, Schwenkfeldians, New Arians, and Anti-trinitarians. In every article the conservative Lutheran position is maintained as against the Romanist and Melanchthonian, not to say against the Calvinist and Zwinglian and Anabaptist, and the victorious conclusions of the antecedent Lutheran controversies are firmly embodied, sometimes with moderated phraseology.

Especially noteworthy are two groups of Articles. Article II. states that man's will since the Fall and apart from regenerating grace 'is not only averse from God but even hostile,' even as his 'understanding and reason are wholly blind in spiritual things'; and in conversion man is wholly passive. In Art. III. Justification, as 'absolution from sin,' is sharply distinguished from regeneration and sanctification, and Faith, the only 'means and instrument whereby we lay hold on Christ the Saviour, and so in Christ lay hold on that righteousness which is able to stand before the judgment of God,' 'is not a bare knowledge of the history of Christ, but such and so great a gift of God as that by it we rightly recognize Christ our Redeemer in the word of the Gospel and confide in Him.' Moreover, 'although they that truly believe in Christ and are born again are even to the hour of death subject to many infirmities and stains, yet they ought not to doubt either of the righteousness which is imputed to them through faith, or concerning their eternal salvation'; and, 'after man is justified by faith, then that true and living faith works by love, and good works always follow justifying faith.' In Art. XI. Predestination or Election is distinguished from mere foreknowledge which 'extends both to good and evil men' and is not an efficient cause either of good or of evil; it 'extends only to the good and beloved children of God,' and 'procures their salvation,' and appoints those things which pertain to it: it is not to be explored by reason in the hidden counsel of God, but 'sought in the Word of God in which it is revealed: God and His Christ desire and invite all men to turn from sin and be saved: He is not willing that any should perish, but rather that all should be converted and believe in Christ'; it is false 'that some men are destined to destruction not on account of their sins, but by the mere counsel purpose and will of God.' Thus room is found for no Melanchthonian synergy with God in salvation, but only for a synergy with Satan in perdition, an exercise of human free-will about which all parties in Christendom were thoroughly agreed.

In the closely related Articles VII. and VIII. on the Lord's Supper and the Two Natures in Christ, while transubstantiation is denied, a purely spiritual presence independent of the elements is set aside: the actual body is partaken of along with the symbols, by virtue of its ubiquity, through suffusion of the human by the Divine in the one and eternally indivisible Lord. In heaven as on earth there has been and is a *communicatio idiomatum*: the right hand of God, the seat of Christ, is not a particular locality; His risen body fills all things, and may therefore be recognized as interpenetrating the consecrated elements. Romanism and Calvinism could equally refute this half-way view: it lost the advantages of both extremes; and it proved too much for its own purpose, for omnipresence of the Lord's body would hallow all objects and not alone or specially the memorial elements. Similarly, the Incarnation was evacuated of meaning, and the dogma of Chalcedon, that there is no confusion or conversion of the two natures in Christ, was inevitably infringed. Interpenetration, sacramental and hypostatic, was the besetting idea of Lutheranism. In both fields of thought, as also in matters of government and ritual, it lacked either courage or discernment to break entirely with Rome and go all the way with the Reformed doctrine of Switzerland. Perhaps, had Melanchthon's genius been more decided and uncompromising, his influence upon purely Lutheran formulations would have been more instead of less; he might have overcome the opposition which doctrinal half measures only served to intensify.

The Formula of Concord became authoritative in Saxony, Coburg, Weimar, Württemberg, Baden, Mecklenburg, Lübeck, Hamburg, and for a time in the Palatinate and Brandenburg.

In 1581 recognition was given by the Church of Anhalt to the *Anhalt Confession*, or *Repetition* of the Augsburg Confession, a purely Melanchthonian statement of Lutheran doctrine, drawn up mainly by Superintendent Wolfgang Amling, and submitted in 1579 to a conference with Hessian divines at Cassel. This Confession is sometimes reckoned among the *Reformed* Confessions; but it is not Calvinistic, recognizing as it does the *Variata* Confession of Augsburg, the *Corpus Doctrinæ* of Melanchthon, the Schmalkald Articles and Luther's Catechisms, and clinging to the Lutheran sacramental theory of a *manducatio oralis*, and therewith of a *manducatio indignorum*. A somewhat similar position was taken up about the same time by the *Nassau Confession* (1578), prepared by a Saxon Crypto-Calvinist, Pezel, which rests upon the *Variata* and the Saxon Articles, rejecting the ubiquitarian doctrine of strict Lutheranism. On the other hand, in 1592, Melanchthonian and Crypto-Calvinistic doctrine was roundly condemned afresh by the *Saxon Visitation Articles*, prepared on the basis of a discussion between Andreæ and Beza in 1586 by the Marburg theologian Hunnius and others. Four groups of brief uncompromising propositions re-assert the Concord teaching—(1) on the Lord's Supper, (2) on the Person of Christ, (3) on Holy Baptism, and (4) on Predestination and the Eternal Providence of God—as the 'pure and true' doctrine. A similar series of groups pillory the alleged 'false and erroneous' teachings of the Calvinists. In Saxony, conformity to these articles was rigorously and cruelly enforced. Notice may also be taken of the attempt made in 1655 by the rigid conservative Calovius to secure the condemnation of the so-called 'Syncretism' of the liberal and pacific George Calixtus of Helmstadt and his school, who gave expression to the feeling of reaction against Lutheran bigotry and exclusiveness, and desired a Catholic understanding between Lutherans, Calvinists, and Romanists on the basis of the creeds and consensus of the first five centuries, relegating to a secondary place all points of controversial difference. Calovius' counterblast took the form of a *Repeated Consensus of the truly Lutheran Faith*, but happily it never attained to Confessional authority. The movement it sought to arrest has continued unabated to the present time.

Lutheran Confessions outside Germany.—A brief reference must suffice for the little group of Confessions representing various stages of Lutheranism in other lands. In no case are they marked by original contributions of any theological moment.

(*a*) In Denmark, so early as 1530, when 21 Lutheran preachers were arraigned, at the instance of the bishops, before the National Assembly at Copenhagen, they drew up under the leadership of Hans Tausen, the 'Danish Luther,' *Forty-Three Articles*. These remained to proclaim the Danish Reformed Faith until set aside in favour of the Augsb. Conf. and Luther's Small Catechism.

(*b*) In Bohemia (as above mentioned, p. 844) a Lutheran type of faith found expression (1) in the *Bohemian Confession* of 1535, which closely adheres to the Augsburg Confession, and (2), in alliance with Calvinism and the Teaching of the Brethren, in the *Bohemian Confession* of 1575, which adheres to the altered or Melanchthonian version of Augsburg doctrine.

(*c*) In Hungary, Lutheran doctrine was restricted mainly to German-speaking districts, the teaching of Melanchthon and Calvin appealing to the Magyar people. *Twelve Articles at Erdöd* were framed in 1545, in harmony with the Augsburg Confession. Three years later, a similar Lutheran statement issued from a Synod which met at Mediasch, representing five towns in Upper Hungary, *the Confession of the Five Cities*.

(*d*) In Poland, Lutherans took part in the making and acceptance of the *Consensus of Sendomir* (1570), which, like the Second Bohemian Confession, emanated from a joint-Synod of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Brethren. It follows Melanchthon's Saxon Repetition of the Augustana, in essential harmony with the Calvinistic position regarding the Lord's Supper, avoiding extreme Lutheran tenets. On Predestination it is silent, no controversy having emerged thereupon. A notable feature is the complete mutual recognition of the Churches concerned, and the practical exhortation to avoid strife and promote fellowship by every possible means.

(*e*) In the United States of America the Lutheran Churches have contented themselves with subscribing to the Augsburg Confession (unaltered), or to the whole Book of Concord, without adding to the Corpus of Lutheran Confessions.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the standard Histories of the Reformation and of Christian Doctrine (among the latter, esp. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr.), reference may be made to Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds* (ch. vi. with detailed authorities) and *Creeds of Evangelical Prot. Churches* (for most important texts, viz. Augustana, Luther's Small Catechism, Concord Formula [Epitome], and Saxon Visitation Articles); J. T. Müller, *Die symb. Bücher der evang. luth. Kirche*³, Stuttg. 1869; Hase, *Libri Symbolici Eccles. Evang.* 1827, 1845, etc.; A. and S. Henkel, *The Christian Book of Concord*², 1854 (complete tr. from German); Köllner, *Symbolik der luth. Kirche*, 1837; Krauth, *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology*, 1871; Winer, *Confessions of Christendom*. Also valuable detailed articles in *PRE*³ on the various documents.

14. Confessions in the Anglican (Episcopalian) Churches.—Although England may claim through Wyclif to have been the chief contributor to the early Reformation movement, it was not until a century and a half after the publication of Wyclif's *Twelve Theses* against Transubstantiation that the formulation of new Articles of religion was set about. In the interval, however, the national mind was far from idle. Wyclif's thought was not allowed to perish in the Universities, and, later, Luther's works were freely read and pondered. Church and Crown were able long to restrain the rising tide of freedom, but, when they fell out, the Reformation burst over the land in overwhelming force. In England, as in Saxony, the new cause found its patrons not only in the Universities but among cultured princes—a fact which goes far to explain not only the Erastianism, but the doctrinal, ritual, and constitutional conservatism common to the Anglican and Lutheran Churches. No doubt, the outward Reformation owed much to the royal and the national self-assertion characteristic of the age; and it was a strange providence that linked it with the domestic and dynastic predicament of Henry VIII., whose reluctant marriage with his brother's widow was prescribed by Spanish statecraft and sanctioned by the Papacy in violation both of its own most sacred laws and of the conscience of Europe. But in fact it experienced at Henry's hands as much embarrassment as help, and, though his mind had many enlightened sympathies, the royal 'Defender of the Faith' was not the real inaugurator of Reform. The land of Magna Charta and of John Wyclif could not keep still while the rest of Northern Europe was in the throes of the struggle for religious liberty. It was not likely to submit for ever to an Italian Papacy in the realm of truth and order. The English was essentially a native Reformation, though assisted from abroad.

Much as the English articles, accordingly, owed to Wittenberg and Switzerland, they retained a

character of their own. Like the English Church organization, service, and traditions, they are not to be summarily described as Lutheran or Zwinglian or Calvinistic. Happily the story of the evolution of the Anglican formularies can be recounted without controversy, though the business of their detailed interpretation is involved in intricate and delicate questions. Even as standards of doctrine, they have from the first been inextricably associated with the Prayer Book: in the nature of the case an exclusive and obligatory manual of service must throw as much light upon the doctrinal *arcanum* of a Church's faith as even a formal body of theological propositions. To ignore or to miss this fact is to deprive oneself of the necessary key to the understanding of the peculiar history and position of the great Anglican Church. Beyond all the other Reformed Churches, the Anglican and the Lutheran clung to every reputable relic of Roman Catholic tradition and custom. If in its articles the former Church went further apart than the latter from the parent Romanism, in its ritual and its government and its tone it was more conservative. The theology of Puritan Anglicanism is an episode of which the Church has far less cause to be ashamed than many of its sons are wont to suppose, but it is an episode whose influence, however powerful still in Church and in derived 'Dissent,' was never more than partial and limited. Both from the history of the successive Articles of Faith and from the history of that revision of the Roman Service Book which issued in the Prayer Book, it is abundantly clear that the Anglican Church, since its break with Rome, has been in profound sympathy with the great leaders of the Continental Reformation, both German and Swiss, but it is not hastily to be identified with either of the historic groups.

Early Articles (1536-1543).—Six years after the publication of the Augsburg Confession, and two years after the abjuration of Papal supremacy by Parliament and both convocations of clergy, in 1536 appeared the earliest English articles. *The Ten Articles*, 'devised by the Kyng's Highnes Majestie to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie among us, and to avoyde contentious opinions, and ordered to be read in churches,' are eloquent of the divided state of religious thought in England. On account of their extreme conservatism, representing the standpoint of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, rather than of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Foxe characterizes them as intended for 'weaklings newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome.' In view of the statement in a royal letter that the king 'was constrained to put his own pen to the book, and to conceive certain Articles which were by all the bishops and whole clergy of the realm in convocation agreed on as catholic,' it seems certain that the king, whose learning was considerable, and whose theological interest was lively, had a personal share in the composition or revision of the Articles. Very probably his intervention sufficed to turn the scales on the side of the conservatives, whose concern was to ward off Papal intrusion and to leave doctrine and ritual severely alone; yet the Augsburg influence is unmistakable. The document was of substantial use in that transitional time, and could conscientiously be subscribed by men like Foxe and Cranmer, who were prepared at once to go far further in advance. Like the Augsburg Confession, it falls into two parts: the first five Articles deal with doctrine, the second five with ceremonies.

In the first part the three ancient Creeds are insisted upon in addition to 'the whole body and Canon of the Bible' as standards of doctrine according to their plain 'purport' and the mind of 'the holy approved doctors of the Church'; those who will not accept them are 'very infidels or heretics and members of the Devil with whom they shall perpetually be damned' (Art. 1). Baptism is 'a thing necessary for the attaining of eternal life': original sin cannot be remitted except by it; infants dying shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, otherwise not; in the adult or in children having the use of reason it is conditional upon penitence and doctrinal faith, and is effective through 'renovation of the Holy Ghost' (Art. 2). Penance is a sacrament 'institute of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for man's salvation that no man which after his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed deadly sin, can without the same be saved,' and its constituents of contrition, auricular confession, and an amended life of good works are required: '*item*, that by penance and such good works of the same we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in this world' (Art. 3). 'As touching the Sacrament of the Altar . . . under the form and figure of bread and wine . . . is verily substantially and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary and suffered upon the cross for our redemption . . . and under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very selfsame body and blood of Christ is corporally really and in the very substance exhibited, distributed and received unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament' (Art. 4). Justification 'signifieth remission of our sins and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ'; it is attained 'by contrition and faith joined with charity; . . . not as though our contrition or faith or any works proceeding thereof can worthily merit . . . justification, but God also requireth good works to follow faith' (Art. 5).

According to the second part, images, especially of Christ and the Virgin, are to be retained, for their wholesome teaching and suggestion, but not for idolatry or ceremonial honour (Art. 6). Saints are to be honoured as elect of Christ, as having lived a godly life, and as reigning with Christ, also as 'advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ,' but 'not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God' (Art. 7). 'Albeit grace, remission of sin, and salvation cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, . . . yet it is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven . . . to be intercessors and to pray for us and with us . . . so that it be done without any vain superstition as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same' (Art. 8). Roman rites and ceremonies are 'good and laudable' and 'not to be contemned and cast away'; but they have no 'power to remit sin,' but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God (Art. 9). 'It is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed and also to cause other to pray for them in masses and exequies . . . whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain,—but forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kind of pains there, also be to us uncertain by Scripture, therefore this with all other things we remit to Almighty God. . . . wherefore it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced, as to make men believe that through the bishop of Rome's pardons souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory and all the pains of it' (Art. 10).

Regarded both in themselves and in connexion with the 'Injunctions' issued in 1536 and 1538, these Articles, with all their caution, are unmistakably on the side of such reformation as Luther demanded. They were meant to unite old-school and new-school Christians, and to be tender towards everything hallowed by tradition, so long as superstition was not necessarily involved in it. Agreement on a more advanced basis of doctrine was at the time impossible. It is something that Transubstantiation was ignored, that the risks and fact of idolatry in Church observances were proclaimed, and that in the 'Injunctions' of 1538 a large public Bible was enjoined to be placed in every parish, within the reach of all. The Articles were followed up and superseded in 1537 by the *Institution of a Christian Man*, prepared by a committee of church dignitaries under Cranmer, and hence known as the *Bishops' Book*, which, though neither issued by Convocation nor revised by the king as purposed, nor issued by his authority, was published by the king's printer, and speedily became a practical formulary of Church doctrine. It contains an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the *seven* Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and a repetition, from the Ten Articles, of the sections on Justification and Purgatory; and, though it retains seven sacraments, it refers severely to their abuses, and distinguishes between the three in the Articles and the others. Its standpoint and teaching are like

those of the Articles. In 1543 it was revised at Gardiner's instance, in characteristic fashion, by Henry VIII. in a reactionary interest and in keeping with his harsh anti-Protestant Statute of the Six Articles, and was issued with his authority and that of Convocation as *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man.* It was known as the *King's Book*, and is notable as insisting on the doctrine of Transubstantiation: 'in this most high Sacrament of the Altar the creatures which be taken to the use thereof as bread and wine do not remain still in their own substance . . . but be changed and turned to be the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour,' and as insisting upon clerical celibacy. With the Bishops' and the King's Books a *Catechism* was associated.

Evolution of the Thirty-nine Articles (1538–1562).—So early as 1538, conferences held between Anglican and Lutheran divines in Wittenberg and at Lambeth issued in the framing of *Thirteen Articles* towards a complete Confession of Faith. It was found impossible to reach agreement on disciplinary and ecclesiastical matters, and the project was abandoned, but the thirteen Articles on doctrinal subjects were retained by Cranmer, and in the succeeding reign of Edward they, not the Ten, became the basis of the final Articles of the Church.

They deal with (i.) the unity of God and Trinity of Persons, (ii.) original sin, (iii.) the two natures of Christ, (iv.) Justification, (v.) the Church, (vi.) Baptism, (vii.) the Eucharist, (viii.) Penance, (ix.) the use of sacraments, (x.) ministers of the Church, (xi.) rites of the Church, (xii.) civil affairs, (xiii.) the resurrection of bodies and final judgment. Throughout, the influence of the Augsburg Confession is paramount. Articles i.–iii. are almost identical with their prototype; others are largely in verbal, as well as entirely in theological, agreement with them; only on Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance is there substantial variation or addition, the doctrine, even in them, remaining the same.

In 1547, Cranmer issued a Catechism translated from a Lutheran German original. In 1549 appeared the *First Prayer Book of King Edward VI.*, a Service Book in English, prepared under Cranmer from the Use of Sarum, from a recent revision of the Breviary by Cardinal Quignon, and from a recent adaptation by Melanchthon and Bucer of the ancient offices of Nürnberg. It was studiously moderate in its reforming purpose (*e.g.* in reference to the Eucharist and the Sign of the Cross), in order that the most conservative might be able to use it. The issue of Articles of Faith was long delayed by Cranmer, who hoped to secure a common Confession with Lutherans and Swiss Reformed, and who corresponded with Melanchthon, Calvin, and Bullinger, with a view to that great end first suggested by Melanchthon in 1539. From the end of 1545 to 1547, and from 1551 to 1553, the Earlier Sessions of the Council of Trent were being held—a spur, as Cranmer wrote to Calvin, to Protestants to vindicate the truth as they conceived it. Of course, sacramental definition was the great obstacle to Protestant agreement, and political difficulties made any extensive conference hard to secure. Cranmer had not abandoned his honourable hope for that consummation when, in 1551, upon instructions received, he furnished the Privy Council and Bishops with a first draft of the *Forty-Two Articles*, which passed through repeated revisions by lay as well as clerical hands, and were given a final mandate for subscription in 1553. Though they bore the title 'Articles agreed on by the bishops and other learned men in the Synod at London in the year of our Lord MDLII,' it is not certain that they were ever formally discussed and sanctioned by Convocation.

Dr. E. C. S. Gibson thinks, Principal Lindsay is sure, that they were not, and they incline to regard the claim of the title as due to the unscrupulous determination of the Privy Council to secure their operation at once; but there are serious difficulties in the evidence, as Gibson concedes, and, in spite of the absence of any record of them in the minutes of Convocation, which were scandalously defective,—according to Fuller, 'but one degree above blanks . . . scarce affording the names of the clerks assembled therein,'—there is little reason to abandon Archdeacon Hardwick's contrary opinion.

A *Catechism*, which was frequently printed along with the Articles, and certainly lacked the authority of Convocation, had been prepared shortly before. As for the contents of these Forty-Two Articles, their foundation is unmistakably the *Thirteen Articles*, which are embodied in them and impart their character and standpoint to the whole. It is to those earlier Articles that they are chiefly indebted for their Lutheran elements; for, though natural affinity and political expediency originally dictated a close alliance with Lutheranism, the independence and the genius for practical compromise which are characteristic of the English mind asserted themselves with growing force, and prompted the Anglican Church to steer a course through the alternatives of Continental thought, now approaching one type, now another, but avoiding thoroughgoing agreement with any. The framers of the Forty-Two Articles had not only the earlier English attempts in mind, but also the partial Tridentine scheme of doctrine, the Lutheran, the Zwinglian (to which Cranmer leaned in regard to the Lord's Supper), the Calvinist, and, over against all these, the medley of eccentric or heretical opinions roughly classed as Anabaptist and Socinian. The makers of the Anglican Articles at every stage cherished a statesmanlike desire, fostered assiduously both by the political sagacity of successive sovereigns and by the balance of conservative and liberal theological parties in Church and State, to remain in touch with Catholic as distinct from Papist tradition, at every possible point, while keeping in line with the primary evangelical positions of the Reformed Churches. Theological initiative or originality was neither displayed nor coveted: problems were worked out to practical, not speculative, solutions; concord was a prior objective to truth. The Articles are scarcely a system of ordered doctrine: upon many important topics they are silent; they lean theologically upon the Prayer Book or upon the Scriptures; they deal merely with topics agitating the religious world at the time, and are content simply to distinguish authorized from unauthorized doctrine, without attempting a fresh re-statement of Christian truth. Their purpose and character are manifestly polemic or apologetic rather than critical and constructive.

Articles XII. XIII. XXIII. XXVI. XXIX. XXX. condemn the Roman errors on merit and works of supererogation, purgatory, grace *ex opere operato*, transubstantiation, and sacrificial Masses. Artt. V. XX. XXI. XXII. XXV. XXXI. XXXIII. XXXV. XXXVI. assert the fallibility of the Church of Rome and of General Councils as proved by facts, the exclusive claim of Scripture as warrant of any article of faith, the duty of setting forth the Bible in the language of the people, the lawfulness of clerical marriage, the proper attitude to traditions and ceremonies, and, finally, that the King of England is supreme head on earth, next under Christ, of the Church of England . . . 'the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.' Artt. I.–IV. VI.–VIII. XIV. XV. XVIII. XIX. XXIV. XXVII. XXVIII. XXXII. XXXIII. XXXVI.–XLII. explicitly or implicitly condemn the varied opinions, classed as Anabaptist, which impugned the Creeds, Catholic Christology, faith in the Trinity, rights of individual property, the need of Scriptures, infant baptism, avoidance of excommunicated persons, reverence for traditions and ceremonies, obedience to magistrates, military service, taking of oaths, and which affirmed Christian perfection, inefficacy of services and sacraments conducted by unworthy ministers, ultimate universal salvation. While Artt. I. II. XXIII. XXVI. XXVII. XXXII. reproduce the language of the Lutheran Confession on the Trinity, Incarnation, Ministry, Sacraments, and Church traditions, from the Thirteen Articles, there is no similar indebtedness in the Articles dealing with the characteristic Reformation topics bearing on the process of human salvation.

The following particulars may be noted: God is one, without bodily parts or passions, in three Persons of one substance, power, and eternity (I.); Christ has two whole and perfect natures, . . . suffered . . . to reconcile his Father to us and to be a sacrifice for all sin of man, both original and actual (II.),

went down into Hell, truly rose again, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things . . . wherewith he ascended into heaven (IV.): Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is neither read therein nor may be proved thereby, although it be sometime received of the faithful as godly and profitable for order and comeliness, yet no man ought to be constrained to believe it as an article of faith or repute it requisite to the necessity of salvation (V.): Original sin is not the following of Adam's example, but a taint inherited, deserving God's wrath and damnation: it remains in the baptized, though not to condemnation if they are believers (VIII.): We have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God without the grace of God by Christ preventing us (IX.), yet no man's will is forced: his sin is his own (X.). Justification is by faith alone (XI.): works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit do not please God or prepare for grace, but have the nature of sin (XII.); it is presumptuous arrogance to speak of human works of supererogation (XIII.); Christ alone is sinless (XIV.): Predestination to life is God's everlasting purpose and decree, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen . . . such are called by His Spirit working in due season, through grace they obey the calling, are justified freely, made sons by adoption, made like the image of God's only-begotten Son; as the godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons . . . as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God, so, for curious and carnal persons lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination is a most dangerous downfall whereby the Devil may thrust them either into desperation or into a recklessness of most unclean living no less perilous; although the decrees of predestination are unknown unto us, yet we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be universally set forth to us in holy Scripture, and in our doings that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God (XVII.): The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance; the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome have alike erred not only in their living, but also in matters of their faith; it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything contrary to God's written word, nor may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes; they may err in all manner of matters, and have no authority apart from Scripture (XX.-XXII.): The Scholastic doctrine of Purgatory, pardons, and worship of Saints, is a fond thing vainly feigned and unscriptural (XXIII.): The Sacraments are but two, were ordained by Christ to knit together His people, not to be paraded, but rightly used; are efficacious only to such as receive them rightly, not as ritual acts; are not only badges and tokens of Christian profession, but rather certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by which He doth work invisible in us and doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him; they are not annulled by unworthy celebrants: Baptism is not only a sign of Christian profession, but also a sign and seal of our new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, right recipients are grafted in the Church, and the promises of forgiveness of sin and our adoption to be the sons of God are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer. The Lord's Supper is not only a sign of Christian charity, but is rather a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death, insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a communion of the body of Christ; likewise the cup of blessing is a communion of the blood of Christ. Transubstantiation cannot be proved by Holy Writ, is repugnant to it, and hath given occasion to many superstitions; Christ's risen body cannot be present at one time in many and divers places; a believer ought not to believe or confess the real and bodily presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament: the offering of the Cross was once for all (XXVI.-XXX.). The Prayer Book and ordinal of the English Church are godly and in no point repugnant to the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel (XXXV.): 'They are worthy of condemnation who endeavour to restore the dangerous opinion that all men, be they never so ungodly, shall at length be sa.ed when they have suffered pains for their sins a certain time appointed by God's justice' (XLII.).

As a whole, it is clear that the Articles, in spite of their connexion with the Augsburg Confession, incline to the Reformed or Swiss rather than to the Lutheran type of doctrine. In reference to the doctrine of the Sacraments and of Scripture they are Reformed, not Lutheran, denying the ubiquity of the eternal body of Christ. On Justification and on the Church and observances they agree with both types, and are thoroughly Protestant. On Election and Predestination they occupy a prudent position, compatible with either type, passing over in silence the problems of the relation of God's all-embracing decree to the loss of the non-elect or the reprobate. Earlier Lutheran Confessions had omitted the whole subject; Zwinglian Articles had merely touched upon it in a sentence Scripturally; the decrees of Trent in 1547 dismiss it in a cautious sentence without any definition (Sess. vi. can. 17); Calvinistic Confessions had treated it hitherto with even greater brevity and reserve than the English Articles themselves. It is absurd, with some Anglican writers, to deny the Calvinism of the Articles on this subject; but for Calvinistic influence and example they would not have discussed the subject at all. They go further than any contemporary formula, and much further than, *e.g.*, the later *Scots Confession* of John Knox in 1560. They repudiate the opinion that all men shall ultimately be saved; they limit saving predestination to the 'Elect,' and affirm the total inability of natural man to save himself. It is surely a very negative virtue in the Articles, therefore, though common to all Confessions existing at the time, that they evade the problem why God has not predestined all equally to grace and salvation, if all alike have sinned and come short; it is hardly enough to say of Him that He elects to abandon some to their own courses, for surely it is as serious a reflexion upon the Divine perfection, love, and justice, to say that He fails to care for some as to say that He predestines some to reprobation and damnation. It is unhistorical to deny the Calvinism of the English Articles, as distinct from the English Service Book to which they were added, merely because they do not, with *later* Calvinistic Confessions, endeavour to carry out the broad principles of election and grace to their narrowest ultimate conclusions. Anglican Puritanism might not be able to appeal for authority and vindication to the Prayer Book in its entirety, but to the Edwardine Articles it could legitimately look as to the rock whence in England it was hewn. These Articles are not developed, much less exaggerated, Calvinism. They are not Calvinistic in any partisan sense. But with Calvinistic doctrine, as already formulated, they are in unmistakable sympathy. It is not to be forgotten that Cranmer, their chief author, was partial to the Swiss type of doctrine, though personally well disposed to Lutheran divines and eagerly desirous of securing a doctrinal basis of re-union and harmony between all sections of the Reformed Church. The Articles of 1553 are a clear reflexion of that attitude.

While the discussion of the Forty-two Articles was in progress, and the simultaneous *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* was being prepared for issue early in 1553 (a new Code of doctrine and usage, which never became authoritative, but is useful as a work by the authors of the Forty-two Articles, throwing light upon their meaning and purpose), the Prayer Book of 1549 was issued in 1552 in a substantially revised form—the *Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.* The chief changes were directed to the complete de-Romanizing of the Communion Service. The old sequence was altered; a large portion of the consecration prayer was transferred to another place, with a separate title, its petition for the departed being left out; everything that intervened between the consecration and the reception of the elements was dropped, in order to discourage their adoration; and, instead of the words which accompanied their delivery, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life . . . The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life,' there were substituted, 'Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart

by faith with thanksgiving. . . . Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful'—a form upon which Zwinglians as well as Calvinists, Lutherans, and Romanists might agree. At the same time a number of anything but ultra-Protestant or Puritanic ritual changes were made, *e.g.* the insertion of the so-called 'black rubric'—objected to by John Knox, then one of the royal chaplains—which, in the interest of reverence and decorous uniformity, ordained a kneeling posture in the act of Communion.

During the reign of Mary there was drawn up in 1554 and issued for circulation a *Confession of Protestant faith by a group of prisoners*, including Bishops Ferrar, Hooper, and Coverdale, the martyr Rogers, and, among other signatories, John Bradford, who is credited with its composition. It set forth their loyalty to Scripture, to the ancient Creeds and the great Councils, and to the doctrine of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Damasus; and in firm but moderate terms their adherence to Protestant opinions regarding faith, justification, public worship in the popular tongue, prayer to God alone, Purgatory, Masses for the dead, and the Sacraments. In 1555 a series of *Fifteen Test Articles of Bishop Gardiner* were thrust upon the University of Cambridge in the interests of the Roman Catholic reaction, followed by the *Five Articles* compiled by the latest Convocation of the reign in 1558: three on the Eucharist, the fourth on the supremacy of the Pope, and the fifth on the transference of ecclesiastical judgments from lay to clerical hands.

In the reign of Elizabeth, and under Archbishop Parker, the work of revision of the Service Book and Articles continued to be prosecuted, always with the consistent policy of safeguarding the Royal supremacy and a Protestant testimony to evangelical truth, and of retaining the ancient ritual and usage so far as innocent of idolatry and superstition—a policy which enabled the Crown to claim the privileges secured to a Lutheran, as distinct from a 'Reformed,' profession, by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The Elizabethan changes in Prayer Book and Articles in no wise impaired their essential Protestant testimony, but were intended to remove such elements in the Edwardine standards as were anti-Lutheran. In 1559 the *new edition of the Prayer Book* was issued in what was to prove substantially its permanent form, with the old delivery-sentences at the Communion restored and set in front of the corresponding sentences of Edward VI.—a monument of the spirit of mediation and doctrinal compromise characteristic of the Anglican Reformation. The Forty-two Articles were for a few years left unrevived and, as a test, at least, inoperative. In 1559 a short paraphrase of their doctrine in *Eleven Articles* was prepared and made obligatory by Parker and his associates, who at the same time drew up a tentative series of *Twenty-four Latin Articles*. The Eleven Articles were made binding only by episcopal authority, neither by Crown nor by Convocation, and were apparently intended to serve merely as a stop-gap; but in Ireland they became in 1566, by royal and episcopal ordinance, the accepted standard of doctrine along with the Irish Prayer Book, until replaced in 1615 by the Thirty-nine Articles.

At last, in January 1563, the revisory labours of Parker and his fellow-workers were brought to a close, when his draft of forty-two Articles was submitted to Convocation. These were by no means identical with the Forty-two of 1553. Their basis was the *Latin* issue of that formulary, varying in some particulars from the English.

They omitted the old articles on Grace (X.), a part being transferred to the new X.; on Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost (XVI.); on the Obligation of the Moral Law (XIX.), part being retained in the new VII.; and against the Millenarians (XLI.), who had been suppressed. On the Holy Scriptures they omitted the clause which conceded that what was neither read therein nor could be proved thereby might be sometime received of the faithful as godly and profitable for an order and comeliness though not made obligatory. On Predestination they omitted the statement 'the Divine decrees are unknown to us,' to which the Council of Trent had added 'except by special revelation'; and on the Sacraments the stricture upon the phrase *ex opere operato*. They borrowed largely, and in accordance with Elizabethan policy, from the most recent notable Lutheran Confession, the Confession of Württemberg (1552)—in particular the clause in Art. II. on the eternal generation and consubstantiality of the Divine Son, and the whole new article on the Holy Spirit, both *verbatim*, the appendix to the article on Scripture, the articles on Free-will and Good Works, and part of the articles on Justification and on the Judicial Authority of the Church. Besides the new articles on the Holy Spirit and on Good Works borrowed from the Lutheran Confession they added two others—one affirming the Scriptural authority of Communion in both kinds (XXX.), the other denying that wicked or unbelieving persons are partakers of Christ in the Sacrament, and therefore condemning a Lutheran tenet, for which reason probably it was omitted as impolitic in all the printed copies until 1571. Other changes of addition or substitution, numerous, though small in bulk, strengthened without exception the Protestant character of the whole, reduced the number of the Sacraments explicitly to two, affirmed that Transubstantiation overthrows the nature of a Sacrament, but declared that the body of Christ is after a heavenly manner given, taken, and eaten in the Supper.

The forty-two Articles thus submitted to Convocation by Parker emerged ten days later reduced in number to *Thirty-nine*.

Three articles were omitted as no longer needed against Anabaptist errors (XXXIX., XL., XLII. of the Edwardine series), denying that the resurrection is already brought to pass, that the souls of the departed die with the bodies or sleep idly, and that all men shall be saved ultimately. Half of Art. III. on Christ's descent into Hell was omitted, including the reference to 1 P 3[18]; in the Article on the Lord's Supper the Zwinglian paragraph denying the ubiquity and the real and bodily presence of Christ's flesh and blood was left out in favour of the brief sentence—'The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner: and the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith'—a Luthero-Calvinistic alternative. In Art. XX., on the Authority of the Church, the proposition, 'The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith: and yet,' was prefaced to the existing words 'it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word'—an addition innocent enough, indeed implicit already and redundant, omitted in many unauthorized copies of the Articles, but later made the basis of furious controversy, and even credited to the interfering hand of Laud as a spurious interpolation.

Amid the alarms and difficulties caused by Romanist secessions, and the effects of the Bull of excommunication in 1570 upon timid or wavering spirits, the Houses of Parliament urged upon the Queen a bill to require subscription to the new Articles; but, jealous of her prerogative and resenting the initiative of the Commons, she declined until 1571, when the Articles assumed in Convocation their present form, including XXIX. and the preface to XX., and the bill became law. Changes urged by the growing Puritan party in Convocation, some of whom desired nothing less than a new Confession upon the Continental models, were not passed, and the Articles accordingly remained true to the moderate and mediating Reformed type which from the first had characterized the Anglican Reformation. The polemic of the Edwardine Articles against the Lutheran conception of the Supper and of the ubiquity of the actual body of Christ is laid aside, but Lutheran opinions are not set forth save upon less distinctive topics. Zwinglian conceptions are neither affirmed nor denied. Anabaptist heresies are ignored as no longer dangerous to the Church. Sympathy with moderate Calvinism (as expressed, *e.g.*, in the Gallican and Belgic Confessions, 1559, 1561) remains unimpaired in the Articles on the Sacraments, on Scripture, and on Election and Predestination, though the ecclesiastical supremacy of the sovereign was anything but Calvinistic. Against the abuses and the errors of Rome there is no weakening or wavering of the Anglican protest. With all their halting between two opinions, their want

of theological originality, their intentional incompleteness, they have been a noble bulwark of Protestant conviction, and possess a simple dignity and catholicity of their own. Against their measured testimony, spoken with the formula of Trent as clearly in view as those of Lutheranism and Calvinism, even the interpretative casuistry and antiquarian imagination of the Oxford Movement urged their forces in vain. Their intention, their spirit, and their language are certainly Protestant. They stand, accordingly, in the closest affinity with the best work both of Wittenberg and of Geneva. They were made authoritative both in the original Latin and in the English of the Convocation of 1571, though, as Gibson points out (vol. i. p. 43 f.), the Act of the 13th of Elizabeth required subscription to the English edition of 1563, which was without Art. XXIX. and the first sentence of Art. XX., and exacted subscription only to the doctrinal as distinct from the disciplinary Articles—a concession to the Puritans; and the insistence upon subscription to *all* the Articles in the *final* form of 1571 prepared by Convocation rests upon ecclesiastical not parliamentary authority.

While the Prayer Book of 1559 underwent frequent revision in minor details by royal authority in Elizabeth's reign and later, losing the deprecation against the Bishop of Rome, reviving the use of such vestments as had been authorized under the First Prayer Book of Edward, and including a prayer that the sovereign might be kept 'in the true worshipping of' God (*i.e.* Protestant worship), it retained essentially the same doctrinal character both in the edition of James I. (1604) and in the revision effected by Convocation (1661) under Charles II. But the final permanence of the 39 Articles was not assured for some time. Subscription to all the Articles, first required by Convocation in 1571, was made precise in terms of the *Three Articles* of Archbishop Whitgift in 1583, to be signed by all candidates for orders and for office: (i.) acknowledging the Royal Supremacy in Church as well as State; (ii.) promising the exclusive use of the Prayer Book accepted as in harmony with the Word of God; and (iii.) allowing the 39 Articles, and believing them all to be agreeable to the Word of God. In 1604 these Three Articles of Subscription received synodal authorization, and were ordered to be signed in the explicit terms:

'I, N. N., do willingly and *ex animo* subscribe to these three Articles above mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them.'

Finally in 1865, by the Clerical Subscription Act, the formula became:

'I, A. B., do solemnly make the following declaration. I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: I believe the doctrine of the Church of England as therein set forth to be agreeable to the Word of God: and in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority.'

The Prayer Book equally with the Articles is thus recognized as the standard of doctrine.

Puritan Articles.—The Marian persecution drove many of the English Reformers to seek refuge in Geneva, where they came under the influence of Calvin and his thought. Their return to England under Elizabeth introduced into English theology, previously dominated by Lutheran ideas, a new ferment. It was statecraft as much as conservatism that determined the public policy of adherence to the doctrine of Augsburg, which Calvinists could respect in spite of differences of opinion. Consideration for reactionaries restrained the hands that re-cast the Prayer Book. All Protestant parties, if possible, were to be able to agree upon the Articles. The strength of Calvinistic sympathy prevailing in England during Elizabeth's reign is therefore in danger of being underrated by those who would estimate it by reference to such documents. Genevan ideas were not only a restraining influence in ritual matters, and a power behind both Articles and Service Book, but a force which from the first laid hold upon the Universities, especially Cambridge, the stronghold of Puritan culture and letters, where the *Institutes* of Calvin, based as it was upon the sanest exegesis of Scripture ever yet set forth by Christian scholarship, was long the favourite text-book of systematic theology.

It was from Cambridge and its Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. Whitaker, an ardent and unflinching adherent of Calvin's system, eminent as the refuter of Bellarmine, that there emanated the *9 Lambeth Articles* of 1595. They were the outcome of a protracted controversy in the University, following an attack by a rising school of opinion, led by Peter Baro and William Barret, upon the current developed Calvinistic doctrine of the Divine decree as disloyal to the Thirty-nine Articles. They were drawn up by Whitaker at a conference convened at Lambeth by the primate, Dr. Whitgift, who 'agreed fully with them,' and wrote: 'I know them to be sound doctrines and uniformly professed in this Church of England, and agreeable to the Articles of Religion established by authority.' They never became statutory, and, indeed, were soon set aside even in Cambridge, where they were promptly imposed; but in the Anglican Church of Ireland they found an instant welcome, and in time passed bodily into the substance of the *19 Irish Articles* of 1615. They are nine in number and extremely brief, and their concern is with the Divine decree in relation to free will, faith, and unbelief. They affirm:

i. God from eternity hath predestined some to life, and hath reprobated some to death. ii. The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life is not prevision of faith or perseverance, or of good works, or of anything that is in the predestinate, but solely the will of God's good pleasure. iii. Of the predestinate there is a prearranged and certain number which can neither be increased nor diminished. iv. Those who are not predestined to salvation shall of necessity be condemned on account of their sins. v. True, living, and justifying faith, and the sanctifying Spirit of God is not extinguished, doth not fall away, doth not vanish away in the elect either finally or totally. vi. A man truly faithful, that is, one endowed with justifying faith, is certain, with a full assurance of faith, of remission of his sins and everlasting salvation through Christ. vii. Saving grace is not assigned, communicated, granted to all men to enable them to be saved should they so have willed. viii. No one can come to Christ unless it shall have been given him, and unless the Father shall have drawn him; and not all men are drawn by the Father to come to the Son. ix. It is not set within the will or power of every human being to be saved.

The original form of these Articles was Latin. They plainly set forth the dark as well as the bright side of the elective decree, in terms which were derived from Calvin's developed theology, not from any Confession he ever drew up. They courageously grapple with the problem of the non-elect; for experience and fact show too plainly in this world that not all men are saved in Christ. All are called; not all enter in who hear the call. It is of grace that men are saved through faith. What, then, corresponds to that grace in the case of lost lives? They are not outside God's providence; they are subject to His will; He enables their every breath and act. His decree must embrace them in its all-pervasive sweep. Destiny is not arbitrary either for good or for evil; it makes room for freedom, and for faith when true free-will has been impaired. God reprobates, from eternity, human sin that is unrelieved by penitence and faith. If He foreknows the issues of our freedom to act and to believe, He may, He must, foreordain both judgment and forgiveness according to the measure of faith. Such is the position which

Calvinism, in harmony with a solemn vein of Scripture teaching in both Testaments, and in pursuance of Augustine's convictions, attempts to express. Probably no teaching has ever been more hideously caricatured or more deliberately misunderstood, partly because it probes deep things and taxes the intellect not less than the sentiment of men, partly because it was, in spite of explicit disavowal of God's authorship of sin, interpreted as making the Divine will responsible for sin, partly because it was thought to lend itself either to religious melancholy and despair or to presumption and hypocrisy. And, in truth, it is most seriously open to criticism precisely because it has been so persistently misunderstood. A doctrine that is apt to be distorted by its adherents not less than by its adversaries is a dangerous thing, and well deserves to be either set aside or hedged about, as in all Calvinistic Confessions, by grave warnings against its light or frequent handling. Its theory can be defended against all comers, from Scripture and from reason, but its use and publication in popular documents meant for ordinary minds has not unnaturally tended to discredit it.

At the Hampton Court Conference of 1604 a proposal to insert the Lambeth propositions in the Thirty-nine Articles failed. Though the two documents were in harmony, men might hold the received Articles without having either head or heart to acquiesce in the Lambeth addendum as a necessary or wholesome supplement. But in Ireland they were welcomed by the ascendant Puritanism of the Church, whose theological guiding-spirit was the learned Ussher, and were embodied by him in the *Irish Articles*, 'agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops and the rest of the clergy of Ireland in the Convocation holden at Dublin in 1615,' which replaced in Ireland the Eleven Articles of Parker as a standard of doctrine until 1635, when, through Laud's urgency, but with Ussher's consent, the Thirty-nine Articles of 1563 were also accepted as a standard, co-ordinate at first, but soon virtually to supplant the others.

Beginning in true Calvinistic fashion with 'the Holy Scripture and the Three Creeds,' the Irish Articles treat successively, in 104—for the most part brief—propositions, of Faith in the Holy Trinity, Predestination, the Creation and Government of all Things, the Fall and Original Sin, Christ the Mediator of the Second Covenant, the Communicating of the Grace of Christ, Justification and Faith, Sanctification and Good Works, the Service of God, the Civil Magistrate, Duty towards our Neighbours, the Church and Ministry, the Authority of the Church, General Councils, and Bishop of Rome, the State of the Old and New Testaments, the Sacraments of the New Testament, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the State of Departed Souls, the General Resurrection, and Last Judgment. They weave together the doctrine and phraseology of the Cranmer Articles with the Lambeth Supplement.

When the Westminster Assembly met, in the first instance, to revise the Thirty-nine Articles, and discontinued work upon that project in favour of a new Confession, it took the Irish Articles of Ussher as the basis of its own formulation, and adhered with close fidelity to the general sequence, doctrine, and language. Though Anglican representatives were invited by the Long Parliament to assist at the Westminster Assembly, their Royalism kept them away; but at least the work of Ussher was regarded with the utmost deference. At the Calvinistic Synod of Dort in 1619 the English Church was represented for a time by a group of distinguished theologians, who acted as advisory assessors without voting power, and endeavoured, to their credit, to mediate between the Remonstrants and their antagonists.

The Anglican Articles in America.—It only remains to be added that the Thirty-nine Articles have held their place throughout the whole Anglican Communion, in the missionary Churches of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Mexico derived from it, in the Scottish Episcopalian Church, as well as in the British Colonies. In the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, however, changes became necessary alike in the Prayer Book and in the Articles. In 1786 a provisional revised Prayer Book was published, known subsequently as the '*Proposed* Book,' containing, *inter alia*, 'Twenty Articles of Religion,' in which the Thirty-nine appeared re-cast, with many alterations of a latitudinarian type, the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds being omitted, as also the clause in the *Apostolicum*, 'He descended into hell.' The Convention of 1786 restored the Nicene Creed and the discretionary use of the omitted clause in the Apostles' Creed, in compliance with the demand of the English Archbishops; but, while the House of Bishops was willing to restore the Athanasian Creed for permissory use, the House of Deputies 'would not allow of the Creed in any shape.' In 1799 a special Convention considered, without sanctioning, a Revision in *Seventeen Articles*. At last, in 1801, it was agreed to retain the Thirty-nine Articles, revised, with the sole theological change of the omission of the Athanasian Symbol, other changes being political.

Art. 21, *Of the Authority of General Councils*, was omitted, but its place and title retained for an explanatory note: 'The 21st of the former Articles is omitted, because it is partly of a local and civil nature, and is provided for as to the remaining parts of it in other Articles.' To Art. 35, *Of Homilies*, a note is added: 'This Article is received in this Church so far as it declares the Books of Homilies to be an explication of Christian doctrine and instructive in piety and morals. But all references to the constitution and laws of England are considered as inapplicable to the circumstances of this Church, which also suspends the order for the reading of said homilies in churches until a revision of them may conveniently be made, for the clearing of them as well from obsolete words and phrases, as from the local references.' The 36th Art., *Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers*, reads thus: 'The Book of Consecration of Bishops and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, as set forth by the General Convention of this Church in 1792, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering: neither hath it anything that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to said form, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.' In place of the 37th Art., *Of the Civil Magistrates*, there appears *Of the Power of the Civil Magistrate*: 'The power of the Civil Magistrate extendeth to all men, as well Clergy as Laity, in all things temporal; but hath no authority in things purely spiritual. And we hold it to be the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel to pay respectful obedience to the civil authority regularly and legitimately constituted.'

In the Prayer Book the Athanasian Creed was, of course, omitted, while the influence of Bishop Seabury, who had been consecrated at Aberdeen, secured the restoration of the Prayer of Oblation and Consecration from the Scottish and earlier Edwardine Prayer Books.

In 1873 there was prepared by the *Reformed Episcopal Church* of America, which, in protest against Anglican ritualism and exclusiveness, had seceded from the Protestant Episcopal Church, a *Declaration of Principles*:

'I. The Reformed Episcopal Church, holding "the faith once delivered unto the saints," declares its belief in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God, and the sole rule of faith and practice: in the Creed "commonly called the Apostles' Creed": in the Divine institution of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper: and in the doctrines of grace substantially as they are set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. II. This Church recognizes and adheres to Episcopacy, not as of Divine right, but as a very ancient and desirable form of Church polity. III. This Church, retaining a liturgy which shall not be imperative or repressive of freedom in prayer, accepts the Book of Common Prayer as it was revised, prepared, and recommended for use by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, A.D. 1785, reserving full liberty to alter, abridge, enlarge, and amend the same as may seem most conducive to the edification of the people, provided that the substance of the faith be kept entire. IV. This Church condemns and rejects the following erroneous and strange doctrines as contrary to God's Word:—*first*: that the Church of Christ exists only in one order or form of ecclesiastical polity; *second*: that Christian ministers are "priests" in another sense than that in which all believers are "a royal priesthood"; *third*: that the Lord's Table is an altar on which the oblation of the body and blood of Christ is offered anew to the Father; *fourth*: that the Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a presence in the elements of Bread and Wine; *fifth*: that Regeneration is inseparably connected with Baptism.'

These principles are obviously such as would form a basis of any re-union of Episcopal and Presbyterian and other evangelical Churches.

In 1874 the Prayer Book was revised along the lines of the 'Proposed Book' of 1786, with the omission of the Athanasian Creed, the clause 'He descended into hell,' and the thanksgiving at baptism for the child's regeneration, and with the substitution of 'minister' and 'Lord's table' for 'priest' and 'altar' throughout. In 1875 the *Thirty-five Articles* were approved—a series more closely parallel with the Thirty-nine than either the Twenty of 1785 or the Seventeen of 1799, giving effect to the modifications required by the Declaration of Principles.

Anglican Catechisms.—In 1548, three years after Henry VIII. issued his 'Primer,' or devotional manual of the familiar acts of worship, to replace similar Roman Catholic 'Primers,' Cranmer translated and issued, with modifications, the Wittenberg Catechism of Justus Jonas—the work known as *Cranmer's Catechism.* With the successive issues of the Prayer Book under Edward and Elizabeth, authoritative Catechisms appeared under the title 'Confirmation, wherein is contained a Catechism for Children.' In 1604, by authority of the king, the explanation of the Sacraments by Dean Overall of St. Paul's was added, and in the final revision of 1661 the title became simply 'The Catechism.' In this form practically it was received by the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, and also by the Catholic Apostolic or Irvingite Church.

It begins with the question, 'What is your name?' It discusses baptism and its meaning; the Apostles' Creed as implied in baptism; the commandments to be obeyed, and their summary in two; the Lord's Prayer; the Sacraments, the inward part or thing signified in the Lord's Supper being 'the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.' The last question, 'What is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper?' is answered thus: 'To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of His death; and be in charity with all men.'

Larger Catechisms for older minds were prepared, *e.g.* one by Bishop Poynet of Winchester, issued in 1553 with the countenance of Cranmer and Convocation; and, on its model, one in three grades by Dean Nowell of St. Paul's in 1562. Perhaps the absence of any remarkable Anglican Catechisms may be explained in part by the wide and lasting currency of the approved Continental manuals, *e.g.* those of Luther, Jonas, Œcolampadius, Calvin, and Bullinger. See, further, CATECHISMS (Anglican).

LITERATURE.—The relevant portions of vols. i. and iii. of Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*; Hardwick, *Hist. of the Articles*, 1884; E. C. S. Gibson, *The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, 1896-7; Lindsay, *Hist. of the Reformation*, 1907, vol. ii.; Maclear-Williams, *Introd. to the Articles of the Church of Eng.*, 1896; E. Tyrrell Green, *The Thirty-nine Articles and the Age of the Reformation*, 1896. The first two volumes enumerated reprint the most important documents and detail the older literature.

15. Confessions in the Zwinglian (Presbyterian) Churches.—Although, as we have seen, the influence of Ulrich Zwingli may be traced in Confessions beyond the pale of strictly Zwinglian Churches, the documents to be considered in this section form a compact group belonging to the forty years preceding 1566. They are practically contemporary with the earliest group of Lutheran documents, and are the true pioneers of the great Corpus of 'Reformed' standards, most of which reflect the views of Calvin. They belong to German Switzerland, and were formed in the cultured cities of Zürich, Bern, and Basel. They breathe the vigorous, independent, liberal, and devout atmosphere surrounding the personality of their chief inspirer, in whom, more than any other of the leaders of the Reformation, the instincts of Humanism were paramount. The characteristic views of Zwingli shocked contemporary Lutherans and Calvinists almost as violently as they startled Romanists, who, not unnaturally and perhaps not unjustly, represented them as the logical and inevitable outcome of the whole Reformation impulse. Happily much was done by mutual explanations and by fraternal intercourse to bring together Zwinglians and their co-Reformers, and at the present time there is a creditable and gratifying increase of readiness in Calvinistic and Lutheran lands to write and speak of Zwingli without caricature and misrepresentation. Beyond question, innumerable devout Christians who willingly conform to the Sacramental observances of the Lutheran, Calvinistic, Anglican, and even Roman Churches, cherish personally a conception of their meaning which approximates very closely to that of the undaunted chief pastor of Zürich.

The salient general features of Zwinglian doctrine comprise an absolute and exclusive reliance, in all matters of faith, organization, and usage, upon Scriptural warrant as distinct from ecclesiastical tradition, a confidence in common sense and historical perspective as means for the right interpretation of Scripture, an evangelic faith in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Christ and Christians, a sense of individual present-day responsibility and authority, and therewith of ministerial and indeed of general Christian parity natural to citizens in republican States, an emphasis upon practical morality springing from justifying faith, a scholarly openness of mind and an unpriestly dislike of mystery and circumstance, and, in reference to the Lord's Supper, a resting in its memorial aspect, explicitly set forth by Christ in the words 'in remembrance of me,' as sufficient definition of its purpose, without denying to the act of communion the spiritual presence of the risen Christ, who is in the midst of the two or three gathered together in His name, and who is with His people alway, the elements and their appropriation being alike merely symbolic of corresponding spiritual realities. As one considers the remarkable anticipation by Zwingli of the modern tendencies of Reformed Christendom, in regard to Sacramental and Scriptural interpretation, the meaning of original sin, the union of Churches, the simplification of doctrine, parity of Christian members lay and clerical, and the happy fate of departed infants and heathen saints and sages, one is constrained to join in the chorus of regret that a mind so gifted, a character so disinterested, a will so courageous, a piety so profound, should have been cut off from earthly service so early in his career as a reformer and as a teacher.

The 67 Articles of Zurich were prepared for, and maintained at, the great public disputation held in that city in 1523, which virtually decided the repudiation of Rome. They thus correspond to Luther's Theses of six years before. Though not enforced as a standard, they were an epoch-making theological manifesto, and exercised a certain local normative function. They are a series of brief, trenchant, firm, and warm-toned sentences. They have the same shrewdness, picturesqueness, homeliness, impressiveness, and point, that arrest the mind and haunt the memory in Luther's sentences. As one reads them, one can readily appreciate the amazing freshness and the stirring power with which they appealed to the fettered minds of the prisoners of ecclesiastical tradition and sacerdotal tyranny. The Reformation produced no more impressive or thought-provoking document. Their scope, purport, and form may best be gathered from a few examples in their own words:

1. 'All who say that the Gospel is nothing without the approval of the Church err and cast reproach upon God.' 2.

'The sum of the Gospel is that our Lord Jesus Christ, the true Son of God, has made known to us the will of His heavenly Father, and redeemed us by His innocence from eternal death and reconciled us to God.' 3. 'Therefore Christ is the only way to salvation for all who were, who are, and who shall be.' 7, 8. 'Christ is the Head of all believers. All who live in this Head are His members, and children of God. And this is the true Catholic Church, the Communion of saints.' 17. 'Christ is the one eternal High Priest. Therefore those who give themselves out as high priests are opposed to the glory and power of Christ and reject Christ.' 18. 'Christ, who offered Himself once on the Cross, is the sufficient and perpetual sacrifice for the sins of all believers. Therefore the Mass is no sacrifice, but a commemoration of the one sacrifice of the Cross and a seal of the redemption through Christ.' 22. 'Christ is our righteousness. Hence it follows that our works are good so far as they are Christ's, but not good so far as they are our own.' 24. 'No Christian is bound to works which Christ has not enjoined: he can eat when and what he pleases. It follows therefore that "cheese-and-butter letters" are Roman impositions.' 27. 'All Christians are brethren of Christ, and brethren one with another: therefore they ought not to call any one "father" upon earth. This does away with orders, sects, factions,' etc. 34. 'The so-called spiritual power has no ground for its display in the teaching of Christ': 49. 'Greater scandal I know not than that priests should be forbidden lawful wedlock, but allowed for money to have concubines. Shame on it!' 50. 'God alone forgives sins, and that through Christ Jesus, our Lord, alone.' 52. 'Confession therefore to priest or neighbour ought not to be for remission of sins but for consultation.' 57. 'Holy Scripture knows of no purgatory after this life.' 58. 'The judgment of the deceased is known to God alone.' 59. 'The less that God reveals to us concerning these matters, the less ought they to be searched into by us.' 60. 'If any one in anxiety for the dead beseeches or prays for favour to them from God, I do not condemn him; but to appoint a time concerning it,—a seven-year for a mortal sin,—and to lie for profit, is not human but devilish.' 62. 'Scripture knows no other presbyters or priests than those who proclaim God's word.' 67. 'Should any one care to discuss with me interest, tithes, unbaptized children, confirmation, I profess myself ready to reply.'

In the same year a second public disputation was held in Zürich on Images and the Mass, and it was followed by the sending of an authoritative Instruction to the clergy of the Canton, written by Zwingli, with the title: '*A Brief Christian Introduction* which the Honourable Council of the City of Zürich has sent to the pastors and preachers living in its cities, lands, and wherever its authority extends, so that they may henceforth in unison announce and preach the Gospel.'

This important and by no means 'brief' declaration (printed, after the Theses, in the quaint original Swiss-German, by E. F. K. Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 7–29), after a preliminary exhortation to pray earnestly for the light of God's word so that present troubles may be done away, discusses sin and repentance, the basis of Christ's teaching, the law as the opening of God's will, the Gospel the offer of His grace, the way of salvation by faith in Christ and the annulling of the law, the idolatrous results of the presence of images in churches, and finally the Mass as no sacrifice repeated, no offering and partaking of the physical body and blood, but grateful and believing commemoration of the dying Saviour and communion with the living Lord.

In 1528 the magistrates of Bern followed the example of Zürich, and arranged for a public disputation upon Scriptural evidence. Berthold Haller, the local Reformer, with the aid of his colleague Francis Kolb and of Zwingli, drew up *The Ten Conclusions of Bern* as a basis of discussion, Zwingli turning them into Latin, Farel into French. Among the cities represented were Zürich, Basel, Constance, Strassburg, Augsburg, and Ulm; among the advocates of reform, Zwingli, Bucer, and Œcolampadius, in addition to Haller and Kolb. The conclusions were approved 'as Christian' by the great majority of the delegates, and accepted 'for ever,' to be observed 'at cost of life and property.' They became not only binding in Bern, but a manifesto respected over a wide area in and beyond Switzerland—the first more than cantonal definition of the Swiss type of Reformed faith.

Art. I. defines the holy Christian Church, whose only Head is Christ, as 'born of the Word,' as abiding in it, and not hearkening to the word of another. Art. II. states that 'the Church of Christ does not lay down laws and commandments beyond the Word of God: therefore all human traditions, called ecclesiastical, are only binding so far as they are founded and prescribed in the Word of God.' Art. III. 'Christ is our only wisdom, righteousness, redemption, and atonement for the sins of the whole world: therefore to acknowledge any other saving and atoning amends for sin is to deny Christ.' Art. IV. is the most memorable; it says: 'That the body and blood of Christ is perceived essentially and corporeally in the Eucharistic bread, cannot be proved from Holy Scripture.' Art. V. 'The Mass, according to current usage, in which Christ is offered to God the Father for the sins of quick and dead, is contrary to Scripture, blasphemes the most holy sacrifice, passion, and death of Christ, and by reason of abuses is abominable in the sight of God.' Art. VI., on the ground of Christ's sole mediatorship, condemns the adoration and invocation of saints. Art. VII. sets aside as un-Scriptural the doctrine of purgatory, and all rites and practices based upon it. Art. VIII. declares the making of images for worship to be contrary to Old and New Testament Scripture. Where they are liable to be adored they must be abolished. Articles IX. and X. proclaim the lawfulness of marriage to all orders of men according to Scripture: fornication and impurity are warrant for excommunication; to no class are they more pernicious than to the clergy.

Later controversy in Bern was brought to a close in 1532 by a Synod of 230 preachers, which issued with authority a lengthy series of doctrinal paragraphs introduced by an epistolary preface. These *Articles or Admonitions of the Synod of Bern* run to 45 substantial paragraphs abounding in Scripture citations, the whole taking the form of an instruction by pastors to pastors, practical theology being mingled throughout with Scriptural or doctrinal. (For full text of chief chapters, see Müller, *op. cit.* pp. 31–55.)

Two notable productions from Zwingli's own vigorous but hasty pen must be mentioned, though they were personal manifestos only, without Synodal authorization. He composed in 1530 a *Confession of Faith to the Emperor Charles V.*, for presentation at the great Diet at Augsburg. Though uninvited, and, like the Tetrapolitan Confession of Bucer and Capito, unwelcome and unheeded save for a virulent reply by the unresting Eck, spurned and resented not only by Romanists but by Lutherans, including even Melanchthon, who abhorred its denial of the corporeal presence in the Sacrament, and were anxious to dissociate their cause before the Emperor from Zwinglian and Anabaptist extremists—it was a legitimate, timely, and dignified representation of the Swiss type of faith, and is justly praised by Müller for the transparent candour with which it avows its author's characteristic convictions on Divine Providence, Original Sin, and the Supper, for the judgment of the Church at large by Scripture standards.

The address of this *Fidei Ratio*, itself prefaced by the mottoes, 'Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest,' and 'Let truth prevail,' is followed by twelve paragraphs, and terminates with a solemn undertaking to maintain the truth stated, not as his own, but as Scriptural, and an appeal to the princes met in council to weigh it well, and if it be from God not to fight against it, but to resist the tyranny of corrupt Rome. Persecution and excommunication have failed. Let another way be tried: 'Idcirco sinite verbum Dei libere et spargi et germinare, O filii hominum, quicunque estis, qui ne gramen quidem vetare ne adolescat potestis. Abunde videtis hanc frugem imbre coelesti rigari, nec ullo hominum calore compesci posse ut arescat. Considerate non quid vos maxime cupiatis, sed quid mundus in Evangelii negocio exigat. Boni consulite, quicquid hoc est, et filios Dei vos esse studiis vestris ostendite.'

The *first* chapter re-affirms the teaching of the Catholic Creeds on the Divine Trinity and on the Person of Christ. The *second* affirms the Divine freedom, foreknowledge, goodness, which includes mercy as well as justice, and predestination, which as Divine cannot be conditional on our faith, but precedes it, and disposes all things, good and evil, freely. The *third* describes Christ as the one way to reconciliation and happiness, election being election to salvation through faith in Him. The *fourth* discusses original sin as different in us from Adam's wilful transgression, as properly a taint or disease rather than a true sin, a condition. He, having become a slave through forfeit of his freedom, could only beget slaves. Yet it may be spoken of as sin, for it makes us natural enemies of God, and entails upon us inevitable death. Its effect is exactly annulled by the atonement of the Second Adam, so that (ch. 5) it is rash to speak of infants, even those of heathen parents, as ever damned. Chapter 6 defines the various uses of the term 'Church,' in particular the invisible or true and inward,—that is, elect believers and their children who constitute the Bride of Christ,—as distinct from the outward and visible,—that is, nominal Christians and their households, who correspond to the whole Ten Virgins in the Lord's Parable: the former alone is inerrant. Chapter 7 denies that sacraments have power to

confer grace apart either from faith in the recipient or from the antecedent influence of the Spirit, and discusses Baptism. Chapter 8, at great length and with extreme care and insight, treats of the Lord's Supper in the light of Scripture, reason, and the great Fathers, disproving the corporeal, and proving the spiritual, presence, the elements being symbols representative and commemorative of the atoning death of Christ, whose benefits are communicated to us through faith. Chapter 9 admits that ceremonies neither contrary to Scripture nor destructive of faith through superstition, may be tolerated for the sake of charity until the dayspring brightens, though the existence of any such is doubtful; but, wherever possible without extreme offence, they are rigorously to be abolished. Images prostituted to worship are diametrically opposed to Scripture. Those, however, which are not exposed for worship, or liable to be future objects of worship, 'so far am I from condemning that I recognize both painting and sculpture to be gifts of God.' Chapters 10 and 11 treat respectively of the offices of the Preacher and the Civil Magistrate as necessary and Divinely appointed. Chapter 12 discredits belief in Purgatory.

In 1531, three months before his death, Zwingli, at the request of the French Ambassador, composed what Bullinger calls his swan-song, the *Brief and Clear Exposition of Christian Faith to Francis I. of France*, the monarch to whom he had previously dedicated his chief work, the *Commentarius de Vera et Falsa Religione*, and to whom Calvin five years later was to dedicate his *Institutes*. This vigorous document repeats, in somewhat varied order and at shorter length, the teaching of its predecessor.

Meanwhile two Confessions, composed outside Switzerland by other than Swiss theologians, gave evidence of the wide spread of Zwingli's teaching. In 1528 a conference of preachers adopted the *Confession of East Friesland*, prepared by the Reformer Aportanus, in which (Müller, pp. xxi, 930) thirty brief articles, followed by a summary, set forth pure Zwinglian doctrine concerning the Word of God and the Sacraments in sharp distinction from Romanist, and in tolerant discrimination from Lutheran, views. In 1530, still in Zwingli's lifetime, there was prepared by Bucer and Capito, for submission to the Emperor and Diet at Augsburg, the *Confession of Strassburg*, or *of the Four Cities* (*Tetrapolitana*), inasmuch as Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau joined with Strassburg in accepting it (Müller, pp. xxiii, 55). Put together in some haste, and in part from pre-existing materials composed by Capito, it states and vindicates from Scripture characteristically Zwinglian ideas of Christian faith, life, and institutions, in 23 substantial paragraphs, marking itself sharply off from Lutheranism by its sacramental doctrine, its repudiation of images and pictures, and its exclusive appeal to Holy Writ.

After Zwingli's death, the continuation and development of his work is manifest in a series of Confessional documents emanating from other Swiss towns.

At Basel, where the Reformation was somewhat stormily introduced in 29, a Confession of Faith was drafted in 1531 by Zwingli's friend and henchman Œcolampadius, shortly before his death. Revised by Myconius in 1532, it was adopted by the city authorities in 1534, and by the city of Mühlhausen in Alsace soon afterwards. It is known as the *1st Confession of Basel*, or as the *Confession of Mühlhausen*. Its twelve Articles form a brief, simple, dignified, and moderate statement of Zwinglian doctrine as distinguished both from Romanist and from Anabaptist teaching. Though it is an exception to the rule of 'Reformed' Confessions, in not starting with an appeal to Scripture as the sole rule of faith, it ends with the equivalent noteworthy declaration: 'We submit this our Confession to the judgment of the Divine Scriptures, and hold ourselves ready always thankfully to obey God and His Word if we should be corrected out of the said Holy Scriptures'—a declaration which may have inspired the similar undertaking in the Scots Confession of 1560. This venerable document maintained its position in the Church of Basel down to our own time, succumbing only in 1872 to the modern anti-Confessional movement (Müller, pp. xxv, 95-100).

At Basel, also, there was composed in 1536 a still more notable document, the *1st Helvetic Confession*, or *2nd Confession of Basel*. It owed its origination to the peace-making genius of the Strassburg theologians, Bucer and Capito, who made it their great aim to reconcile the Swiss and Lutheran schools of Protestant doctrine—and also to the prospect of an Ecumenical Council being convened at Mantua. Theological representatives were sent by the Reformed cities of Switzerland—Bucer and Capito by Strassburg—to a conference at Basel. Bullinger, Myconius, Grynaeus, Leo Judae, and Megander were instructed to prepare the Confession; Leo Judae prepared the free German version. Their work, after discussion, was unanimously accepted and subscribed by the delegates, and became the first general Swiss Confession, the first 'Reformed' Confession of national authority. It is longer than its forerunner, containing 27 short paragraphs.

The first five articles affirm that Holy Scripture alone contains all that promotes the true knowledge, love, and honouring of God, right and true piety, and a pious, honourable, and godly life; it is its own sole interpreter; the Fathers are to be received only so far as in harmony with that interpretation; human traditions, however specious, are vain; the aim and end of Scripture is to declare the grace and good-will of God to man in Christ, appropriated by faith alone, and evidenced through love to others. Art. 6 treats of God the Three in One. Artt. 7–10 discuss man as God's most perfect image on earth, immortal in soul, mortal in body, noblest and highest of creatures, created faultless, but by his own fault fallen into sin; original sin; free-will; God's eternal plan of restoration. Artt. 11 and 12 treat of Jesus Christ, and 'what we have through Him'; and of the true aim of evangelical teaching, to persuade that it is by God's mercy and Christ's merit alone that we are saved. Artt. 13 and 14 expound faith in the grace of God as the means of salvation: without trusting to works, it is prolific of them. Artt. 15–20 treat of the Church, built upon the rock of living faith; of the ministry of the Word; of ecclesiastical authority; of the election of ministers; of Christ the chief shepherd; of the office of the ministry. Artt. 21–23 discuss the Sacraments in language obviously intended to re-assure Lutherans, and to vindicate Swiss-Reformed reverence: they are holy symbols of high mysteries, not mere or empty signs, but significant signs accompanying spiritual realities; in Baptism, water is the sign, regeneration and adoption the reality; in the Supper the bread and wine are the signs, communion of the body and blood of the Lord is the spiritual reality: as the senses and members of the body apprehend the signs, so the soul receives the realities in which the whole fruit of the ordinance resides: the sacraments, therefore, are not only emblems of Christian membership in the Church, but symbols of Divine grace; the body and blood of Christ means Himself, His life, received and appropriated so that more and more He lives in us, and we in Him; the Sacraments are to be reverenced exceedingly for their significance, and for their sanctity as coming from the Lord's hands, but they owe their power and sacredness solely to Him, the Life. Artt. 24–28 deal with public worship and ceremonies; with things neither commanded nor forbidden; with heretics and schismatics; with the civil magistrate; and with holy marriage.

Though the Confession was not destined to fulfil its purpose by being submitted to a General Council at Mantua, and, at the desire of the Strassburg delegates, long remained unprinted (Bullinger and Leo Judae, indeed, are said to have desired the insertion of a clause deprecating its use as a rule of faith, lest it should usurp the place of Holy Writ, the only true and sufficient bond of evangelical union), it continued for long to be the acknowledged embodiment of the faith of the Swiss Reformers. Alike in its Latin and in its fuller and more vigorous German form, both of which were authoritative, it is an attractive and impressive product of Swiss thought.

At Lausanne, later in the same year 1536, the military victory of the Reformation cause was followed up, under Bernese influences, by a theological disputation upon Theses prepared by Farel, in which the youthful Calvin took part. These *10 Theses of Lausanne* (given by Müller, p. 110) form a very brief outline of doctrine, echoing the 1st Helvetic

Confession. Re-cast, or expanded, they were made officially binding in the same year.

At Zürich, in 1545, Bullinger was constrained to vindicate his Zwinglian colleagues against the persistent polemic of Luther, which had found expression that year in a 'Short Confession on the Holy Sacrament,' by issuing a *True Confession of the Ministers of the Church in Zürich . . . in particular on the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ* (extract in Müller, pp. 153–159). Neither in form nor in authority is the work a Confession. It is a theological manifesto or argument, firmly and unmistakably Zwinglian in character, and it prepared the way for the *Consensus of Zürich* of 1549, in which Bullinger and Calvin expressed their agreement on the Lord's Supper over against Lutheran influences and Swiss divisive tendencies. Calvin had taken exception to the extremer positions maintained by Bullinger in his last Confession. His objections were accepted in a friendly spirit. A fresh treatise was submitted to him in 1546. The outcome of his judgment on it was the formulation of a series of propositions, which Bullinger in turn divided into 26 Articles, and which contained the substance of the Consensus of 1549 (Müller, pp. 159–163). If Calvin was the author of this Consensus, which linked together the Churches of Zürich and Geneva and found acceptance in other countries, the influence of Bullinger pervades it, and it served as a welcome proof of the essential kinship of the two schools. Henceforward there was theological harmony in Protestant Switzerland; and Melanchthon, though he rejected the clauses which made election the condition of the efficacy of the sacraments, abandoned all suspicion and hostility towards the Swiss.

The 26 Articles are brief, lucid, consistent. They repudiate Lutheran not less than Romanist conceptions of the Presence. The Lord's body is not locally on earth, but in heaven. The elements are not to be adored. The Spirit of God is the active energy; His grace and the communion of Christ are essentially independent of the elements and the partaking, for it is antecedent faith that appropriates—'fideles ante et extra sacramentorum usum Christo quoque communicant'; transubstantiation and consubstantiation are equally absurd.

At a Synod of the Reformed Churches in the Rhætian Alps, approval was given in 1552 to a Confession—the *Confessio Rhætica*—drawn up by Saluz Gallicius, and intended to establish a uniform system of doctrine in place of the existing theological chaos, in which Anabaptist, Lutheran, Zwinglian, Romanist, Socinian, and Pantheistic teachings mingled. In 1553 it was submitted to Bullinger, who cordially approved of it; and thereafter for centuries, in spite of the subsequent local recognition of the Second Helvetic Confession, it remained the authoritative Rhætian formula (Müller, pp. 163–170, where the doctrinal portions are given in full).

It opens with a tribute of loyalty to the three ancient Creeds; condemns the vanities of human learning and wisdom and contentions about words; asserts Christ crucified, risen, and ascended, to be the one foundation, and faith in Him to be the one means of salvation for fallen humanity. At greater length it affirms God's sovereignty, denies His responsibility for sin, and urges sobriety and caution in speaking of His predestination. Most fully and interestingly it sets forth, with illustrations from the Gospels and Epistles, the Zwinglian conception of the Sacraments, citing, in support of a metaphorical interpretation of the words 'This is my body,' similar figures from the teachings of Christ and of Paul, where a literal sense is out of the question; it proves from the Gospels the physical absence of Christ from earth, but asserts His spiritual presence; it recognizes a spiritual eating and drinking of His body and blood, in the sense of Jn 6; it acknowledges the Sacraments to be 'symbola, adeoque obsignationes divinae gratiae et donorum Dei.' Finally, it deprecates any comparison between the authority of the Bible and its own; and it undertakes, in the most emphatic and in repeated terms, to welcome correction and amendment wherever it may be found unfaithful to the Scriptures, 'for we well remember that we are but men, and are therefore prone to error, ignorance, and deception.' Throughout, its language is popular, its arguments are shrewd and well-informed, and its desire to maintain a Scriptural simplicity is obvious and sincere.

Last and greatest in the Zwinglian series is the *Second Helvetic Confession*, the *magnum opus* of Henry Bullinger. If the Confession of 1531 was Zwingli's 'swan-song,' this was Bullinger's own; for it was in 1562, while awaiting the expected call of death, that he gave the hours of his enforced leisure to its composition. It is the quiet overflow of his mature conviction, put in writing without polemical occasion and without ecclesiastical requisition, the last and private confession of a scholar and churchman who had been called to assist in the preparation of many public Confessions. Two years later, during the ravages of the plague at Zürich, he conceived the idea of leaving it to the chief magistrate after his death, as a testimony and guide to faith. But in the end of 1565 he received a request for such a statement from Frederick III., the Elector Palatine, who was desirous of proving, before the forthcoming Diet at Augsburg, that his Reformed profession was no merely individual or local faith, but a system of doctrine held in common by evangelical believers in Switzerland, Holland, France, and Britain also. The Confession was dispatched with the assurance that it was 'in harmony with the confession of the ancient Apostolic orthodox catholic Church, and likewise with all the faithful who with pure faith profess Christ throughout the churches of Germany, France, England, and other kingdoms and lands'; and it was received with enthusiasm, and ordered to be published in a German version, with a view to promoting common action among the Reformed Churches. In Switzerland, except at Basel, it was, with slight modifications, at once approved universally, and accordingly the Elector could present it to the Diet of 1566 as an already authoritative document. In the same year it was accepted by the Reformed Church in Scotland, in 1567 in Hungary, in 1571 in France and in Poland, and it was approved in many other lands, without superseding the local standards. No other Confession, save its immediate predecessor, the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563, has ever rivalled it in popularity or in authority among the Reformed Churches of the Continent. In theological ability and in doctrinal interest few Confessions can bear comparison with it. Objection may well be taken to it as an official document, on the ground of its great length and its combination of comprehensiveness and detail; but it would be difficult to conceive of a theological manifesto, or compendium of doctrine, more attractive in form and matter, more lucid, effective, and shrewd, more loyal to Scripture, or more instinct with common sense. It is no small tribute to its merits that its appearance was the signal for the cessation of theological controversy and unrest in Switzerland, and that it enjoyed, during so many centuries of eager thought and change, an unchallenged authority.

It consists of 30 chapters (printed in full, in Latin, by Müller, pp. 170–221, and by Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 233–306, including prefaces; and in an elaborate English summary by Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 396–420). The chapters vary in length from one or two pages upwards, and treat in succession of Holy Scripture, of its interpretation, the Fathers, Councils, and Traditions; of God, His unity and trinity; of idols or images of God, Christ, and of deities; of the adoration, worship, and invocation of God through the only mediator Jesus Christ; of the providence of God; of creation, angels, the devil, and man; of the Fall, of sin, and its cause; of free-will and human power; of predestination and the election of saints; of Jesus Christ, true God and man, the only Saviour of the world; of the Law of God; of the Gospel, its promises, spirit, and letter; of repentance and conversion; of the true justification of believers; of faith and good works and their rewards, and human merit; of the Catholic and holy Church of God and its only Head; of ministers of the Church, and their institution and duties; of the Sacraments; of Baptism; of the Lord's Supper; of religious meetings; of prayers, praise, and appointed times of worship; of festivals, fasts, and meats; of catechizing; of consolation and visitation of the sick; of Christian burial, care for the dead, purgatory, apparitions of spirits; of rites, ceremonies, and things indifferent; of church property; of celibacy and marriage; of the civil magistrate.

Its doctrinal standpoint is characteristic of the author and the time—a combination of the positions of Zwingli and Calvin, with an unbending attitude towards Rome, whose Tridentine Confession was being formulated at the selfsame time; with a courteous tone towards Lutheranism; with a firm adherence to the ancient Catholic Creeds, which are printed in the preface as authoritative; and with an underlying conviction that the doctrinal re-union of Christendom was possible upon a Scriptural basis alone, Confessional revision and re-adjustment being a Christian duty as better knowledge of the Word of God was attained.

The opening two chapters accordingly deal with the doctrine of Scripture as the supreme authority, being God's Word, as their own interpreter in the light of context and kindred passages, as God's normal means of revelation and edification, and as setting aside all other authority,—traditional, Patristic, or even Apostolic,—the Apocrypha being for the first time in Confessional history expressly excluded from the Canon. The third chapter affirms the unity and trinity of God, accepts the Apostles' Creed, condemns 'Jews and Mohammedans and all who blaspheme this holy and adorable Trinity,' and 'all heretics who deny the deity of Christ and the Holy Ghost.' The fourth condemns images, since God is a spirit and cannot be represented by an image; though Christ assumed man's nature, it was not to pose for sculptors and painters. The fifth condemns adoration or invocation of saints: 'nevertheless we neither despise nor undervalue the saints, but honour them as the members of Christ and the friends of God who have gloriously overcome the flesh and the world; we love them as brethren and hold them up as examples of faith and virtue, desiring to dwell with them eternally in heaven and to rejoice with them in Christ.' God's providence (ch. 6) is over all, operating through means to ends; 'we disapprove of the rash words of those who say that our efforts and endeavours are vain.' Man (chs. 7-9) consists of two diverse substances in one person—of an immortal soul, which, when separated from the body, neither sleeps nor dies, and of a mortal body, which at the last judgment shall be raised again from the dead. 'We condemn those who deny the immortality, or affirm the sleep of the soul, or teach that it is a part of God.' Man was created in true righteousness, good and upright, but of his own guilt fell; sin is our inborn corruption; as years roll on, we bring forth evil thoughts, words, and deeds, as corrupt trees corrupt fruits; only the regenerate can think or do good; only the regenerate and converted are truly free; they are not passive but active, 'being moved by the Spirit of God to do of themselves what they do'; yet the unregenerate are *willing* slaves to sin, they are not as mere stocks or stones, utterly devoid of will and responsibility. The 10th chapter, on Predestination and Election, is especially interesting: it is frankly and simply Scriptural in its terms; it has been claimed alike as Calvinistic, Arminian, and Melanchthonian, and could be approved by each type of theologian, for it is a moderate Calvinism or Augustinianism that it expresses: election and predestination is wholly of grace, it is in Christ and for His sake; though 'a small number of the elect' is spoken of, we ought to think well of all, and not seek out of Christ whether we are chosen, or count particular persons reprobate; we are to listen to the offers of grace undoubtingly, and trust God's love in Christ who is to be the 'mirror in which we behold our predestination'; 'we shall have a sufficient testimony of being written in the book of life if we live in communion with Christ, and if in true faith He is ours and we are His'; so are we to 'work out our own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who worketh in us both to will and to do according to His good pleasure.' Chapter 11, defining the Person of Christ and distinguishing the two natures, accepts 'believingly and reverently the *communication of properties*, which is deduced from Scripture and employed by the universal ancient Church in explaining and reconciling passages apparently in contradiction.' In ch. 14 the citation of NT illustrations of penitence is followed by a typical passage: 'It is sufficient to confess our sins to God in private and in the public service; it is not necessary to confess to a priest, for this is nowhere commanded in the Scriptures; although we may seek counsel and comfort from a minister of the gospel in time of distress and trial (cf. Ja 5[16]). The keys of the kingdom of heaven, out of which the Papists forge swords, sceptres, and crowns, are given to all legitimate ministers of the Church in the preaching of the Gospel and the maintenance of discipline (Mt 16[19], Jn 20[23], Mk 16[15], 2 Co 5[18.19]). We condemn the lucrative Popish doctrines of penance and indulgences, and apply to them Peter's word to Simon Magus, 'Thy money perish with thee.'" Ch. 16 distinguishes faith from human opinion and persuasion, describes it as a free gift of God through the Spirit and the means of grace, as capable of increase, and as the source of good works whose motives are gratitude and a desire to glorify God. Ch. 17, on the Church, vindicates its NT constitution, deprecates the divisions which have never been absent since Apostolic times but have been overruled for good, denies that its true unity resides in rites or ceremonies: 'the Church may be called *invisible*, not that the men composing it are invisible, but because they are known only to God, while we are often mistaken in our judgment: those who separate from that true Church cannot live before God'; 'as there was no salvation out of the ark of Noah, so there is no certain salvation out of Christ, who exhibits Himself to the elect in the Church for their nourishment.' Ch. 18 affirms the sufficiency of the offices in the ministry in use in the Apostolic Church, without condemning later offices and titles; presbyters and bishops were one; the minister must be duly ordained by presbyters with prayer and the laying on of hands; ministers are equal in power and commission, and are not sacrificing priests; they ought to be learned as well as pious, but 'innocent simplicity may be more useful than haughty learning'; their unworthiness cannot impugn the efficacy of God's word and Sacraments which they are called to dispense. Ch. 19 defines the Sacraments as 'sacred rites instituted by God as signs and seals of His promises for the strengthening of our faith, and as pledges on our part for our consecration to Him'; they are two, not seven; of the five Roman additions, confirmation and extreme unction are human inventions and may be abolished without loss, while repentance, ordination, and marriage are valuable Divine institutions not sacramental; the supreme benefit of the sacraments is Christ Himself; they consist of the Word, the sign, and the thing signified: the sign could not pass into the thing signified without ceasing to be a sign; not the worthiness of the dispenser or of the recipient, but the faithfulness of God is the guarantee of their efficacy; unbelievers do not receive the reality with the sign, for the reality is not mechanically linked to the sign; in particular (ch. 21) the body of Christ is in heaven, whither our hearts must be raised, though He is present with all who communicate with Him, a veritable Sun of Righteousness shining upon us; 'the Mass—whatever it may have been in ancient times—has been turned from a salutary institution into a vain show and surrounded with various abuses which justify its abolition.' According to ch. 24, the Lord's day is 'observed in Christian freedom, not with Jewish superstition'; one day is not in itself holier than another; 'if congregations also commemorate the Lord's nativity, circumcision, crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, we greatly approve of it, but feasts in honour of saints we reject.' Fasting and self-denial, if prompted by humility, and spontaneous and not aiming at merit or reward, may be a help to prayer and virtue, and should be used alike by Churches and individuals upon suitable occasions for spiritual profit. 'The more that human rites are accumulated in the Church (ch. 27), the more it is drawn away from Christian liberty and from Christ himself, while the ignorant seek in ceremonies what they should seek in Christ through faith.' The slighting or forbidding of marriage, unclean celibacy, and pretended continence, are condemned (ch. 29). The civil magistrate (ch. 30) is of God's own appointment, and may be a useful servant or a serious enemy of the Church: he is 'to preserve peace and public order, to promote and protect religion and good morals . . . to punish offenders against society, such as thieves, murderers, oppressors, blasphemers, and incorrigible heretics (if they are really heretics).' 'Wars are only justifiable in self-defence and after all efforts at peace have been exhausted.' 'We condemn the Anabaptists, who maintain that a Christian should not hold a civil office, that the magistrate has no right to punish any one by death, or to make war or to demand an oath.'

LITERATURE.—The relevant portions of Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vols. i. and iii.; Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche*; Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii.; *PRE*[3], the relevant articles. The first two works in conjunction leave little to be desired in regard either to the history or to the contents of the Zwinglian documents.

16. Confessions in the Calvinist (Presbyterian) Churches.—Between the Calvinist and the Zwinglian Confessions there was an intimate connexion—historical, geographical, and theological. Switzerland was their common birthplace. Unlike Luther, both Zwingli and Calvin were Humanists before they were Reformers, men of learning as well as statesmen, equally at home in the library and in the council chamber; but, like him, they found their peace and their inspiration in Holy Scripture, they had a rational, linguistic, and historical insight into the natural and true meaning of the Bible, and they gave Christ the central and dominating position in their doctrinal thought as well as in their Biblical exegesis. Zwingli gave expression to the reforming instinct of German Switzerland; Calvin, preceded by Farel and Viret, appealed not only to the French Cantons of his adopted land and to the Protestant Christians in France and Belgium, but to their brethren in many other lands. Without any propaganda, Calvin's influence spread instantaneously throughout the countries where German, Dutch, English, Bohemian, and Hungarian were spoken, reaching even Constantinople. More than any other form of Reformed doctrine—far more than Lutheran and Anglican—it proved itself catholic under the test of history, rising above racial differences, everywhere raising

the tone of life, and quickening zeal for religious and general culture. It is no mean testimony also to the original attractiveness and power of Calvin's system, that it not only gave rise to a scholasticism of its own which dominated at least two centuries, but was the parent of an unparalleled series of Confessional statements which bore a strong family resemblance to one another as well as to it. Ideas have altered, and instincts changed, but he would be a poor theologian and a narrow critic who could read for himself these documents without being profoundly impressed by the high order of their Scriptural learning and their logic and by their virile spirit, and without being moved to cherish a deeper respect for the exiled French theologian, the peer of Augustine and Aquinas, whose theological and religious genius was their immediate inspiration.

The Calvinist Confessions retain as doctrinal systems most of the features which broadly distinguished their Zwinglian forerunners from Romanism and from Lutheranism. In a small group of Confessions we have seen the outcome of harmonious co-operation between Zwinglian and Calvinist leaders, and an evidence of their kinship. If the three great leaders—Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin—were constrained, with the urgency of genius, to emphasize their distinctive tenets, it is a remarkable fact that each had a trusted lieutenant capable of appreciating and emphasizing the underlying unities, viz. Melanchthon, Bullinger, and Beza—men who, had they been permitted, would have brought about a harmony of Protestant faith if not of polity. The specially Calvinistic features are four.

(1) In the forefront the primary and basal position of canonical and non-apocryphal Scripture as God's Word kept pure and inerrant, conformity to which, and sanction by which, are the only warrants of Christian belief and usage. The Bible is to be its own aid to interpretation, one passage assisting another, and none to be regarded in isolation.

(2) The eternal and absolute decree of God, whereby in His freedom and for His glory He has foreordained some portion of the human race, in spite of their sin, and not of their merit, to eternal salvation, and others, for their sins, to eternal damnation. This twofold decree, of election, in spite of sin, to forgiveness and blessedness, and of reprobation, for sin, to punishment and loss, drawn sternly from Old and New Testament Scripture and from Augustine, and faced unflinchingly, rests upon a dogmatic basis, including such elements as that God must have foreseen and foreknown the Fall and all its consequences, else His wisdom and omniscience are denied. He must therefore have permitted it under His all-ruling providence, for righteous ends and for merciful purposes, and to His glory. While all are called to repent and to have saving faith, not all respond, not all are *effectually* called, elect in *fact*; some—God alone knows who or how many (God also foreknows)—thus justly perish for their sins and for the sins of their fallen progenitors. Salvation is of grace, not for the sake of good works or of faith regarded as a merit; grace is in the nature of things liable to be deemed arbitrary, since it is not mechanical or forensic, but the eternal decree, which permitted the Fall and its transmitted consequences, is the unswerving embodiment of the immutable principle of grace in God. Human freedom, fettered in some measure now invariably, but originally intact, is alone responsible for sin and death, which even God could not have prevented without doing violence to the freedom of the creature whom He had made in His own image. Grace is open to all; none but the impenitent and acquiescent sinner dares count himself lost; Divine predestination in Christ ought to be the ground of Christian confidence; the believer must make his calling sure, for God never does for man what He has given man power to do for himself.

(3) In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the elements and their consumption are signs or symbols of spiritual realities, of the spiritual presence of Christ and of His incorporation in the believer's life; participation and communion seal to men the benefits of Christ's life and death; the presence is real but not local; it is spiritual; it is the presence of the Lord not only in His Divinity but in His humanity; 'this is my body' are figurative words; faith is, as it were, the organ that partakes and assimilates, through the aid of the Holy Spirit, the spiritual body of the glorified Lord; there is no change in the elements, no transfusion of them with the flesh and blood of the Lord in a physical and local consubstantiation (the unbeliever receives nothing but mere bread and wine); it is a special sacramental presence, transcending the Saviour's wonted presence with His people, only vouchsafed to faith when the memorial rite is duly celebrated. Thus the Zwinglian view, not less than the Romanist and Lutheran, is set aside.

(4) In regard to the Church, Calvinism affirms the parity of presbyters, government by presbyterian courts, the association of lay or ruling elders with duly ordained or teaching elders in that government, the necessity of thoroughgoing discipline as to doctrine and morals, the absolute independence of the spiritual courts in matters spiritual, and the duty of the civil authorities to carry out their spiritual sentences to their appointed civil consequences.

It is characteristic of the Calvinistic Confessions that with singular unanimity they maintain, throughout their long history, these distinctive traits. So uniform are they, and so consistent in their adherence to the fundamental tenets of Calvin, that in most cases a bare historical reference will suffice, indicating their occasions and their inter-relations. It may be remarked, however, of the above four elements of the doctrine, that each was animated by an intensely practical motive, and prompted by an exact acquaintance with the teaching of the Bible *as a whole*, for Calvin had no peer as a student of Holy Writ. Calvinistic scholarship in Scripture, fortified by a practical religious experience not to be judged apart from the stern character of the troubled century in which through blood and groans it was gained, was the warrant for the system, some elements of which, especially (2), were only acquiesced in under submission to plain Scripture warrant. A later scholasticism degraded the Scripturalism of Zwingli and Calvin into literalism, and provoked popular nausea in more fastidious and critical times, and it was perhaps the one defect of Calvin's own outlook that he could not detach at any point the Old and New Testaments from each other. Having committed himself wholeheartedly to a system, purely Biblical in character, resting on non-Apocryphal Scripture as the unadulterated Word of God revealing all needed truth to man, Calvin could not discriminate between the Old and New, but read each in terms of the other, reaching a system of doctrine which was at least as faithful in form and contents to the Old Testament revelation as to the New. Only thus can one suggest an explanation for the amazing fact that the first Biblical interpreter of his age should, in full view of the teaching of Christ, leave out of his own doctrinal scheme all mention of the universal Fatherhood of God—an omission which not only came to deepen the

apparent gloom of the reverse side of his predestinarian teaching, but in the end has been responsible in every Christian country for the modern defection from his views. To him and to his fellows, Scripture was a new world with green pastures threaded by quiet waters, to which a tide of God's spirit had borne them beyond the reach of the dictation and tyranny of the Roman Church; and in the OT history there were innumerable episodes full of suggestive analogy for their unquiet era: there was the spectacle of theocracy embodied in a Church-bound State, and surrounded by pagan adversaries; of prophecy overpowering priesthood; of stern Divine retribution; of the vocation and endowment of elect individuals. Similarly, the doctrine of the comprehensive eternal decree, based on the OT as much as on the Epistle to the Romans and occasional passages in the Gospels, was but a re-statement of the sovereignty of God and the completeness of His prescient providence, and naturally seemed inevitable to the vigorous interpreter of non-Apocryphal Scripture, for whom no purgatory was conceivable, and to whom the Pauline conception of the completeness of human depravity and guilt, original and transmitted, was an axiom of thought. In an age of stern struggle, when men knew no outer calm but faced each day's emergencies with military decision and resource, the conscience-prompted confidence of election—first realized in the less invidious form of vocation, perhaps—was a thrilling power for good to resolute souls in touch with God's Word and the living Spirit it exhaled. The stories of Islâm and of Israel are sufficient disproof of the benumbing influence which a more peaceful and leisurely and sceptical age is prone to ascribe to the faith which rests on a predestinatory decree. It is to disqualify oneself as a historian or critic of the Calvinistic Confessions, to start with the assumptions that it is presumptuous for any son of man to believe himself an elect instrument for the Kingdom of God; that faith in the eternal decree must breed either hypocrisy, blasphemy, or utter pessimism; or (failing to distinguish between predestination and pre-causation) that that faith necessarily makes God the author of evil and obliterates both human responsibility and all secondary causes. Though Beza and a number of lesser Calvinists carried the doctrine to *supralapsarian* extremities, Calvin's own position—Augustine's, only more sharply defined—of *infralapsarianism* (in his own words, 'Adam fell, God's providence having so ordained it; yet he fell by his own guilt') was without exception adopted by the whole family of Calvinistic Confessions and Catechisms. If it be said that the motley predestination of some to bliss and others to woe leaves God guilty, before human conscience, of favouritism or respect of persons,—an impression which the popular mind can scarcely escape,—the Calvinist could appeal to Scripture (his final witness), and to everyday observation (his living commentary on Scripture), in proof that some are so chosen and endowed apart from any antecedent merit in themselves or their ancestors, the store of merit and the condition of the grace, in his judgment, being the work and offering of the blameless Son of God. Grace can never be earned or deserved, yet it need not be unrighteous or arbitrary, and it can descend only upon fit recipients, whom God alone can judge and know.

What the Theses of Wittenberg and Zürich were to Lutheran and Zwinglian Confessions, the immortal *Institutio Religionis Christianæ* was, and more, to the Calvinistic Confessions—more, for the work, even in its briefest and earliest form of 1536, but especially in the final edition, five times longer, of 1559, contained not only the anticipation but the finished form of their doctrinal system. It was, indeed, not only a manual for students (as the preface modestly declares) and a scholar's summary of Biblical doctrine, but at the same time, as the noble epistle dedicatory to Francis I. avows, a literal confession of evangelical faith, an apology or positive vindication of the new teaching. If it inspired instant alarm in Romanist quarters, or won converts from them, if its pellucid Latinity and its masterly theology won admiration alike from foes and from rivals, it became for Protestants of well-nigh every type a veritable oracle, a source from which confessional, catechetic, and homiletic wants were unfailingly supplied. In diction, in structure, in comprehensiveness, in sheer mass and weight, in unflagging interest and power, in dignity and severe simplicity, it has all the characteristics of a classic, and, while recognizing that it can never be for us what it was to earlier centuries, we cannot but lament that, in an age which so freely proclaims its emancipation from its spell, so few should read it for themselves, so many should condemn it cheaply and at second hand. Signs are not wanting that at no distant time justice will be more generally done to Calvin as a prince among systematic theologians not less than a prince among Christian exegetes.

In the first edition of the *Institutes*—whose successive chapters deal with (1) the Law, the Ten Commandments; (2) Faith, the Apostles' Creed; (3) Prayer, the Lord's Prayer; (4) the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; (5) the five other reputed Sacraments, their true character; and (6) Christian Liberty, Ecclesiastical Power, and Political Administration—little is said of predestination, though it is not overlooked, but the other traits of Calvinism are in evidence. In the final edition that doctrine is fully developed, and the system is complete in four massive books: i. in 18 chapters, of the Knowledge of God the Creator, including Scripture and Man's original estate; ii. in 17 chapters, of the Knowledge of God the Redeemer in Christ, as first manifested to the Fathers under the Law, and thereafter to us under the Gospel, including Sin, Feedom, the Law, the Person and Offices of Christ; iii. in 25 chapters, of the mode of obtaining (*percipiendæ*) the Grace of Christ, the benefits it confers, and the effects resulting from it; and iv. in 20 chapters, of the external Means or Helps by which God allures us into fellowship with Christ and keeps us in it, including the Church, Ministry, Sacraments, and Civil Government. Without trace of ostentation or any self-obtrusion, the book breathes an air of mature and settled conviction, almost confessional and dogmatic in its grave and well-weighed sentences, whose familiar words so tenaciously arrested the minds and the memories of their disciples as to force their way, directly or indirectly, into the Confessions and Catechisms of the adhering Churches. We may feel sure that, in the study or in the debating-hall of the Calvinistic formulators, no book lay so near the well-worn Bible as the *Institutes*, and none bore such evident marks of incessant use and affectionate deference.

It will be convenient to review the Confessions belonging to this family according to the countries of their origin—Switzerland, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Hungary, Poland, and the rest of the Continent of Europe; then, in the British Isles Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland—and their dependencies; and finally in America.

A. *SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE.*—(1) The *Geneva Catechism* was first prepared by Calvin in 1536, on the publication of the *Institutes*, not in catechetic but in propositional form, and appeared in French.

It is a popular abstract of his systematic work in 58 sections, and terminates with a brief *Confession of Faith*, in 21 articles, to be signed by all the townsmen, affording, as Schaff puts it, 'probably the first instance of a formal pledge to a symbolical book in the history of the Reformed Church' (*Hist. of Creeds*, p. 468 [text in Müller, p. 111 ff.]). The Confession, whose opening words are 'Premièrement, *nous protestons*,' treats of the Word of God, the One God, God's Law, Man in his Nature, Man condemned in himself, Salvation, Justification, and Regeneration in Jesus, Remission of Sins always necessary for Believers, our whole Good in the Grace of God, Faith, Invocation of God alone and Christ's intercession, intelligent Prayer, the two Sacraments, human Traditions, Church, Excommunication, Ministers of the Word, Magistrates. The Catechism was re-cast in French, 1541, in 55 lessons, one for each Sunday in the year, and three for the great festivals; and in Latin, 1545 (text in Müller, p. 117 ff.). In this revised form it consisted of four parts—of Faith, the Apostles' Creed; of the Law, the Ten Commandments; of Prayer, the Lord's Prayer; of the Word of God and the Sacraments, as means of grace.

The opening and closing words are alike characteristic. The former are, indeed, memorable: 'What is the chief end of human life?—That men should know God, by whom they have been formed. What reason have you for saying that?—Since He hath made us, and placed us in this world, that He may be glorified in us: and in truth it is meet that our life, of which He is Himself the beginning, should be turned to His glory. What is the chief good of man?—The same. Wherefore dost thou hold it the chief good?—Because, apart from it, our lot is more unhappy than that of any of the brutes.' The closing words are: 'and that the elders should reject from communion those whom they have recognized to be by no means fit to receive the Supper and to be incapable of being admitted without pollution of the Sacrament.'

The Catechism long enjoyed extreme popularity, and was translated into many languages. In Scotland it was in regular use, being prescribed by the First Book of Discipline for Sabbath catechizing, as 'the most perfect that ever yet was used in the Kirk.' It is clear without being superficial, simple without being childish, lacking in the picturesque, but well arranged, comprehensive, and dignified. If it was excelled, it was only by its own offspring, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Westminster Shorter Catechism. Luther's can scarcely be made a basis of comparison; it is so much less comprehensive in contents.

(2) The *Zürich Confession* (1545), the *Zürich Consensus* (1549), and the *Rhætian Confession* (1552) form a group by themselves, as noticed above (p. 860), containing a harmony of Zwinglian and Calvinistic doctrine.

(3) The *Consensus of Geneva* (1552), though it received the signatures of the pastorate, was a controversial treatise rather than a Confession. It formed, in fact, the second portion of Calvin's answer to the strictures passed by the Romanist theologian Pighius, and the ex-Carmelite physician Bolsec, upon his doctrine of predestination. A somewhat harsh polemic, it is interesting as an exposition of the grounds on which Calvin persisted in maintaining the doctrine in its fullest form, in face of caricature and argument alike, and, in spite of the hesitation and defection of his friends, as a comfort and stay to the believer.

(4) The *French Confession*, or *Confessio Gallica*, appeared in 1559 (the date of Calvin's final edition of the *Institutes*), and marks the close of his theological activity. In spite of persecution and obloquy, a group of important Protestant congregations had been formed in various parts of France in the years 1555 to 1558. In 1558 doctrinal differences arose at Poitiers, and the visit of one of the Paris pastors to that town seems to have first suggested a conference with a view to a Confession and a Book of Discipline. Calvin was not in favour of the project, but in 1559 the first Synod of the French Reformed Church met in Paris, and both documents took shape. The Confession is in 40 articles, based upon a draft prepared by Calvin in 1557 for the congregation in Paris to be presented with a letter to the King of France in vindication of their principles. It was drawn up by Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, a pupil of Calvin, and slightly modified and enlarged by the Synod. It has been re-affirmed again and again as the national standard of the French Church. The revision of 1571 by the Synod of La Rochelle gave it the name of the 'Confession of La Rochelle,' by which it is also known. A variant form, in 35 articles, before 1571, is supposed by Müller to consist of Calvin's draft, concerning which Morel, the Chairman of the Synod, wrote to Calvin: 'It has been decided to add some things to your Confession, but to change very few.' Calvin's desire that the Confession should not be made public and reach the eyes of the civil authorities was deferred to, but its privacy was extremely short-lived. It was prepared for immediate signature by all ministers. In its doctrine and in the arrangement of its short articles it is normally Calvinist.

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 490, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, p. 356 ff., for text French and English; Müller, p. xxxii ff.; text, p. 221 ff.]

(5) The *Helvetic Consensus Formula* (1675) was the counterblast of orthodox Swiss Calvinism, especially in German Switzerland, centring in Zürich and Basel, to the innovations of the Saumur theologians, Amyraut, de La Place, and Cappel, Calvinist professors untouched by Arminianism. These taught, at variance from accepted views on 'particular' Predestination, the imputation of Adam's sin, and the literal inspiration of the Scriptures, maintaining that the decree of Divine grace was of conditional universality, that the guilt of Adam must be re-incurred by his descendants on their own responsibility to warrant condemnation, that the vowel-system in Biblical Hebrew was the invention of an age long subsequent to the composition and canonization of Scripture, and that in the Hebrew, as in the Greek, Bible the existence of variant readings and textual corruptions and lacunæ disproved the claim of literal or verbal inspiration and infallibility. The Saumur theologians, who thus seemed to abandon the outworks of the strict Calvinist position, acted in an apologetic as well as a scientific interest, in order to strengthen their system by the timely evacuation of fortifications which were sure to be turned or taken by Romanist and other adversaries. They fell back, in part, upon Lutheran and Zwinglian forms of thought. While maintaining the double decree based on God's providence and foreknowledge, they made it universal in intent, faith being the pre-ordained condition of its operation in grace; even the heathen, like young children, might be beneficiaries of the merit of Christ just as they are of God's universal providence, through a faith answering, however faintly, to that of Christians within the visible Church. Yet in the result none but the elect are saved. The decree is universal in intent, but man makes it particular in effect.

Amyraldism (*q.v.*) was, after continued debate, permitted by French Synods, but condemned nearly a generation later by the Swiss Reformed theologians. The Consensus Formula was prepared by John Henry Heidegger, Professor at Zürich, assisted by Lucas Gernler of Basel, and Francis Turretin of Geneva, all men of theological distinction and of eminently Christian spirit. Though polemical in purpose, its tone is courteous, and it rejects rather than condemns. It was intended to be an appendix to the accepted Calvinistic standards, not strictly

a fresh Symbol, and as such it exercised a local authority by order of Church and State in Zürich, Basel, and Geneva, and other Reformed Cantons, for half a century.

Articles 1–3 treat of Biblical Inspiration, 4–6 of Predestination, 7–9 of the Covenant of Works before the Fall, 10–12 of the Immediate Imputation of Adam's Sin to his Posterity, 13–16 of the Limitation of the Atonement to the elect alone in purpose as in effect, 17–22 of particular election, and of the insufficiency for salvation of the Divine revelation in nature and in providence, 23–25 of the *two* covenants,—against Amyraut's *three* of nature, law, and grace,—even Old Testament saints having been saved by faith in the earlier revelation of the Lamb of God and of the Divine Trinity, and 26 forbids teaching any doctrine extraneous or contrary to the Scriptures and such received standards as the Second Helvetic Confession and the Canons of Dort.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 477–489; Muller, pp. lxiv, lxv, Lat. text, pp. 861–870.]

(6) The *Confession of the Free Evangelical Church of the Canton de Vaud* (1847), at Lausanne, was the Confessional firstfruits of the Revival of Evangelicalism in the Swiss and French Churches in the fifth decade of last century, which led to the disruption of the Established Churches and the formation, after the Scottish model, of Free denominations. Six articles in the first section of the Constitution, 'Of the Free Church in General,' define in simple terms the loyal adherence of the Church to Scripture, and to the 16th cent. evangelical doctrinal tradition as embodied, *e.g.*, in the Helvetic Confession; its intention of fraternizing with other evangelical bodies and recognizing their membership; and its claim to spiritual autonomy.

[French text in Muller, p. 903. Full particulars of the doctrinal standards of the Swiss Free Churches in detail will be found in the *Report of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance*, Philadelphia, U.S.A., 1880, pp. 1081–1093.]

(7) The *Confession of the Free Church of Geneva* (1848) embodies the same spirit in more precise doctrinal terms. Its 17 short Articles state the substance of evangelical doctrine on Scripture, God, Christ, the Incarnation and Atonement, Regeneration, Justification, Sanctification, Judgment, the Church Invisible hidden in the Church Visible, the Sacraments as symbols and pledges of salvation, ecclesiastical fellowship. Salvation in all its phases is the gift of Divine Grace; true believers, its recipients, are elect in Christ from before the world's foundation, according to the foreknowledge of God the Father; God, who so loved the world as to give His only Son, ordains in this life that all men in all places should be converted, that each is responsible for his sin and unbelief, that Jesus repulses none who turns to Him, and that every sinner who sincerely invokes His name will be saved.

[French text in Müller, p. 905.]

(8) The *Constitution of the French Free Churches* (1849) includes a briefer and even simpler and more Scriptural statement of faith and principles, warmly evangelical in its terms, graceful and gracious in its language. Its clauses declare the faith that rests on Scripture, on God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the universal call to repentance and salvation, the resurrection and judgment to come; and close with a doxology.

[French text in Müller, p. 907. Full particulars of the doctrinal standards of the French Free Churches in detail will be found in the *Report of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance*, Philadelphia, U.S.A., 1880, pp. 1065–1081.]

(9) The *Declaration of Faith of the Reformed Church of France* (1872) was the work of the first Synod that met since the suspension by Louis XIV. in 1660. Venerable as was the French Confession of La Rochelle, and sacred in its associations, it could not be re-affirmed without modification so late in the 19th century. Its authorization of the power of the magistrate to punish heresy by the sword was an article long since unlearned through bitter experience of its practical operation. But, even on the cardinal tenets of French Calvinistic tradition, unanimity and even substantial agreement were soon found to have passed away. The Declaration, liberal and moderate as it is, was adopted only by a small majority and at the price of ultimate schism, the minority being averse to creed subscription. It was proposed by Charles Bois, professor at Montauban; affirms the fidelity of the Church to her original principles of faith and freedom; proclaims 'the sovereign authority of the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith, and salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who died for our sins, and was raised again for our justification'; and maintains, as the basis of the Church's teaching, 'the grand Christian facts represented in her religious solemnities, and set forth in her liturgies, especially in the Confession of Sins, the Apostles' Creed, and the order for the administration of the Lord's Supper.'

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 498 ff. incl. text; Müller, p. lxix, and text p. 910.]

(10) The *Constitution of the Free Church of Neuchâtel* (1874) briefly sets forth in three articles of its first chapter its faith in Holy Scripture, and in the great facts contained in the Apostles' Creed, and its devotion to the good of the people at large.

[Müller, p. lxx; text, p. 911.]

B. *GERMANY.*—The German Reformed Confessions—a considerable group in themselves—profess a moderate Calvinism, in touch with the Lutheranism of Melanchthon, chary, on the one hand, of referring to the decree of reprobation, but, on the other, faithful to the Genevan sacramental doctrine. Only one of them, the Heidelberg Catechism, attained to an international currency and authority.

(1) The *Confession of the Frankfort Community of Foreigners* (1554) was called for by popular hostility to their sacramental ideas, and was intended by them to rebut the charge of Anabaptism. The exiles included a portion of the fugitives from Continental persecution, many of them from Holland, who had taken refuge in London under Edward VI., but were compelled to disperse on Mary's accession. In 1551 they had presented to Edward a statement and vindication of their tenets, in the *Compendium Doctrinæ* by Martin Micron, which in a Dutch version was long cherished in Holland as an authoritative symbol. The Confession of 1554 was embodied in a Book of Church Order, 'Liturgia Sacra,' and is a revision of the earlier compendium under the influence of John à Lasco, their leader in England, and of Calvin. Its preface undertakes to show what constitutes a true Christian, and what the chief good of man, and bases faith on the Scriptures and their summary in the Apostles' Creed.

Part 1 treats of God, His attributes, and work, His Fatherhood to men not simply as creator, nor (as of Christ) their begetter, but as having elected them to adoptive sonship; and of man's creation and fall into sin. Part 2 treats of Jesus Christ, part 3 of the Holy Spirit. Part 4, 'of the Church,' ends with a repudiation of the Pope and of Roman Catholic errors.

[Müller, p. xlix; Latin text, pp. 657–666.]

(2) The *Emden Catechism* (1554) is closely connected with the Frankfort Confession. A Lasco was its author. It took the place of a larger Catechism for children based on Micron's *Compendium*, and also of a Lutheranizing substitute which an Emden pastor had prepared on his own authority. It became the recognized text-book and doctrinal norm of East Friesland, in whose dialect it is written. (Text in Müller, pp. 666–682.)

Its 94 questions deal simply and concisely with the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Plan of Salvation, the difference between Law and Gospel, the Apostles' Creed, the Sacraments, the Church, and Prayer. The opening question is, 'Wherefore art thou created a human being?—That I should be an image of God, and should know, love, and serve my God.' The second asks, 'Wherefore art thou become a Christian?' The third, 'How art thou sure that thou art a true Christian?' (Muller, p. l).

(3) The *Heidelberg Catechism* (1563), the most popular, able, and authoritative of the German Reformed Confessions, was prepared on the basis

of earlier Catechisms, by two young Calvinist theologians in sympathy with Melanchthon's standpoint—Zacharias Baer or Ursinus, and Caspar Olewig or Olevianus, professors at Heidelberg, who had had distinguished academic careers, had enjoyed friendly intercourse with the chief teachers of Germany and Switzerland, and had undergone privation and persecution for their views. Enjoying the entire confidence of the noble Elector Palatine, Frederick III., the first German prince to profess the Reformed doctrine, and so forfeit the political amnesty guaranteed only to Lutherans by the Augsburg Interim, they received from him the commission to prepare a manual which should serve alike for teaching the young and for settling the constant differences in doctrine between Lutherans, of both schools, and Calvinists, of which Heidelberg had become the continual scene. No commission was ever better justified. The Catechism, though it had detractors, soon established itself in every Reformed land and language. The Elector (whose interest in such work was later to be shown, in 1577, by a testamentary Confession left in his own writing) watched over its progress, and made frequent suggestions, one of which added to the second and later editions the sole polemic question and answer, no. 80, containing the clause, 'And thus the Mass at bottom is nothing else than a denial of the one sacrifice and passion of Jesus Christ, and an accursed idolatry.'

The Catechism opens with the question: 'What is thine only comfort in life and in death?—That I, with body and soul, both in life and in death, am not my own, but belong to my faithful Saviour Jesus Christ, who with His precious blood has fully satisfied for all my sins, and redeemed me from all the power of the devil; and so preserves me that without the will of my Father in heaven not a hair can fall from my head; yea, and that all things must work together for my salvation. Wherefore by His Holy Spirit He also assures me of eternal life, and makes me heartily willing and ready henceforth to live unto Him.' The second question is, 'How many things are necessary for thee to know that thou in this comfort mayest live and die happily?—Three things: *First*, the greatness of my sin and misery. *Second*, how I am redeemed from all my sins and misery. *Third*, how I am to be thankful to God for such redemption.' Its last question completes the exposition of the Lord's Prayer: 'What is the meaning of the word *Amen*?—*Amen* means, So shall it truly and surely be. For my prayer is much more certainly heard of God than I feel in my heart that I desire these things of Him.'

After the first two prefatory questions, the Catechism falls into three parts. Part I., 'Of Man's Misery,' questions 3–11, traces the knowledge of sin to God's Law, gives Christ's summary of the Law in two great commandments, affirms man's creation after God's image 'in righteousness and true holiness; that he might rightly know God his Creator, heartily love Him and live with Him in eternal blessedness, to praise and glorify Him,' traces sin to Adam's fall, and warns of God's wrath. Part II., 'Of Man's Redemption,' questions 12–85, expounds Anselm's view of the atonement in Christ, shows how the plan of grace was foreshadowed in the OT, how it is appropriated by faith which is 'not only a certain knowledge whereby I hold for truth all that God has revealed to us in His Word, but also a hearty trust which the Holy Ghost works in me by the Gospel that not only to others, but to me also, forgiveness of sins, everlasting righteousness and salvation are freely given by God, merely of grace, only for the sake of Christ's merits'; it then expounds the faith embodied in the Apostles' Creed in three divisions: of God the Father in Christ and our creation, of God the Son and our redemption, and of God the Holy Ghost and our sanctification—the Trinity revealed by God's Word; especially admirable being the questions on Providence, on the names of Christ and Christian, on the benefits of Christ's Ascension, on the Church and Communion of Saints, on Baptism and the Lord's Supper, though those on the Supper are very long and full; and on the office of the Keys. Part III., 'Of Thankfulness,' questions 86–129, sets forth Christian duty as the fruits of grateful penitence and faith, to the glory of God and the help of our neighbours, according to the Ten Commandments, which are expounded, in positive as well as negative terms, with a wealth of shrewd Christian wisdom and practical good sense, as, *e.g.*, where the Fifth is made to teach not only obedience to parents and those in authority, and submission to their good instruction and correction, but that we 'bear patiently with their infirmities, since it is God's will to govern us by their hand.' Finally, with a view to obedience to God's will, the need of the aids of prayer is urged, and the successive clauses of the Lord's prayer are expounded.

No praise is too great for the simplicity of language, the accord with Scripture, the natural order, the theological restraint, and the devout tone which characterize this Catechism. The excessive length of many of its answers militates against literal memorization, but the excellence of their contents goes far to atone for their length. It is a happy blend of Calvinist precision and comprehensiveness with Lutheran warmth and humanity. It is a miracle of unity and continuity, as wise in its omissions as in its contents. Predestination is not mentioned, save in the guise of election to good. It is Zwinglio-Calvinist on the Sacraments and on the natures of Christ, Luthero-Calvinist in its anti-synergism, Melanchthonian in its key-note of warm personal trust and in its mediative genius. It is, as Olewig from the first acknowledged, profoundly indebted to its forerunners. Their contributions and their influence on style, thought, and arrangement are patent. The Catechisms of Luther, Calvin, à Lasco, and Leo Judae were not only as familiar to the authors as Baer's own earlier products, but were freely used. Yet the workmanship never betrays patchwork, or suggests diversity of hands or heterogeneity of materials. By sheer worth it has won a high place for itself among the classics of religious instruction. It was adopted throughout every part of Reformed Germany, in Holland and its colonies, in Scotland, in Hungary, in Poland, Moravia, Bohemia. With German and Dutch colonists it crossed the seas, and it remains the standard of the Reformed Churches, German and Dutch, in America. It was authorized by the Presbyterian Church in the United States so recently as 1870. See also art. CATECHISMS (Heidelberg).

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 529–554 (on hist., contents, and bibliog.), *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 307–355 (text in Germ. and Eng.); Müller, pp. l–liii, 682–719 (Germ. text and proofs); *PRE*[3]; J. W. Nevin, *Hist. and Genius of the Heidelb. Catech.*, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1847.]

(4) The *Nassau Confession* (1578) belongs to the Reformed group more than to the Lutheran, unlike the contemporary Repetition of Anhalt (see on both, p. 850[a] above). Its author was the Saxon divine, Christopher Pezel, exiled for his Calvinistic sympathies. It was prepared by the order of Count John, in answer to the Formula of Concord, and sanctioned by the Synod of Dillenburg.

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 564; Müller, pp. liii–liv, Germ. text, pp. 720–739.]

(5) The *Bremen Consensus* (1595), preceded in 1572 by a 'Declaration,' marks the establishment of Calvinism in that city. Its author was Pezel, and its doctrine is distinguished from that of his earlier work only by the sections on Predestination and the Communion of the Sick. It definitely associates as manuals of pastoral instruction the works of the Swiss Reformers with those of Melanchthon. Till 1784, all pastors were required to sign it.

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 564; Müller, p. liv, Germ. text, pp. 739–799.]

(6) The *Confession of Anhalt* (1597) was introduced, on the temporary overthrow of Lutheranism, by the Prince Regent, John George. It contained 28 Calvinistic Articles, and upheld a moderate theory of Predestination (see Kurtz, *Ch. Hist.* § 144).

(7) The *Book of Staffort* (1599) was composed by the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, one of the many German nobles who busied themselves with theology and asserted themselves as doctrinal dictators. It was imposed upon a none too receptive clergy and people while the Margrave lived.

[Müller, pp. liv–lv; Germ. text, pp. 799–816.]

(8) The *Hessian Confession and Catechism* (1607) were moderate Calvinist re-statements of Lutheran standards, prompted by the Landgrave, and sanctioned by the Synod at Cassel. The Confession, while retaining its Lutheran basis, expresses the Reformed views on the Person of Christ and the Sacraments, and consists of five paragraphs on the Ten Commandments, on the abolition of images and pictures, on the Articles of the Faith and

the Person of Christ, on Election by Grace, on the Lord's Supper. Along with the Heidelberg Catechism, a modified form of Luther's Small Catechism, still in use, was authorized.

The latter begins: 'Art thou a Christian? Yes, Sir. How dost thou know it? Because I have been baptized in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and know and believe the Christian teaching. . . . How many chief portions has the Christian teaching?—Five: the Ten Commandments, the ten Articles of the Christian Faith, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, or the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 564; Müller, pp. lv, lvi, Germ. texts, pp. 817–833.]

(9) The *Confession of the Heidelberg Theologians* (1607) is a manifesto of the Reformed Church doctrine, in its affirmative and negative aspects.

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 565; Heppe, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reform. Kirchen Deutschlands*, Elberfeld, 1860, p. 250 ff.]

(10) The *Bentheim Confession* (1613), which is still authoritative, was drawn up by authority of the ruling Count, a convinced Presbyterian. It has 12 Articles, each a sentence long, in the form of questions, *e.g.*—'Quaeritur I. De essentiae divinae Unitate: an credas unam et individuam esse divinam essentiam. . . .' The topics are the Unity of the Divine Being, the Trinity of Persons, the Person of Jesus Christ, the Threefold Office of Christ, the Efficacy of His Death, Infant Baptism, Election in Christ, Salvation, the Means of Salvation. It declares the Divine will that all should be saved, but that persistent unbelievers and impenitents should be damned eternally. No Confession in the long series is less controversial and partisan, more simple and charitable.

[Müller, pp. lvi, Lat. text, pp. 833–834.]

(11) The *Confession of Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg* (1614), is the first of a group of three Confessions recognized in Brandenburg, the central and dominant province of Prussia, whose ruling house became Reformed, though the population mostly remained Lutheran. Though brought up in uncompromising Lutheranism, and indeed pledged to it, Sigismund's social intimacy with Calvinistic Holland and the Palatinate led him to become a close student of Reformed doctrine; and in 1613, five years after his accession, he openly professed his convinced adherence to it. Next year he vindicated the step by publishing his personal Confession of Faith, the fruit of personal study, assisted by Dr. Füssel, Superintendent of Zerbst.

In addition to the Word of God, 'the only rule of the pious which is perfect, sufficient for salvation, and abides for ever,' he recognizes the whole series of Ecumenical Creeds and decisions to A.D. 451, and the Augsburg Confession in both forms. The Confession opens with a reference to Biblical passages in which the duty of princes and kings to religion is set forth, and declares the Elector's sense of obligation to further the teaching of God's pure Word in school and church, and to abolish human ceremonies and superstitions. It rejects the Lutheran doctrine of Christ's bodily ubiquity, the practice of baptismal exorcism, and the use of the consecrated wafer; it sets forth the Calvinist doctrine of the Sacraments and Election, expressly adding that God sincerely desires the salvation of all, and is not responsible for sin; and it declares the Elector's purpose of religious toleration, God alone being judge of each man's faith. Later, however, Sigismund put down extreme Lutheran teaching in Church and Universities, and removed the Formula of Concord from the authorized standards of his Church.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 554–557; Müller, pp. lvi–lviii, Germ. text, pp. 835–843.]

(12) The *Leipzig Colloquy* (1631) was the outcome of a conference arranged by the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, in which, with the Landgrave of Hesse and three representative theologians of each communion, Reformed and Lutheran, they met to consolidate the Protestant forces in doctrinal alliance against the menace of Roman Catholicism. The basis of discussion was the Augsburg Confession. Substantial agreement was easily reached, except on the Lord's Supper and Body of Christ; on Predestination little more than verbal difference remained. Unhappily, the times were not ripe for a real understanding. The Colloquy was recognized, however, as having a certain authority in Brandenburg, as explanatory of the Confession of Sigismund.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 558–560.]

(13) The *Declaration of Thorn* (1645) occupied a somewhat similar position among the Brandenburg Symbols, or *Confessiones Marchicæ*. It was the Statement of Reformed Doctrine submitted to a Conference of Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman Catholic representatives, convened by the King of Poland, Wladislaw IV., himself a Roman Catholic, in hope to allay his subjects' religious dissensions. Among the delegates were Amos Comenius, the Moravian bishop; George Calixtus of Helmstädt, the mild Lutheran; and Calovius, the uncompromising Lutheran. Little or nothing came of the meeting, which, as Calixtus laments, proved an '*irritativum*' instead of a '*caritativum*' *colloquium*, as intended.

The Reformed Declaration in its first part, 'Professio Generalis,' affirms Scripture as the sole rule of faith, and the Ecumenical Creeds and decisions as subordinate and explanatory authorities, and accepts the Variata Augsburg Confession and the Consensus of Sendomir (1570) as essentially equivalent statements of Protestant doctrine. In the second part, 'Declaratio Specialis,' it states the Reformed system in its points of agreement with, and difference from, Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism respectively.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 560–563.]

(14) The *Articles of the Palatine Union of 1818* are an apparent exception to the general rule that the Union of Lutheran and Reformed Churches throughout Germany in 1817 and thereafter rested upon no new Confessional basis, but upon the formal recognition of the historical standards of both, many of whose doctrinal angularities and differences had been rubbed away by the hand of time. Yet in reality they simply express the universal basis of the union movement—honour to the ancient standards but not strict obligation, submission to Scripture alone, certainty that the offer of grace is free to all men, recognition of the Lord's Supper as a memorial feast and act of personal communion with Christ as Redeemer.

[Müller, pp. lxv–lxvi, Germ. text, p. 870 f.]

C. *BELGIUM AND HOLLAND.*—(1) The *Belgic Confession* (1561) took the place of Micron's *Compendium Doctrinæ*, translated into Dutch in 1551, which along with kindred catechisms of à Lasco and others had been current in the Low Countries as a norm and manual of doctrine (cf. p. 865[b] above). It was composed by Guy de Bray, pastor at Tournay, whose career as a Reformer had begun in exile in England and was to end in 1567 in martyrdom. De Bray submitted his work to a number of scholars and divines for suggestions and revision—among them Adrien de Saravia, a Leyden professor—and addressed it to Philip II. in the faint hope of mitigating his persecuting frenzy against the Reformation. The Confession, written in French originally, follows closely in contents and order the French or Gallic Confession of 1559, avoiding all provocative references, however, to Romanism, expanding the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, Church, and Sacraments, and expressly dissociating itself from Anabaptism. It has 37 Articles, which Schaff adjudges, 'upon the whole, the best symbolical statement of the Calvinistic system of doctrine, with the exception of the Westminster Confession.' The main variant recensions were those of the Synod of Antwerp, 1566, in Latin, the reviser being Francis Junius, a pupil of Calvin and later a professor at Leyden; and, in French, Latin, and Dutch, of the Synod of Dort in 1619. The Confession, associated with the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of Dort, has been the accepted Reformed Symbol of Belgium and Holland, and of the kindred Colonial Churches.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 502–508, *Evang. Prot. Creeds* (Fr. text of Dort, and Eng. of Dutch Ref. Ch. of America), pp. 383–436; Müller, p. xxxiv, Lat. text, pp. 233–249.]

(2) The *Dutch Confession* of 1566 is a compara-

tively obscure work of uncertain origin, of a milder Calvinism, Zwinglian indeed in character, reflecting in its 18 Articles the apologetic purpose of the Belgic Confession, but sharper in its anti-Romanist polemic.

[Müller, p. xxxv, Dutch text, pp. 935-940.]

(3) The *Remonstrance* of 1610 summed up in 5 Articles the Arminian modifications of orthodox Calvinism. James Arminius had died in 1609. His views were maintained by Episcopius (Bisschop), his successor at Leyden, and by the preacher Uytenbogaert, and were supported by such eminent jurist-statesmen as Barneveldt and Grotius. The 'Remonstrance' was drawn up by Uytenbogaert for presentation to the Estates of Holland and West Friesland, and was signed by 46 pastors. It represented an even more serious and determined attempt than Amyraldism—its kindred though independent French counterpart—to break down the rigour of supralapsarian and infralapsarian Calvinism. Though condemned by the weighty, if one-sided, Synod of Dort, and driven by force from Holland or suppressed for a time, it exerted an extremely wide-spread influence, especially throughout the English-speaking world, pervading the Anglican Church and its great Methodist offshoot. It represents the recoil of the human heart from the stern inferences of the head, from the darker aspects of Scripture teaching and of everyday observation of life. Its weapons against scholastic logic and learning are sentiment and humane feeling. It first denies five current propositions, then affirms five others, ending with the claim that the latter are 'agreeable to the word of God, tending to edification, and, as regards this argument, sufficient for salvation, so that it is not necessary or edifying to rise higher or to descend deeper.'

The *first* article affirms that election is conditional upon, and inseparable from, Divine foreknowledge of faith and perseverance, and reprobation upon foreknowledge of unbelief and sin persisted in. The *second* affirms that the atonement through Christ's death is universal and sufficient for all, though not necessarily accepted and actually effective in every case, denying any *a priori* limitation of it to elect persons. The *third* affirms that fallen man cannot accomplish good or attain to saving faith unless regenerated through the Holy Spirit; but the *fourth* denies that grace is irresistible, compelling the elect though withheld from the reprobate. The *fifth* denies that recipients of irresistible grace, those who through faith are 'Christo insiti ac proinde Spiritus eius vivificantis participes,' are unable to fall away and necessarily persevere to the end, and affirms that it is impossible to say from Scripture whether the regenerate can ever fall away.

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 508 ff., text of positive artt. in Dutch, Lat., and Eng. in *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 545-549; Müller, p. lviii; *PRE*[3], art. 'Remonstranten'; in Dutch the series of works by Joannes Tideman, 1847-1872.]

(4) The *Canons of the Synod of Dort* (1619) are the final answer of orthodox Calvinism to the Remonstrants, accepted unanimously by a convention of 84 Reformed divines, 58 of whom were Dutch, and 18 lay assessors. The foreign representatives came at the request of the States-General from almost every 'Reformed' country. James I. of England sent Carleton, bishop of Llandaff, Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, Ward, professor at Cambridge, Joseph Hall (afterwards bishop of Norwich), replaced later by Thomas Goad, and one of his chaplains, Walter Balcanquhal, a Scot by birth, afterwards dean of Durham—with the shrewd advice to 'mitigate the heat on both sides,' and to urge the Dutch clergy 'not to deliver in the pulpit to the people those things for ordinary doctrines which are the highest points of schools and not fit for vulgar capacity, but disputable on both sides.' Distinguished French delegates were prevented from attending by the veto of the Crown. In addition to the flower of Dutch learning and piety, then at their highest, representatives, similarly distinguished, from Great Britain, the Palatinate, Hesse, the chief Churches of Switzerland, Nassau, Bremen, and Emden, were present to deliberate and append their signatures to the findings of the Synod. One-sided though the assembly necessarily was, the Arminians being everywhere in a minority, no more learned or respectable Synod was ever convened, and no body more representative of the Reformed Protestant world ever met. The result of their discussions was a foregone conclusion; but, apart from special meetings, 154 regular sittings were held, and the whole subject under debate was examined and analyzed and set forth in dogmatic form with unexampled dialectic thoroughness and theological precision, and with an unmistakably reverent tone. Beyond question, the outcome is strictly loyal to the tradition of infralapsarian Calvinism at all points. Alike in logic and in Scripture-learning the new positions failed to win conviction. Consistency seemed to reside with their opponents. The Arminian theses were so largely based on the older doctrine that a more radical departure from the presuppositions of Calvinism would have been needed to substantiate their case. At this distance of time it is not easy to discover in them a very profound relief from the burdens under which they chafed. Where the difference between the two parties is not sentimental, it is apt to appear merely scholastic. Wesley in England was a convinced Arminian, Whitefield a Calvinist as convinced, so that they parted for ever as workers in the visible Church; but were the spirit and the outcome of their work as preachers not identical, were they not equally rewarded and equally 'owned'? Is it possible to believe that a world of thought really parted them or the communions which gathered round them? Would many among their vast audiences have recognized that between them there could yawn the theological abyss which the debates and canons of Dordrecht laboriously located and surveyed? The method rather than the practical outcome of their thought was at variance. Each could find warrant in formal Scriptures of the highest authority.

The Canons are arranged in four chapters corresponding to the Arminian re-statement (given in Muller, p. lix ff.) of the Remonstrance in four chapters, the third containing Articles 3 and 4 of the original Remonstrance. Each chapter affirms a group of theses, rejects a group of errors, and closes with the signatures of the Synod.

Ch. I., *of Divine Predestination*, affirms 18 propositions. 'As all men have sinned in Adam. . . . God would have done no injustice by leaving them all to perish' (Art. 1). 'But in this the love of God was manifested, that He sent His only-begotten Son . . . that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have everlasting life' (Art. 2). 'And that men may be brought to believe, God mercifully sends the messengers of these most joyful tidings to whom He will and at what time He pleaseth; by whose ministry men are called to repentance and faith in Christ crucified' (Art. 3). 'The wrath of God abideth on those who believe not this Gospel; but such as receive it, and embrace Jesus the Saviour by a true and living faith, are delivered' (Art. 4). 'The cause or guilt of this unbelief, as well as of all other sins, is nowise in God but in man himself: whereas faith in Jesus Christ and salvation through Him is the free gift of God' (Art. 5). 'That some receive the gift, and others not, proceeds from God's decree, according to which He graciously softens the hearts of the elect, however obstinate, and inclines them to believe: while He leaves the non-elect in His last judgment to their own wickedness and obduracy. And herein is especially displayed the profound, the merciful, and at the same time the righteous discrimination between men equally involved in ruin' (Art. 6). Election is of mere grace, sovereign good pleasure, is of a certain number of persons by nature neither better nor more deserving than others (cf. Eph 1[4-6], Ro 8[30]). There are not various decrees of election, but one and the same. It was not founded upon foreseen faith and the obedience of faith or any other good quality or disposition in man as the pre-requisite cause or condition on which it depended, but men are chosen *to* faith and to the obedience of faith. Election is the fountain of every saving good, Eph 1[4] (Artt. 7-9). 'The elect cannot be cast away nor their number diminished. In due time (though in various degrees and in different measures) they attain the assurance of their election, not by inquisitively prying into the secret and deep things of God, but by observing in themselves with a spiritual joy and holy pleasure the infallible fruits of election pointed out in the word of God; such as a true faith in Christ, filial fear, a godly sorrow for sin, a hungering and thirsting after righteousness' (Artt. 11-12).

'The sense and certainty of this election afford additional matter . . . for daily humiliation before God . . . and rendering grateful returns of ardent love. The consideration of this doctrine is so far from encouraging remissness . . . or carnal security, that these in the just judgment of God are the usual effects of rash presumption, or of idle and wanton trifling with the grace of election, in those who refuse to walk in the ways of the elect' (Art. 13). This doctrine is to be 'published in the Church of God for which it was peculiarly designed, provided it be done with reverence, in the spirit of discretion and piety, for the glory of God's most holy name, and for enlivening and comforting His people, without vainly attempting to investigate the secret way of the Most High' (Art. 14). 'What peculiarly tends to illustrate and recommend the grace of election to us is the express testimony of Holy Scripture, that not all but some only are elected, while others are passed by in the eternal decree' (Art. 15). 'Those who do not yet experience a lively faith in Christ, an assured confidence of soul, peace of conscience, an earnest endeavour after filial obedience, and glorying in God through Christ, efficaciously wrought in them, and do nevertheless persist in the use of the means which God hath appointed for working these graces in us, ought not to be alarmed at the mention of reprobation, nor rank themselves among the reprobate, but diligently persevere in the use of means, and with ardent desires devoutly and humbly wait for a season of richer grace. . . . But this doctrine is justly terrible to those who, regardless of God and of the Saviour Jesus Christ, have wholly given themselves up to the cares of the world . . . so long as they are not seriously converted to God' (Art. 16). 'Since the Word of God testifies that the children of believers are holy, not by nature, but in virtue of the covenant of grace . . . godly parents have no reason to doubt of the election and salvation of their children whom it pleaseth God to call out of this life in their infancy' (Art. 17). 'To those who murmur at the free grace of election, and just severity of reprobation, we answer with the Apostle, " . . . who art thou that repliest against God?" and quote the language of our Saviour, "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?" And therefore, with holy adoration of these mysteries, we exclaim in the words of the Apostle, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? . . . or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him and through him and to him are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen."' (Art. 18).

Ch. II., *of the Death of Christ and the Redemption of Man thereby*, affirms 9 propositions, setting forth an atonement limited to the elect. 'The death of the Son of God is the only and most perfect sacrifice and satisfaction for sin; is of infinite worth and value, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world' (Art. 3). It is so for these reasons: 'because He was not only really man and perfectly holy, but also the only-begotten Son of God . . . and because His death was attended with a sense of the wrath and curse of God due to us for sin' (Art. 4). 'Moreover, the promise of the Gospel is that whosoever believeth in Christ crucified shall not perish but have everlasting life. This promise, together with the command to repent and believe, ought to be declared and published to all nations, and to all persons promiscuously and without distinction, to whom God out of His good pleasure sends the Gospel' (Art. 5). 'And, whereas many who are called by the Gospel do not repent nor believe in Christ but perish in unbelief, this is not owing to any defect or insufficiency in the sacrifice offered by Christ upon the cross, but is wholly to be imputed to themselves' (Art. 6). 'But as many as truly believe and are delivered and saved from sin and destruction through the death of Christ, are indebted for this benefit solely to the grace of God given them in Christ from everlasting, and not to any merit of their own. For this was the sovereign counsel and most gracious will and purpose of God the Father, that the quickening and saving efficacy of the most precious death of His Son should extend to all the elect, for the bestowal upon them of the gift of justifying faith thereby to bring them infallibly to salvation . . . that Christ should effectually redeem out of every people, tribe, nation and language, all those, and those only, who were from eternity chosen . . . and given to Him by the Father':—a 'purpose proceeding from everlasting love towards the elect' (Artt. 7–9).

Ch. III., *of the Corruption of Man, his Conversion to God, and the Manner thereof*, affirms 17 propositions. 'Man was originally formed after the image of God. His understanding was adorned with a true and saving knowledge of his Creator and of spiritual things; his heart and will were upright, all his affections pure, the whole man holy. Tempted by the Devil, he fell; and begat children, corrupt not by imitation merely, but by the propagation of a vicious nature in consequence of a just judgment of God' (Artt. 1 and 2). 'All men are thus children of wrath, incapable of any saving good; without regenerating grace neither able nor willing to return to God, to reform the depravity of their nature, nor to dispose themselves to reformation. . . There remain, however, the glimmerings of natural light, whereby man retains some knowledge of God, of natural things and of the difference between good and evil. But so far is this light of nature from being sufficient to bring him to a saving knowledge of God . . . that he is incapable of using it aright even in things natural and civil' (Artt. 3–4). The Law similarly failed, accusing, not sufficing to save. The Holy Spirit, through the word or ministry of reconciliation, alone can suffice (Artt. 5–6). Israel was not chosen for its own merit or use of nature's light, but of God's free choice. 'All who are called by the Gospel are unfeignedly called. Eternal life and rest are seriously promised to all who shall come to Him and believe on Him' (Artt. 7–8). 'The fault lies in men themselves, who refuse to come and be converted. But that others obey and are converted is not to be ascribed to the proper exercise of free will whereby one distinguishes himself above others equally furnished with grace sufficient for faith, but it must be wholly ascribed to God, who calls effectually in time the elect from eternity, confers upon them faith and repentance . . . that they may glory not in themselves but in the Lord' (Artt. 9–10). In conversion, God uses His appointed means, and sends His Spirit to soften and regenerate the heart, working a new creation, a resurrection from the dead—a supernatural work, most delightful, astonishing, mysterious, ineffable (Artt. 11–12). 'The manner of this operation cannot be fully comprehended by believers in this life. Notwithstanding, they rest satisfied with knowing and experiencing that by this grace of God, they are enabled to believe with the heart and to love their Saviour. Faith is therefore to be considered as the gift of God, not as offered to man, to be accepted or rejected at his pleasure, but because it is in reality conferred, breathed and infused into him, and because he who works in man both to will and to do, produces both the will to believe and the act of believing also' (Artt. 13–14). 'Recipients of this grace owe eternal gratitude to God. Whoever is not made partaker thereof is either altogether regardless of these spiritual gifts and satisfied with his own condition, or is in no apprehension of danger, and vainly boasts the possession of that which he has not. As for those who make an external profession of faith and live regular lives, we are bound after the example of the Apostle to judge and speak of them in the most favourable manner; for the secret recesses of the heart are unknown to us. And as to others who have not yet been called, it is our duty to pray for them to God. But we are in no wise to conduct ourselves towards them with haughtiness, as if we had made ourselves to differ' (Art. 15). 'This grace of regeneration does not treat men as senseless stocks and blocks, nor take away their will and its properties, neither does violence thereto; but spiritually quickens, heals, corrects, and at the same time sweetly and powerfully bends it to a true obedience in which true freedom resides. . . . It also in no wise excludes or subverts the use of the gospel which God has ordained to be the seed of regeneration and food of the soul' (Artt. 16 and 17).

Ch. IV., *of the Perseverance of the Saints*, affirms 15 propositions. The elect are delivered 'from the dominion of sin in this life, though not altogether from the body of sin and from the infirmities of the flesh, so long as they continue in this world. Hence spring daily sins of infirmity, and hence spots adhere to the best works of the saints. But God is faithful, who, having conferred grace, mercifully confirms and powerfully preserves them therein, even to the end' (Artt. 1–3). 'Converts are not always so influenced and actuated by the Spirit of God as not in some particular instances sinfully to deviate. They must be constant in watching and prayer. By such sins they very deeply offend God, incur a deadly guilt, grieve the Holy Spirit, . . . wound their consciences, and sometimes lose the sense of God's favour, for a time, until on their return into the right way by serious repentance, the light of God's fatherly countenance again shines upon them. . . . God does not permit them to be totally deserted and to plunge themselves into everlasting destruction' (Artt. 4–8). 'Of this preservation and perseverance, assurance may be obtained according to the varying proportion of faith, not by any revelation apart from or contrary to God's Word, but from faith in God's promises, from the testimony of the Holy Spirit witnessing with our spirit that we are children and heirs of God, and from a serious and holy desire to preserve a good conscience and to perform good works. If the elect were deprived of this solid comfort, that they shall finally obtain the victory, and of this infallible pledge or earnest of eternal glory, they would be of all men the most miserable. This certainty of perseverance produces no spirit of pride or carnal security, but grateful humility and circumspection, lest God's fatherly countenance should be averted, and more grievous torment of conscience be incurred' (Artt. 9–13). 'The carnal mind is unable to comprehend this doctrine and the certainty thereof which God hath most abundantly revealed in His Word. . . . Satan abhors it; the world ridicules it; the ignorant and hypocritical abuse it; and heretics oppose it. But the Spouse of Christ hath always most tenderly loved and constantly defended it, as an inestimable treasure; and God, against whom neither counsel nor strength can prevail, will dispose her to continue this conduct to the end' (Art. 15).

The Canons conclude with a solemn protest, declaration, and admonition. The protest discloses the urgency of their work in view of current representations 'that the doctrine of the Reformed Churches concerning predestination . . . by its own genius and necessary tendency, leads off the minds of men from all piety and religion; that it is an opiate administered by the flesh and the devil; and the stronghold of Satan, where he lies in wait for all, and from which he wounds multitudes, and mortally strikes through many with the darts both of despair and of security; that it makes God the author of sin, unjust, tyrannical, hypocritical; that it is nothing more than an interpolated Stoicism, Manichæism, Libertinism, Muhammadanism; that it renders men carnally secure, since they are persuaded by it that nothing can hinder the salvation of the elect, let them live as they please; . . . and that if the reprobate should even perform truly all the works of the saints, their obedience would not in the least contribute to their salvation; that the same doctrine teaches that God by a mere arbitrary act of His will, without the least respect or view to any sin, has predestinated the

greatest part of the world to eternal damnation, and has created them for this very purpose; that in the same manner in which election is the fountain and cause of faith and good works, reprobation is the cause of unbelief and impiety; that many children of the faithful are torn, guiltless, from their mothers' breasts and tyrannically plunged into hell: so that neither baptism, nor the prayers of the Church at their baptism, can at all profit them.' These and 'many other things of the same kind the Reformed Churches not only do not acknowledge, but even detest with their whole soul.' Christians, therefore, are solemnly urged to judge of the Reformed faith from the authorized Confessions, and not from particular utterances of a few ancient and modern teachers, often wrested from their true sense and context, and to beware of the judgment which awaits false witnesses and calumniators. Preachers of this doctrine are to handle it with modesty, reverence, and caution, for comfort and assurance, not for despair, or pride, or controversy.

The Canons of Dort represent the last effort of rigid Calvinistic orthodoxy to meet the difficulties and objections besetting their system, both from a popular and from a theological point of view. Later formulation simply rests upon their conclusions. Beyond question, they are a completely consistent expansion of Calvin's theory. Subsequent history has not shown that they succeeded in their ulterior object of silencing objections or reassuring doubters. But their tone is as admirable as their eloquence is noble and sustained. Their ethical sensitiveness and zeal for the Divine glory, even at the cost of man's dignity, are manifest. Their courage in facing the problems of election and sin in the light of Scriptural revelation—problems which practically all non-Calvinistic systems discreetly elude or ignore—is worthy of the high spirit and noble ardour of the Dutch nation then emerging from their long struggle for independence. Their only polemic is against detractors; their attitude towards Arminianism is marred by no offence against charity or good taste. To read their stately sentences is to be disabused of prejudice and suspicion, and to understand the chorus of relief and praise that greeted their publication. The contradictions which they contain, and make no effort to reduce, are the irreducible antinomies of every honest system—analogous to those of miracle and law, and related intimately to the moral problems of heredity and environment, of freedom and limitation, of Divine foreknowledge of the actions of free agents. It is a great mistake to describe them as speculative, inquisitive, or presumptuous. They spring from a self-effacing desire to systematize and harmonize the teaching of Scripture, to promote assurance of ultimate salvation in Christians without self-trust yet without slavish impotence, to combine the energy of striving against sin with trust and rest in God, to justify forgiveness by its results, not by the deserts of its recipients. To the question, Why has not God conferred saving grace *effectually* upon all, since all alike are sinners and undeserving?—they either have no answer, or confess they cannot understand, implicitly appealing to godlessness and persistent impenitence as an observed fact in life, or lay the blame upon men who are already from their birth hopelessly under blame. They both assert and deny man's individual freedom since Adam. They leave inevitably upon the human mind an impression of arbitrariness in God. He might have elected and saved all, but for reasons of His own, good, no doubt, though inscrutable and seeming harsh, reasons not connected with the particular sins of individuals, He has not done so. His action appears un-ethical according to our standards of Christian judgment. To be able to save and not to do so, to be free to elect all sinners and not to do so, when all alike have come short, whether it be true to life's experience or not, is a painful character to attribute to the God and Father of Jesus Christ. Technical or formal safeguards or reservations, counter-assertions like afterthoughts at the close of the canons, will not avail to dispel from the popular mind, however serious, the impression of Divine cruelty. This is enough in itself to discredit any religious manifesto, however guarded or studied in its phraseology. Where the divines of Dordrecht failed, others may well pause.

Along with the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, which the Synod of Dort reaffirmed, the Canons of Dort have remained the formal standard of the group of Dutch Reformed Churches in Holland and in the lands of its emigrant children. In the National Church of Holland, however, as distinct from the conservative secessions, they are no longer held as strictly binding. Their influence upon subsequent Calvinistic Confessions is obvious even to the superficial reader.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 512–523: full Lat. text in *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 550–580, Eng. text of Dutch Ref. Church of America, positive articles only, *ib.* pp. 581–597; Eng. text of positive and negative canons in Hall, *Harmony of Prot. Confessions*, 1842, pp. 539–573; Müller, pp. lviii–lxiv; full Lat. text, pp. 843–861.]

D. *HUNGARY, POLAND, AND THE REST OF THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.*—i. HUNGARY.—In Hungary the Reformation movement, originated from Wittenberg, was promoted by a numerous group of native workers, at their head Matthias Dévay, and was consolidated by the acceptance in 1545 of the Augsburg Confession. But with remarkable rapidity the Saxon gave place to the Swiss influence. Dévay and his successors passed over, in spite of personal ties to Wittenberg, to Zwinglian and Calvinistic views, the phrase 'corde, non ore' in relation to the communion of the Lord's body becoming a watchword in the Magyar Church. The native Confessions belong to the years 1559–70, and to the lifetime and ascendancy of Peter Melius, the 'Hungarian Calvin,' teacher and pastor in Debreczen. They have all given place, however, since 1626 or 1646, to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession.

(1) The *Confession of Kolosvar* (*Claudiopolis*), 1559, is a brief 'Sententia' on the Lord's Supper drawn up by Melius (Iuhasz), David, and seven colleagues met in synod; it was followed in the same year by a *Defensio*, or vindication, by David, both maintaining the Calvinist and rejecting the Lutheran doctrine. The *Confession of Vasarhely*, 1559, in Hungarian, reproduces its teaching.

(2) The *Confession of Debreczen* (1560–2) is the first general Calvinist Confession of the Church, dealing with election and other topics, doctrinal and ecclesiastical. It is based on the Fathers and on the Genevan teachers, was prepared by Melius, and was ratified by Synod. It is also known as *Confessio Agrivallensis*, or *Conf. Hungarorum*, or *Conf. Catholica*. Melius at the same time introduced into school and general use a *Catechism*, modelled upon and inspired throughout by Calvin's Catechism.

(3) The *Confession of Tarczal and Torda*, adopted by the successive synods of those places in 1562 and 1563, is a shortened form of Beza's Compendium of Reformed Doctrine, the *Confessio Christianæ Fidei* of 1560. It incorporates the Ecumenical Creeds, and treats in six parts of the Holy Trinity, of God the Father, of Jesus Christ, of the Holy Spirit, of the Church, and of final Judgment.

(4) The *Confession of Czenger* (1570), or *Confessio Hungarica*, is the last and most important of a series of Synodic Declarations against the Unitarian movement in Hungary, earlier examples being the *Brief Confession of Pastors at Debreczen* (1567), the *Confession of Kassa* (1568), and the *Confession of Várad* (1569).

The Confession of the Synod of Czenger, at which Melius was the guiding mind, but from which the pastors who sympathized with Socinus and Servetus absented themselves, contains 11 chapters dealing with the One and Only God,—the only-begotten Son of God from eternity,—the Holy Spirit, as true and only God and Lord, having life in Himself,—the Words and Expres-

sions employed by the Holy Spirit concerning God through the Prophets and Apostles,—the Rules for the interpretation of expressions concerning God,—the Law and the Gospel in the Church,—the Rites and Sacraments of the Church, Infant Baptism and the Lord's Supper,—Christian liberty in food, drink, clothing, and ecclesiastical places of meeting,—Divine freedom from respect of persons in saving some and hardening others,—the Cause of Sin, and the Mediator the Son of God,—the removal of obnoxious heretics and antichrists. The Confession is less pleasing in tone than its predecessors, being burdened with polemic and controversy.

[On the Hungarian Confessions, see *Report of Second General Council of Presbyterian Alliance*, Philadelphia, 1880 (for a full account, though marred by misprints and unfamiliarity with English on the part of the Hungarian contributor, Francis Balogh, Prof. of Ch. Hist. at Debreczen), pp. 1099–1120; also Müller, *op. cit.* pp. xxxvi–xxxix, Latin texts of 2, 3, and 4, pp. 265–453; Schaff, *Hist.* p. 591 f.]

ii. BOHEMIA.—In Bohemia, apart from the native Utraquism, whose standards have been discussed (p. 844[b]), there was also, as in Hungary, a division of Protestant sympathies between Lutheranism and Calvinism. Reference has already (p. 844[b]) been made to Calvinistic influence in the unionist Confession of 1575. But the outstanding Calvinist Bohemian Confession is the little known *Confession of 1609*, containing 20 chapters, almost catechetic in form, which had been presented to King Ferdinand, to the Emperor Maximilian II., and to King Sigismund Augustus II. of Poland—a revision and expansion of older documents of 1535 and 1564, retaining not a little of the native pre-Reformation type of teaching. The Reformed Church of Bohemia and Moravia recognizes the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession.

[Müller, pp. xxxix–xl, text in Latin, pp. 453–500.]

iii. PIEDMONT.—In Piedmont there was drawn up, as mentioned above (p. 844[b]), the Calvinistic *Waldensian Confession of 1655*, in 33 propositions with an appendix repudiating 14 Romanist accusations—based upon the French Confession of Calvin.

[French text in Müller, pp. 500–505; French and English in Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 757–770.]

iv. POLAND.—In Poland, apart from the *Declaration of Thorn*, mentioned above (p. 867) as a Confession recognized in Brandenburg, there needs only to be made a reference to the *Consensus of Sendomir* (1570). The death of John à Lasco and of Prince Radziwill, the leaders of the Polish Reformation, and the pressure of Roman propaganda, led to the meeting and Confederation of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brethren at Sendomir in 1570, and to the issue of a joint-Confession setting forth their agreement on the fundamental Articles of Protestant faith embodied in their standards, and their compromise on the Lord's Supper, in Melanchthonian or Calvinist terms, affirming the substantial presence of Christ (not of His body and blood), denying that the elements are mere symbols, avoiding technical Lutheran language, and omitting all reference to the doctrine of Predestination. The Confession contains a lengthy passage on the Sacraments from Melanchthon's 'Repetition' of the Augsburg Confession, drawn up in 1551 for the Council of Trent, and in Melanchthon's spirit it acknowledges the Christian soundness of all three parties, and enjoins the cultivation of good relations between them. In 1570, at Posen, a series of 20 short supplementary Articles were adopted in confirmation of the Consensus. The Consensus was repeatedly ratified by Polish Synods.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 581–588; art. 'Sendomir,' in *PRE*[3]; Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, Leipzig, 1840, p. 551 ff. (Lat. text); Beck, *Die symbolischen Bucher*[2], 1845, vol. ii. p. 87 ff. (Germ. text).]

v. CONSTANTINOPLE. In Constantinople, Calvinism found an exponent in so exalted a personage as the Patriarch, Cyril Lucar, who was a life-long correspondent with the Genevan Reformers (see above, p. 837). His *Confession of Faith* (1631) went further than that of his successor at Alexandria, Metrophanes (1625), who, while not openly espousing Protestant views, refrained from polemic against them, though opposing Roman Catholic tenets. It was supplemented by various *Catechisms*. The earliest form, of 1629, was in Latin. The edition of 1631 contained four added questions and answers, and was in Greek. The edition of 1633, at Geneva, was in both languages.

Of the 18 chapters, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 16 are Catholic and uncontroversial—on the doctrines of the Trinity, Creation and Providence, the Fall, the Incarnation and Glory of Christ, Faith, and Baptismal Regeneration, the Procession of the Spirit being expressed in terms of the phrasing of the mediating Council of Florence, 'proceeding from the Father *through* the Son.' In the other 10 chapters, the teaching is unmistakably Reformed and Calvinistic. The authority of Scripture is supreme as the infallible Word of God, and the Apocrypha are excluded from canonical authority (ch. 2 and appendix). The Church may err and sin, and needs the grace of the Holy Spirit and His teaching rather than that of any mortal man (ch. 12). On Predestination, Cyril agrees with Dort against the Arminians (ch. 3). He sets forth Justification in ch. 13 in these terms: 'We believe that man is justified by faith, not by works. But when we say "by faith," we understand its correlative, the righteousness of Christ, which faith, performing the office of the hand, apprehends and applies to us for salvation. And this . . . in no wise to the prejudice of works . . . they are by no means to be neglected, they are necessary means and evidences of our faith and a confirmation of our calling. . . . They are of themselves by no means sufficient to save man. The righteousness of Christ, applied to the penitent, alone justifies and saves the believer' (after Schaff). There are but two Sacraments instituted by Christ; both require faith for their efficacy (ch. 15). Transubstantiation and oral manducation are alike erroneous doctrines, and are to be replaced by Calvin's teaching on the real but spiritual presence and reception of the body and blood of Christ (ch. 17). Purgatory and post-mortem repentance are denied (ch. 18). The Confession, of course, never became authoritative, but it is a significant evidence of the influence of the Genevan School.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 54–57; art. 'Lukaris,' in *PRE*[3].]

vi. SPAIN.—In Spain three Calvinistic Confessions have been recognized:

(1) *Confession of 1559* of Spanish refugees from the Inquisition, in London. It is believed to have been very moderately Calvinistic in type, and contained 21 Articles.

(2) *Confession of Seville* (1869), on the basis of an earlier draft prepared at Gibraltar, accepted by the Churches of Seville, Cordova, Granada, Malaga, Cadiz, and Huelva. It contains 25 chapters with proof-texts. It is largely a reproduction of the Westminster Confession, in parts a translation of it.

(3) *Confession of Madrid* (1872), prepared and authorized by the Assembly of the Reformed Church of Spain, the 'Spanish Christian Church.' It contains 25 chapters, and is similar in character to that of 1869, the occasion for its preparation being the union of the Andalusian Churches forming the Spanish Reformed Church, which had recognized the earlier standard of doctrine, with a number of other congregations, some of which had been fostered by missions from Protestant countries.

[*Report of Second Gen. Council of Presbyterian Alliance*, Philad., 1880, pp. 1121–1123.]

vii. ITALY.—The *Confession of the Evangelical Church of Italy* (1870) is a very short statement in 8 Articles, adopted at Milan by a group of Free Churches met in Assembly, 'simply as the outward bond of unity in the faith and the banner of the Church.'

The Articles refer to (1) Scripture; (2) Man's original state, the Fall, and its result; (3) God's desire to save; (4) Salvation, its source, means, vehicle, and results; (5) the life of the Redeemed, and the source of its strength; (6) the Church; (7) Ministries in the Church; (8) the Second Advent of Christ, and Judgment.

[Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 787–788.]

E. *THE BRITISH ISLANDS AND EMPIRE.* i. ENGLAND.—In Episcopalian England, as we have seen (pp. 851–857 above), Calvinism early made its presence felt, at first by reason of political exigencies under the cloak of Melanchthonian Lutheranism, later with unmistakable clearness in the accepted Articles (1549–1563), though never in its extremer forms, and finally in the *Lambeth*

(1595) and *Irish* (1615) Articles, with sharp decision and without compromise.

ii. SCOTLAND.—In Presbyterian Scotland, Genevan teaching was dominant from the first, alike in Confessions and in Catechisms. Apart from the articles of belief or 'places' of the early Protestant teachers and martyrs, and the vernacular Catechism expounding the Apostles' Creed prepared by Archbishop Hamilton for priests and people on the eve of the Reformation in 1552, and the contemporary versified Creed of the 'Gude and Godlie Ballates,' (1) the first Confessional utterance of Scottish faith is the *Confession of the English Congregation at Geneva* (1556), which, along with forms of prayer, had been framed on the teaching of Calvin's 1536 Catechism and Forms of Prayer, for the congregation at Frankfort in 1555 by Knox and four others commissioned to do the work—Whittingham, Gilby, Foxe, and Cole. When part of the Frankfort congregation migrated to Geneva, they took with them this 'Forme of Prayers, etc.' The brief Confession is the first among its contents. It is a running paraphrase and expansion of the Apostles' Creed, whose clauses were printed as insets on the margin of the successive paragraphs. On Scripture, on the twofold Decree, and on the Sacraments, it is completely loyal to Calvin, with whose approval, indeed, it was issued. On Knox's return to Scotland the 'Forme of Prayers' was speedily 'approved and received by the Church,' and issued, practically without change, for common use.

[Text in Dunlop's *Collection of Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, etc., of Public Authority in the Church of Scotland*, 1719, 1722, vol. ii. pp. 1–12; also, with introduction, in Laing's *Works of John Knox*, 1846–64, vol. iv. pp. 143–173.]

(2) The *Scots Confession* of 1560 marks the consummation of the Reformation in Scotland. It was drawn up in four days, by instruction of the Estates of Parliament, by Knox with the assistance of five others—Winram, Spottiswoode, Hillock, Douglas, and Rowe—and, after private revision by Lethington and Lord James Stewart, who tempered its language and secured the omission of an article on the 'dysobediens that subjects owe unto their magistrates,' it was approved by Parliament as 'hailsome and sound doctrine.' It is substantially the work of Knox himself, who had not only prepared the Geneva Confession with full knowledge of its Swiss counterparts, but had been consulted regarding the English Articles of Edward VI.

The Preface is a striking introduction, vivid, picturesque, and vigorous, and has often been the subject of well-deserved encomium. Like the First Confession of Basel (1534), it invites correction on the basis of Scripture, and disclaims inerrancy, 'protestand that gif onie man will note in this our Confessioun onie Artickle or sentence repugnand to Gods halie word, that it wald please him of his gentleness and for christian charities sake to admonish us of the same in writing; and we upon our honoures and fidelitie, be Gods grace do promise unto him satisfaction fra the mouth of God, that is, fra his haly scriptures, or else reformation of that quhilk he sal prove to be amisse.' Opening with the words, 'Lang have we thirsted, dear Brethren, to have notified to the warld the Sum of that Doctrine quhilk we professe, and for quhilk we have sustained Infamie and Danger,' it ends—'be the assistance of the michtie Spirit of the same our Lord Jesus Christ, we firmely purpose to abide to the end in the Confessioun of this our faith, as be Artickles followis.'

Its 25 Articles treat of 'God, the Creation of Man, Original Sin, the Revelation of the Promise, the Continuance . . . of the Kirk, the Incarnation, why it behooved the Mediator to be very God and very Man, Election, Christ's Death, Passion and Burial, the Resurrection, the Ascension, Faith in the Holy Goste, the Cause of Gude Warkis, what Warkis are reputit Gude befoir God, the Perfectioun of the Law and the Imperfectioun of Man, the Kirk, the Immortalitie of the Saules, the Notis be the quhilk the Trewe Kirk is decernit fra the false, and quha sall be Judge of the Doctrine, the Authoritie of the Scriptures, Generall Councillis, the Sacramentis, their Richt Administratioun, to whom they appertaine, the Civile Magistrate, the Guiftes freely given to the Kirk.' In common with the other standards of the Reformation, it deprecates heresy from the Catholic Creeds. The articles on Election (VII. and VIII.) are characteristic: the conjunction of Godhead and manhood in Christ proceeded from the eternal decree; for the same eternal God and Father who of mere grace elected us in Christ Jesus His Son before the foundation of the world appointed Him to be our Head, our Brother, our Pastor . . . giving power to believers to be the sons of God . . . by which holy fraternity 'quhatsaever wee have tynt in Adam is restored unto us agayne.' Nothing is said of a decree of reprobation, save that 'the reprobate' are mentioned as a class distinct from the elect (cf. the English Articles). Those who lack the Spirit of sanctification, and live in sin, cannot have Christ living in their hearts till they repent and are changed (XIII.). Good works are the fruit of faith, and faith the gift of the Spirit (XII. and XIII.). The true Church is invisible, known only to God, who knows His elect; it includes the children of true believers, saints in glory and saints who yet live and fight against sin; out of that true Church, as without Christ, there is no salvation, howsoever men may live according to equity and justice (XVI.). The notes of the true Church are three—the true preaching of the Word of God, the right administration of the Sacraments, discipline uprightly administered; the interpretation of Scripture belongs to no private or public person, to no Church by reason of any earthly pre-eminence, but to the Spirit of God by whom it was written; when in doubt we are to look to the utterance of the Spirit within the body of Scripture, to Christ's own example and commandment; by Scripture all teachers and Councils are to be judged (Artt. XVIII.–XX.). Councils are fallible at the best . . . 'Not that we think that any policie and an ordour in ceremonies can be appointed for al ages, times, and places. For, as ceremonies sik as men have devised, are bot temporall; so may and aucht they to be changed when they rather foster superstition then that they edifie the Kirk using the same' (Art. XX.). The Two Sacraments of the New Testament correspond to Circumcision and Passover in the Old: they are not only to distinguish visibly God's people from others, but to exercise their faith, and seal in their hearts the assurance of His promise and of their union with Christ: they are not 'naked and baire signes': by them we are truly engrafted in and fed by Christ; the signs are neither to be worshipped nor handled lightly, but reverenced; the very body and blood of Christ are by virtue of His Godhead communicated to us, distant though He is in heaven, not by any transubstantiation, but through faith by the power of the Holy Spirit, so that we become flesh of His flesh, bone of His bones, and receive 'life and immortalitie, . . . quhilk, albeit we confesse are nether given unto us at that time onelie, nether zit be the proper power and vertue of the Sacrament onelie; zit we affirme that the faithfull, in the richt use of the Lords Table has conjunctioun with Christ Jesus as the naturall man can not apprehend' (Art. XXI.; cf. Eng. Artt.). Papists have corrupted, profaned, and adulterated the Sacraments: their stealing of the cup from God's people is sacrilege (Art. XXII.). The civil magistrate is ordained of God, and to be honoured and obeyed accordingly as the 'Lieu-tennents of God in whose Sessiouns God himself dois sit and judge'; to kings and magistrates the conservation and purgation of religion chiefly belong: 'Sik as resist the supreme power, doing that thing quhilk appertains to his charge do resist Goddis ordinance, and therefore cannot be guiltles' (Art. XXIV.). Finally, though a Church have all the true notes, 'we meane not that everie particular persoun joyned with sik company be ane elect member of Christ Jesus: For we acknowledge and confess that Dornell, Cockell, and Caffe may be sawen, grow, and in great aboundance lie in the middis of the wheit.' After a doxology, the Confession finely closes: 'Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be confounded; let them flee from thy presence that hate thy godlie name. Give thy servands strenth to speake thy word in bauldnesse, and let all Natiouns cleave to thy trew knawledge. Amen.'

It is the national and the native Confession of Scotland, exhaling the spirit of the thrilling times that brought it into being. It is practical rather than theological in its terms and purpose, keenly alive to the needs of the hour—persuasion rather than controversy. If the language of the preface is stern and harsh towards Roman Catholics, it is never mere abuse or caricature; it is the plain truthful speech of men who had seen and suffered, whose revered friends and teachers had been torn from their side and murdered for the truth. Though Edward Irving was less than fair to the Westminster Confession,—its supplanter, as he deemed it,—his often quoted words cannot be improved upon: 'The Scottish Confession was the banner of the Church in all her wrestlings and conflicts, the Westminster Confession but as the camp-colours which she hath used during her days of peace—the one for battle, the other for fair appearance and good order. This document . . . is written in a most honest, straightforward, manly style, without compliment or flattery, without affectation of logical precision and learned accuracy, as if it came fresh from the heart of laborious workmen, all the day long busy with the preaching of the truth, and sitting down at night to embody

the heads of what was continually taught. There is a freshness of life about it which no frequency of reading wears off" (*Collected Writings*, Lond. 1864, i. 601).

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 680–685, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, text in Scots and Lat. pp. 437–479; Dunlop, *Collection*, pp. 13–98; Müller, Lat. text, pp. 249–263; C. G. M'Crie, *Confessions of the Church of Scotland*, 1907, pp. 14–21; Edward Irving, *Confessions, etc., of the Church of Scotland*, 1831; Mitchell, *Scottish Reformation*, 1900, p. 99 ff.; Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 300 ff., and the Standard Scottish Church Histories.]

(3) The *Scottish National Covenants* of 1581, 1638, and 1643 bridge the interval between the Scots and the Westminster Confessions. They are not technically Confessional in form, but they call themselves Confessions, and contain matter of the nature of doctrinal manifestos, and therefore claim a place in this review. They are a special feature of Scottish religion in arms against 'Popery' and 'Prelacy' in succession, and they expressly model themselves on such OT Covenants as those of Joshua and Jehoiada, witnessing to the genuinely national character of the Reform movement in that country.

The *National Covenant*, or *Second Scots Confession*, also called *the King's Confession* (1581), was in Scots and in Latin, the work of Knox's friend and colleague, John Craig. It solemnly reaffirms the Scots Confession, strengthening its condemnation of Roman usurpations

'upon the scriptures of God, the Kirk, the Civill Magistrate and consciences of men; all his tyranous lawes made upon indifferent thingis againis our Christian libertie; . . . his fyve bastard sacraments . . . his cruell judgement againis infants departing without the Sacrament, his absolute necessitie of baptisme . . . his warldlie monarchie and wicked hierarchie . . . his erroneous and bloodie decreets made at Trente.'

Schaff describes it as the most fiercely anti-Popish of all Confessions, and notes that its reference to infant salvation, corresponding to the private view of Zwingli and Bullinger, is the first Confessional utterance of the kind. The closing sentences will serve as an example of its contents. In view of the existence of veiled Romanism and outward conformity in hope of the overthrow of the reformed faith,

'We theirfoir, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisie, and of sic double dealing with God and his Kirk, protest and call the Searcher of all Heartis for witness, that our mindis and heartis do fullilie agree with this our Confession, promeis, aith and subscription: sa that we ar not movit with ony warldlie respect, but ar perswadit onlie in our conscience, through the knawledge and love of Godis trew Religion prented in our heartis be the Holie Spreit, as we sal answer to him in the day when the secreits of heartis sal be disclosed. And because we perceave that the quyetness and stabilitie of our Religion and Kirk doth depend upon the safety and good behaviour of the Kingis Majestie . . . We protest and promeis solemnetlie . . . that we sall defend his personne and authoritie with our geare, bodies, and lyves, in the defence of Christis Evangell, libertie of our countrey . . . as we desire our God to be a strong and mercifull defendar to us in the day of our death, and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father and the Holie Spreit, be all honour and glorie eternallie. Amen.'

The Covenant was signed by King James VI., and his household, nobles, and ministers; later in the same year by the General Assembly of the Church, and by all ranks and classes; later still in 1590 with additions.

The *Renewed National Covenant* of 1638 includes the *first*, with additions by Alexander Henderson and Johnston of Warriston, occasioned by the attempt of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud to force the Scottish Church to accept the Royal Supremacy, with a hierarchy, and an elaborate Anglican service approximating to the Roman.

The *Solemn League and Covenant* of 1643 is also

'anti-episcopal as well as anti-papal . . . the connecting link between Scotch Presbyterianism and English Puritanism, between the General Assembly and the Westminster Assembly, between the Scotch Parliament and the Long Parliament. It aimed to secure uniformity of religion in the united realms' (Schaff, *Hist.* p. 689).

Its occasion was an appeal by the English Long Parliament and by the Westminster Assembly of Divines to the Scots for aid against Charles I. It was drawn up by Alexander Henderson, then Rector of Edinburgh University and Moderator of the General Assembly, and was enthusiastically adopted by the Assembly and the Scottish Convention. It is not a theological but a politico-religious document.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 685–694, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 480–485; Dunlop, *Collection*, pp. 99–137; M'Crie, *Confessions of Church of Scotland*, pp. 21–27; Scottish Church Histories.]

(4) The *Aberdeen Confession* (1616), though the work of the Episcopalian party during its ascendancy, and accordingly linked with the Five Articles of Perth (1618) and the Laudian Service Book in popular dislike, is not a whit less Calvinistic in its Predestinarian or Sacramental or Scriptural doctrine than the Scots Confession, or indeed the subsequent Confession of Westminster. Its language is naturally free from the violence of 1560. Though approved by the Assembly of 1616, it had but a short-lived authority. It had been previously drafted (by Hall and Adamson, according to Scot of Cupar), and during the Assembly was revised by Robert Howie of St. Andrews, Forbes of Corse, Hay, Struthers, and Cowper (Calderwood, *History*, 1842–9, vii. 233–242). M'Crie credits it as a whole mainly to Howie.

[M'Crie, *Confessions*, pp. 27–35. Text in the *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, 1839, pp. 1132–1139, as 'The New Confession of Faith'; Macpherson, *Hist. of Ch. in Scotland*, 1901, pp. 170–171; Mitchell, *Scottish Reformation*, 1900, p. 118; Grub, *Eccles. History*, 1861, ii. 306.]

(5) *Catechisms authorized in Scotland before 1646.*—In no country was catechetic instruction of young and adult more prized or practised than in Scotland during the century after the Reformation. According to the First Book of Discipline (ch. 11, paragraph 3),

'After noone must the young children be publickly examined in their Catechism, in the Audience of the People: in doing whereof the Minister must take great diligence as well to cause the people understand the Questions proponed as the Answers, and the Doctrine that may be collected thereof: the order to be kept in teaching the Catechism, and how much of it is appointed for every Sonday is already distinguished in the Catechism printed with the Book of our Common Order; which Catechism [sc. Calvin's] is the most perfect that ever yet was used in the Kirk.'

A very large number of manuals were in circulation. At the Hampton Court Conference, King James complained that in Scotland every good mother's son counted himself fit to write a catechism. One of the earliest to secure currency was a *Metrical Catechism by the Wedderburns*, corresponding to metrical forms of the Psalter and Apostles' Creed. In Latin, or in translation, the *Geneva Catechism of Calvin* and the *Heidelberg or Palatine Catechism* were authoritative. Admirable native products were *the Larger* and *the Shorter* (abridged) *Catechisms of John Craig*, the author of the First Covenant. The former appeared in 1581, was authorized in 1590, abridged by order of Assembly, and issued afresh in the shorter form which was the standard of instruction till superseded by the Westminster Catechism.

Craig's Larger Catechism begins: 'Who made man and woman?—The eternal God of his goodness. Whereof made he them?—Of an earthly body and an heavenly spirit. To whose image made he them?—To his own image.' The Shorter, used for examination before Communion, begins: 'What are we by nature?—The children of God's wrath,' and contains 96 questions in 12 groups: of our bondage through Adam, our redemption by Christ, our Participation with Christ, the Word, our Liberty to serve God, the Sacraments, Baptism, the Supper, Discipline, the Magistrate, 'the Table in special,' and the end of our Redemption.

In both works question and answer are uniquely brief and pithy, many of the answers being models of lucidity and effectiveness. The same may also be said of the Latin *Summula Catechismi* or *Rudimenta Pietatis* long used in higher schools, ascribed to Andrew Simpson of Perth—a little manual in 41 questions based on the 'Threefold State of Man,' (1) in sanctitate et sanitate, (2) sub peccato et morte, (3) sub Christi gratia.

[Horatius Bonar, *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation*, London, 1866; Dunlop, *Collection*, ii. 139–382; Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 696–701.]

(6) The *Westminster Confession and Catechisms* (1646–7) were the work of a memorable Assembly of Divines, selected, appointed, and maintained by the Long Parliament, 'to be consulted with by the Parliament for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England; and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations.' In 1640, Commissioners from Scotland had brought representations that 'it is to be wished that there were one Confession of Faith, one form of Catechism, one Directory for all the parts of the public worship of God . . . in all the churches of his majesty's dominions,' and the English Parliament reciprocated the desire. The Assembly was constituted in 1643, both Houses of Parliament without the Royal consent having condemned the episcopal hierarchy as 'evil, offensive, and burdensome to the kingdom,' and resolved to set up a government 'most agreeable to God's word, most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and in nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed Churches abroad.' The Assembly was to be composed of 151 members, 30 of whom were eminent laymen (10 Lords, and 20 Commons), among them Selden, Pym, St. John, and Vane, and the rest divines representative of the English counties—a group of moderate Episcopalians, including the learned James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishops of Exeter, Bristol, and Worcester, and five doctors of divinity from the Universities, a group of about a dozen learned Independents headed by Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye, an influential Erastian group, including Lightfoot, Selden, and Coleman, all distinguished Hebrew scholars, and representing the mind of Parliament, and a group, by far the largest, of Presbyterians, either, like Twisse the Prolocutor, Gataker, Reynolds, and Palmer, maintaining the *jus humanum* of Presbytery as consistent with Scripture, or insisting on its *jus divinum* as commanded by Scripture. A group of Scottish Commissioners, five ministers, including Alexander Henderson, Rector of the University of Edinburgh, Robert Baillie, Principal and Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, Samuel Rutherford of the same office at St. Andrews, and George Gillespie, a youthful Edinburgh minister of unusual talent, and three covenanting laymen, the martyr Marquis of Argyle, Lord Maitland, afterwards the persecuting Earl of Lauderdale, and Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, uncle of Bishop Burnet, were associated with the Assembly throughout, acting on all its committees, and by force of character, scholarship, and debating power exercising an influence out of all proportion to their number. King Charles's veto and the troubles of the Civil War prevented the Episcopalian divines, with one or two exceptions, from attending, but Ussher's absence with the King at Oxford failed to prejudice his theological influence in the proceedings, for his Confessional work was their basis, and, after all, the Assembly, though Puritan, was Anglican in its orders. The members were without exception convinced Calvinists of the orthodox type, without even a tinge of Arminianism. They debated in perfect personal freedom, without haste or interference, under the common vow which was read at the beginning of each week's labours:

'I do seriously promise and vow, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly, whereof I am a member, I will maintain nothing in point of doctrine but what I believe to be most agreeable to the Word of God; nor in point of discipline, but what may make most for God's glory and the peace and good of His Church.'

The meetings were held first in the chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster, then in the historic Jerusalem Chamber in the Deanery. Ten weeks were devoted to the revision of the Thirty-nine Articles to bring them into unequivocally Calvinistic form on the lines of the Lambeth Articles and of Ussher's Irish Articles, and the first fifteen were finished, and supplied with Scripture proofs (for text, see Hall, *Harmony of Prot. Confessions*, pp. 505–512, where they are printed 'just as a matter of curiosity').

By order of Parliament the Assembly then turned its attention to the preparation of a Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Book of Discipline, for use throughout the three kingdoms. The Confession was ready after two years and a quarter of unremitting work, the Catechisms and Book of Order taking shape simultaneously. It was submitted in print to Parliament in Dec. 1646, and again in April 1647, when furnished by order with Scripture proofs, which, it appears, the divines had not been desirous of incorporating with it. The chief responsibility for the authorship may be assigned to Drs. Twisse, Tuckney, Arrowsmith, Reynolds, Temple, Hoyle, Palmer, Herle, and the Scottish Commissioners, though every sentence was openly debated with freedom and deliberation. Parliament carefully considered the successive Articles, and omitted XXX. and XXXI., on Church Censures, and on Synods and Councils, with parts of XX., XXIII., and XXIV., on Christian Liberty, on the Civil Magistrate, and on Marriage. The work was then issued in 1648 in English and Latin by Parliamentary authority, and enjoyed, until the Restoration, the unique distinction of being the Confessional standard of the whole United Kingdom. It first received Royal Sanction in 1690 under William and Mary. In Scotland the Assembly of 1647 approved of it in its complete form as 'most agreeable to the Word of God, and in nothing contrary to the received doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of this Kirk.' In 1649 the Scottish Parliament also approved of it, and the Assembly ordained that 'in every house where there is any who can read, there be at least one copy of the Shorter and Larger Catechism, Confession of Faith, and Directory for family worship.' Though not intended by its English authors to be imposed on the individual conscience as a document for subscription, it was promptly so used in Scotland.

In its complete form, as still current, the Confession extends to 33 chapters, each containing a small group of articulate propositions. The chapters treat of Scripture, the Trinity, God's Decree, Creation, Providence, the Fall, Sin and its Punishment, God's Covenant with Man, Christ the Mediator, Free-will, Effectual Calling, Justification, Adoption, Sanctification, Saving Faith, Repentance unto Life, Good Works, the Perseverance of Saints, Assurance of Grace and Salvation, the Law, Christian Liberty and Liberty of Conscience, Worship and the Sabbath, Lawful Oaths and Vows, the Civil Magistrate, Marriage and Divorce, the Church, the Communion of Saints, the Sacraments, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Church Censures, Synods and Councils, the State after Death and the Resurrection, and the Last Judgment. This is the order throughout, with slight additions and subtractions and divisions, of the 19 Irish Articles of 1615 (see above, p. 855 f.), which begin with Scripture and end with the Last Judgment, and, much less closely, the order of the more theological portion of the 39 English Articles. It thus anticipates one of the most generally accepted modern divisions of Christian doctrine, viz. the sequence, after a preface on Scripture,

of God, Man, Christ, Salvation, Church, and Last Things.

The Doctrine of Scripture in ch. I. is a theological classic, and its contents deserve to be quoted not only as representative of the genius and spirit of the Westminster Assembly, but for their own dignity, comprehensiveness, and worth:

'i. Although the light of nature, and the works of Creation and Providence, do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom, and power of God as to leave men inexcusable; yet are they not sufficient to give that knowledge of God and of his will which is necessary unto salvation; therefore it pleased the Lord at sundry times and in divers manners to reveal himself and to declare that his will unto his Church; and afterwards for the better preserving and propagating of the truth, and for the more sure establishment and comfort of the Church against the corruption of the flesh and the malice of Satan and of the world, to commit the same wholly unto writing; which maketh the Holy Scripture to be most necessary; those former ways of God's revealing his will unto his people being now ceased.'

Sect. ii. enumerates the Canonical Books of Scripture 'as given by inspiration of God to be the rule of faith and life,' omitting all reference to the Apocrypha, and placing the Epistle to the Hebrews after the list of Paul's Epistles as an anonymous book. Sect. iii. runs: 'The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings.'—iv. 'The authority of the holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God (who is truth itself), the Author thereof; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the Word of God.'—v. 'We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to an high and reverent esteem of the holy Scripture; and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God; yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts.'—vi. 'The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men. Nevertheless we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word; and that there are some circumstances concerning the worship of God and government of the Church, common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence according to the general rules of the Word, which are always to be observed.'—vii. 'All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them.'—viii. 'The Old Testament in Hebrew (which was the native language of the people of God of old), and the New Testament in Greek (which at the time of the writing of it was most generally known to the nations), being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular care and providence kept pure in all ages, are therefore authentical; so as in all controversies of religion the Church is finally to appeal unto them. But because these original tongues are not known to all the people of God who have right unto and interest in the Scriptures, and are commanded in the fear of God to read and search them, therefore they are to be translated into the vulgar language of every nation unto which they come, that the Word of God dwelling plentifully in all, they may worship him in an acceptable manner, and through patience and comfort of the Scriptures may have hope.'—ix. 'The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself; and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture (which is not manifold but one), it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly.'—x. 'The supreme Judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture.'

Chs. III., V., IX., and XVII., on the Divine Decree, Providence, Free-will, and the Perseverance of the Saints, present a firm but far from extreme type of Calvinism. Written in full view of the great Reformed Confessions, they go beyond the 39 Articles, the Scots Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Helvetic Confessions, in emphasizing the darker side of the Decree; but, like the Canons of Dort and the Irish Articles, they are strictly infralapsarian, though eminent members of the Assembly like Twisse were supralapsarian Calvinists. The Fall and its havoc are under a permissive, not a causal or effective, decree. The term 'reprobation' is not used: 'preterition, passing by,' has replaced it as a milder expression, perhaps through the influence of men on the drafting committee like Calamy and Arrowsmith, who sympathized with the Amyraldist 'hypothetical universalism.' Human freedom is affirmed, and 'the liberty or contingency of second causes,' as compatible with the Divine sovereignty. Between 'particular election' and 'hypothetical universalism,' each of which found supporters in the debates, the Confession seems to halt.

Chs. VI.-IX., on Man, contain a development of the covenant-idea present in the Irish Articles: two Covenants with parallel ordinances, of Works in Adam, of Grace in Christ, are distinguished—a theological scheme, traceable perhaps to Bullinger, which emphasizes human freedom, and which had been taught on Biblical authority by Rollock in Scotland, by Cartwright in England, by Olevianus in Germany, and by Cocceius in Holland. Chs. X.-XVIII. are an exceptionally full and careful statement of the doctrines bound up with Justification. Ch. XXI., of Religious Worship and the Sabbath Day, affirms the Puritan view of worship and of Sabbath-observance, the Hebrew Sabbath being a perpetual commandment, 'changed' since the Resurrection of Christ to the first day of the week, the Lord's Day, so to be observed for ever. Ch. XXV., on the Church, distinguishes the Invisible Church, the whole number of the Elect, from the visible Catholic Church, all who

'profess the true religion, together with their children . . . the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation.' 'This Catholic Church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less visible.' 'The purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error; and some have so degenerated as to become no churches of Christ but synagogues of Satan.' 'There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof, but is that Antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ and all that is called God.'

Ch. XXVI. deals with the heavenly and the earthly Communion of Saints, and the sacred obligations involved, in admirable terms. Chs. XXVII.-XXIX. set forth searchingly the full Calvinistic doctrine of the Sacraments in general and in particular, in terms which might satisfy every section of the Reformed Church apart from the Lutheran. Ch. XXX., of Church Censures, provides for discipline through the officers appointed by authority of Christ to hold the keys of the Kingdom, or visible Church. Ch. XXXI., of Synods and Councils, affirms their legitimate convocation either by authority of civil rulers or by their own, their right 'ministerially' to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience, etc., the authority of their decrees on spiritual matters if in harmony with God's Word, and declares, in words which necessarily apply to the Assembly itself and its articles:

'All Synods or Councils since the Apostles' times, whether general or particular, may err, and many have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as an help in both. (Cf. xx. sect. ii.: "God alone is lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to his word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship, so that to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commandments out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience, and the requiring of an implicit faith and an absolute and blind obedience is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also.") Synods and Councils are to handle or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical, and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs, which concern the Commonwealth, unless by way of humble

petition in cases extraordinary; or by way of advice for satisfaction of conscience, if they be thereunto required by the civil magistrate.'

Ch. XXXII. declares that

'the bodies of men after death return to dust and see corruption, but their souls (which neither die nor sleep), having an immortal subsistence, immediately return to God who gave them. The souls of the righteous, being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies; and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day. Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none. At the last day such as are found alive shall not die, but be changed: and all the dead shall be raised up with the selfsame bodies, and none other, although with different qualities, which shall be united again to their souls for ever. The bodies of the unjust shall by the power of Christ be raised to dishonour: the bodies of the just by his Spirit unto honour, and be made conformable to his own glorious body.'

Ch. XXXIII. sets forth the nature of the Last Judgment, and its end

'for the manifestation of the glory of his [God's] mercy in the eternal salvation of the elect, and of his justice in the damnation of the reprobate, who are wicked and disobedient. . . . As Christ would have us to be certainly persuaded that there shall be a day of judgment, both to deter all men from sin, and for the greater consolation of the godly in their adversity; so will he have that day unknown to men, that they may shake off all carnal security, and be always watchful, because they know not at what hour the Lord will come; and may be ever prepared to say, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Amen."'

Two portions of the Confession which have been the subject of ecclesiastical heart-searching or misgiving are those in chs. III. and X. concerning Predestination and Election, and in ch. XXIII. on the Civil Magistrate. The former, after stating that

'God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass: yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established.'

proceeds to affirm that some men and angels are predestinated, out of God's mere free grace and love without any foresight of faith or good works or any other thing in the creature, unto everlasting life, whose number is certain and definite, whereas the rest of mankind are foreordained to be passed by unto everlasting death for their sin, to the praise of God's glorious justice. Similarly—

'Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when and where and how he pleaseth. So also are all other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word. Others not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet they never truly come unto Christ, and therefore cannot be saved: much less can men not professing the Christian religion be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they ever so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature, and the law of that religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious and to be detested' (x. sect. iii.).

These are essentially the positions of the Synod of Dort of 1619, subject to the same criticisms or misunderstandings. Nothing is said of the elect being few; no certain external or internal means for the recognition of the elect is indicated; the 'rest of mankind' may be few or many; it is not definitely affirmed that any infants die inelect, though the natural suggestion is that some, if not indeed many, do, especially as election even of adults is without regard to future merit or worth in them. It is not wonderful that the divines of Westminster, like their kinsmen and forerunners at Dort, should have felt it their duty to say:

'The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be handled with special prudence and care, that men attending the will of God revealed in his word and yielding obedience thereunto, may from the certainty of their effectual vocation be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God, and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the Gospel' (III. sect. viii.).

The other passage, on the Civil Magistrate, acknowledges the Divine origin and claims of his authority, his duty of taking

'order that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed';

but continues:

'For the better effecting whereof he hath power to call Synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God'; yet he 'may not assume to himself the administration of the word and sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven,'

the conception apparently being that he is not to interfere with spiritual things so long as they are Scripturally transacted by the Church, whose courts and decisions his strong arm is to enforce. Here also it may be admitted that the Confession did not succeed in foreclosing future embarrassment.

The Westminster Confession, then, does for the whole system of Calvinistic doctrine what the Canons of Dort did for one doctrine: it marks the maturest and most deliberate formulation of the scheme of Biblical revelation as it appeared to the most cultured and the most devout Puritan minds. It was the last great Creed-utterance of Calvinism, and intellectually and theologically it is a worthy child of the *Institutes,* a stately and noble standard for Bible-loving men. While influenced necessarily by Continental learning and controversy, it is essentially British, as well by heredity as by environment; for not only is it based upon the Thirty-nine Articles, modified and supplemented in a definitely Calvinistic sense at Lambeth and at Dublin, but it literally incorporates Ussher's Irish Articles, accepting their order and titles, and using, often without a word of change, whole sentences and paragraphs. To the reader of both documents the debt is patent on the surface, and the obligation goes down to the very heart of the thought. Ussher could not have secured more of his own way had he deserted the King and taken his seat in the Jerusalem Chamber. Only Laudian Anglicans could seriously have dissented from the doctrine laid down. Born on the Thames, in the capital of the southern kingdom, the Confession, itself a painful reminder to the revellers of the Restoration of the sternness of the Long Parliament, soon was discarded by the national Church for which it was primarily prepared; it found a home and instant welcome in Scotland, to pass out thence into all the world with the strenuous and hardy emigrants who planted their faith wherever they sought to make their way in life. It still remains, in spite of changing times and altered formulæ of adherence, the honoured symbol of a great group of powerful Churches throughout the British Empire and the great American Republic, embracing within their membership a large proportion of the foremost representatives of the world's highest material, social, educational, moral, and religious interests. The English-speaking Presbyterian Churches throughout the world without exception adhere either to it or to some comparatively slight modification of it; while its hold, direct or indirect, upon Congregationalists and Baptists and others, is a further tribute to its power both of education and of revival.

The *Larger Catechism of the Westminster Divines,* composed in 1647 simultaneously with the Confession and before the Shorter Catechism, was drafted mainly by Herbert Palmer, the author of a 'Catechism' in high repute, published in 1640, with a distinctive method of its own, and by Anthony Tuckney, the learned Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and, like those other documents, furnished with carefully collected Scripture proofs. The basis of doctrine was Palmer's Catechism and Ussher's 'Body of Divinity,' and, of course, the debated conclusions of the Confession itself (Briggs, *Presbyterian Review,* Jan. 1880). The Scottish

Assembly of 1648 approved of it as a 'Directory for catechizing such as have made some proficiency in the knowledge of the grounds of Religion,' and it is not to be judged as a manual for the young. It contains 196 questions with answers that are not seldom very long, though admirably clear, because intended to be comprehensive.

It begins: 'What is the chief and highest end of man?—Man's chief and highest end is to glorify God and fully to enjoy him for ever. How doth it appear that there is a God?—The very light of nature in man, and the works of God declare plainly that there is a God: but his Word and Spirit only do sufficiently and effectually reveal him unto men for their salvation.' And it ends: 'What doth the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer teach us?' after setting forth the doctrines of God, His decrees, Creation, the Fall, Sin and its Punishment, the Covenant of Grace, Christ the Mediator, His Offices, Humiliation, and Exaltation, and Eternal Work, the Church, Membership in Christ, the Experience and Contents of Salvation, Future Judgment, the Commandments as Christian Duties, man's inability to keep them, the special aggravations of Sin, the Means of Grace—the Word, the Sacraments, and Prayer, with the proper meaning and use of each, the Lord's Prayer being expounded at the close.

The Larger Catechism, though too elaborate to be popular, is historically of service as a supplement and commentary on the Confession, and as the basis of the popular 'Shorter Catechism.'

The *Shorter Catechism*, prepared immediately after the other documents by a small committee, and likewise approved in 1648 by the Church of Scotland as a 'Directory for catechizing such as are of weaker capacity,' is an acknowledged masterpiece, a triumph of happy arrangement, of condensed and comprehensive instruction, of lucid and forceful expression. While Tuckney was in the later stages convener of the committee entrusted with its composition, and may have been largely responsible for its final phrasing, the brilliant Cambridge mathematician and divine, the secretary, John Wallis, Palmer's intimate friend, is believed to have taken a very large share in the work. Materials were drawn not only from the Confession and Larger Catechism and their sources, but from other Catechisms among the large number current at the time, *e.g.*, besides Palmer's, those of Ezekiel Rogers, Matthew Newcomen, Gouge, and Ball (see A. F. Mitchell, *Westm. Assembly*, Lect. xii.; also *Catechisms of the Second Reformation*, 1886, by the same author, pp. 3–39, where the chief parallels to each question and answer are printed). The Scottish Commissioners cannot have had much to do with its preparation, as most of them had departed home before its compilation was materially advanced; but in Scotland it became at once, and has remained, a household book, a Bible in miniature, and the working Creed of the nation. If its teaching seems difficult and exacting for 'such as are of weaker capacity' in our time the fault may lie with our modern education, which so diffuses the interest and attention of the young over many subjects, mostly secular, that the concentration, formerly possible to all, upon religious and theological concerns, is hard to secure. No more successful compendium of Christian doctrine, arranged according to a theological scheme for practical instruction and for memorizing, has ever been published. Its theological terms, Pauline in their origin for the most part, sit far from easily upon the lips of children; but they aid the memory, condense the truth, and are, as they were intended to be, fit and stimulating matter for exposition by the teacher. It is probable that we are apt to exaggerate the value of self-explanatory simplicity in such a manual. The Catechism was not meant to be learned without a teacher, and the teacher certainly cannot complain that he has platitudes to teach who has its questions and answers to expound. While the Shorter Catechism's relation to the Longer is described by a Scottish Commissioner as that of milk to meat, there was no idea of diluting the milk for the young and weak; for it was a recognized principle with the Assembly 'that the greatest care should be taken to frame the answer, not according to the model of the knowledge the child hath, but according to that the child ought to have.'

The Shorter Catechism contains 107 questions, the first and the last being the same as in the Larger Manual, with even simpler and happier answers. Many of the answers are classic utterances, and haunt both memory and intelligence. 'Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy Him for ever.' 'The Scriptures principally teach what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man.' 'God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth' (an answer ascribed by tradition to Gillespie, but at least anticipated in its terms in *A Compendious Catechism*, by J. F., published in London, 1645 [see Schaff, *Hist.* p. 787, footnote on A. F. Mitchell's authority]). 'Sin is any want of conformity unto, or transgression of, the law of God.' 'Christ as our Redeemer executeth the offices of a Prophet, of a Priest, and of a King, both in His estate of Humiliation and Exaltation.' 'Christ executeth the office of a Prophet in revealing to us by His Word and Spirit the will of God for our salvation.' 'Christ executeth the office of a Priest in His once offering up of Himself a sacrifice to satisfy Divine justice, and reconcile us to God, and in making continual intercession for us.' 'Christ executeth the office of a King in subduing us to Himself, in ruling and defending us, and in restraining and conquering all His and our enemies.' 'The Spirit applieth to us the Redemption purchased by Christ, by working faith in us, and thereby uniting us to Christ in our effectual calling.' 'Effectual calling is the work of God's Spirit, whereby, convincing us of our sin and misery, enlightening our minds in the knowledge of Christ, and renewing our wills, He doth persuade and enable us to embrace Jesus Christ freely offered to us in the Gospel.' 'Justification is an act of God's free grace, wherein He pardoneth all our sins, and accepteth us as righteous in His sight, only for the righteousness of Christ imputed to us and received by faith alone.' 'Adoption is an act of God's free grace, whereby we are received into the number, and have a right to all the privileges, of the sons of God.' 'Sanctification is the work of God's free grace whereby we are renewed in the whole man after the image of God, and are enabled more and more to die unto sin, and live unto righteousness.' 'The benefits which in this life do accompany or flow from justification, adoption, and sanctification, are assurance of God's love, peace of conscience, joy in the Holy Ghost, increase of grace, and perseverance therein to the end.' 'The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory, and their bodies, being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves till the resurrection.' 'No mere man since the fall is able in this life perfectly to keep the commandments of God, but doth daily break them in thought, word, and deed.' 'Faith in Jesus Christ is a saving grace whereby we receive and rest upon Him alone for salvation, as He is offered to us in the Gospel.' 'The outward and ordinary means whereby Christ communicateth to us the benefits of redemption are His ordinances, especially the Word, Sacraments, and Prayer, all which are made effectual to the elect for salvation.' 'That the Word may become effectual to salvation, we must attend thereunto with diligence, preparation, and prayer, receive it with faith and love, lay it up in our hearts, and practise it in our lives.' 'A sacrament is an holy ordinance, instituted by Christ, wherein, by sensible signs, Christ and the benefits of the New Covenant are represented, sealed, and applied to Believers.'

The Apostles' Creed, though not formally incorporated or expounded in the body of the Catechism, is printed at the close with the judicious note:

'Albeit the substance of the doctrine comprised in that abridgment commonly called the *Apostles' Creed* be fully set forth in each of the Catechisms, so as there is no necessity of inserting the Creed itself, yet it is here annexed, not as though it were composed by the Apostles, or ought to be esteemed canonical Scripture as the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer (much less a prayer, as ignorant people have been apt to make both it and the Decalogue), but because it is a brief sum of the Christian Faith, agreeable to the Word of God, and anciently received in the Churches of Christ.'

A catechism containing sentences like the answers quoted, prepared with such fidelity to Holy Writ, and couched in language so dignified and unaffected, is in every way worthy of the authors of the Westminster Confession, and of the devoted acceptance of the Churches whose young life it has nourished in spiritual truth throughout the subsequent generations, and whose ageing members its well-remembered lessons have supported and solaced.

The text of the Westminster Standards is printed in full in Dunlop's *Collection*, vol. i. pp. 1–444, and in Muller's *Bekenntnisschriften* (pp. 542–652); the Confession and Shorter Catechism in Schaff, *Creeds of Evang. Prot. Churches*, pp. 600–704. For history, see Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 701–804, a valuable account with comparisons and criticisms and useful bibliography of older works in general and special literature. The 'Minutes of the Sessions of the Westm. Assembly (1644–1649)' are edited by Alex. F. Mitchell and John Struthers, Edin. 1874; cf. Hethering-

ton, *History of the Assembly*[4], 1878; A. F. Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly* (rev. ed. Philad. 1897), *The Westm. Conf.*[3] 1867; Warfield, 'The Making of the Westm. Conf.,' in *PRR*, Apr. 1901, p. 226 ff.; cf. also Beveridge, *Hist. of the Westm. Assembly*, Edin. 1904, an accurate popular summary of the matter contained in the earlier works; A. F. Mitchell, *Catechisms of the Second Reformation* (an invaluable study); H. Bonar, *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation*. On the doctrine of the Confession a recent work, *Theology of the Westminster Symbols*, by Edw. D. Morris, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A., 1900, pp. 858, is one of the most complete and well informed.]

(7) *Modifications of the Westminster Confession in British Presbyterian Churches* have not been wanting, but the changes hitherto effected have not been very substantial, though the attitude of the Churches to it has been unmistakably altered.

In Scotland, the adoptive home of the Confession, the forces of religious conservatism have combined with an intelligent appreciation of its solid worth and Scriptural foundation to retain it well-nigh inviolate as the symbol of every branch of the divided Church. By varying formulæ of subscription in the National Church, and by declaratory acts or statements in the Free Churches, a modicum of relief has been sought for tender consciences. In the Church of Scotland the earlier formulæ of 1694 and 1711, which declared the signatory's belief in the whole doctrine of the Confession, and that of 1889, which omitted the word 'whole,' were mitigated by a declaration appointed in 1903 to be read publicly before subscription, to the effect that the Confession 'is to be regarded as an infallible rule of faith and worship only in so far as it accords with Holy Scripture interpreted by the Holy Spirit,' replaced in 1910 by a formula framed with the concurrent authority of Parliament: 'I hereby subscribe the Confession of Faith, declaring that I accept it as the Confession of this Church, and that I believe the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith contained therein.' In the United Presbyterian Church and in the Free Church, Declaratory Acts were passed in 1879 and 1892 to define on certain points the sense in which the Confession was to be understood, disowning the view that the Confession inculcated persecuting principles in relation to the duties of the Civil Magistrate, and the view that its doctrine of sin and grace taught that human corruption has destroyed human responsibility and the power to do virtuous actions, or that some infants are eternally lost, or that men are foreordained to death irrespective of their sin, or that Divine grace is not extended to any who are out of reach of its ordinary means.

In England a similar course was taken by the Presbyterian Church, but abandoned in 1888, and in 1890 *The Articles of the Faith*, 24 in number, were drawn up by a committee presided over by Principal Oswald Dykes, in order to define the doctrines in the Westminster Confession which were counted *de fide* and vital. These Articles briefly set forth a moderately conservative statement, influenced by the other standard Confessional utterances of Protestant Christianity, on God, the Trinity, Creation, Providence, the Fall, Saving Grace, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Work of Christ, the Exaltation of Christ, the Gospel, the Holy Spirit, Election and Regeneration, Justification by Faith, Sonship in Christ, the Law and New Obedience, Sanctification and Perseverance, the Church, Church Order and Fellowship, Holy Scripture, the Sacraments, the Second Advent, the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, and the Life Everlasting. Comparison of these titles with those of the Confession at once reveals many of the doctrinal omissions. In the article on Election nothing is said of reprobation or preterition; it is as follows:

'We humbly own and believe that God the Father, before the foundation of the world, was pleased of His sovereign grace to choose unto Himself in Christ a people, whom He gave to the Son, and to whom the Holy Spirit imparts spiritual life by a secret and wonderful operation of His power, using as His ordinary means, where years of understanding have been reached, the truths of His Word in ways agreeable to the nature of man: so that being born from above they are the children of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works.'

Elsewhere the language of election is avoided; instead of 'the elect' we read of 'Christ's people,' 'every one who repents and believes,' and so on. A noteworthy feature of the articles is their use of the proper language of a Creed: 'we believe,' 'we acknowledge,' 'we adore,' 'we own,' etc.

[The *Articles of the Faith*, issued by Publication Committee of the Presbyterian Church of England, 1890. There is also a small account of their scope, etc., pub. by Donald Fraser, one of the framers.]

In China (1890) and in India (South, 1901; all, 1904), unions of the Presbyterian Mission Churches have been consummated upon the bases of 11 and of 12 short Articles epitomizing the doctrine of the Westminster Confession along similar lines, positive, Scriptural, and non-controversial, emphasizing the particular doctrines most required by missionary circumstances, and expressly affirming their loyalty to the standards of the parent Churches, the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Canons of Dort, 'as worthy exponents of the Word of God, and as systems of doctrine to be taught in our churches and seminaries.'

The 12 Indian Presbyterian Articles were adopted at Allahabad in Dec. 1904 (printed at the Allahabad Mission Press in 1905). I. affirms the Scriptures to be the 'Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and duty.' II. defines God as 'a Spirit, self-existent, omnipresent, yet distinct from all other spirits and from all material things: infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, truth, *and love*.' III. affirms the Trinity. IV. affirms Divine creation, providence, and government, without responsibility for sin. V. describes man's original estate as in God's image: 'all men have the same origin, and are brethren.' VI. describes the Fall, affirms the sin of all Adam's descendants in him, their addition of actual sin to original guilt and corruption, their desert of punishment. VII. affirms God's gift of Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, as Saviour; His two distinct natures as true God and true man; His conception and birth, perfect obedience and sacrifice, 'to satisfy Divine justice and reconcile men to God'; His death, burial, resurrection, ascension, intercession, and future coming, 'to raise the dead and judge the world.' VIII. treats of the Holy Spirit, who 'maketh men partakers of salvation.' IX. sets forth God's saving purpose and method of grace: 'While God chose a people in Christ before the foundation of the world, that they should be holy and without blemish before Him in love; having foreordained them unto adoption as sons through Jesus Christ, unto Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace, which He freely bestowed on them in the Beloved; He maketh a full and free offer of salvation to all men, and commandeth them to repent of their sins, to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ as their Saviour, and to live a humble and holy life after His example, and in obedience to God's revealed will. Those who believe in Christ and obey Him are saved, the chief benefits which they receive being justification, adoption into the number of the sons of God, sanctification through the indwelling of the Spirit, and eternal glory. Believers may also in this life enjoy assurance of their salvation. In His gracious work the Holy Spirit useth the means of grace, especially the Word, Sacraments, and Prayer.' X. treats simply of the Sacraments, and their significance as signs and seals. XI. sets forth Christian duties. XII. affirms resurrection, judgment to come, reward and punishment: 'Those who have believed in Christ and obeyed Him shall be openly acquitted and received into glory; but the unbelieving and wicked, being condemned, shall suffer the punishment due to their sins.' There follow—*the form of acceptance*: 'I receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this Church, as based on and in accord with the Word of God; and I declare it to be the Confession of my faith'; a *declaratory note*: 'In administering this test, the Courts of the Church exercise the discretion and charity that are required by the Word of God, and demanded by the interests of the Church'; the *Constitution of the Church*, in 15 Articles; the 27 *Canons*, or Standing Orders; and the *Local Organization*. The whole work impresses the outside reader as wise, guarded, practical, well-conceived, and well-expressed, and admirably suited to the needs of the Indian Church. The echoes of Western controversy are as subdued as possible within it.

In Wales, the native Calvinistic-Methodist or Presbyterian Church, which formerly professed the 39 English Articles understood in a Calvinistic sense, adheres to the *Welsh Confession of 1823*, published also in English in 1827, which was authorized by the 'Associations' of Bala and Aberystwyth in 1823.

The Confession contains 44 Articles treating of God's Being, the Scriptures, the Attributes of God, the Persons of the Trinity, God's Decree, Creation, Providence, Man's Original State, the Covenant of Works, the Fall and Original Sin, the State of Man by Nature, the Election of Grace, the Covenant of Grace, the Person of the Father and His work in Salvation, the Person of Christ the Mediator, His Offices, His Humiliation and Exaltation, Redemption, Christ's Intercession, the Person and Work of the Holy Ghost, the Necessity for His work to apply the Plan of Salvation, the Call of the Gospel, Union with Christ, Justification, Adoption, Regeneration, Sanctification, Saving Faith and its Fruits, Repentance unto Life, the Moral Law, Good Works, Peace of Conscience, Assurance of Hope, Perseverance in Grace, the Church, Church Fellowship, the Ordinances of the Gospel, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Obedience to the Civil Government, Death and the State after Death, the Resurrection, General Judgment, the Eternal State of the Wicked and the Godly.

It is in all essentials a statement of the Westminster doctrine, whose general order, and whose language, with Methodist variations, it adopts. On the problems of election, and the asperities of Calvinistic doctrine on reprobation and the non-elect, it is discreetly silent. Kings and civil authorities are ordained of God; are to be honoured for the sake of their office, and not merely for personal virtues; and are to be obeyed in all things that are in accordance with the Word of God, the taxes they impose being paid without murmur, concealment, or fraud. In its English form it lacks the vigour of style and the dignity of its source—a loss natural in a paraphrase.

[Full text in Müller, *op. cit.*, and in publications of the Church. Brief reference in Schaff, *Hist.* p. 903 f.]

(8) *In the Presbyterian Church in America*, the Westminster Confession, after being subscribed and accepted *simpliciter* for a time as in Britain, experienced similar modifications and qualifications. The Synod of Philadelphia in 1729 declared:

'We do therefore agree that all the ministers of this Synod . . . shall declare their agreement in and approbation of the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms . . . as being in all the essential and necessary articles good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine, and do also adopt the said Confession and Catechisms as the Confession of our faith,' adding later that some clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters were not received 'in any such sense as to suppose the civil magistrate hath a controlling power over Synods with respect to the exercise of their ministerial authority, or power to persecute any for their religion . . .'

The Union of the Synods of Philadelphia and New York in 1758 adopted a similar declaration. The United Synod in 1787 amended the third section of ch. XXIII., 'Of the Civil Magistrate,' so as to exclude all interference with matters of faith, and to enjoin equal protection of all Churches and of the liberty of all men; ch. XXXI., so as to set aside the right of the Civil Ruler to call councils or assemblies; the last sentence of ch. XX. sect. iv., so as to omit the words 'and by the power of the Civil Magistrate' in reference to Church discipline and censures; and omitted 'tolerating a false religion' from the enumeration of sins against the Second Commandment in the Larger Catechism. At the re-union in 1869 of the 'Old School' and 'New School' sections of the Church, divided since 1837, the basis affirmed consisted of the 'common standards; the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments shall be acknowledged to be the inspired Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice; the Confession of Faith shall continue to be sincerely received and adopted, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the holy Scriptures.' The same Church, 'The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,' felt it necessary in 1902—(*a*) to pass a Declaratory Statement defining the sense in which ch. III., 'Of God's Eternal Decree,' was held as

'concerning those who are saved in Christ, in harmony with the doctrine of His love to all mankind, His gift of His Son to be the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and His readiness to bestow His saving grace on all who seek it;—concerning those who perish, as in harmony with the doctrine that God desires not the death of any sinner, but has provided in Christ a salvation sufficient for all, adapted to all, and freely offered in the Gospel to all; that men are fully responsible for their treatment of God's gracious offer; that His decree hinders no man from accepting that offer; and that no man is condemned, except on the ground of his sin';

and declaring that ch. X. sect. iii.,

'is not to be regarded as teaching that any who die in infancy are lost; we believe that all dying in infancy are included in the election of grace, and are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who works when and where and how He pleases.'

(*b*) to amend ch. XVI. sect. vii. to read:

'Works done by unregenerate men, although for the matter of them they may be things which God commands, and in themselves praiseworthy and useful, and although the neglect of such things is sinful and displeasing unto God; yet, because they proceed not from a heart purified by faith, nor are done in a right manner, according to His Word, nor to a right end, the glory of God, they come short of what God requires, and do not make any man meet to receive the grace of God';

to omit ch. XXII. sect. iii., the last sentence:

'yet it is a sin to refuse an oath touching anything that is good and just, being imposed by lawful authority';

and to amend ch. XXV. sect. vi. to read:

'The Lord Jesus Christ is the only head of the Church, and the claim of any man to be the vicar of Christ and the head of the Church is unscriptural, without warrant in fact, and is a usurpation dishonouring to the Lord Jesus Christ.'

(*c*) 'to express more fully the doctrine of the Church concerning the Holy Spirit, Missions, and the Love of God for all men,' by adding two new chapters to the Confession, viz.

XXXIV. 'Of the Holy Spirit' as (*a*) the Third Person in the Trinity, proceeding from the Father and the Son, of the same substance, equal in power and glory; (*b*) the omnipresent Lord and Giver of life, source of all good thoughts, pure desires, and holy counsels, inspirer of Prophecy and Scripture, dispenser of the Gospel; (*c*) the only efficient agent in the application of redemption; (*d*) the bond of communion, the mover and enabler of officers and members of the Church, the preserver and increaser of the Church.

XXXV. 'Of the Love of God, and Missions': that (*a*) God freely offers His salvation to all men in the Gospel; (*b*) in the Gospel, God declares His love for the world and desire that all men should be saved, reveals fully the only way, promises eternal life to all who repent and believe in Christ, invites and commands all to embrace the offered mercy; and, by His Spirit accompanying the Word, pleads with men to accept His gracious invitation; (*c*) it is the duty and privilege of all immediately to accept, otherwise they incur aggravated guilt, and perish by their own fault; (*d*) since there is no other way of salvation than that revealed in the Gospel, and faith ordinarily comes by hearing the Word of God, Christ has commissioned His Church to go into all the world, and to make disciples of all nations. All believers are under obligation to sustain established ordinances of religion, and to contribute, by prayer, gifts, and personal efforts, to the extension of the Kingdom of Christ throughout the whole earth.

(*d*) to publish a *Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith* in 16 Articles: Of God, Revelation, the Eternal Purpose, Creation, the Sin of Man, the Grace of God, Election, Our Lord Jesus Christ, Faith and Repentance, the Holy Spirit, the New Birth and the New Life, the Resurrection and the Life to Come, the Law of God, the Church and Sacraments, the Last Judgment, Christian Service and the Final Triumph. Each Article is brief, uncontroversial, and well expressed, beginning, as in the English Presbyterian Articles of 1890, of which they bear signs of close and appreciative study, with the words 'we believe,' and passing in many instances to such cognate phrases as 'we rejoice,' 'we confidently look for,' 'we joyfully receive.' The Articles, as a whole, rank very high among such statements. Their tone and language are unexceptionable. True to their time, they do not wrestle with difficulties; they show no concern about the points which sundered Calvinist, or rather 'Gomarist,' and Arminian; they are as though the Synod of Dort had never been. But there is every likelihood that, in producing them, the powerful 'Presbyterian Church in America,' like its namesake in England, has done a pioneer work, in which it will ere long be followed by many other kindred bodies. More than any other Confession, perhaps, it speaks in modern language, such as the pulpit may utter frankly and without alteration or paraphrase. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that every Protestant Church might cheerfully and heartily accept it for use both at home and in the mission field. Time alone can

disclose whether its avoidance of the controversial will secure a permanent concord. The Federation of the four main Presbyterian Churches in the United States, at present being consummated, is perhaps an augury of the early adoption of a similar document, or perhaps the document itself.

[Full text in Müller, pp. 941–946, where also the Declaration is printed; earlier history in Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 804–810.]

(9) The *Westminster Confession in the United Presbyterian Church in America.*—The 'Associate' and 'Associate Reformed' Churches, which united in 1858 to form the 'United Presbyterian Church in America,' had held the Confession much more rigorously than the 'Presbyterian Church' just discussed. The former had not at any time altered the text of the Confession, but had contented itself with issuing in 1784 a *Testimony*, five of whose articles refer to the Civil Magistrate, and deny that he is a ruler in the Church, or may grant privileges to those whom he considers true believers to the hurt of the natural rights of others, or has to do with other than civil and social obligations. The latter had in 1799 modified ch. xx. sect. iv., XXIII. sect. iii., and XXXI. sect. ii., safeguarding the autonomy of the Church, affirming the duty of the magistrate to protect it and enforce its lawful censures, and to further it without encroaching on the civil rights of others, and allowing him in special cases the right of calling an ecclesiastical synod to consult and advise about matters of religion; and in the Larger Catechism had changed 'tolerating' into 'authorizing a false religion' among sins against the Second Commandment. At the union of 1858 the word 'tolerating' was restored in the Catechism, and modifications of the same three chapters were agreed upon. They affirmed the autonomy of the Church, the right and duty of the magistrate to punish those whose principles and practices, whether religious or political, openly propagated and maintained, were, in his judgment, subversive of the foundations of properly constituted society, but not to presume to judge heresy or schism; nothing being said of his right to summon ecclesiastical synods. Throughout its history, and all its divisions, this branch of the Presbyterian Church maintained the rest of the Westminster doctrine without dubiety or hesitation.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 810–813.]

(10) The *Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, another large Presbyterian body in the United States, sprung from a revival in Kentucky and Tennessee at the close of the 18th cent., in which Methodists assisted Presbyterians, so early as 1813 adopted a Confession prepared by a Committee directed by Finis Ewing, and in 1829 ratified it after a final revision. The *Cumberland Confession* consists of the Westminster Confession with the American amendments of chs. XXIII. and XXXI. (see (8) above), with the teaching on Perseverance in ch. XVII. substantially retained, but with the doctrine of unconditional election and preterition in ch. III. cut out as seeming to encourage fatalism, and with the change of 'elect infants' in ch. x. sect. iii. into 'all infants.' A like Arminian change was made in the Shorter Catechism, so that to Qn. 7 the Answer runs:

'The decrees of God are his purpose according to the counsel of his own will, whereby he hath foreordained to bring to pass what shall be for his own glory: sin not being for God's glory, therefore he hath not decreed it.'

In Answer 20, 'God having elected some' is changed to 'God did provide salvation for all mankind'; and Qn. 31 runs, not 'What is effectual calling?,' but 'What is the work of the Spirit?'

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 813–816.]

In 1881 the Cumberland Church appointed a Committee to prepare a *new Confession.* In 1883 it was finished, and unanimously adopted. It contains 36 chapters, with 115 consecutively numbered sections, following the general outline and order of the Westminster Confession, though with characteristic alterations and additions. The topics are: Holy Scriptures, Holy Trinity, Decrees of God, Creation, Providence, Fall of Man, God's Covenant with Man, Christ the Mediator, Free-will, Divine Influence (in place of Effectual Calling), Repentance unto Life, Saving Faith, Justification, Regeneration, Adoption, Sanctification, Growth in Grace [order of last group of seven is changed], Good Works, Preservation of Believers, Christian Assurance, the Law of God, Christian Liberty, Religious Worship, Sabbath-day, Lawful Oaths and Vows, Civil Government, Marriage and Divorce, the Church, Christian Communion, the Sacraments, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Church Authority, Church Courts, Death and Resurrection, the Judgment. The diction of the Articles cannot be compared with the Westminster sentences, beside which they sound conversational and spasmodic or halting. The chapter on the Decrees is completely given as follows:

'God, for the manifestation of his glory and goodness, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordained or determined what he himself would do, what he would require his intelligent creatures to do, and what should be the awards, respectively, of the obedient and the disobedient. Though all Divine decrees may not be revealed to men, yet it is certain that God has decreed nothing contrary to his revealed will or written word.'

The doctrine corresponds in every respect with the earlier revision of the Westminster Confession by the same Church, whose principles and chief ideas it consistently applies throughout.

[Text in Müller, pp. 912–927.]

(11) *In Canada.*—The doctrinal changes effected by the Presbyterian Churches in the United States go far to explain the unparalleled step which in Canada the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Methodist Churches are seriously contemplating in their proposed union. In truth, those alterations leave no standing ground for the traditional differences between Arminian and Conservative Calvinists. After four years of conference (1904–8), agreement has been reached in Committee regarding *19 Articles* as the doctrine which the Churches, if ultimately united, would profess. The Baptist and Anglican Churches did not see their way to participate, as invited, in the unrestricted conference and negotiation. With its great home-mission problem, Canada, though little affected by theological laxity or indifference, has been driven by practical necessities to rise above all minor doctrinal differences. In it, both Methodists and Presbyterians have set their brethren in other lands a wise example in ending schism among themselves, and closing their own ranks. It will be a new day for Protestant Christianity, if three such denominations as Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists should find it feasible to unite their forces, whether for home or foreign missionary enterprise.

The Preamble runs: 'We . . . do hereby set forth the substance of the Christian faith as commonly held among us. In doing so, we build upon the foundation laid by the Apostles and Prophets, confessing that Jesus Christ Himself is the cornerstone. We affirm our belief in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the primary source and ultimate standard of Christian faith and life. We acknowledge the teaching of the great Creeds of the ancient Church. We further maintain our allegiance to the Evangelical doctrines of the Reformation as set forth in common in the doctrinal standards adopted by the Presbyterian Church in Canada, by the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec, and by the Methodist Church. We present the accompanying statement as a brief summary of our common faith, and commend it to the studious attention of the members and adherents of the negotiating Churches, as in substance agreeable to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures.'

Art. I. is of God: II., of Revelation: III., of the Divine Purpose: 'We believe that the eternal, wise, holy, and loving purpose of God embraces all events, so that, while the freedom of man is not taken away, nor is God the author of sin, yet in His providence He makes all things work together in the fulfilment of His sovereign design and the manifestation of His glory': IV., of Creation and Providence: V., of the Sin of

Man: 'We believe that our first parents being tempted chose evil, and so fell away from God, and came under the power of sin, the penalty of which is eternal death; and that, by reason of this disobedience, all men are born with a sinful nature, that we have broken God's law, and that no man can be saved but by His grace': VI., of the Grace of God: '. . . God . . . in the Gospel freely offers His all-sufficient salvation to all men. . . . also that God, in His own good pleasure, gave to His Son a people, an innumerable multitude, chosen in Christ unto holiness, service, and salvation': VII., of the Lord Jesus Christ: VIII., of the Holy Spirit: IX., of Regeneration: X., of Faith and Repentance: XI., of Justification and Sonship: XII., of Sanctification: XIII., of the Law of God: XIV., of the Church: XV., of the Sacraments: XVI., of the Ministry: XVII., of Church Order and Fellowship: XVIII., of the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, and the Future Life: XIX., of Christian Service and the Final Triumph.

Candidates for ordination must be 'in essential agreement' with the doctrine of the Church, and accept the Statement above 'as in substance agreeable to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures,' and must answer three questions affirmatively, viz. (1) 'Do you believe yourself to be a child of God, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ?' (2) 'Do you believe yourself to be called to the office of the Christian ministry, and that your chief motives are zeal for the glory of God, love for the Lord Jesus Christ, and desire for the salvation of men?' (3) 'Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrines required for eternal salvation in our Lord Jesus Christ? And are you resolved out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing which is not agreeable thereto?'

[*Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Joint Committee on Church Union*, etc., Toronto, Dec. 1908.]

(12) In *South Africa* a basis of union between the Presbyterian, Wesleyan Methodist, Congregational, and Baptist Churches was drawn up and recommended in 1909 by a Conference at Bloemfontein, on Presbyterian initiative, the Dutch Reformed Church not seeing its way to co-operate in the movement. *Inter alia*, 5 somewhat slight and loosely-drafted clauses set forth the simple evangelical basis of doctrine proposed. The Churches have not as yet assented to the proposed basis, the last three named having decided adversely meanwhile.

[Draft Constitution, etc., issued by order of Conference, 1909.]

(13) In *Southern India*, in July 1908 the first General Assembly of the 'South India United Church,' representing Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, met and adopted a basis of union, including a Confession in 5 Articles: of God; of Revelation and Scripture; of Man's Creation in God's Image, Common Brotherhood, Sin and Helplessness; of God's Salvation through Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit; and of the Church, Ministry, Sacraments, and Things to come. There is a prefatory and a concluding note affirming:

(1) 'As the Confession is a human instrument, it is understood that persons assenting to it do not commit themselves to every word or phrase, but accept it as a basis of union, and as embodying substantially the vital truths held in common by the uniting churches'; (2) 'the church reserves to itself the right to revise its general Confession of Faith whenever the consensus of opinion of the United Body demands it.'

Other unions and federations elsewhere in the world, accomplished or being negotiated, involve no new standards, but rest on those already recognized.

17. Confessions in the Baptist Churches.—The 16th cent. revolt against the superstition, formalism, corruption, and hierarchic tyranny of the Roman Church, which in the Lutheran, Anglican, Zwinglian, and Calvinist Churches proceeded on strictly ecclesiastical lines, assumed a more radical form in the Anabaptist societies which sprang up throughout Europe. Their rise and their doctrines have been amply described in an earlier article (see ANABAPTISM in vol. i. p. 406). In worship they observed a puritan simplicity and fervour. In polity they inclined to presbyterian or congregational organization. In doctrine they cherished no artificial or coercive unity, being kept together by common revulsion from traditionalism, by common persecution, and by a common quest after a simpler Biblical piety and personal experience. Towards the State as towards the Church they looked with suspicion and distrust, dreading its worldliness, its appeal to force, its reliance on oaths, and in return they were hated as its subverters. They deserve honour as the pioneers of religious toleration—a principle always more easily mastered by the persecuted than by the persecutor. Much that is best in Quaker and in Baptist thought and life they anticipated, as they themselves had been anticipated by the Brethren, their namesakes, of earlier centuries in Bohemia and in the Alpine Valleys. They had a lively appreciation of the doctrinal and ethical superiority of the New to the Old Testament, a vivid sense of individual responsibility and relationship to God, a reliance on the direct leading of the Holy Spirit. In their doctrine, as in their life, they strove to reproduce the NT ideal, demanding literal obedience to Christian precepts at their hardest, and in all things sincerity and simplicity. In an age like theirs it was inevitable that their attitude towards the Sacraments, especially Baptism, should arouse the keenest attention and lead to the fiercest antagonism and obloquy. Their free-thought on Baptism, their faith in the universal salvation of departed infants, their disbelief in infant-baptism as the degradation of the Sacrament to a meaningless or superstitious form, and their consequent insistence on adult re-baptism, seemed to be their crowning heresy, or blasphemy, or sacrilege, and won for them the name of 'Anabaptist.' Among their number were outstanding Humanists as well as illiterate peasants, well-balanced minds as well as crazy enthusiasts. Scorned, hated, reviled, and tormented by Romanist and orthodox Protestant alike, they were in innumerable instances the salt of their age. It was their misfortune to live before their time; it was their lot to suffer for its coming. With better information about their character and views, history at last is making a tardy reparation to their memory. The chapter on Anabaptism in a modern Church History is a strange and welcome contrast to its older counterpart (*e.g.* Lindsay, *Hist. of Reform.* ii. 430-469).

(1) *Anabaptist Confessions.*—Even before 1500, a simple *Catechism*, printed in many languages, was in current use, along with early versions of the Bible, among the Anabaptist societies. In the third decade of the 16th cent. conferences are known to have taken place with a view to their closer union—in 1524 at Waldshut in the house of their scholarly and eloquent leader Balthasar Hübmaier, when a statement of principles, in particular against the miraculous efficacy of Sacraments, was prepared, and separation from the Roman Church resolved upon; in 1526 at Augsburg; and in 1527 also at Augsburg, where a General Synod representative of widely scattered cities 'drew up a statement of doctrinal truth, which is very simple, and corresponds intimately with what is now taught among the Moravian Brethren' (Lindsay, *op. cit.* ii. 435). The tragic Münster episode, which did so much to bring discredit upon the Anabaptist name, gave to the world *Bernhard Rothmann's Theses* and *Confession of Faith*, 1532 (summary in Detmer's work on him, Münster, 1904; Lindsay, *Hist.* ii. 452, 456), the *21 Articles*, or *Rules*, of Jan Matthys, the Melchiorite Dutch visionary (1533), and an Apology, or *Confession of the Faith and Life of the Christian Society at Munster* (Lindsay, ii. 464 and footnote).

(2) *Mennonite Confessions.*—Under the apostolic influence of the devoted Menno Simons, a Dutch priest who joined the Anabaptist movement in 1536 and gave the last twenty-five years of his martyr life to the cause, the scattered and dispirited congregations revived and, in spite of persecution, were organized into a church, in which baptism, though conditional upon profession of faith spontaneously made, was still for the most part

administered by sprinkling, not immersion. Winer (*Comparative View of Doctrines and Confessions*, Introd. § 5) enumerates a group of Mennonite documents as follows:

The *Confession of Waterland* (1580), the most important, drawn up in Dutch by Ris and Gerardi, represents the Waterland division of the Church, which was more liberal in its discipline, but contains the characteristic doctrine of all sections. It consists of 40 Articles, which deny the guilt of original or transmitted sin; affirm the conditional election of all, and universal atonement; condemn oaths, war, civil office, litigation, revenge, worldly amusements, and infant baptism as unscriptural; approve of obedience to civil magistrates in all things not contrary to conscience and God's word; but on other points conform to the normal tenets of Protestantism.

Confessions were also published in 1591; in 1628 *Ontermann's Confession of the One God*; in 1629 *the Confession of the Olive Branch*; in 1630 the *Short Confession of the United Frisian and German Baptists*, and *Cornelis' 15 Principal Articles*; in 1664 a *Leyden Confession*; and in 1766 *Ris' Doctrine of the True Mennonites*, sanctioned by many churches. *Catechisms* widely used were those of 1697 by Dooregest, Beets, and Schyn, of 1743 by Baudouin, and of 1783.

[Winer, *op. cit.* pp. 29–31, with bibliog. and further details.]

(3) *Calvinistic Baptist Confessions in Britain and America.*—The great majority of modern Baptists belong to the 'Regular' or 'Particular' denomination, and are, apart from the mode and age or condition and theory of baptism, Calvinists in doctrine, Voluntaries and Congregationalists in polity. They believe in the salvation of all who die before attaining to years of discretion, and hold that baptism is simply an outward sign and profession of grace already received, of faith in Christ, and membership in His Church. Their Confessions, in harmony with their Congregationalist polity, are not so much obligatory standards as manifestos of prevailing doctrine, issued often with an apologetic purpose.

The *Confession of Seven Churches in London* (1644) was published during the sitting of the Westminster Assembly, from whose deliberations Baptist divines were excluded, 'for the vindication of the truth and information of the ignorant: likewise for the taking off of those aspersions which are frequently both in pulpit and print unjustly cast upon them.' Its 52 Articles are Calvinistic throughout, apart from the Sacraments and Church polity. Its closing paragraph, like the Scots Confession, disclaims infallibility:

'We confess that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we desire and seek to know: and if any shall do us that friendly part to show us from the Word of God that we see not, we shall have cause to be thankful to God and them. But if any man shall impose upon us anything that we see not to be commanded by our Lord Jesus Christ, we should in His strength rather embrace all reproaching and tortures of men . . . than do anything against the least tittle of the Truth of God. . . . And if any shall call what we have said heresy, then do we with the Apostle acknowledge that after the way they call heresy worship we the God of our fathers, disclaiming all heresies (rightly so called). . . .'

[Text in Underhill's *Collection of Baptist Confessions*, pub. by Hanserd Knollys Society; Schaff, *Hist.* p. 854; Green, *Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom*, Lond. 1898, p. 150 f.]

The *46 Articles of Somerset* were adopted by sixteen churches in that county and neighbourhood in 1656.

The *Confession of 1677*, re-issued in 1688 and again in 1689 with the approval of the representatives of a hundred congregations met in London, became at once the recognized standard, and has remained the historic manifesto of the Particular Baptists not only in Britain but in America, where it received the sanction of the Association of 1742 at Philadelphia, and the title *Confession of Philadelphia.* Its 32 chapters are simply a Baptist recension of the Westminster Confession, altered only in the chapters dealing with the Church and the Sacraments. It thus corresponds to the Congregational Savoy Declaration of 1658, and in fact professes to have for its aim, in adhering to the Westminster Confession, to 'show the agreement of Baptists with the Presbyterians and Congregationalists' in all the fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion, and to demonstrate that they have 'no itch to clog religion with new words.'

From the Savoy Declaration ch. xx. is inserted, 'of the Gospel and the Extent of Grace thereof' (see p. 884ᵇ, below). In ch. xx. of the Westminster Confession Art. 4 is omitted respecting resistance to the Civil Magistrate and punishment of heretics by the same power. In ch. xxiii., 'of the Civil Magistrate,' Artt. 3 and 4 are omitted, which admit the power of magistrates to take order to maintain the purity of the Church and to summon councils, and their right to be obeyed by all notwithstanding evil character or unbelief, and a short sentence is inserted enjoining 'subjection in all lawful things . . . to be yielded . . . in the Lord,' and prayers to be offered on their behalf. In ch. xxv. 'of the Church,' the six articles are re-cast, modified, and expanded into fifteen—enjoining communion in the visible Church, defining membership in Baptist terms, recognizing bishops or elders and deacons as office-bearers, appointing their election to be by congregational suffrage and their ordination to be by prayer and fasting and the imposition of hands, urging fellowship between congregations, and the holding of assemblies to advise and counsel, not to exercise jurisdiction. In place of ch. xxvii., 'of the Sacraments,' two articles stand: '1. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are ordinances of positive and sovereign institution, appointed by the Lord Jesus, the only Lawgiver, to be continued in his Church to the end of the world. 2. These holy appointments are to be administered by those only who are qualified, and thereunto called, according to the commission of Christ.' In place of ch. xxviii., 'of Baptism,' four articles stand: '1. Baptism is an ordinance of the New Testament ordained by Jesus Christ to be unto the party baptized a sign of his fellowship with Him in His death and resurrection; of his being engrafted into Him; of remission of sins; and of his giving up unto God, through Jesus Christ, to live and walk in newness of life. 2. Those who do actually profess repentance towards God, faith in and obedience to our Lord Jesus, are the only proper subjects of this ordinance. 3. The outward element to be used in this ordinance is water, wherein the party is to be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. 4. Immersion, or dipping of the person in water, is necessary to the due administration of this ordinance.' Ch. xxx., 'of Church Censures,' and ch. xxxi., 'of Synods and Councils,' are omitted wholly.

The *Baptist Catechism commonly called Keach's Catechism*, which bears the same relation to the Westminster Shorter Catechism as the Baptist Confession of 1677 to that of Westminster, was prepared in 1693 by William Collins, by instruction of the Assembly of that year in London. Benjamin Keach had been associated with Collins in the re-issue of the Confession in 1688, and is credited with a considerable share in the work. Underhill, who gives it in his *Collection* (pp. 247–270), describes it as 'the only Catechism of value among Baptists.'

The *New Hampshire Confession* (1833) is the work of J. Newton Brown of New Hampshire, a theological author and editor. It has been accepted generally by American Baptists, especially in the Northern and Western States, since its adoption by the New Hampshire Convention. Its 18 Articles (text in Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 742–748), each of which begins with the words 'We believe . . .,' treat very briefly of the Scriptures, the True God, the Fall of Man, the Way of Salvation, Justification, the Freeness of Salvation, Grace in Regeneration, Repentance and Faith, God's Purpose of Grace, Sanctification, the Perseverance of Saints, the Harmony of the Law and the Gospel, a Gospel Church, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Christian Sabbath, Civil Government, the Righteous and the Wicked, and the World to come. The language is often felicitous in its attempt to express the essence of Calvinism in terms which shall not repel.

Three articles may serve as specimens of the work. Art. VI., 'of the Freeness of Salvation,' runs: 'We believe that the blessings of salvation are made free to all by the Gospel; that it is the immediate duty of all to accept them by a cordial, penitent, and obedient faith: and that nothing prevents the

salvation of the greatest sinner on earth but his own inherent depravity and voluntary rejection of the Gospel; which rejection involves him in an aggravated condemnation.' Art. IX., 'of God's Purpose of Grace,' runs: 'We believe that election is the eternal purpose of God, according to which He graciously regenerates, sanctifies, and saves sinners; that, being perfectly consistent with the free agency of man, it comprehends all the means in connection with the end; that it is a most glorious display of God's sovereign goodness, being infinitely free, wise, holy, and unchangeable; that it utterly excludes boasting, and promotes humility, love, prayer, praise, trust in God, and active imitation of His free mercy; that it encourages the use of means in the highest degree; that it may be ascertained by its effects in all who truly believe the Gospel; that it is the foundation of Christian assurance; and that to ascertain it with regard to ourselves demands and deserves the utmost diligence.' Art. XIV., 'of Baptism and the Lord's Supper,' runs: 'We believe that Christian Baptism is the immersion in water of a believer, into the name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost; to show forth in a solemn and beautiful emblem our faith in the crucified, buried, and risen Saviour, with its effect in our death to sin and resurrection to a new life; that it is pre-requisite to the privileges of a church relation, and to the Lord's Supper, in which the members of the Church, by the sacred use of bread and wine, are to commemorate together the dying love of Christ; preceded always by solemn self-examination.'

(4) *Arminian Baptist Confessions in Britain and America.*—The Free-will, or General, or Arminian Baptists, like the Mennonites, affirm conditional election, the freedom of the human will, and the possibility of falling away from grace. They also diverge somewhat from Congregationalism in retaining a form of episcopate with pastors and deacons, and in assigning more authority to their General Assemblies. Their earliest confession is the *Declaration of Faith of English People remaining at Amsterdam in Holland*, drawn up in 1611, in 100 Articles (based on 37 prepared in Dutch by two Mennonite Pastors, De Ries and Gerrits, in 1609), by John Smyth for his congregation of English refugees, and, after controversy, re-cast in rival form by his colleague Helwys in 27 Articles in the same year.

Of the latter form Art. V. says: 'God before the foundation of the world hath predestinated that all that believe in Him shall be saved, and all that believe not shall be damned; all which He knew before . . . not that God hath predestinated men to be wicked, and so be damned, but that men being wicked shall be damned.' Art. VII. denies the necessary 'perseverance' of Saints: 'men may fall away from the grace of God, and from the truths which they have received and acknowledged.' Art. X. defines the Church as the company of believers baptized upon their own confession of faith, without requiring immersion. Art. XXIV. enjoins obedience to magistrates.

[Text in Underhill's *Collection*, pp. 1-10.]

The *London Confession*, in 25 Articles, was presented to Charles II. in 1660.

[Text in Underhill, pp. 107-120.]

The *Orthodox Creed of 1678* emanated from the Free-will Baptists of Oxfordshire. According to Schaff, 'it makes a near approach to Calvinism, with a view to unite Protestants in the fundamental articles against the errors of Rome' (*Hist.* p. 858).

[Text in Underhill, pp. 120-168.]

The *Confession of the American Free-will Baptists*, approved by Conference in 1834, revised in 1848, 1865, and 1868, is the most important and authoritative statement of Arminian Baptist views. Its 21 brief chapters, some but a sentence long, treat of Scripture, the Being and Attributes of God, Divine Government and Providence, Creation, Primitive State of Man and Fall, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Atonement and Mediation of Christ, the Gospel Call (as 'co-extensive with the atonement to all men both by the word and by the strivings of the Spirit; so that salvation is rendered equally possible to all; and if any fail of eternal life the fault is wholly their own'), Repentance, Faith, Regeneration, Justification and Sanctification, Perseverance of the Saints ('there are strong grounds to hope that the truly regenerate will persevere unto the end and be saved, through the power of Divine grace which is pledged for their support; but their future obedience and final salvation are neither determined nor certain; since through infirmity and manifold temptations they are in danger of falling; and they ought therefore to watch and pray, lest they make shipwreck of faith and be lost'), the Sabbath, the Church, the Gospel Ministry, Ordinances of the Gospel, Death and the Intermediate State, the Second Coming of Christ, the Resurrection, the General Judgment, and Future Retributions.

[Text in Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 749-756.]

LITERATURE.—Schaff, *Hist.*, and *Evang. Prot. Creeds*; Underhill, *Confessions of Faith*, etc., 1854, for the 17th century; Crosby, *History of the English Baptists*, Lond. 1738-40; Cramp, *Baptist History*, Philadelphia, 1871; T. Armitage, *History of the Baptists*, N.Y. 1887; H. C. Vedder, *Short History of the Baptists*, Philadelphia, 1891; Newman, *History of the Baptists of the U.S.*, N.Y. 1894; artt. in *PRE*[3] and Schaff-Herzog ('Anabaptists,' 'Baptists,' 'Mennonites'), and art. ANABAPTISM in vol. i.

18. Confessions in the Independent or Congregational Churches. — Congregationalism in Britain and America, a product of the English Puritanism of Elizabeth's reign, stands related historically to Calvinism very much as the Baptist movement, whose congregational form of polity and whose free attitude to Confessions of Faith it shares. Without Confessional coercion, and without any reliance upon the ecclesiastical authority of high courts or assemblies, Congregationalism has grown up and flourished, like Baptist Calvinism, under the shadow and dominant influence of the Westminster Standards. It acknowledges no binding Confession. The particular or local congregation is a doctrinal law to itself, bound only by such doctrinal restrictions as may be embodied in its own constitution or charter or deed of trust. Particular congregations are bound to one another by the simple tie of fellowship, doctrinal sympathy, and affinity—a tie terminable at any time should egregious departure from type take place. Till recently, Congregationalists, like Baptists, have maintained a remarkable homogeneity in spite of their freedom—a testimony to their loyalty to the traditions not less than to the congregational charters of the body. They have steadfastly resisted all tendencies to elevate common doctrinal statements into obligatory Confessions (preferring to call them declarations or 'platforms'), and every temptation to form Presbyterian federations with legislative and jurisdictive courts. Neither civil nor ecclesiastical authority or dignity is allowed to exercise power over a local congregation. For the rest, their history has run parallel with that of Presbyterianism, their re-adjustments of the Westminster type of doctrine proceeding on similar lines.

Robert Browne's Statement of Congregational Principles, published in 1582 at Middelburg in Holland, was the pioneer declaration. It is in the form of an elaborate Catechism of 185 questions, each supplied with an answer, a counter-question and its answer, definitions of the terms employed, and an analytic division. Its doctrine is orthodox Calvinism, but questions 35-127 develop the characteristics of Congregational polity under the doctrine of the Church. Though Browne, after years of courageous propaganda, ultimately abandoned his own cause and returned to the Church of England, the movement was long associated with his name as 'Brownism.' It was in Holland where Anabaptism prepared the way for it, and in New England that it first found a refuge.

[Walker, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, New York, 1893, pp. 1-27, where full citations of the relevant literature are made.]

The *London Confession of 1589* was prepared for the struggling congregation in that city by Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood, its two leading members, then imprisoned for their separatist

teaching and afterwards martyred. It was entitled 'A True Description out of the Word of God of the Visible Church,' and was printed at Dort. Less democratic than Browne's work in its view of the authority of the elders, it makes the same claim to NT warrant for the free election of pastors and teachers, elders, deacons, and widows, by the congregation. It is silent on the system of doctrine, being in complete sympathy with the ruling Calvinism.

[Walker, *op. cit.* pp. 28–40, including the text.]

The *London-Amsterdam True Confession* of 1596 was published to vindicate the London fugitives resident in and near Amsterdam from the odium of wilful schism and of heresy. It seems to have been the work chiefly of the gifted Henry Ainsworth. Its 45 Articles deal with doctrine, in which they are in harmony with Continental and Anglican Calvinism; and with Church government, in which they carry further the Congregational principles of the Confession of 1589, tightening discipline through provision for the deposition and even excommunication of unworthy ministers, and through the requirement of transference certificates from one congregation to another, urging complete separation from the Established Church, and calmly contemplating the use of civil power to reform it in harmony with their principles.

[Walker, *op. cit.* pp. 41–74, incl. text and bibliog.]

The *Points of Difference between Congregationalism and the Church of England* were submitted by the same body of exiles to James I. on his accession, in 1603. Of the 14 points the following may be quoted as representative:

1. 'That Christ the Lord hath by His last Testament given to His Church, and set therein, sufficient ordinary Offices, with the maner of calling or Entrance, Works, and Maintenance, for the administration of His holy things, and for the sufficient ordinary instruction guydance and service of His Church, to the end of the world.' 2. 'That every particular Church hath like and full interest and power to enjoy and practise all the ordinances of Christ. . . .' 3. 'That every true visible Church is a company of people called and separated from the world by the word of God, and joyned together by voluntary profession of the faith of Christ, in the fellowship of the Gospel. And that therefore no knowne Atheist, unbelever, Heretique, or wicked liver be received or reteined a member. . . .' 5. 'That being thus joyned, every Church hath power in Christ to chuse and take unto themselves meet and sufficient persons into the Offices and functions of Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons and Helpers . . . and that no Antichristian Hierarchie, or Ministerie, of Popes, Archbishops, Lord-bishops, Suffraganes, Deanes, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Parsons, Vicars, Priests, Dumb-ministers, nor any such like be set over the Spouse and Church of Christ. . . .'

[Walker, *op. cit.* pp. 75–80, incl. text.]

Between 1617 and 1647, Walker (*op. cit.* pp. 81–156) details a group of minor documents illustrating the spread of Congregational principles, especially in New England—the *Seven Articles of 1617*, a minimum statement, almost an abnegation, of Congregational views submitted on behalf of the English refugees in Leyden in support of their application to the Virginia Colonizing Company for a grant of land in America on which to settle; the *Mayflower Compact*, a civil covenant of the Congregational type, in 1620; the *Covenants and Creeds of Salem Church*, 1629–1665; the *Covenant of the Charlestown-Boston Church*, 1630; Hooker's *Summary of Congregational Principles* (1645), a learned but discursive American reply to Samuel Rutherford's searching criticism of Congregationalism in his *Due Right of Presbyteries* (1644); and the Creed-Covenant of the Church at Windsor, Connecticut (1647).

The *Cambridge* (New England) *Platform of Church Discipline* (1648), following upon the *Tentative Conclusions* of the Cambridge Synod of 1646, is a supplement to the Westminster Confession of 1646, which the Synod, having perused and considered it 'with much gladness of heart, and thankfulness to God,' judged 'to be very holy, orthodox, and judicious in all matters of faith,' and therefore freely and fully consented thereunto 'for the substance thereof.' The Synod acknowledged that the sections bearing on Vocation were not passed without debate or in their stricter sense. The Westminster doctrine of Church government and discipline in chs. xxv., xxx., and xxxi. was to be replaced by the new Platform. The Synod hoped that by this 'professed consent and free concurrence' with the Westminster Divines it would appear to the world that, as they were 'a remnant of the people of the same nation with them,' so they were 'professors of the same common faith, and fellow-heirs of the same common salvation.' The Platform is credited to Richard Mather, and contains 17 substantial chapters, after a lengthy preface. It is a careful and minute application of Congregational principles to the details of the Puritan doctrine of the Church.

[Walker, pp. 189–237; Schaff, *Hist.* p. 836.]

The *Savoy Declaration* (1658) did for the English Churches what the Cambridge Platform did for the American; it has been the historical basis of their teaching. With some reluctance Cromwell had agreed to act upon the advice and request of certain influential Independents in Parliament to arrange for the publication of a Confession of Faith for the whole realm, differences of opinion being tolerated except in the cases of Popery and Prelacy. Representatives were sent by 120 Congregational Churches in and near London, in response to a circular addressed to them by the Clerk of the Council of State, to a Conference in the Savoy Palace in London. The Conference did not meet till nearly four weeks after the Great Protector's death. It elected to prepare a new Confession, and authorized a committee of six—Drs. Goodwin, Owen, Nye, Bridge, Caryl, and Greenhill (all save Owen members of the Westminster Assembly)—to prepare the draft. Within a fortnight the work was done and unanimously accepted. It consists of a very lengthy 'Preface,' descriptive of the work, deprecating coercion in the use of Confessions, which thereby became 'Impositions' and 'Exactions' of Faith, and urging toleration in matters non-essential among Churches that held the necessary foundations of faith and holiness; a 'Declaration of Faith,' consisting of the doctrinal matter of the Westminster Confession slightly modified, and a System of Polity, or 'Institution of Churches.'

The 'Declaration of Faith' is in 32 chapters, two of the Westminster Confession being omitted, as they had previously been by the Long Parliament, viz. xxx. and xxxi., 'of Church Censures' and 'of Synods and Councils,' one, viz. xx., being added, 'of the Gospel, and of the Extent of the Grace thereof.' Ch. xxi., 'of Christian Liberty and Liberty of Conscience,' is slightly modified. Ch. xxiv., 'of the Civil Magistrate,' is altered to exclude the civil punishment of heresy, though 'blasphemy and errors subverting the faith and inevitably destroying the souls of them that receive them' are to be prevented. Ch. xxv., 'of Marriage,' is shortened by omissions. Ch. xxvi., 'of the Church,' is modified by omissions and additions. The 'Institution of Churches' sets forth Congregationalism in 30 propositions providing for constitution, government, discipline, organization, and fellowship.

[Walker, pp. 340–408, where the Savoy changes are indicated by black type in the text; Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 829–833, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 707–729.]

In Britain, since 1658, the following have been the chief products of Confessional activity. In 1691 there were published *Nine Heads of Agreement* between Congregationalists and Presbyterians in and near London, who had been drawn together by the persecution associated with the Act of Uniformity in 1662. They are more Congregationalist than Presbyterian, anything like a Presbyterian system of courts being an impossibility at the time. Their acceptance in England, like the union they accompanied, was short-lived, but they found favour and exerted

influence in America. In 1833 appeared the *Declaration of the Congregational Union of England and Wales*, setting forth the 'Faith, Church Order, and Discipline of the Congregational or Independent Dissenters.' It was composed by Dr. Redford of Worcester, was unanimously adopted, after revision, by the Union, and has maintained its place as its official manifesto. It is prefaced by 7 preliminary notes which disclaim for it technical or critical precision, deny the utility of creeds as bonds of union, admit the existence of differences of opinion within the Union, but claim a greater harmony than among Churches requiring subscription. Its 'Principles of Religion,' in 20 propositions, are a moderate popular statement of Calvinistic doctrine. Its concluding 'Principles of Church Order and Discipline' are 13 in number, and claim Divine sanction for the polity they outline.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 833-835, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 730-734; Walker, pp. 440-462, 542-552.]

In America, since 1648, the following documents have emerged: The *Boston Declaration* of 1680, approved by the Synod of the New England Churches, is simply the Savoy Confession with the Cambridge Platform. The *Saybrook Platform* (1708) marked the adoption by the Connecticut Churches of the Boston Declaration with the English Heads of Agreement of 1691. In 1801 the same sympathy with Presbyterians, deepened by common home-missionary problems, led to the adoption of a *Plan of Union*, in 4 sections, by the Connecticut Churches. In 1865 the National Council of Congregational Churches in the United States, which met at Boston, emitted a *Declaration of Faith*, of which the first draft was prepared by Drs. Joseph P. Thomson, Edward A. Lawrence, and George P. Fisher, followed by a second and a third, the third being adopted on Burial Hill, Plymouth, where the earliest meeting-house of the Pilgrim Fathers had stood. This *Burial Hill Declaration* impressively affirms the Synod's adherence to the faith and order of the Apostolic and Primitive Churches held by their fathers, and substantially as embodied in the Confessions and Platforms which the Synods of 1648 and 1680 set forth or re-affirmed. The last five paragraphs briefly summarize 'the great fundamental truths in which all Christians should agree,' and which should be a basis of fellowship,—God the Triune, Jesus Christ the Incarnate Word, the Holy Comforter, Sin, Atonement, Sanctification, Church, Ministry, Sacraments, Judgment to come,—state the testimony on which these doctrines rest, and close with a proffer of fellowship with all who hold them and with an avowal of missionary purpose.

The *Oberlin Declaration* of 1871 is a more matter-of-fact re-affirmation, without any doctrinal detail. In 1883, in response to long-continued demands for a Declaration which should be less superficial than those of 1865 and 1871, and more suitable both for use in private and public instruction, and for use in the trust-deeds of local churches, a body of twenty-five representative commissioners completed a Creed of 12 Articles subscribed by all but three of their number. This *Commission Creed*, which was duly authorized as a common manifesto, has found wide acceptance. Congregationalism apart, it is on the same lines as the modern Presbyterian statements. It is cast in true creed form, each article beginning, 'We believe.' It is catholic and evangelical in its doctrine; the historic difficulties in Calvinism are passed over; the language is simple, vigorous, and appropriate; even the doctrine of the Church in Art. X. is in such terms as would commend it to others than Congregationalists. Altogether it is one of the most successful modern Declarations.

The *Union Statement*, issued by a joint-Committee at Dayton, O., in Feb. 1906, with a view to union beween Congregationalists, Methodist Protestants, and United Brethren, bears the same character and has gained similar approval. It affirms 'consent to the teaching of the Ancient Symbols of the undivided Church, and to that substance of Christian doctrine which is common to the Creeds and Confessions which we have inherited from the past,' though attention has been drawn to the significance of its omissions from the traditional system.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 835-840, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 734-737; Walker, pp. 238-582, incl. texts of all documents down to 1883; art. 'Congregationalists' in Schaff-Herzog by Morton Dexter.]

GENERAL LITERATURE.—The works cited will be found sufficient, Williston Walker's *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, New York, 1893, being especially full and reliable. In Schaff, Walker, and the art. in Schaff-Herzog a full statement of the relevant literature will be obtained.

19. Confessions in the Arminian and Methodist Churches.—Originally a spiritual and ethical revival within the Church of England, Methodism grew up under the Thirty-nine Articles and never formally renounced its allegiance to them. But from the first, except in Whitefield's following, it objected resolutely to the distinctively Calvinistic elements in them, and avowed its acceptance of them as in harmony with the Five Points of Arminianism (given above, p. 868[a]). From the Wesleys to William Booth, Wesleyan teachers have 'abhorred' the Calvinistic doctrine of the Divine decrees as subversive of Divine justice and love, and of human freedom, responsibility, activity, and hope, though, as intensely practical and empiric thinkers, it might have occurred to them as a paradox, on that view, that Whitefield and countless other preachers and teachers in the orthodox Calvinistic succession had never been conscious of any such pernicious results of their views. But, if Methodism be guilty of exaggeration and misrepresentation in its conception of the signification and implications of the Calvinistic doctrine, as when it makes it teach that God passed over or damned the 'rest of mankind' *irrespective of their sin*, its motive is of the highest, its purpose is intensely practical, and its own phenomenal success has vindicated it. In polity, at least, it has borrowed from Calvinism, not only in its practically presbyterian organization in Britain, but in its conception of the episcopate as a superintending presbyterate in America. Practical elasticity and adaptability characterize its polity, just as spiritual impressiveness and emotional effectiveness mark its theology, common sense rather than abstract consistency being the principle of both, and appealing peculiarly to the English mind. Not historical learning, not even conformity to Scripture, not outward continuity with the past, not intellectual perfection, is the final test of a Church and system, but practical efficacy in the supreme work of reaching the heart, curbing the passions, converting the soul, and transforming the character. Clerical privilege and pedantry must bow to the prophetic necessities of the Spirit of God and His saving work. More than any other system, save that of the Friends, with which it has not a little in common, Wesleyan Methodism enthrones the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, testing all doctrines and all work by His felt presence and power. It has thus addressed itself with peculiar success to the practical and empiric instincts of the 19th cent., of whose religious history it has been, next to Christian missions, the outstanding phenomenon. In an age which worships power and has faith in success, it has wielded an unprecedented influence and achieved an unparalleled success. The revival of which it was the leading force has affected almost every other Church for

good, it has stimulated the thought of every other system, and it has transformed the world's conception of the nature and basis of religion.

However the Methodist Churches may differ from one another, in Britain and America, in reference to organization, government, and discipline, they are at one in regard to doctrine, maintaining unaltered Wesley's own position. They have no formally complete, distinctive Confession, but, instead, a certain relation to the Anglican Articles defined by Wesley himself, and the basis of doctrine supplied by Wesley's notes on the New Testament which rest on Bengel's admirable *Gnomon*, or Commentary, and by his 58 published sermons down to 1771. The basis is thus threefold.

(1) *Methodism and the 39 Articles.*—In England, Wesley left the Articles formally undisturbed, in conformity with his scrupulous loyalty to Anglican order, contenting himself with disavowing their predestinarian and allied elements, and interpreting them in an Arminian sense. In America, however, in doctrine as in polity and orders, he felt himself less fettered. He gave the Methodist Episcopal Church, which he founded there, a recension of the 39 Articles suited to its special circumstances, and so abbreviated as to eliminate their obnoxious Calvinism and, negatively at least, to conform to his views. The *25 Articles*, as they are called, adopted by Conference in Baltimore in 1784 (except XXIII., recognizing the independence of the United States, which was not approved till 1804), reveal Wesley's precise attitude to the 39.

He omitted the political articles applicable only to England, the strongly Augustinian articles (XVII., of Predestination, as teaching unconditional election and the necessary perseverance of the elect; XIII., of Works before Justification, as having the nature of sin) and Art. VIII., which re-affirms the three Ecumenical Creeds. Art. X., of Free-will, he retained, though it teaches, with Augustine and Calvin, man's natural inability since the Fall to do good works without the grace of God, inasmuch as it was his view that of God's free grace free-will is supernaturally restored to all men universally. From Art. II. he omitted the clauses 'begotten from everlasting of the Father' and 'of His substance,' from IX. the clauses which affirm the persistence of original sin in the regenerate and so conflict with his doctrine of Christian Perfection. In XVI. the words 'sin after baptism' are altered to 'sin after justification,' to exclude the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; and in XXV., of the Sacraments, before 'signs of grace' the words 'sure witnesses and effectual' are omitted. But there is no positive addition of Arminian teaching to the Articles.

(2) *Methodism and Arminianism.*—Wesley made no secret of his entire concurrence with the five cardinal points of Arminianism. They are embodied in his discourses. Human free-will retained in some measure in spite of the Fall, as the basis of individual as distinct from racial responsibility; the voluntary self-limitation of the sovereign will of God in its relations to free agents; foreknowledge of free actions and character as the ground of Divine predestination; the universal extent of the Atonement; the resistibleness of Divine grace, and the possibility of final falling away from the regenerate and sanctified state—these are fundamental Wesleyan as well as Arminian tenets, plausible and common-sense on the face of them, raising no popular difficulties such as beset the antagonistic Calvinistic definitions, and thus avoiding the tendency to morbidity, make-believe, and paralysis not always erroneously attributed to them. In reality the two systems are not diametrically opposed, if the common terms be used in a common sense; but Wesleyan thought, urged by a practical impulse, did not scruple over metaphysical difficulties whether latent in Scripture or in reason, but fastened upon the form of doctrine which appealed most directly to the heart and conscience. Thus Arminianism, which failed to maintain itself in Holland or to win a settlement in Scotland, found a home in England and among English settlers across the Atlantic. Indeed, it must be added that recent changes in the thought and standards of Calvinism have for the most part been in the direction of a tacit compromise with Arminian doctrine, if not of surrender to it. But Methodism does not share the Pelagian sympathies of Arminianism, takes a darker view of original sin as more than a disease, as complete depravity, attributes human freedom since the Fall not to any partial survival of original freedom, but to the direct prevenient grace of the Spirit of God in the individual soul, and lays far greater stress upon definite conversion and regeneration as a necessary subjective experience for every man.

(3) *The Original Element in Methodism.*—The sermons bring to light three distinctive doctrines which are fundamental in the Methodist system. i. *The Universality of the Offer of Saving Grace.*—All men are born into an order not only of sin through Adam, but of saving grace through Christ, by whose righteousness the free gift came upon all men unto justification. They are thus held guiltless through Christ's atoning merit until personal responsibility in the years of discretion is attained. 'Christ's atonement covers the deficiency of ability in the case of infants, and the deficiency of opportunity in the case of the heathen.' Three dispensations embrace the whole race of men: that of the Father—the heathen and Muhammadans who know God only through nature, providence, and conscience; that of the Son—all who are born and brought up in Christian lands; and that of the Holy Spirit—those who have experienced for themselves the saving grace of the Spirit. ii. *The present Assurance of Salvation.*—The Spirit of God witnesses with our own spirits that we are children of grace, that we are accepted now and shall be saved hereafter *if* we persevere. iii. *Perfectionism.*—If apostasy be always possible, Christian perfection is also ever in prospect as the grand incentive to effort, perfection not beyond the reach either of enhancement or of loss, but thorough and all-pervading sanctification, the state in which deliberate sin is left behind, love to God is supreme, and every true faculty of human life fully enjoyed.

Calvinistic Methodism in Wales has already been treated under Calvinism (see above, p. 878 f.), and *Baptist Arminianism* in § 17 (4).

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 882–900, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 807–813; Introd. to Winer's *Confessions of Christendom*, Eng. tr. pp. lxxvi–lxxviii; Works by John Wesley, Richard Watson, W. B. Pope; *Doctrines and Discipline of Meth. Episc. Church*, ed. Bishop Harris, N.Y. 1872; *A New History of Methodism* by W. J. Townsend and others, 2 vols., London, 1909; artt. in M'Clintock-Strong's *Cyclopædia*, a Methodist publication, etc.]

20. Confessions in the Salvation Army.—Offspring of Methodism as it is, with many marks of its parentage, the Salvation Army occupies ground of its own Confessionally. In creed as in organization, it prides itself on its combination of freedom with authority, of simplicity with elasticity and practical effectiveness. Its doctrines are set forth authoritatively by the founder and General, William Booth, in a variety of manuals prepared for children and adults, phrased in language of admirable directness and lucidity. There is a series of *Directories*, or Catechisms, graded for children under 10 years of age, and from 10 to 14 years, and for parents and workers, based on a threefold scheme: Revelation (God, Creation, the four Last Things, Christ, the Bible), Experience (Sin, Forgiveness, the Conditions of Salvation), and Obedience (How to keep Saved, Faith, Prayer, Duty, the Army). *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers of the Salvation Army* is a little treatise discussing in 12 chapters: Salvation, How to keep Religion, Character, the Care of the Body, Improvement of the Mind, Home Life, in the World, the Army, Fighting, Giving and Collecting Money, Personal Dealing, Sickness, and Bereavement. *The*

Doctrines of the Salvation Army, a catechetical manual 'prepared for the use of Cadets in training for officership,' contains in its latest form 29 chapters which discuss with incisive vigour, if often narrowly, the Doctrines (a Creed), God, Jesus Christ is God, How we became Sinners, Redemption, the Extent of the Atonement, the Finished Work of Christ, Election, the Holy Ghost, the Conditions of Salvation, the Forgiveness of Sins, Conversion, the Two Natures, Assurance, Sanctification (7 chapters), Backsliding, Final Perseverance, Death and After, Hell, the Bible, Getting Men Saved, Woman's Right to preach, the Government of the Army. In the last-named work, whose brevity and comprehensiveness perhaps render a certain unfairness to other types of doctrine unavoidable, the chapter on election and its alleged basis in Scripture is a deliberate and express onslaught upon Calvinism, which is represented as teaching 'that God has from all eternity, of His own good pleasure, *and without any regard to their conduct*, reprobated or left the remainder of mankind to everlasting damnation,' whereas Calvinists have always taught that it is for sin inherited and committed that men are condemned. It will also be observed that there is no doctrine of the Sacraments, neither Baptism nor the Lord's Supper having any place in the Army.

Two documents embedded in the manuals mentioned stand out as having symbolic authority: the 'Articles of War' (1878) in the *Orders and Regulations* (ch. ix. § 3), and the Creed (1872), which forms the first chapter, and the Answer to the first Question, in *The Doctrines of the Salvation Army* (9th ed. 1908).

(*a*) The 'Articles of War' are 16 in number—8 doctrinal affirmations of personal belief, and 8 solemn vows of personal conduct. They are as follows:

'(1) Having received with all my heart the salvation offered to me by the tender mercy of Jehovah, I do here and now publicly acknowledge God to be my Father and King, Jesus Christ to be my Saviour, and the Holy Spirit to be my Guide, Comforter, and Strength; and that I will, by His help, love, serve, worship, and obey this glorious God through all time and through all eternity. (2) Believing solemnly that the Salvation Army has been raised up by God, and is sustained and directed by Him, I do hereby declare my full determination, by God's help, to be a true soldier of the Army till I die. (3) I am thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Army's teaching. (4) I believe that repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and conversion by the Holy Spirit, are necessary to salvation, and that all men may be saved. (5) I believe that we are saved by grace, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and he that believeth hath the witness of it in himself. I have got it. Thank God! (6) I believe that the Scriptures were given by inspiration of God, and that they teach that not only does continuance in the favour of God depend upon increased faith in and obedience to Christ, but that it is possible for those who have been truly converted to fall away and be eternally lost. (7) I believe that it is the privilege of all God's people to be "wholly sanctified," and that "their whole spirit and soul and body" may "be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." That is to say, I believe that after conversion there remain in the heart of the believer inclinations to evil, or roots of bitterness, which, unless overpowered by Divine grace, produce actual sin; but these evil tendencies can be entirely taken away by the Spirit of God; and the whole heart, thus cleansed from anything contrary to the will of God, or entirely sanctified, will then produce the fruit of the Spirit only. And I believe that persons thus entirely sanctified may, by the power of God, be kept unblamable and unreprovable before Him. (8) I believe in the immortality of the soul; in the resurrection of the body; in the general judgment at the end of the world; in the eternal happiness of the righteous; and in the everlasting punishment of the wicked.' Art. 9 declares renunciation of the world for service in Christ's Army, cost what it may. Art. 10 promises abstinence from intoxicants and narcotics save when medically prescribed; (11) from profanity and obscenity; (12) from dishonesty, unfairness, and deceit; (13) from oppressive, cruel, or cowardly treatment of those who are in one's power or are dependent on one. Art. 14 promises the spending of time, strength, money, and influence for the War, and the endeavour to induce one's friends and others to do the same; and (15) obedience to the lawful orders of one's Officers. Art. 16 declares: 'I do here and now call upon all present to witness that I enter into this undertaking, and sign these Articles of War of my own free will, feeling that the love of Christ, who died to save me, requires from me this devotion of my life to His service for the salvation of the whole world, and therefore wish now to be enrolled as a Soldier of the Salvation Army.'

(*b*) The principal *Doctrines* are:

'(1) We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by the inspiration of God, and that they only constitute the Divine rule of Christian faith and practice. (2) We believe that there is only one God, who is infinitely perfect, the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all things. (3) We believe that there are three persons in the Godhead—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—undivided in essence, co-equal in power and glory, and the only proper object of religious worship. (4) We believe that in the person of Jesus Christ the Divine and human natures are united, so that He is truly and properly God, and truly and properly man. (5) We believe that our first parents were created in a state of innocence, but by their disobedience they lost their purity and happiness; and that, in consequence of their fall, all men have become sinners, totally depraved, and as such are justly exposed to the wrath of God. (6) We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ has, by His suffering and death, made an atonement for the whole world, so that whosoever will may be saved. (7) We believe that repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit, are necessary to salvation. (8) We believe that we are justified by grace, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and he that believeth hath the witness in himself. (9) We believe that the Scriptures teach that not only does continuance in the favour of God depend upon continued faith in and obedience to Christ, but that it is possible for those who have been truly converted to fall away and be eternally lost. (10) We believe that it is the privilege of all believers to be "wholly sanctified," etc. (as 'Articles of War,' no. 7). (11) We believe in the immortality of the soul, etc. (as *ib.* no. 8).'

From these two Creeds, the Fighting and the Teaching Faith of the Army, which to some slight extent supplement one another, the doctrinal basis of the Army in a Methodist Arminianism is evident. For the militant mission on which it has set out it has reduced its orthodox Wesleyanism to the smallest possible compass. Even in doctrine its impedimenta must go into the smallest of knapsacks, but in its essentials the body of Ecumenical doctrine on God, Christ, the Spirit, of evangelical doctrine on Scripture, on the saving work of Christ and the life to come, of Arminian doctrine on the extent of the Atonement, and of Methodist doctrine on sin, conversion, assurance, the universality of grace, and possible perfection—is included in the bundle. The metaphysics of doctrine, whether suggested by Scripture or not, is left alone. Common sense and immediate emotional power are the criteria of the truth found in Scripture which is essential for the campaign against sin. For scholarship and afterthought there is no place or time. No room is found even for those most compact of Christian treasures, the two great Sacraments, which are 'not essential to salvation,' which have been occasions of continual division and endless controversy, and whose efficacy, it is claimed, can better be secured by signing the Articles of War, by wearing uniform and bearing testimony, and by dedicatory solemnities for children or for adults.

21. Confessions in the Society of Friends, or Quakers.—The Confessional attitude of the Quakers is in evident affinity with that of Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Salvationists, at many points; but it represents a more radical breach with Christian convention. They renounce all external authority in matters spiritual, the letter of Scripture not less than subordinate standards, in favour of the direct and inward guidance of the illuminant Spirit of God, the Inner Light. Ceremonies and sacraments, traditions and conventions, organizations and official teachers, are set aside. Yet history repeated itself in their experience, apologetic statements of their teaching being necessitated by popular caricature and theological misrepresentation. These often took the form of condensed summaries, catechetical or propositional in structure. Among those enumerated by Thomas Evans in his *Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends* (Philad. 1828, and later reprints) are a *Confession and Profession of Faith in God* by Richard Farnsworth (1658), and similar statements by George Fox the younger

(1659 and 1661), by John Crook in 1662, by William Smith in 1664, by William Penn in 1668, by Whitehead and Penn in 1671, by Penn and others in 1698, and by George Fox, the founder himself, in 1671, 1675, and 1682. The nearest approach to an authoritative Confession is supplied by the works of Robert Barclay, the proprietor of Ury, in Kincardineshire, Scotland, the theologian of the movement, and an untiring propagator of its doctrine. He wrote a *Catechism* in 1673, the answers consisting of judiciously selected passages of Scripture, and the questions containing a good deal of polemical and didactic matter, a brief *Confession of Faith* of 23 Articles in Scriptural language being added at the close. In 1675 appeared his *magnum opus*, the *Apology*, whose central *15 Theses* have obtained a wide independent circulation as a reliable statement of Quaker principles.

The Theses are addressed or dedicated 'to the Clergy, of what sort soever, unto whose hands these may come; but more particularly to the Doctors, Professors, and Students of Divinity in the Universities and Schools of Great Britain, whether Prelatical, Presbyterian, or any other,' to whom the Author 'wisheth unfeigned repentance, unto the acknowledgment of the Truth,' with the uncompromising and not very conciliatory remark upon their great learning: 'Your school divinity, which taketh up almost a man's whole lifetime to learn, brings not a whit nearer to God, neither makes any man less wicked, or more righteous, than he was. Therefore hath God laid aside the wise and learned, and the disputers of this world; and hath chosen a few despicable and unlearned instruments, as to letter-learning, as he did fishermen of old, to publish his pure and naked truth, and to free it of those mists and fogs wherewith the clergy hath clouded it that the people might admire and maintain them.'

Proposition (1) '*Concerning the true Foundation of Knowledge*,' affirms it to be the knowledge of God. (2) '*Concerning Immediate Revelation*,' declares the 'testimony of the Spirit of God' to be in all generations the true revelation: Divine inward revelations neither do nor can contradict Scripture or Reason, but are not to be subjected to either as to a higher authority or standard. (3) '*Concerning the Scriptures*,' describes them as a record of historical fact and of prophetic truth and principles, as only a declaration of the fountain, not the fountain itself; 'nevertheless as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit . . . by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them.' (4) '*Concerning the Condition of Man in the Fall*,' affirms the utterly 'fallen, degenerate, and dead' condition of all Adam's posterity, deprived of the sensation of the inward testimony or seed of God, and their inability to know anything aright unless 'united to the Divine Light'; yet the evil seed is not imputed to infants till by transgression they actually join themselves therewith. (5) and (6) '*Concerning the Universal Redemption by Christ and also the Saving and Spiritual Light, wherewith every man is enlightened*,' treat of Christ, the Son of God, sent in His infinite love and universal purpose of Redemption, as the Light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, a light as universal as the seed of sin, being the purchase of His death who tasted death for every man; all men, heathen or infant, receive that benefit and inward Light which is not the mere light of Nature, even though they are without knowledge of the outward history of Christ's life, 'which knowledge we willingly confess to be very profitable and comfortable, but not absolutely needful unto such, from whom God Himself hath withheld it; yet they may be made partakers of the mystery of His death if they suffer His seed and light—enlightening their hearts—to take place.' (7) '*Concerning Justification*,' states that those who do not resist this light have produced in them 'a spiritual birth bringing forth holiness,' 'by which holy birth, to wit, Jesus Christ formed within us, and working his works in us, as we are sanctified so we are justified in the sight of God.' (8) '*Concerning Perfection*,' affirms that in the regenerate 'the body of death and sin comes to be crucified and removed, and their hearts united and subjected unto the truth, so as not to obey any suggestion of the evil one, but to be free from actual sinning . . . and in that respect perfect; yet doth this perfection still admit of a growth; and there remaineth a possibility of sinning.' . . . (9) '*Concerning Perseverance, and the Possibility of Falling from Grace*,' affirms that Divine grace resisted becomes man's condemnation; even when it has been accepted, shipwreck may be made of faith; those who have 'tasted of the heavenly gift and been made partakers of the Holy Ghost' may fall away; yet others may in this life attain such an increase and stability in the truth as to be beyond the reach of total apostasy. (10) '*Concerning the Ministry*,' affirms that it is this gift or light that constitutes a minister or pastor, not any human commission or literature; without it a ministry is deception; it is to be exercised without hire or bargaining, yet 'if God hath called any from their employments . . . it may be lawful for such, according to the liberty which they feel given them in the Lord, to receive such temporals—to wit, what may be needful to them for meat and clothing—as are freely given them by those to whom they have communicated spirituals.' (11) '*Concerning Worship*,' declares that 'all true and acceptable worship to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, nor persons: . . . all other worship then, both praises, prayers, and preachings, which man sets about in his own will and at his own appointment, which he can both begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone, as himself sees meet, whether they be a prescribed form, as a liturgy, or prayers conceived extemporarily, by the natural strength and faculty of the mind, they are all but superstitions, will-worship, and abominable idolatry in the sight of God.' (12) '*Concerning Baptism*,' states that it is 'not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ': it is 'a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the baptism of the Spirit and Fire, by which we are buried with him, that being washed and purged from our sins we may walk in newness of life': the baptism of infants 'is a mere human tradition for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in all the Scripture.' (13) '*Concerning the Communion, or Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ*,' affirms it also to be spiritual and symbolic. (14) '*Concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate, in matters purely religious, and pertaining to the conscience*,' affirms God's sole lordship over the conscience: 'all killing, banishing, fining, imprisoning . . . which men are afflicted with, for the alone exercise of their conscience, or difference in worship or opinion, proceedeth from the spirit of Cain, the murderer, and is contrary to the truth; provided always that no man, under the pretence of conscience, prejudice his neighbour in life or estate, or do anything destructive to, or inconsistent with, human society.' (15) '*Concerning Salutations and Recreations*, etc., declares that, since 'the chief end of all religion is to redeem man from the spirit and vain conversation of this world,' 'therefore all the vain customs and habits thereof, both in word and deed, are to be rejected . . . such as the taking off the hat to a man, the bowings and cringings of the body, and such other salutations of that kind, with all the foolish and superstitious formalities attending them, . . . as also the unprofitable plays, frivolous recreations, sportings and gamings, which are invented to pass away the precious time, and divert the mind from the witness of God in the heart.'

Quakerism is thus a protest against ecclesiasticism, sacramentarianism, biblicism, sacerdotalism, traditionalism, and rationalism alike, a rigorous and consistent reaction against every element of dangerous formalism and literalism in Christianity; spiritual to the core, mystic and intuitional, individualistic. It subordinates, to the point of sacrifice, the letter to the spirit, the form or symbol to the substance. It assumes a spiritual advancement or education possessed only by the few, and underestimates the use of letter and symbol because of their abuse. If 'their oddities in dress and habits are the shadows of virtues' (Schaff, *Hist.* p. 866), their idiosyncrasies in doctrine are at worst the exaggeration of truths, thought-compelling, impressive, and searching distillations of Scripture teaching and of sanctified common sense. They had their anticipators in this or that peculiarity of their life and teaching, though they are not indebted to them. They have, beyond question, prepared the way for much that is characteristic in Methodism and Salvationism, particularly. They represent Puritanism puritanized, a sublimate of prophetic Christianity, a spiritual outgrowth from a highly developed type of popular religion. More than is generally appreciated, their conceptions of Scripture, the Sacraments, Spiritual Liberty, the Inward Light, the Indwelling Christ, the Essence of Worship and of Ministry, and the Meaning of Justification, have led the way to views now widely entertained by the most thoughtful Christians in all the Churches and outside them. What Mysticism has been in general Religion, or Quietism in Roman Catholicism, Quakerism has been in Protestantism. Its very exaggerations and crudities were deliberate—arresting symbols and advertisements of its essential message. It has given silence a place in worship, and it has exercised the universal conscience by its Socratic demand for perfect sincerity and consistency. If it can be the religion only of a few, the world may be grateful to have contained those few. If it has given no criterion to distinguish the true from spurious movings of the Spirit, and lends itself to subtle or crude individualisms and egotistic whims and conventional make-believes peculiar to itself, it has a page of Christian history devoted to it whose

freedom from serious blemish most other branches of the Church might wistfully envy.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 859–873, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 789–798; Barclay's Works; Evans, *op. cit. supra*; artt. in various Encyclopædias.]

22. Confessions in Socinian and Unitarian Churches, and in the rest of Christendom.—The independent attitude to doctrinal standards adopted by the Churches discussed in the last five divisions prepares us for the completely anti-Confessional and negative position of present-day Unitarianism, which has for its sole distinctive dogma the humanity, the non-divinity, of Jesus Christ, but refuses to fortify even that residuum of historical Christian doctrine behind Confessional bulwarks. But in the Reformation era, Unitarian Christianity was far from entertaining such doctrinal self-restraint. It did not even dethrone the miraculous and supernatural in the Person and history of Jesus. It uttered its theological convictions in Confessional and catechetic form in the Socinian standards, not as binding creeds, of course, but as didactic manifestos. These reveal its origin in a Humanistic rationalism, which regards Christ simply as a revealer or teacher of moral and religious truth, His death as a prophet's martyrdom, and the Church as a school. Not the needs of the heart and the conscience, but those of the intellect, were paramount in its rise. Its conception of sin and its cause and its seriousness was very different from that which dominated Luther and the other orthodox Reformers, and led to its complete divergence from them. It denied original sin and guilt, vicarious atonement, the Incarnation and eternal Divinity of Christ, and the Trinity; and it discounted the inspiration of a great part of Scripture, especially the Old Testament.

An early *Catechism and Confession* in Scriptural language was published at Cracow by the preacher Schomann in 1574. A *Smaller Catechism* for children followed in 1605. The *Larger or Racovian Catechism*, by Schmalz and Moscorovius, based on a fragmentary Catechism by Fausto Sozzini, was published at Rakau, a small town in Poland which was the centre of the movement, first in Polish in 1605, then in German in 1608, and finally in the standard Latin form, with modifications, in 1609. The *Confession of 1642* by Schlichting, of which the Confession of the Prussian Socinians in 1666 is simply an extract, took the form of an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, with numerous Scripture citations, and adopted an attitude of less acute antagonism to orthodoxy than the Catechism of 1605–9.

The Racovian Catechism of 1605–9 is the standard expression of Socinian doctrine. It is essentially theological rather than religious, rationalistic yet also supernaturalistic, controversial and argumentative. It begins: 'Tell me what is the Christian Religion?' and answers, 'It is the way pointed out and revealed to men by God to obtain eternal life.' 'Where is that way pointed out and revealed?—In Holy Scripture, but chiefly in the New Testament.' The Catechism contains 8 sections of varying length. Section I. treats of Religion and Holy Scripture in general, containing four chapters on Holy Scripture (4 qns.), its Certitude (26 qns.), its Perfection (5 qns.), its Perspicuity (4 qns.). Section II. treats of the Way of Salvation and the Reasons for Revelation (10 qns.). Section III. treats of the Knowledge of God as the Supreme Lord of all things, in three scholastic chapters on the Knowledge, Being, and Will of God (44 qns.). Section IV. at great length treats of the Person of Christ, the first step in the discussion of the general knowledge of Christ (97 qns.). Section V. treats of the Prophetic Office of Christ, the Central and Supreme doctrine in the System, in an opening chapter (8 qns.), followed by supplementary chapters on the Teachings He added to the Law (108 qns.), the Teachings He handed down under Seal (8 qns.), the Lord's Supper (11 qns.), Water-baptism (5 qns.), the Promises of Eternal Life (9 qns.), and of the Holy Spirit (14 qns.), the Confirmation of the Divine Will (3 qns.), the Death of Christ (39 qns.), Faith (7 qns.), Free-will (30 qns.), Justification (4 qns.). Section VI. treats of Christ's Priestly office (11 qns.), and VII. of His Kingly Office (20 qns). The closing Section VIII. treats of the Church of Christ, as the body of His disciples, in four chapters, on the Visible Church (3 qns.), the Government of the Church (17 qns.), Ecclesiastical Discipline (13 qns.), and the Church Invisible (4 qns.).

[For discussion of the various editions and of the early sources in the private catechisms of Gregory Paul, Schomann, and Fausto Sozzini, see Thomas Rees, *Racovian Catechism*, Lond. 1818, Introd. p. lxxi ff. For Latin text of Sozzini's *Christianæ Religionis Brevissima Institutio*, and of another unfinished catechism by the same writer, see 'Fausti Socini Senensis Opera Omnia,' in the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum quos Unitarios vocant*, Irenopoli post annum Domini 1656, vol. i. pp 651–676 and 677–689. For text of the Catech. of 1609, see edition Irenopoli post annum 1659. For Eng. tr. of completed edition of 1659, see Rees, *op. cit.* pp. 1–383 (a serviceable work). Cf. Winer, *Confessions*, Introd. pp. 31–34 (a somewhat confused account); Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 470–483; Fock, *Der Socinianismus*, 1847. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. vii. 137 ff., gives a very full and searching critical analysis of the Racovian Catechism.]

Confessional documents can hardly be said to exist in the remaining organizations within, or on the frontier of, the Christian world, whose name is legion. Original and more or less authoritative books or groups of writings exist for many of them, or statements of their salient features emanating from their apostles or preachers, but authoritative Confessions in any strict sense they do not possess. Irvingism and Darbyism on the one hand, and on the other Christian Science, Swedenborgianism, and Mormonism, not to mention lesser sects, are systems with distinctive doctrines, but without documents which would bring them under the present survey. It may be of interest, however, to quote a group of Articles, as a summary of Mormon doctrine, by its Apostle and Prophet, Joseph Smith, written soon after the constitution of 'the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,' at New York in 1840:

'1. We believe in God the Eternal Father, and in His Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost. 2. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression. 3. We believe that through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel. 4. We believe that these ordinances are: (i.) Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; (ii.) Repentance; (iii.) Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; (iv.) Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost. 5. We believe that a man must be called of God, by "prophecy and by the laying on of hands," by those who are in authority, to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof. 6. We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive Church, viz. apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc. 7. We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc. 8. We believe the Bible to be the word of God, as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God. 9. We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God. 10. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes: that Zion will be built upon this Continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisaic glory. 11. We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may. 12. We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, magistrates, in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law. 13. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to *all men*; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul: "We believe all things, we hope all things"; we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek after these things (quoted in *Religious Systems of the World*[5], 1901, p. 658 f.).

It will be observed that the practice of polygamy had no sanction in the Articles of the Mormon Faith.

CONCLUSION: THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF CONFESSIONS.—A survey of the Confessions of Christendom, living or dead, cannot fail to leave on the student of religious history a deep impression. (1) They constitute a stupendous fact, a phenomenon quite unparalleled in the religious world, a striking evidence of the unique power of the personality, life, and teaching of Christ, through Scripture and the Church, to stir the human intellect to its depths. Divided as Christendom is, and honeycombed by different opinions, dogmatic differences are a proof of the grasp of its great facts upon different types of mind. Other religions have their sects and their internal dissensions, but none of them has made any such appeal to the mind and the imagination of the human race, stimulating it to its loftiest efforts and educating it to its highest truths. (2) They proclaim the universal fact of doctrinal change as well as of mental and spiritual variety. *πάντα ῥεῖ* is the burden of one aspect of their history. The Church, obsessed, rightly or wrongly, by the ideal of doctrinal uniformity, has been unable, either by the aid of temporal authority or by means of excommunication or by appeal to superstitious fear, to maintain its unity. It is destined, it may be, to attain to the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace only through infinite and harrowing division, provoked and anon repented, and therewith to learn that persuasion and conviction are the only worthy instruments for the spread of truth, and that even among Christian dogmas the struggle to survive must inevitably in God's providence eliminate the unfit. (3) They suggest that in the intelligence and scholarship of Christendom, conscience is far from slumbering; that the very diversity of historical opinion, acquired not without heart-searching and solemnly professed, is an evidence of the existence of that intense seriousness and love of truth without which a final harmony would be impossible. Beneath the obvious dissensus of the Confessions there is in truth a consensus, felt at least in presence of rival systems of religion and in face of the common enemies of faith. No student can peruse Schaff's admirable concluding conspectus of the doctrinal agreements and differences between the various Church-communions (*Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 919–930), or the careful pages and Tables of Winer's *Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of the Various Communities of Christendom*, without being deeply impressed by the subtle interpenetration of great ideas and deep-seated instincts through groups of Churches outwardly far removed from one another. It is a wholesome experience to find, even in sects whose names have become bywords of oddity and even absurdity, a staunch adherence, in standards and in practice, to great principles of religious truth and life; and it suggests to the student of history that in many cases these systems have been adopted for the sake of those principles and in spite of their eccentricities. The debt of the world to thinking minorities is nowhere more clearly expressed than in the successive rise of the great Protestant denominations whose standards have been reviewed. Each stands for an idea or a group of ideas whose life was in danger of being strangled in the meshes of convention. However we may deplore the divisions of Christendom, signs are now abundant that the age of schism is over, and that, for the great mass of Christians throughout the world, catholicity is no longer synonymous with external or even intellectual uniformity. Some of the smallest sects have been most catholic in spirit because most tolerant by serious conviction. Union movements among Presbyterians, among Baptists, among Methodists, and among Congregationalists, movements even between the groups, Protestant and Evangelical Alliances in face of common adversaries, World Conferences and International Councils of kindred communions, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregationalist, or others, overtures for an ecclesiastical understanding between Anglicans and Greek Catholics, or between Presbyterians and Anglicans, the ebb and flow of converts from one Church to another from which no communion is immune—these are features of the age in which we live, attesting the facts that the lessons of history are being widely learned, that the struggles of the past for liberty and charity have not been in vain, that other than doctrinal elements of religion are having justice done to them, that temperamental as well as intellectual differences between men and peoples are being allowed for and respected.

It is often said that the day of Confessions is past, and that the Christian world as a whole has become, or is fast becoming, anti-Confessional. It is certain that in all the Churches, Roman Catholic and even Greek Catholic included, an attitude of quiet personal independence, reverent but firm, towards the historic symbols of faith is increasingly being adopted, alike by clergy and by people, in spite of every effort to arrest the movement. Unless some world-catastrophe sets back the standard of clerical and popular education, this attitude will certainly continue and spread. Adherence to historic dogmas is valueless, and indeed pernicious, if it be not intelligent and spontaneous. Assent, ignorant or constrained, is not consent. If it is death to a Creed to be exposed to the storms of free thought, it ought to die. It is such buffeting by the elements of experience, it is such conflict with the ravaging forces of time and change, that reveals with unrivalled impressiveness and certainty the faith that can dare to call itself eternal. Constitutional change, as distinct from the revolutionary alterations by passing impulse which only provoke reaction, is legitimate, and ought to be provided for without prejudice or craven fear, for a creed that is not believed to be true is not worthy of the name. No system deserves the name of faith which rests on mistrust of God and doubt of His providential guidance. No Confession can be spiritual or safe which has to be safeguarded by the whip of discipline, or by measures which disclose an ignoble despair of God's Holy Spirit. Doctrinal understandings or declarations which are maintained by Church Courts and Authorities through precarious or narrow majorities involve in every case a painful loss of prestige. The Creed which has not in it the note of triumphal assurance, carrying the hearts of all its adherents with it in a gush of emotion, ought not to rush into publicity, or pretend to an authority which in reality it does not possess. How to change without loss of continuity, how to grow without loss of identity, how to be free in doctrine while clinging to a sacred past, how to meet the protean spirit of the times without bowing down to it, yet without alienating its rightful instincts and flouting its proper needs—these are the practical difficulties to the mind of a Church which would be true to the past, honest with the present, and helpful to the future; and there has never been an age in human history so keenly alive to them as the present, so eager and so anxious to deal with them, so capable of appreciating and handling them aright. The experience of creedless Churches, like the Unitarian, helped though they have been during a century of unparalleled research, scientific attainment, and intellectual liberty, by the prestige of almost complete doctrinal freedom, and influential as they have been in stimulating the thought of the Christian world at large, in promoting scholarship, and in correcting tritheistic and superstitious tendencies in ortho-

dox Church life, has not been such as to prove that there is in Christendom in general any wide-spread dislike or distrust of creeds *as creeds*.

Particular Confessions, among them the most time-honoured, even the Ecumenical Creeds themselves, whose evolution has become matter of common knowledge, are accepted with reserve, are studied and appreciated in the light of their age, their antecedent controversies, the limitations of the scholarship of their day and of the minds that framed them. The 'higher criticism' of Holy Scripture was bound to be accompanied by a historical and critical study of the very documents which were intended to serve as determinants of the sense in which Scripture was to be accepted and believed. And just as 'adherence to Scripture' has lost throughout the great evangelical Protestant communions the meaning of literal in favour of spiritual acceptance in the light of history and learning, so adherence to a particular Creed or Confession must needs be effected by an accurate acquaintance with the circumstances of its origin, which in some instances at least reveal a hitherto unsuspected liberalism of purpose in their authors.

Hence it has come about, in Churches so inherently conservative as the Presbyterian, that throughout the whole world their devotion to theological, historical, and Scriptural scholarship has brought about a complete change of attitude towards Scripture and their 'subordinate standards.' By Declaratory Statements, or modified formulæ of subscription, or even by the formulation of new Confessions, they have endeavoured to be true to the new knowledge, to ease the conscience of those who have already subscribed their historic standards, and to facilitate the entrance of recruits fresh from the new school-training to the none too crowded ranks of the ministry, and to the rank and file of the general membership. If they adhere to the old standards, as for the most part they sincerely do, it is with express reservations, binding themselves to their 'substance' or their 'essentials,' or 'the fundamentals of Reformed Doctrine,' whether these are defined or not. The individual conscience and intellect are considered in a manner hitherto unknown, and a liberty of private judgment formerly undreamt of is tacitly assumed. The indignity and scandal of 'discipline' for breach of minute fidelity to documents three centuries old is too acutely felt to permit of its ready exercise. For once an age of intense missionary purpose has been an age of open mind, and the *odium theologicum* has been assigned a definite place in the catalogue of un-Christian failings. In presence of the appalling spectacle of crime and unbelief and ignorance and misery in the world's great centres of population, and in presence of the awe-inspiring spectacle of the world's great systems of non-Christian faith, even the gravest doctrinal differences have shrunk perceptibly, though it would be ridiculous to say that they are likely ever to disappear. Men are constrained to co-operate and combine when confronted by common foes. And at last there is being established throughout the Christian world that atmosphere of fraternal interest and mutual trust which is an absolute pre-requisite of any doctrinal consensus or harmony to come.

Creeds and Confessions there must be. Faith, though it embraces more than intellect, cannot renounce the intellect, or dispense with words and forms of uttered thought. There cannot be a gospel, or preacher's tidings for the saving of mankind, without an antecedent creed or body of belief, articulate or inarticulate. Preaching is the utterance of belief, as well as of experience; and, if men are to speak from a common platform, within a common organization, for the propagation and increase of religion, they must have a common basis of faith, which may well be expressed in some form of public Creed. It is unthinkable that the vast aggregate of doctrinal symbols evolved by the Christian Church in all lands during nineteen centuries of intense activity should have proceeded from any but a profoundly natural and honourable instinct in the soul of faith. But it is also now unthinkable that any one type of doctrine should claim, without self-discrediting presumption, to have a monopoly of Divine and saving truth entrusted to it. It is not more certain that a branch of the Church ought to publish the faith which animates it, so far as words can do so, than that it ought to publish such changes in that faith as time under the Spirit of Truth brings with it. The obligation is identical. Faith, though it changes, remains faith notwithstanding, and, when it regains a position of stable equilibrium, it ought not to be hid, but expressed in public as a fresh message of goodness for the world. If Christianity be true, and Christ the Truth, new knowledge should be welcome to all Christians as an increase to their heritage of truth. Obscurantism in every form, suspicion of fresh light however betrayed, is fatal to the good name of a Church and to the reputation of the religion it would protect. It is treachery to faith to suggest that it can be preserved only by enclosure within fences, or by isolation from contagion in the stir of science and of life. Religion can have few deadlier foes than the man who thinks that its influence or future can really be destroyed by tampering with a particular Creed.

What of *the ethics of subscription*? If Creeds are believed, they may as well be signed as repeated. But, as the years advance, and thought moves forward on unresting feet, is it right to ask men still to assent to them? The terms they employ may grow obsolete, or convey new meanings. Particular tenets, few or many, may recede from the foreground of interest, become open questions, or even become discredited. Between the period of complete faith and the period of discrediting, there must have passed years of transition and uncertainty. What could subscription possibly mean then? Again, few doctrinal standards have been drawn up by unanimous consent. From the first a minority has doubted some particulars in them. Their assent was general, or at least incomplete, given for the sake of peace and harmony. Allowance, therefore, must be made for the element of legitimate compromise inseparable from all social organizations. Loyalty to the spirit and general tenor of the teaching, not to the letter, alone can be fairly expected in public as distinct from private standards. If the society or corporation adjudges the individual to have seriously transgressed the common understanding, it may excommunicate him, or he may withdraw himself and renounce communion if he is conscious that he has overstepped the reasonable limits of variation. Each must decide for himself or itself on such a question. But at least it seems unethical, especially in periods of acknowledged transition, to lay it down that formal subscription to historical Confessions implies literal and complete acceptance of their details. There must be some play where public and private faith are linked together. The Member of Parliament, the political holder of office, who swears to uphold the Constitution, is expected to amend it if the people or his own judgment so decide. The men whose task it is to repeal old laws and enact new laws share with all others the duty of obedience to law. So, in every Church which believes that its preachers have in some measure a prophetic vocation, liberty must needs be conceded to them to defy

the popular mind if it seems to them that God so wills. As Churches may change yet remain themselves, may alter their Confessions yet retain their identity, so in such cases the individual who subscribes and finds that he outgrows the system to which he has subscribed is not therefore bound to withdraw from the communion unless he judges his breach with its standards to be radical, fundamental. No rule can be laid down which will cover all cases equitably. A sense of honour in the individual, a sense of chivalry in the community, and patient consideration on the part of both, must in each particular instance decide, in the light of all the circumstances. It should be remembered that there is no evidence that Christ exacted or expected any identity of belief from His disciples, or equipped His Apostles with any precisely uniform message to the world. It is certain that the Apostles were never confronted with documents or declarations in any sense analogous to the Confessions of modern Christendom, or even to the Creeds of the ancient Church. Their faith was personal and in a Person. Whenever we are assured that the faith of a fellow Christian is also personal and directed towards the same Person, we should beware of withholding fellowship from him because of minor differences.

General Literature. — Indispensable general works are Philip Schaff, 3 vols. entitled *A History of the Creeds of Christendom; The Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches; The Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches*, New York, 1876, Lond. 1877 (5th ed., New York, 1887, with few changes), by far the most valuable work on the whole subject; G. B. Winer, *Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of the Various Communities of Christendom* (Eng. tr., W. B. Pope), Edinb. 1873; P. Hall, *Harmony of Prot. Confessions*, Lond. 1842; S. G. Green, *The Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom*, Lond. 1898 (an admirable general survey, with careful discussion of related topics); E. F. Karl Müller, *Symbolik*, Leipzig, 1896; G. F. Oehler, *Lehrbuch der Symbolik*, 2nd ed. by Hermann, 1891; H. Schmidt, *Handbuch der Symbolik*, Berlin, 1890; and the partial works on 'Symbolik,' by Loofs (Leipzig, 1902) and Kattenbusch (Freiburg, 1892), with their admirable series of articles in *PRE*³, including a gen. art. 'Symbole, Symbolik,' in that work. The Croall Lectures of 1902, on 'Creeds and Churches,' by A. Stewart, are in course of preparation for publication. For a theological discussion of the chief dogmatic utterances and tendencies down to the Reformation era, and in the Roman Church to the 19th cent., Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. from 3rd ed., 7 vols., 1894–1899, is of supreme value.

[Many of the translations in this article are taken from or based on the rendering given by Schaff—in all cases revised.]

W. A. Curtis.

HISTORICAL TABLE

OF

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH IN CHRISTENDOM.

[W. A. CURTIS.]

HISTORICAL TABLE OF

Date.	Greek Church.	Roman Church.	Waldensian, Moravian, Bohemian.	Lutheran.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
1400					1381 Wyclif's 12 Theses against Transubstantiation.	
			1410 Hussite Catechism.			
1420			1431 Conf. of the Taborites.			
1440	1453 Conf. of Gennadius, Patr. of Constantinople.					
1460						
1480			1489 Waldensian Catech. 'The Smaller Questions.			
1500						
			1503 Conf. of Bohemian Brethren to Wladislaw II. of Bohemia.			
1510						
1520				1517 Luther's 95 Theses.		
			1521 Bohemian Catechism.			
						1523 Zwingli's 67 Articles of Zürich. 1523 Brief Christian Introduction to Clergy of Zürich, by Zwingli.
						1528 Ten Conclusions of Bern. 1528 Conf. of E. Friesland.
1530				1529 Luther's Catechs. 1530 Augsburg Conf. 1530 Tausen's 43 Danish Articles.		1530 Zwingli's Conf. to Charles V. 1530 Conf. of Strassburg (or Four Cities).
				1531 Apology of Augsburg Conf.		1531 Zwingli's Conf. to Francis I. 1532 Articles of Synod of Bern.
			1532 Conf. of Bohemian Brethren to George of Brandenburg.			
						1534 1st Conf. of Basel.
			1535 First Bohem. Confession to Ferdinand I.	1535 First Bohem. Conf.		
					1536 Ten Articles of Henry VIII.	1536 1st Helvetic Conf. Ten Theses of Lausanne.
				1537 Articles of Schmalkald.	1537 Bishops' Book and Catechism. 1538 Cranmer's 13 Artt. (private).	
1540				1540 Augsburg Conf., 'Variata' ed	1539 The 6 Articles.	
					1543 King's Book and Catech. (Henry VIII.).	
				1545 Articles of Erdöd in Hungary.		1545 Confession of Zürich
				1548 Conf. of Five Hungarian Cities.	1548 Cranmer's Catech. (from German). 1549 Edward VI.'s 1st Prayer Book, Cranmer's Artt., English Catechism.	1549 Consensus of Zürich.
1550						

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH IN CHRISTENDOM.

Calvinist (Continental).	Calvinist (British and American).	Baptist.	Independent, or Congregationalist.	Arminian, Methodist, Quaker.	Socinian, or Unitarian.	Date
						1400
						1420
						1440
						1460
						1480
		before 1500 Early Anabaptist Catechism.				1500
						1510
						1520
		1524, 1526, 1527 Anabaptist Statements of Principles at Waldshut and Augsburg.				1530
		1532 Conf. and Theses of Rothmann of Munster.				
		1533 Artt. of Jan Matthys.				
		1533 Munster Conf.				
1536 (Calvin's Institutes: 1st edition).						
1536 Geneva Conf. and Catechism, French.						
	[15[illegible]–1563 Calvinistic elements in English Articles.]					1540
1541 Geneva Confession, French, enlarged.						
1545 Geneva Conf., Latin.						
1545 Conf. of Zurich.						
1549 Consensus of Zürich.						
						1550

HISTORICAL TABLE OF

Date.	Greek Church.	Roman Church.	Waldensian, Moravian, Bohemian.	Lutheran.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
1550						
				1551 Conf. of the Saxon Churches. 1552 Swabian or Württemberg Confession.	1552 Edward VI.'s 2nd Prayer Book, Revised Articles. 1553 Edw. VI., 42 Artt. 1554 Artt. of Prisoners (under Mary).	1552 Rhaetian Confession (Switz.).
					1555 Gardiner's Artt.	
				1559 Stuttgart Conf.	1558 The 5 Articles. 1559 Elizab.'s Revision of Edw. VI.'s Pr. Bk. Parker's 11 Artt.	
1560						
		1563 Canons and Decrees of Trent. 1564 Profession of Faith of Trent.	1564 Confession of Brethren.		1563 39 (or 38) Articles and Catechism.	1566 (1562) 2nd Helvetic Confession.
				1567 Prussian Corpus Doctrinæ.		
1570			1570 Consensus of Sendomir.	1570 Consensus of Sendomir.		
				1571 Consensus of Dresden.		
				1574–5 Swab. and Sax. Formula.		
			1575 Second Bohemian Conf. (Calv., Luth.).	1575 Second Bohemian Confession. 1575–6 Maulbronn Formula. Book of Torgan. 1577 Formula of Concord.		
1580				1580 Book of Concord.		
				1581 Repetition of Anhalt.		
1590						
				1592 Saxon Visitation Articles.	[1595 Lambeth Articles (Calv.).]	
1600						
1610			1609 Bohemian Conf. (Calv.).			

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH IN CHRISTENDOM —*continued.*

Calvinist (Continental).	Calvinist (British and American).	Baptist.	Independent, or Congregationalist.	Arminian, Methodist, Quaker.	Socinian, or Unitarian.	Date.
1550-1 À Lasco's Conf. to Edward VI.						1550
1552 Rhaetian Conf. 1552 Consensus of Geneva.						
1554 Emden Catechism. 1554 Conf. of Exiles in Frankfort.						
	1555 Knox's Genev. Confession.					
1559 (Last Revision of Calvin's Institutes.) 1559 French Confession. 1559 Conff. of Kolosvar and Vasarhely (Hung.). 1559 Conf. of Spanish Exiles in London.						
1560-2 Conf. and Catech. of Debreczen (Hung.). 1561 Belgic Confession. 1562-3 Conf. of Tarczal and Torda (Hung.). 1563 Heidelberg Catech.	1560 Scots Conf.					1560
1566 Dutch Confession.						
1567-9 Minor Hungarian Conff. of Debreczen, Kassa, and Varad. 1570 Conf. of Czenger (Hungary). 1570 Consensus of Sendomir. 1571 La Rochelle Revision of French Conf. 1572 Bremen Declaration.						1570
1575 2nd Bohemian Conf.					1574 Socinian Conf. and Cat. Cracow.	
1578 Nassau Confession.						
		1580 Mennonite Conf. of Waterland.				1580
	1581 Scottish National Covenant. 1581 Craig's Larger Catechism.		1582 Browne's Statement of Principles. 1589 London Conf.			
	1590 Craig's Shorter Catechism.	1591-1664 Series of Mennonite Conff.				1590
1595 Bremen Consensus.	1595 Lambeth Artt.		1596 London - Amsterdam Conf.			
1597 Anhalt Confession. 1599 The Book of Staffort.						1600
			1603 Points of Difference.		1605 Smaller Socinian Catechism, Poland.	
1607-8 Hessian Catech. and Conf. (Cassel). 1607 Conf. of Heidelberg Theologians. 1609 Bohemian Conf.						
[1610 Dutch Remonstrance (Armin.).]		1611 Arminian Baptist Declarations, Amsterdam.		1610 Dutch Remonstrance. 1611 Arminian Bapt. Declarations, Amsterdam.		1610

HISTORICAL TABLE OF

Date.	Greek Church.	Roman Church.	Waldensian, Moravian, Bohemian.	Lutheran.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
					[1615 Irish Articles (Calv.).]	
1620	1625 Conf. of Metrophanes Critopulus. [1629 Conf. of Cyril Lucar (Calv.)]					
1630						
1640	1640 Orthodox Conf. of Mogilas.					
1650			1655 Waldensian Calv. Conf., based on Conf. Gallica, 1559 (re-aff. by Wald. Synod in 1855).	[1655 Abortive Repeated Consensus by Calovius against syncretism of Calixtus.]		
1660						
1670	1672 Conf. of Dositheus.				1661 Anglican Catechism.	
1680						
1690						
1700						
1720						
1740						
1700	1764 Catech. of Metropol. Platon.		1749 Moravian Easter Litany.			
1780						

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH IN CHRISTENDOM—*continued.*

Calvinist (Continental).	Calvinist (British and American).	Baptist.	Independent, or Congregationalist.	Arminian, Methodist, Quaker.	Socinian, or Unitarian.	Date.
1613 Bentheim Conf.						
1614 Conf. of Sigismund of Brandenburg.						
	1615 Irish Articles.					
	1616 Aberdeen Conf.					
			1617–1647 American Minor Articles.			
1619 Canons of Dort.						
						1620
1629 Conf. of Cyril Lucar (Constantinople).						
						1630
1631 Leipzig Colloquy.						
	1638 Scottish Nat. Covt. Renewed.					
						1640
					1642 Socinian Conf. by Schlichting.	
	1643 Solemn League and Covenant.					
		1644 Conf. of Seven Churches, Lond.				
1645 Declaration of Thorn.						
	1646–7 Westminster Conf., Larger and Shorter Catechs.					
			164[illegible] Cambridge Platform, U.S.A.			
						1650
1655 Waldensian Conf.						
		1656 Somerset Artt.				
			16[illegible] Savoy Declaration.	1658 Earliest Quaker Conf.		
				1658–168[illegible] Quaker Statements.		
		1660 London Conf. (Arminian).		1660 London Conf (Bapt. Armin.).		1660
						1670
				1673 Barclay's Catechism.		
1675-6 Helvetic Consensus Formula.				1675 Barclay's Apology.		
		1677 Recension of Westm. Conf.				
		1678 Orthodox Creed (Arminian).		1678 Orthodox Bapt. Creed (Armin.).		
			1680 Boston Declaration, U.S.A.			1680
						1690
			1691 Heads of Agreement.			
		1693 Keach's Cat. (Recension of Westm. Shorter Catechism).				
						1700
			1708 Saybrook Platform, U.S.A.			
						1720
						1740
		1742 Philadelphia Conf. (= 16[illegible] Conf. above).				
						1760
		1766 Ris' Mennonite Doctrine.				
						1780
				1784 Wesley's 25 Artt. (America).		

HISTORICAL TABLE OF

Date.	Greek Church.	Roman Church.	Waldensian, Moravian, Bohemian.	Lutheran.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
1800						
					1801 American Revision of the 39 Articles.	
1810						
1820						
1830						
	1839 Longer Catech. of Philaret.					
1840	1840 Shorter Catech. of Philaret.					
1850		1854 Decree of Immaculate Conception, by Pius IX.				
1860		1864 Papal Syllabus.				
			1869 Moravian Summary.			
1870		1870 Decrees of Vatican Council.				
		1874 XIV. Old Catholic Theses of Bonn.				
		1875 VI. Old Catholic Theses of Bonn (Filioque).			1875 American Revision of the 39 Articles, the 35 Reformed Episcopal Articles.	
1880						
1890						
1900						
		1907 New Syllabus of Pius X. agst. 65 Modernist Propositions.				
1910						

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH IN CHRISTENDOM—*continued.*

Calvinist (Continental).	Calvinist (British and American).	Baptist.	Independent, or Congregationalist.	Arminian, Methodist, Quaker.	[illegible], or Unitarian.	Date.
	1787 American Revision of Westm. Confession.					
						1800
						1810
1818 Articles of Union in the Palatinate.						1820
	1823 Welsh Calv. Methodist Conf. 1829 Cumberland Ch. Conf., U.S.A.					1830
		1833 New Hampshire Conf., U.S.A. 1834 Conf. of American Free-will Baptists.	1833 Declaration of Cong. Union of England.	1834 Conf. of Amer. Free-Will Baptists.		
						1840
1847 Evang. Church Conf. of Canton de Vaud. 1848 Evang. Church Conf. of Geneva. 1849 Constitution of Evangelical French Churches.						
						1850
						1860
			1865 Declaration of American Union.			
1869 Conf. of Seville.						1870
1870 Conf. of Italian Evangelical Church.						
			1871 Oberlin Declaration, U.S.A.	1872 Doctrines of the Salvation Army.		
1872 Declaration of French Reform. Ch. 1872 Conf. of Madrid. 1874 Constitution of Free Ch. of Neuchâtel.						
				1878 Articles of War, of the Salvation Army.		
						1880
	1883 Cumberland Ch. New Conf. 1890 Artt. of Presb. Ch. in England. 1890 Artt. of Presb. Church in China.		1883 Commission Creed, U.S.A.			1890
						1900
	1901 Artt. of Presb. Ch. in S. India. 1902 Amer. Revision and New Articles. 1904 Conf. of Presb. Church in India.		1906 Union Statement, U.S.A.			
	[1908 XIX. Artt. of Canadian Union, as proposed.] [1909 Proposed Artt. of Union in South Africa.]					1910

THE END OF VOL. III.

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